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HOW TO USE THE BOOK

Learning Objectives — The scope of the lesson is presented

Introduction — The subject to be discussed in the lesson is introduced

Leads the students to animated audio, video aids for getting experiential learning

Provides additional information related to the subject in boxes to stir up the curiosity of students

Infographs — Visual representations intended to make the complex simple and make the students grasp difficult concepts easily

Activities — Activities for 'learning by doing' individually or in groups

Summary — Describe the main points briefly in bullets for recapitulation

Exercise — For self-study and self evaluation

Glossary — Key words and technical terms explained at the end of the lesson for clarity

References — List of books and net sources for further reading

ICT Corner — Using technology for learning activities, which enables the students to access digital sources relevant to their lessons.

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Assessment

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UNIT 1

Rise of Nationalism in India

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Changes in agrarian conditions and import of British manufactures ruin Indian handicrafts and the artisanal class
- Periodical outbreak of famines force landless labourers and jobless artisans to emigrate
- Introduction of Western education and birth of national awakening.
- Other contributory factors for the rise of Nationalism in India
- Modern Indian intelligentsia lays the foundation of Indian National Congress
- Early Nationalists and their contribution, especially of Naoroji and his Drain Theory

Introduction

The political and economic centralisation of India achieved by the British for the better exploitation and control of India inevitably led to the growth of national consciousness and the birth of the national movement. The history of nationalism in India begins with the campaigns and struggles for social reforms in the nineteenth century followed by the Western-educated Indians' prayers and petitions for political liberties. With the return of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from South Africa in 1915, and his leadership of the Indian nationalist movement in 1919 Indian nationalism entered a mass phase.

Nationalism: Broadly, nationalism means loyalty and devotion to a nation. It is a consciousness or tendency to exalt and place one nation above all others, emphasising promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations.

Prior to Gandhi, prominent leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and others took the early initiative to educate the Indians about their national identity and colonial exploitation. In this chapter, while tracing the origin and growth of Indian Nationalism, we focus on the contribution of these leaders who are known as the early nationalists.

1.1 Socio-economic Background

(a) Implications of the New Land Tenures

The British destroyed the traditional basis of Indian land system. In the pre-British days, the land revenue was realised by sharing the actual crop with the cultivators. The British fixed the land revenue in cash

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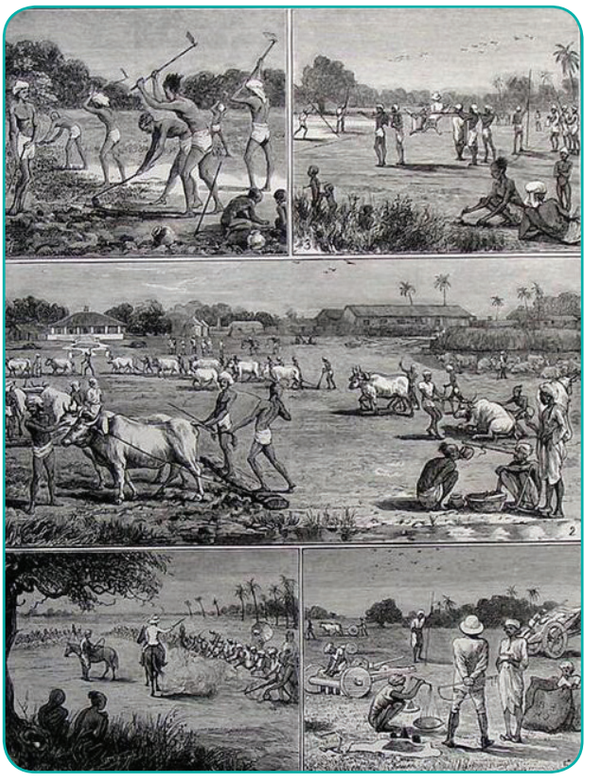
without any regard to various contingencies, such as failure of crops, fall in prices and droughts or floods. Moreover, the practice of sale in settlement of debt encouraged money lenders to advance money to landholders and resorting to every kind of trickery to rob them of their property.

There were also two other major implications of the new land settlements introduced by the East India Company. They institutionalised the commodification of land and commercialisation of agriculture in India. As mentioned earlier, there was no private property in land in pre-British era. Now, land became a commodity that could be transferred either by way of buying and selling or by way of the administration taking over land from holders, in lieu of default on payment of tax/rent. Land taken over in such cases was auctioned off to another bidder. This created a new class of absentee landlords who lived in the cities and extracted revenue from the lands without actually living on the lands. In the traditional agricultural set-up, the villagers produced largely for their consumption among themselves. After the new land settlements, agricultural produce was predominantly for the market.

The commodification of land and commercialisation of agriculture did not improve the lives and conditions of the peasants. Instead, this created discontent among the peasantry and made them restive. These peasants later on turned against the imperialists and their collaborators.

(b) Laissez Faire Policy and De-industrialization: Impact on Indian Artisans

The policy of the Company in the wake of Industrial Revolution in England resulted in the de-industrialization of India. This continued until the beginning of the World War I. The British Government pursued a policy of free trade or *laissez faire*. Raw materials like cotton, jute and silks from India were taken to Britain. The finished products made from those raw materials were then transported back to the Indian markets. Mass production with the help of technological advancement enabled them to flood the Indian market with their goods. It was available at a comparatively cheaper price than the Indian handloom cloth. Prior to the arrival of the British, India was known for its handloom products and handicrafts. It commanded a good world market. However, as a result of the colonial policy, gradually Indian handloom products and handicrafts lost there market, domestic as well as international. Import of English articles into India threw the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the shoemakers out of employment. India became a procurement area for the raw material and the farmers were forced to produce industrial crops like indigo and other cash crops like cotton for use in British factories. Due to this shift, subsistence agriculture, which was the mainstay for several hundred years, suffered leading to food scarcity.



Indigo cultivation

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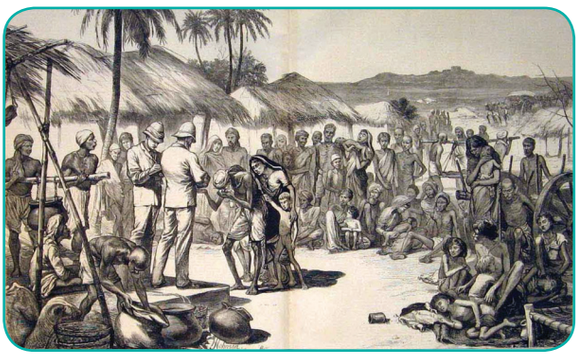
The Indigo revolt of 1859 – 60 in Bengal was one of the responses from the Indian farmer to the oppressive policy of the British. Indian tenants were forced to grow indigo by their planters who were mostly Europeans. Used to dye the clothes indigo was in high demand in Europe. Peasants were forced to accept meagre amounts as advance and enter into unfair contracts. Once a peasant accepted the contract, he had no option but to grow indigo on his land. The price paid by the planter was far lower than the market price. Many a times, the peasants could not even pay their land revenue dues. Hoping that the authorities would address their concerns, the peasants wrote several petitions to authorities and organised peaceful protests. As their plea for reform went in vain, they revolted by refusing to accept any further advances and enter into new contracts. Peasants, through the Indigo revolt of 1859-60, were able to force the planters to withdraw from northern-Bengal.

(c) Famines and Emigration of Indians to Overseas British Colonies

Famines

As India became increasingly de-industrialised and weavers and artisans engaged in handicrafts were thrown out of employment, there were recurrent famines due to the neglect of irrigation and oppressive taxation on land. Before the arrival of the British, Indian rulers had ameliorated the difficulties of the populace in times of famines by providing tax relief, regulating the grain prices and banning food exports from famine-hit areas. But the British extended their policy of non-intervention (laissez faire) even to famines. As a result, millions of people died of starvation during the Raj. It has been estimated that between 1770 and 1900, twenty five million Indians died in famines. William Digby, the editor of *Madras Times*, pointed out that during 1793-1900 alone an estimated five million people had died in all the wars around the world, whereas in just ten years (1891-1900), nineteen million had died in India in famines alone.

Sadly when people were dying of starvation millions of tonnes of wheat was exported to Britain. During the 1866 Orissa Famine, for instance, while a million and a half people starved to death, the British exported 200 million pounds of rice to Britain. The Orissa Famine prompted nationalist Dadabhai Naoroji to begin his lifelong investigations into Indian poverty. The failure of two successive monsoons caused a severe famine in the Madras Presidency during 1876-78. The viceroy Lytton adopted a hands-off approach similar to that followed in Orissa. An estimated 3.5 million people died in the Madras presidency.



Madras Famine

Indentured Labour

The introduction of plantation crops such as coffee, tea and sugar in Empire colonies such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya, the Caribbean islands, and South Africa required enormous labour. In 1815, the Governor of Madras received a communication from the Governor of Ceylon asking for "coolies" to work on the coffee plantations. The Madras Governor forwarded this letter to the collector of Thanjavur, who reported that the people were very much attached to the soil and unless some incentive was provided it was not easy to make them move out of their native soil. But the outbreak of two famines (1833 and 1843) forced the people, without any incentive from the government, to leave for Ceylon to work

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as coolies in coffee and tea plantations under the indentured labour system. The abolition of slavery in British India in 1843 also facilitated the processes of emigration to Empire colonies. In 1837 the number of immigrant Tamil labourers employed in Ceylon coffee estate was estimated at 10,000. The industry developed rapidly and so did the demand for Tamil labour. In 1846 its presence was estimated at 80,000 and in 1855 at 128,000 persons. In 1877, the famine year, there were nearly 380,000 Tamil labourers in Ceylon.



Indentured labour

Besides Ceylon, many Indians opted to emigrate as indentured labour to other British colonies such as Mauritius, Straits Settlements, Caribbean islands, Trinidad, Fiji and South Africa. In 1843 it was officially reported that 30,218 male and 4,307 females had entered Mauritius as indentured labourers. By the end of the century some 5,00,000 labourers had moved from India to Mauritius.

Indentured Labour: Under this penal contract system (indenture), labourers were hired for a period of five years and they could return to their homeland with passage paid at the end. Many impoverished peasants and weavers went hoping to earn some money. It turned out to be as worse than slave labour. The colonial state allowed agents (*kanganis*) to trick or kidnap indigent landless labourers. The labourers suffered terribly on the long sea voyages and many died on the way. The percentage of deaths of indentured labour during 1856-57, in a ship bound for Trinidad from Kolkata is as follows: 12.3% of all males, 18.5% of the females, 28% of the boys 36% of the girls and 55% of the infants perished.

1.2 Western Education and its Impact

(a) Education in Pre-British India

Education in pre-colonial India was characterised by segmentation along religious and caste lines. Among the Hindus, Brahmins had the exclusive privilege to acquire higher religious and philosophical knowledge. They monopolised the education system and occupied positions in the society, primarily as priests and teachers. They studied in special seminaries such as *Vidyalayas* and *Chatuspathis.* The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, which was considered as the sacred language. Technical knowledge – especially in relation to architecture, metallurgy, etc. – was passed hereditarily. This came in the way of innovation. Another shortcoming of this system was that it barred women, lower castes and other under-privileged people from accessing education. The emphasis on rote learning was another impediment to innovation.

(b) Contribution of Colonial State: Macaulay System of Education

The colonial government aided the spread of modern education in India for a different reason than educating and empowering the Indians. To administer a large colony like India, the British needed a large number of personnel to work for them. It was impossible for the British to import the educated lot, needed in such large numbers, from Britain. With this aim, the English Education Act was passed by the Council of India in 1835. T.B. Macaulay drafted this system of education introduced in India. Consequently, the colonial administration started schools, colleges and universities, imparting English and modern education, in India. Universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in 1857. The colonial government expected this section of educated Indians to be loyal to the British and act as the pillars of the British Raj.

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T.B. Macaulay

T. B. Macaulay was India's first law member of the Governor General in Council from 1834 to 1838. Before Macaulay arrived in India the General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823 with the responsibility to guide the East India Company on the matter of education and the medium of instruction. The Committee was split into two groups. The Orientalist group advocated education in vernacular languages. The Anglicists advocated Western education in English.

Macaulay was on the side of Anglicists and wrote his famous 'Minute on Indian Education' in 1835. In this Minute, he argued for Western education in the English language. His intention behind supporting the Anglicists was that he wanted to create a class of persons from within India who would 'be Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect'.

The British created an educated Indian middle class for their own ends but sneered at it as the Babu class. That very class, however, became the progressive intelligentsia of India and played a leading role in mobilising the people for the liberation of the country.



University of Madras

(c) Role of Educated Middle Class

The economic and administrative transformation on the one side and the growth of Western education on the other gave the space for the growth of new social classes. From within these social classes, a modern Indian intelligentsia emerged. The "neo-social classes" created by the British Raj, which included the Indian trading and business communities, landlords, money lenders, English-educated Indians employed in imperial subordinate services, lawyers and doctors, initially adopted a positive approach towards the colonial administration. However, soon they realised that their interests would be better served only in independent India. People of the said social classes began to play a prominent role in promoting patriotism amongst the people. The consciousness of these classes found articulation in a number of associations prior to the founding of the Indian National Congress at the national level.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Feroz Shah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjea and others who belonged to modern Indian intelligentsia led the social, religious and political movements in India. Educated Indians had exposure to ideas of nationalism, democracy, socialism, etc. articulated by John Locke, James Stuart Mill, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Marx and other western intellectuals. The right of a free press, the right of free speech and the right of association were the three inherent rights, which their European counterparts held dear to their heart, and the educated Indians too desired to cling to. Various forums came into existence, where people could meet and discuss the issues affecting their interests. This became possible now at the national level, due to the rapid expansion of transport network and establishment of postal, telegraph and wireless services all over India.

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(d) Contribution of Missionaries

One of the earliest initiatives to impart modern education among Indians was taken up by the Christian missionaries. Inspired by the proselytizing sprit, they attacked polytheism and caste inequalities that were prevalent among the Hindus. One of the methods adopted by the missionaries, to preach Christianity, was through modern secular education. They provided opportunities to acquire education to the underprivileged and the marginalised sections, who were denied learning opportunities in the traditional education system. However only a very small fraction converted to Christianity. But the challenge posed by Christianity led to various social and religious reform movements.



Mission School

1.3 Social and Religious Reforms

The English educated intelligentsia felt the need for reforming the society before involving the people in any political programmes. The reform movements of nineteenth century are categorised as 1. Reformist movements such as the Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Prarthana Samaj, founded by Dr Atmaram Pandurang and the Aligarh Movement, represented by Syed Ahmad Khan; 2. Revivalist movements such as the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Deoband Movement. 3. There were social movements led by Jyotiba Phule in Pune, Narayana Guru and Ayyankali in Kerala and Ramalinga Adigal, Vaikunda Swamigal and later Iyothee Thassar in Tamilnadu. All these reformers and their contributions have been dealt with comprehensively in the XI Std. text book.

The reformers of nineteenth century responded to the challenge posed by Western Enlightenment knowledge based on reason. Indian national consciousness emerged as a result of the rethinking triggered by these reforms. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Ram Mohan Roy in 1828. Other socio-cultural organisations like the Prarthana Samaj (1867), the Arya Samaj (1875) were founded subsequently. Roy's initiative was followed up by reformers like Keshav Chandra Sen and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Abolition of sati and child marriage and widow remarriage became the main concerns for these reformers. The Aligarh movement played a similar role among the Muslims. Slowly, organisations and associations of political nature came up in different parts of British India to vent the grievances of the people.

1.4 Other Decisive Factors for the Rise of Nationalism

(a) Memories of 1857

Indian national movement dates its birth from the 1857 uprising. The outrages committed by the British army after putting down the revolt remained "un-avenged". Even the court-martial law and formalities were not observed. Officers who sat on the court martial swore that they would hang their prisoners, guilty or innocent and, if any dared to raise his voice against such indiscriminate vengeance, he was silenced by his angry colleagues. Persons condemned to death after the mockery of a trial were often tortured by soldiers before their execution, while the officers looked on approvingly. It is worth recalling what Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay Presidency, wrote to Sir John Lawrence, future Viceroy of India (1864) about the British siege of Delhi during June-September, 1857: '...A wholesale vengeance is being taken without distinction of friend or foe. As regards the looting, we have indeed surpassed Nadirshah.'

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(b) Racial Discrimination

The English followed a policy of racial discrimination. The systematic exclusion of the Indians from higher official positions came to be looked upon as an anti-Indian policy measure and the resultant discontent of the Indian upper classes led the Indians to revolt against the British rule. When civil service examinations were introduced the age limit was fixed at twenty one. When Indians were making it, with a view to debarring the Indians from entering the civil services, the age limit was reduced to nineteen. Similarly, despite requests from Indian educated middle class to hold the civil service examinations simultaneously in India, the Imperial government refused to concede the request.

(c) Repressive as well as Exploitative Measures against Indians

Repressive regulations like Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (1870), punishing attempts to excite disaffection towards the Government, and the Vernacular Press Act (1878), censoring the press, evoked protest. Abolition of custom duty on cotton manufactures imported from England and levy of excise duty on cotton fabrics manufactured in India created nationwide discontent. During the viceroyalty of Ripon the Indian judges were empowered through the Ilbert Bill to try Europeans. But in the face of resistance from the Europeans the bill was amended to suit the European interests.

(d) Role of Press

The introduction of printing press in India was an event of great significance. It helped people to spread, modern ideas of self-government, democracy, civil rights and industrialisation. The press became the critic of politics. It addressed the people on several issues affecting the country. Raja Rammohan Roy's *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821) in Bengali and *Mirat-Ul-Akbar* (1822) in Persian played a progressive role in educating the people on issues of public importance. Later on a number of nationalist and vernacular news papers came to be launched to build public opinion and they did yeomen service in fostering nationalist consciousness. Among them *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, *The Bombay Chronicle, The Tribune, The Indian Mirror, The Hindu* and *Swadesamitran* were prominent.

(e) Invoking India's glorious Past

Orientalists like William Jones, Charles Wilkins and Max Muller explored and translated religious, historical and literary texts from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic into English and made them available to all. Influenced by the richness of Indian traditions and scholarship, many of the early nationalists made a fervent plea to revive the pristine glory of India. Aurobindo Ghose would write, 'The mission of Nationalism, in our view, is to recover Indian thought, Indian character, Indian perceptions, Indian energy, Indian greatness and to solve the problems that perplex the world in an Indian spirit and from the Indian standpoint.'

1.5 Birth of Indian Associations

(a) Madras Native Association



Gajula Lakshminarasu

One of the first attempts to organise and vent the grievances against the British came through the formation of the Madras Native Association (MNA) on 26 February 1852. An association of landed and business classes of the Madras Presidency, they expressed their grievances against the Company's administration in the revenue, education and judicial spheres. Gajula Lakshminarasu, who inspired the foundation of MNA, was a prominent businessman in Madras city.

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The Association presented its grievances before British Parliament when it was discussing the East India Company's rule in India before the passing of the Charter in 1853. In a petition submitted in December 1852, the MNA pointed out that the ryotwari and zamindari systems had thrown agricultural classes into deep distress. It urged the revival of the ancient village system to free the peasantry from the oppressive interference of the zamindars and the Company officials. The petition also made a complaint about the judicial system which was slow, complicated and imperfect. It pointed out that the appointment of judges without assessing their judicial knowledge and competence in the local languages affected the efficiency of the judiciary. The diversion of state funds to missionary schools, under the grants-in-aid system, was also objected to in the petition.

The MNA petition was discussed in the Parliament in March 1853. H. D. Seymour, Chairman of the Indian Reform Society, came to Madras in October 1853. He visited places like Guntur, Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Salem and Tirunelveli. However, as the Charter Act of 1853 allowed British East India Company to continue its rule in India, the MNA organised an agitation for the transfer of British territories in India to the direct control of the Crown. MNA sent its second petition to British Parliament, signed by fourteen thousand individuals, pleading the termination of Company rule in India.

The life of MNA was short. Lakshminarasu died in 1866 and by 1881, the association ceased to exist. Though the MNA did not achieve much in terms of reforms, it was the beginning of organised effort to articulate Indian opinion. In its lifetime, the MNA operated within the boundaries of Madras Presidency. The grievances that the MNA raised through its petitions and the agitations it launched were from the point of view of the elite, particularly the landed gentry of Madras Presidency. What was lacking was a national political organisation representing every section of the society, an organisation that would raise the grievances and agitate against the colonial power for their redress. The Indian National Congress filled this void.

(b) Madras Mahajana Sabha (MMS)

After the Madras Native Association became defunct there was no such public organisation in the Madras Presidency. As many educated Indians viewed this situation with dismay, the necessity for a political organisation was felt and in May 1884 the Madras Mahajana Sabha was organised. In the inaugural meeting held on 16 May 1884 the prominent participants were: G. Subramaniam, Viraraghavachari, Ananda Charlu, Rangiah, Balaji Rao and Salem Ramaswamy. With the launch of the Indian National Congress, after the completion of the second provincial conference of Madras Mahajana Sabha, the leaders after attending the first session of the Indian National Congress (INC) in Bombay amalgamated the MMS with the INC.

(c) Indian National Congress (INC)

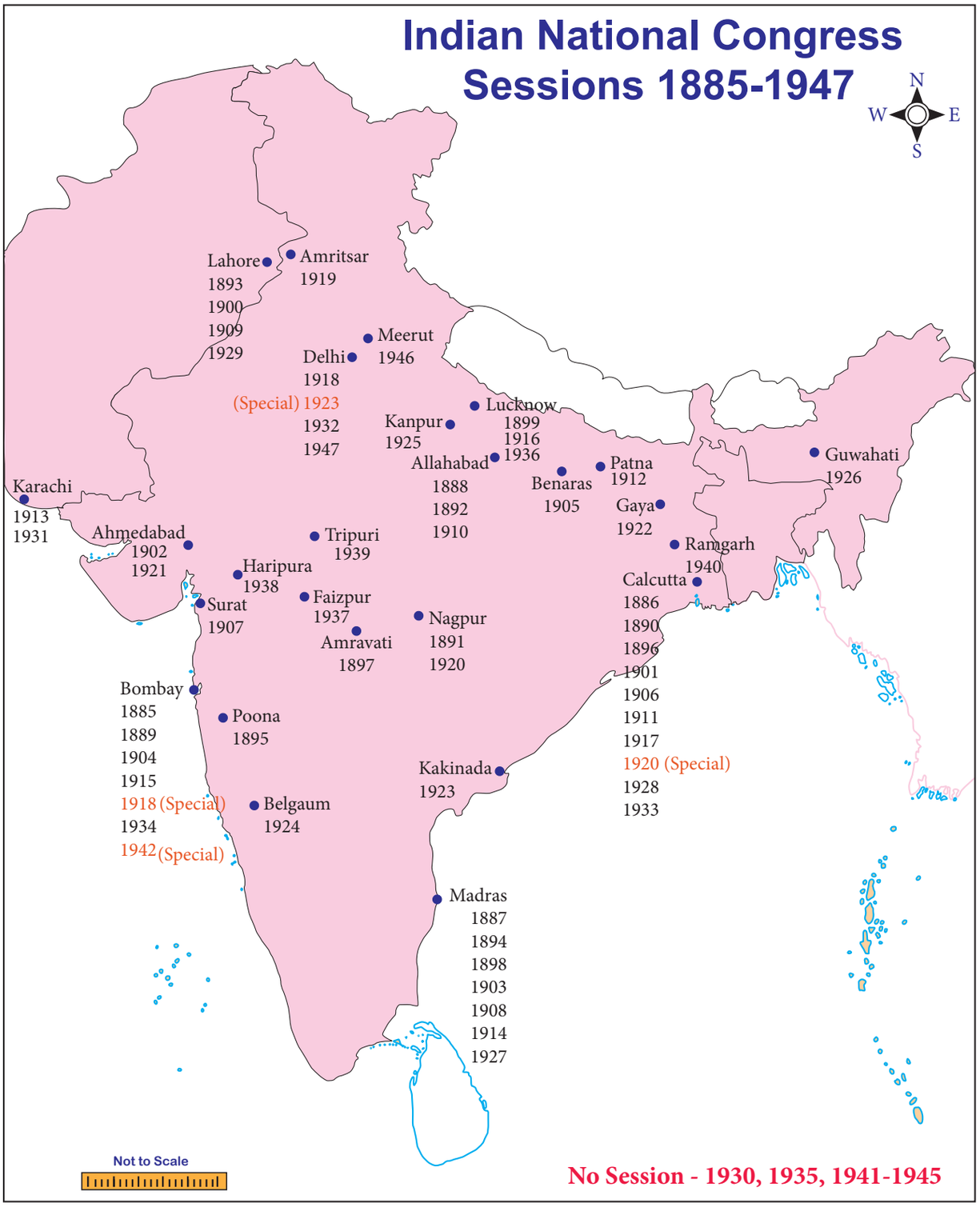


A.O. Hume

The idea of forming a political organisation that would raise issues and grievances against the colonial rule did not emerge in a vacuum. Between 1875 and 1885 there were many agitations against British policies in India. The Indian textile industry was campaigning for imposition of cotton import duties in 1875. In 1877, demands for the Indianisation of Government services were made vociferously. There were protests against the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. In 1883, there was an agitation in favour of the Ilbert Bill.

But these agitations and protests were sporadic and not coordinated. There was a strong realisation that these protests would not impact on the policy makers unless a national political organisation was formed. From this realisation was born the Indian National Congress. The concept of India as a nation was reflected in the name of the organisation. It also introduced the concept of nationalism.

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In December 1884, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired English ICS officer, presided over a meeting of the Theosophical Society in Madras. The formation of a political organisation that would work on an all India basis was discussed and the idea of forming the Indian National Congress emerged in this meeting. The Indian National Congress was formed on 28 December 1885 in Bombay. Apart from A.O Hume, another important founding member was W C. Bonnerjee, who was elected the first president.



W.C. Bonnerjee

Though the activities of the INC then revolved around petitions and memoranda, from the very beginning the founders of the INC worked to bring every section of the society into its ambit. One of the main missions of the INC was to weld the Indians into a nation. They were convinced that the struggle against the colonial rule will be successful only if Indians saw themselves as the members of a nation. To achieve this, the INC acted as a common political platform for all the movements that were being organised in different parts of the country. The INC provided the space where the political workers from different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities under its banner. Even though the organization was small with less than a hundred members, it had an all-India character with representation from all regions of India. It was the beginning of the mobilisation of people on an all-India basis.

The major objectives and demands of INC were

Constitutional

Opportunity for participation in the government was one of the major demands of the Indian National Congress. It demanded Indian representation in the government.

Economic

High land revenue was one of the major factors that contributed to the oppression of the peasants. It demanded reduction in the land revenue and protection of peasants against exploitation of the zamindars. The Congress also advocated the imposition of heavy tax on the imported goods for the benefit of swadeshi goods.

Administrative

Higher officials who had responsibility of administration in India were selected through civil services examinations conducted in Britain. This meant that educated Indians who could not afford to go to London had no opportunity to get high administrative jobs. Therefore, Indianisation of services through simultaneous Indian Civil Services Examinations in England and India was a major demand of the Congress.

Judicial

Because of the partial treatment against the Indian political activists by English judges it demanded the complete separation of the Executive and the Judiciary.

(d) Contributions of Early Nationalists (1885–1915)

The early nationalists in the INC came from the elite sections of the society. Lawyers, college and university teachers, doctors, journalists and such others represented the Congress. However, they came from different regions of the country and this made INC a truly a national political organisation. These leaders of the INC adopted the constitutional methods of presenting petitions, prayers and memorandums and thereby earned the moniker of "Moderates". It was also the time some sort of an understanding about colonialism was evolving in India. There was no ready-made anti-colonial understanding available for reference in the late nineteenth century when the INC was formed. It was the early nationalists who helped the formulation of the idea of *we* as a nation. They were developing the indigenous anti-colonial ideology and a strategy on their

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own which helped future mass leaders like M. K Gandhi.

From the late 1890s there were growing differences within the INC. Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were advocating radical approaches instead of merely writing petitions, prayers and memorandums. These advocates of radical methods came to be called the "extremists" as against those who were identified as moderates. Their objective became clear in 1897 when Tilak raised the clarion call "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it". Tilak and his militant followers were now requesting Swaraj instead of economic or administrative reforms that the moderates were requesting through their petitions and prayers.

Though they criticised each other, it would be wrong to place them in the opposing poles. Both moderates and militants, with their own methods, were significant elements of the larger Indian nationalist movement. In fact, they contributed towards the making of the swadeshi movement. The partition of Bengal in 1905, by the colonial government, which you will be studying in the next lesson, was vehemently opposed by the Indians. The swadeshi movement of 1905, directly opposed the British rule and encouraged the ideas of swadeshi enterprise, national education, self-help and use of Indian languages. The method of mass mobilisation and boycott of British goods and institutions suggested by the radicals was also accepted by the Moderates.

Both the Moderates and the Radicals were of the same view when it came to accepting the fact that they needed to fulfil the role of educators. They tried to instil nationalist consciousness through various means including the press. When the INC was founded in 1885, one-third of the members were journalists. Most stalwarts of the early freedom movement were involved in journalism. Dadabhai Naoroji founded and edited two journals called *Voice of India* and *RastGoftar*. Surendranath Banerjea edited the newspaper called *Bengalee*. Bal Gangadhar Tilak edited *Kesari* and *Mahratta*. This is the means that they used to educate the common people about the colonial oppression and spread nationalist ideas. News regarding the initiatives taken by the INC were taken to the masses through these newspapers. For the first time, in the history of India, the press was used to generate public opinion against the oppressive policies and acts of the colonial government.


Surendranath Banerjea

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a firm believer that the lower middle classes, peasants, artisans and workers could play a very important role in the national movement, He used his newspapers to articulate the discontent among this section of the people against the oppressive colonial rule. He called for national resistance against imperial British rule in India. On 27 July 1897, Tilak was arrested and charged under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. Civil liberty, particularly in the form of freedom of expression and press became the significant part of Indian freedom struggle.

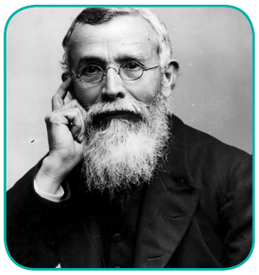

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

1.6 Naoroji and his Drain Theory

Dadabhai Naoroji, known as the 'Grand Old Man of Indian Nationalism', was a prominent early nationalist. He was elected to the Bombay Municipal Corporation and Town Council during the 1870s. Elected to the British Parliament in 1892, he founded the India Society (1865) and the East India Association (1866) in London. He was elected thrice as the President of the INC.

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His major contribution to the Indian nationalist movement was his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule of the British in India* (1901). In this book, he put forward the concept of 'drain of wealth'. He stated that in any country the tax raised would have been spent for the wellbeing of the people of that country. But in British India, taxes collected in India were spent for the welfare of England. Naoroji argued that India had exported an average of 13 million pounds worth of goods to Britain each year from 1835 to 1872 with no corresponding return. The goods were in lieu of payments for profits to Company shareholders living in Britain, guaranteed interest to investors in railways, pensions to retired officials and generals, interest for the money borrowed from England to meet war expenses for the British conquest of territories in India as well as outside India. All these, going in the name of Home Charges, Naoroji asserted, made up a loss of 30 million pounds a year.



Dadabhai Naoroji

Summary

- The land and revenue reforms implemented by the East India Company since late eighteenth century had its impact on the agrarian conditions in India.
- The growth of heavy machine industries in Britain allowed East India Company to export raw materials from India to Britain and take back the finished products – a process that led to the decline of Indian handicrafts, making the artisans go jobless.
- Landless labourers and jobless artisans emigrating to Empire colonies to escape starvation deaths.
- The unintended result of Western education introduced by the British was the emergence of a new class of educated Indians who strove for the reforms of Indian society.
- Factors like the bitter memories of 1857, policy of racial discrimination, repressive measures against dissension contributed to the growth of nationalism.
- Modern intelligentsia formed political organisation like Madras Native Association (1852), Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884) and Indian National Congress (1885) to voice their opinions and grievances.
- An important role of these leaders was to educate the common mass about the exploitative colonial rule and its impact on their day to day life. Drain of wealth theory enunciated by Dadabhai Naoroji exposed the British loot of the resources of India.

EXERCISE

LO2GA

I. Choose the correct answer

1. When did Gandhi return to India from South Africa?
   (a) 1915 (b) 1916 (c) 1917 (d) 1918
2. In which year English Education was introduced in India?
   (a) 1825 (b) 1835 (c) 1845 (d) 1855
3. Find the odd one.
   (a) William Jones (b) Charles Wilkins
   (c) Max Muller (d) Aurobindo Ghose
4. 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it' was said by
   (a) Bala Gangadhar Tilak
   (b) Dadabhai Naoroji
   (c) Subhash Chandra Bose
   (d) Bharathi

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5. Match and choose the correct answer from the code given below.

(A) Bala Gangadhar Tilak - 1. *Voice of India*

(B) Dadabhai Naoroji - 2. *Madras Time*

(C) Macaulay - 3. *Kesari*

(D) William Digby - 4. *Minute on Indian Education*

Code

(a) 2, 4, 1, 3 (b) 3, 1, 4, 2

(c) 1, 3, 2, 4 (d) 4, 2, 3, 1

6. Which one of the following is correctly matched?

(a) English Education Act - 1843

(b) The abolition of slavery - 1859

(c) Madras Native Association - 1852

(d) Indigo revolt - 1835

7. Which is the correct chronological sequence of the following associations?

(i) East India Association

(ii) Madras Mahajana Sabha

(iii) Madras Native Association

(iv) India Society

Select the answer from the codes given below:

(a) ii, i, iii, iv (b) ii, iii, i, iv

(c) iii, iv, i, ii (d) iii, iv, ii, i

8. The Indian National Congress was founded by _____

(a) Subhash Chandra Bose

(b) Gandhi

(c) A.O. Hume

(d) B.G. Tilak

9. The first President of the Indian National Congress was

(a) Surendranath Bannerjea

(b) Badruddin Tyabji

(c) A.O. Hume

(d) W.C. Bonnerjee

10. Who was called the 'Grand Old Man of India?

(a) Bala Gangadhar Tilak

(b) M.K. Gandhi

(c) Dadabhai Naoroji

(d) Subhash Chandra Bose

11. Who wrote the book - *'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'* ?

(a) Bala Gangadhar Tilak

(b) Gopala Krishna Gokhale

(c) Dadabhai Naoroji

(d) M.G. Ranade

12. **Assertion (A):** The British Government pursued a policy of free trade (or) laissez fair.

Reason(R): India had comparative advantage from England's free trade policy.

(a) A is correct but R does not explain A.

(b) A is correct and R explains A.

(c) A is correct and R is incorrect.

(d) Both A and R are wrong.

13. Which of the following statements are correct on Orissa famine?

Statement I: In 1866 a million and a half people of Orissa died of starvation.

Statement II: During that time the British exported 200 million pounds of rice to Britain.

Statement III: The Orissa famine prompted Dadabai Naoroji to begin a life long investigation of poverty in India.

(a) I & II

(b) I & III

(c) None of the above

(d) All of the above

II. Write brief answers

1. What is nationalism ?
2. Describe the implications of the new land tenures?
3. Write a note on Indigo revolt?
4. Discuss the importance of Ilbert Bill.

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5. Highlight the contribution of missionaries to modern education.
6. What were the grievances represented by the Madras Native Association in their petition to the British Parliament?
7. Make a list of the important political associations formed in India prior to the Indian National Congress.
8. Identify the prominent early Indian nationalists.

III. Write short answers

1. Analyse Macaulay's 'Minute on Indian Education'.
2. What do you know of the Madras visit of the chairman of Indian Reform Society in 1853?
3. Point out the role played by press in creating nationalist consciousness in British India
4. Describe the way in which indentured labour was organized in British India?
5. Name the prominent participants in the inaugural meeting of Madras Mahajana Sabha held in May 1884?
6. Attempt a brief account of early emigration of labourers to Ceylon.
7. What were the items which constituted Home Charges?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1 . Discuss the impact of Western education on Indian Middle Class, highlighting the latter's role in reforming and regenerating Indian Society.
2. Examine the Socio-economic causes for the rise of nationalism British in India.
3. To what extent the repressive and racist policy measures of the British were responsible for the national awakening in India.
4. Explain the objectives of the Indian National Congress and contributions of the early nationalists to the cause of India's liberation from the colonial rule.

V. Activity

1. A debate on what would have happened if western system of education had not been introduced by the British in India.
2. Compiling a volume containing biographical account of the early nationalists from Tamil Nadu with images and pictures.

VI. Map Work

Mark the following on the outline map of India.
Venues of Congress Sessions.

1. Bombay	2. Calcutta	3. Madras
4. Ahmedabad	5. Lucknow	6. Kanpur
7. Surat	8. Lahore	9. Poona
10. Allahabad		

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GLOSSARY

Laissez faire	Non-interference of the government in the economic affairs of individuals and society /Free Trade	தடையில்லா வணிகக் கொள்கை
ameliorate	to make better	சீராக்கு, மேன்மையாக்கு
indentured labour	a debt bondage worker on a contract	ஒப்பந்தத் தொழிலாளர்
Orientalist	someone from the west studying the language, culture and history of countries in eastren Asia	கீழ்த்திசை நாடுகளின் மொழி, பண்பாடு, வரலாறு கற்றவர்
Anglicists	an authority on or student of English languages and literature	ஆங்கில மொழி இலக்கியம் கற்றவர்
proselytizing	attempting to convert someone from one religion, belief, or opinion to another	மதம் மாற்றும் முயற்சி
polytheism	the belief in or worship of more than one god	பல தெய்வ நம்பிக்கை
vernacular	language commonly spoken by the people of a particular a region or a particular group	சுதேச மொழி

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UNIT 2

Rise of Extremism and Swadeshi Movement

Learning Objectives

- To understand the nature and significance of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal
- To know the repressive measures of the government of British India
- To trace the events leading up to the Surat Split (in the Indian National Congress) in 1907
- To familiarise ourselves with revolutionary extremism in Bengal
- To acquaint ourselves with the Swadeshi Struggles in Tamil Nadu
- To examine the role played by V.O. Chidambaram, V.V. Subramaniam, Subramania Siva and Subramania Bharati

Introduction

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was conspicuous resentment against moderate politics within the Indian National Congress. This feeling of resentment eventually evolved into a new trend, referred to as the 'Extremist' trend. The extremist or what we may call radical or militant group was critical of the moderates for their cautious approach and the "mendicant policy" of appealing to the British by way of prayers and petitions. This form of militancy developed under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra, Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab. The primary reasons for the rise of this trend were: factionalism in the Congress, frustration with the moderate politics, anger against Lord Curzon for dividing Bengal.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 – a prime example of the British divide and rule policy – acted as the catalyst for the growth of anti-colonial swadeshi nationalism. The partition plan was first opposed by moderates but as the movement progressed, different techniques were improvised for the Swadeshi campaign. Swadeshi constructive programme included boycott of foreign goods and government-administered educational institutions. The Swadeshi movement (1905–1911) is the most important phase of the Indian National Movement in the pre-Gandhian era, as, during the course of the movement, the character of the Indian national movement changed significantly in terms of the stated objectives, methods and in its social base.



Swadeshi Movement

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The mass base of the movement was expanded by exposing the problems of various social groups under the British governance and the underlying commonality in their lives - that is colonial exploitation. For the first time, in the history of Indian national movement, women, workers, peasants, and marginalised groups were exposed to modern nationalist ideas and politics. It was a period when the elite made a conscious effort to address the common people, calling upon them to join politics. The other prominent development during the Swadeshi period was the growth of the vernacular press (newspapers published in Indian languages) in various parts of India. The nationalistic tone of the vernacular press became more pronounced during this time. The role played by *Swadesamitran* in Tamil Nadu, *Kesari* in Maharashtra, *Yugantar* in Bengal are a few examples.

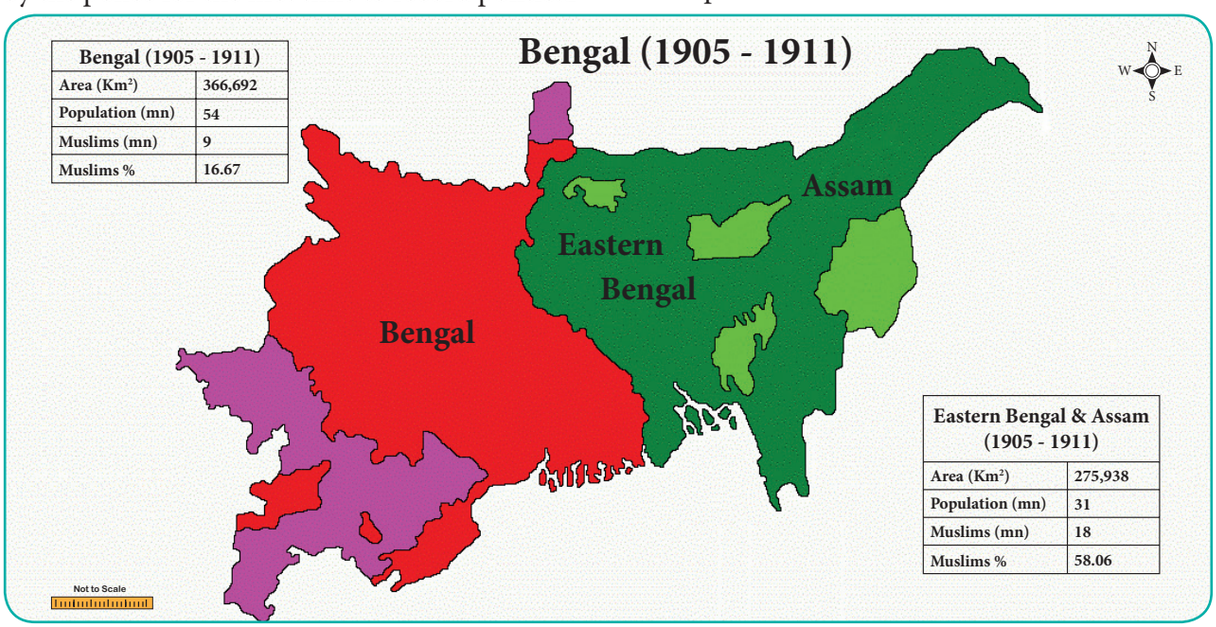
As the movement gained support among the people, the government passed a series of repressive Acts such as the Public Meetings Act (1907), the Explosive Substance Act (1908), the Newspaper (Incitement and Offence Act 1908) and the Indian Press Act (1910) to crush the nationalistic activities of any nature. One such measure was recording and monitoring of public meetings which were considered a matter of judicial scrutiny. (Shorthand was used by the police for the first time to record political speeches.) In this lesson, while discussing the Bengal as well as national scenarios, the Swadeshi Campaigns conducted in Tamil nadu with particular focus on the role played by V.O. Chidambaram, V.V. Subramaniam, Subramania Siva and Subramania Bharati.

2.1 Partition of Bengal



Lord Curzon

On January 6, 1899, Lord Curzon was appointed the new Governor General and Viceroy of India. This was a time when British unpopularity was increasing due to the impact of recurring famine and the plague. Curzon did little to change the opinion of the educated Indian class. Instead of engaging with the nationalist intelligentsia, he implemented a series of repressive measures. For instance, he reduced the number of elected Indian representatives in the Calcutta Corporation (1899). The University Act of 1904 brought the Calcutta University under the direct control of the government. The Official Secrets Act (1904) was amended to curb the nationalist tone of Indian newspapers. Finally, he ordered partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition led to widespread protest all across India, starting a new phase of the Indian national movement.



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Bengal Presidency as an administrative unit was indeed of unmanageable in size; the necessity of partition was being discussed since the 1860s. The scheme of partition was revived in March 1890. In Assam, when Curzon went on a tour, he was requested by the European planters to make a maritime outlet closer to Calcutta to reduce their dependence on the Assam–Bengal railways. Following this, in December 1903, Curzon drew up a scheme in his Minutes on Territorial Redistribution of India, which was later modified and published as the Risely Papers. The report gave two reasons in support of partition: Relief of Bengal and the improvement of Assam. The report, however, concealed information on how the plan was originally devised for the convenience of British officials and the European businessmen.

From December 1903 and 1905 this initial idea of transferring or reshuffling some areas from Bengal was changed to a full-fledged plan of partition. The Bengal was to be divided into two provinces. The new Eastern Bengal and Assam were to include the divisions of Chittagong, Dhaka, parts of Rajshahi hills of Tippera, Assam province and Malda.

Aimed at Hindu Muslim Divide

The intention of Curzon was to suppress the political activities against the British rule in Bengal and to create a Hindu–Muslim divide. The government intentionally ignored alternative proposals presented by the civil servants, particularly the idea of dividing Bengal on linguistic basis. Curzon rejected this proposal as this would further consolidate the position of the Bengali politicians. Curzon was adamant as he wanted to create a clearly segregated Hindu and Muslim population in the divided Bengal. Curzon, like many before him, knew very well that there was a clear geographical divide along the river Bhagirathi: eastern Bengal dominated by the Muslims, and western Bengal dominated by the Hindus and in the central Bengal and the two communities balancing out each other. There was a conscious attempt on the part of British administration to woo the Muslim population in Bengal. In his speech at Dhaka, in Februry 1904, Curzon assured the Muslims that in the new province of East Bengal, Muslims would enjoy a unity, which they had never enjoyed since the days of old Muslim rule.

The partition, instead of dividing the Bengali people along the religious line, united them. Perhaps the British administration had underestimated the growing feeling of Bengali identity among the people, which cut across caste, class, religion and regional barriers.By the end of the nineteenth century, a strong sense of Bengali unity had developed among large sections in the society. Bengali language had acquired literary status with Rabindranath Tagore as the central figure. The growth of regional language newspapers played a role in building the narrative of solidarity. Similarly, recurring famines, unemployment, and a slump in the economic growth generated an anti-colonial feeling.

2.2 Anti-Partition Movement

Both the militants and the moderates were critical of the partition of Bengal ever since it was announced in December 1903. But the anti-partition response by leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, K.K. Mitra, and Prithwishchandra Ray remained restricted to prayers and petitions. The objective was limited to influencing public opinion in England against the partition. However, despite this widespread resentment, partition of Bengal was officially declared on 19 July 1905.



Bipin Chandra Pal



Aswini Kumar Dutta

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With the failure to stop the partition of Bengal and the pressure exerted by the radical leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aswini Kumar Dutta, and Aurobindo Ghose, the moderate leaders were forced to rethink their strategy, and look for new techniques of protest. Boycott of British goods was one such method, which after much debate was accepted by the moderate leadership of the Indian National Congress. So, for the first time, the moderates went beyond their conventional political methods. It was decided, at a meeting in Calcutta on 17 July 1905, to extend the protest to the masses. In the same meeting, Surendranath Banerjee gave a call for the boycott of British goods and institutions. On 7 August, at another meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall, a formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made.

However, the agenda of Swadeshi movement was still restricted to securing an annulment of the partition and the moderates were very much against utilizing the campaign to start a full-scale passive resistance. The militant nationalists, on the other hand, were in favour of extending the movement to other provinces too and to launch a full-fledged mass struggle.



Aurobindo Ghose

Spread of the Movement

Besides the organized efforts of the leaders, there were spontaneous reactions against the partition of Bengal. Students, in particular, came out in large numbers. Reacting to the increased role of the students in the anti-partition agitation, British officials threatened to withdraw the scholarships and grants to those who participated in programmes of direct action. In response to this, a call was given to boycott official educational institutions and it was decided that efforts were to be made to open national schools. Thousands of public meetings were organized in towns and villages across Bengal. Religious festivals such as the Durga Pujas were utilized to invoke the idea of boycott. The day Bengal was officially partitioned – 16 Oct 1905 – was declared as a day of mourning. Thousands of people took bath in the Ganga and marched on the streets of Calcutta singing Bande Mataram.

2.3 Boycott and Swadeshi Movements in Bengal (1905–1911)



G. Subramaniam

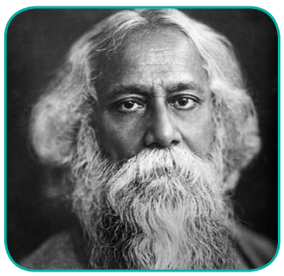
Such efforts, both organized and spontaneous, laid the foundation for a sustained campaign against the British. The boycott and swadeshi were always interlinked to each other and part of a wider plan to make India self-sufficient. G. Subramaniam, a nationalist leader from Madras, succinctly explained the aim of the swadeshi movement as 'a revolt against their state of dependence…in all branches of their national life'. In the words of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, 'the swadeshi movement is not only for the improvement of our industry but for an allround enhancement of our national life ....' As the movement progressed, different definitions of Swadeshi appeared. However, for the larger part, the movement of Swadeshi and Boycott was practiced as an anti-colonial political agitation and not as a viable method to achieve dignity and freedom in life, a definition which would be later infused with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi.

(a) Constructive Swadeshi

The constructive Swadeshi programmes largely stressed upon self-help. It focused on building alternative institutions of self-governance that would operate entirely free

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from British control. It also laid emphasis on the need for self-strengthening of the people which would help in creating a worthy citizen before the launch of political agitations.


Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore was one of the central figures who popularised such ideas through his writings. He outlined the constructive programme of atmashakti (self-help). Tagore called for economic self- development and insisted that education should be provided in swadeshi languages. He also made the call for utilising melas, or fairs, to spread the message of atmashakti. This became the creed of the whole of Bengal and swadeshi shops sprang all over the place selling textiles, handlooms, soaps, earthenware, matches and leather goods.

Evolution of the idea of Swadeshi

During the freedom struggle, the idea of Swadeshi movement was conceptualized first during 1905 by a string of Congress leaders and then later in the 1920s under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Swadeshi means 'of one's own country'. The origin of the idea can be traced to 1872 when Mahadev Govind Ranade, in a series of lectures in Poona, popularised the idea of Swadeshi. According to Ranade, the goods produced in one's own country should be given preference even if the use of such goods proved to be less satisfactory.

In the 1920s Gandhi gave a new meaning to the idea of Swadeshi by linking it to the fulfilment of a duty that all Indians owed to the land of their birth. For Gandhi, Swadeshi did not merely mean the use of what is produced in one's own country. Gandhi defined Swadeshi in following words "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of more remote. I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they may be found wanting."



The idea of education in vernacular language made its appearance much before the swadeshi movement with the foundation of Dawn Society by Satish Chandra Mukherjee in 1902.

On 5 November 1905, at the initiative of the Dawn Society, the National Council of Education was formed. In August 1906, Bengal National College and a School were founded. A passionate appeal was made by Satish Chandra to the students to come out of 'institutions of slavery.' Such efforts, however, failed to attract many due to the bleak job prospects.

(b) Samitis

The other successful method of mass mobilization was the formation of samitis (corps of volunteers). The samitis were engaged in a range of activities such as physical and moral training of members, philanthropic work during the famines, epidemics, propagation of Swadeshi message during festivals, and organization of indigenous arbitration courts, and schools. By its very nature boycott was passive action and its aim was to refuse to cooperate with the British administration.

But these mass mobilization efforts failed to flourish as they could not extend their base among the Muslim peasantry and the "Depressed Classes". Most of the samitis recruited from the educated middle class and other upper caste Hindus. Besides this, the swadeshi campaigners often applied coercive methods, both social and physical. For instance, social boycott of those purchasing foreign goods was common and taken up through caste associations and other nationalist organisations.

(c) Passive Resistance

From 1906, when the abrogation of partition was no longer in sight, the Swadeshi Movement took a different turn. For many leaders, the movement was to be utilized for propagating the idea of the political independence or Swaraj across India. The constructive programmes came

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under heavy criticism from Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal, and other militant leaders. Under their new direction, the swadeshi agenda included boycott of foreign goods; boycott of government schools and colleges; boycott of courts; renouncing the titles and relinquishing government services; and recourse to armed struggle if British repression went beyond the limits of endurance. The programme of this nature required mass mobilization. Using religion, combined with the invocation of a glorious past, became the essential features of their programmes.

2.4 Militant Nationalism

As pointed out earlier, thanks to the campaigns conducted by Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, often referred to as the Lal–Bal–Pal triumvirate, Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab, emerged as the epicentres of militant nationalism during the Swadeshi phase. Aurobindo Ghose was another influential figure in the militant leadership. The nationalism of this form was more assertive compared to the early Indian nationalism.



Triumvirate : Lal–Bal–Pal

Both the groups, moderate and militant, were well aware of the evils or the wrong doings of the British rule. The moderates, however, worked under the belief that the British rule in India could be reformed by convincing the rulers through representation and petitioning. The militant nationalist, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the colonial rulers would never be amenable to reason, as they would not like to give up the advantages of an empire.

Militant nationalism also changed the nature of political pressure from the earlier force of public opinion of educated Indians to the protesting masses. Despite these changes, the militant nationalism phase retained a continuity from the moderate phase. This continuity was evident in the inability to transcend the peaceful method of struggle and for the most parts militant nationalism remained tied to the idea of non-violence. However, they appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the people using the religious symbols.

Swaraj or Political Independence

One of the common goals of the militant leaders was to achieve Swaraj or Self Rule. However, the leaders differed on the meaning of Swaraj. For Tilak, Swaraj was restricted to the Indian control over the administration or rule by the natives, but not total severance of relation with Britain. In Bipin Chandra Pal's view, Swaraj was the attainment of complete freedom from any foreign rule.

The other point of departure of the militants from the moderates was over the rising extremism in Bengal, Punjab, and Maharashtra. Unlike the moderates, who were critical of the reckless revolutionaries, militant nationalists were sympathetic towards them. However, the political murders and individual acts of terrorism were not approved of by the militant leaders and they were cautious of associating themselves with the cause of revolutionaries.

The patriotism glued with the assertion of Hindu beliefs was not acceptable to the Muslims. Also much like their predecessors the leaders of the swadeshi movement failed to penetrate the larger section of the society. By 1908 militant nationalism was on the decline. The Surat split of 1907 was another contributing factor to this decline.

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Surat Split



Congress Split at Surat

The tension between the militants and the moderates became more pronounced with the appointment of Lord Minto as the new Viceroy to India in 1906. As the tension was rising between the two groups, a split was avoided, in the 1906 Calcutta session, by accepting demands of moderate leaders and electing Dadabhai Naoroji as president. Most of the moderates, led by Pherozeshah Mehta, were defeated in the election. The militants managed to pass four resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, and Self-Government.



Pherozeshah Mehta

The next session of Congress was originally planned to be held in Poona, considered to be a stronghold of the militants. Fearing a repeat of the Calcutta session, the moderates shifted the venue to Surat. The militants proposed Lala Lajpat Rai's name for the next Congress presidency opposing the moderate's candidate Rash Behari Ghosh. Lala Lajpat Rai, however, turned down the offer to avoid the split. The matter finally boiled down to the question of retaining the four resolutions that were passed in the Calcutta session in 1906. The Pherozeshah Mehta group sought removal of those items from the agenda. In order to counter Mehta's manoeuvering, the militants decided to oppose the election of Rash Behari Gosh as president. The session ended in chaos.

The Indian National Congress, born in December 1885, was now split into two groups – militant and moderate. The Congress which emerged after the Surat split was more loyal to the British than they were before. The new Congress, minus the militants, came to be known as Mehta Congress and the 1908 session of the Congress was attended only by the moderates who reiterated their loyalty to the Raj. The politics of militants, on the other hand, could not crystallize into a new political organization. The primary reason was the repressive measures of the government by putting all the prominent leaders in jail.

2.5 Revolutionary Extremism



Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

Around 1908, the decline of the militant nationalists and the rise of revolutionary activities marked an important shift from non-violent methods to violent action. It also meant a shift from mass-based action to elite response to the British rule. In Bengal, revolutionary terrorism had developed even earlier; around the 1870s, when the akharas or gymnasiums were setup in various places to develop what Swami Vivekananda had described as strong muscles and nerves of steel. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel, *Anandmath* also had a significant impact. *Anandmath* was widely read by the revolutionaries in Bengal. The Bande Mataram song, which is part of the novel, became the anthem of the swadeshi movement.

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During the Swadeshi movement three factors contributed to the upsurge in the individual acts of violence:

- The apolitical constructive programmes had little acceptance among the youth who was growing impatient under the repressive foreign rule.
- The failure of the militant nationalists to lead the young people into a long-term mass movement also contributed to the growth of individual action.
- The revolutionary action was part of an effort towards the symbolic recovery of Indian manhood, which the revolutionaries believed was often challenged and looked down upon by the British.

Such actions, however, did not lead to any organised revolutionary movement as was the case in Russia. The revolutionary actions were mostly attempts to assassinate specific oppressive British officers.

(a) Alipore Bomb Case

In Bengal, the story of revolutionary terrorism begins in 1902 with the formation of many secret societies. Most notable among them all was the Anushilan Samity of Calcutta, founded by Jatindernath Banerjee and Barindarkumar Ghose, brother of Aurobindo Ghose. Similarly, the Dhaka Anushilan Samity was born in 1906 through the initiative of Pulin Behari Das. This was followed by the launch of the revolutionary weekly *Yugantar*. The Calcutta Anushilan Samity soon started its activities and the first swadeshi dacoity, to raise funds, was organised in Rangpur in August 1906.

In the same year, Hemchandra Kanungo went abroad to get military training in Paris. After his return to India in 1908, he established a bomb factory along with a religious school at a garden house in Maniktala. In the same garden house, young inmates underwent various forms of physical training, reading classic Hindu text, and reading literature on revolutionary movement across the world.



Khudiram Bose



Prafulla Chaki

A conspiracy was hatched there to kill Douglas Kingsford, notorious for his cruel ways of dealing with the swadeshi agitators. Two young revolutionaries - 18-year-old Khudiram Bose and 19-year-old Prafulla Chaki – were entrusted with the task of carrying out the killing. On 30 April 1908, they mistakenly threw a bomb on a carriage, that, instead of killing Kingsford, killed two English women. Prafulla Chaki committed suicide and Khudiram Bose was arrested and hanged for the murder.

Aurobindo Ghose, along with his brother Barinder Kumar Ghose and thirty-five other comrades, were arrested. Chittaranjan Das took up the case. It came to be known as the Alipore Bomb case.

The judgement observed that there was no evidence to show that Aurobindo Ghose was involved in any conspiracy against the British rule. Ghose was acquitted of all the charges. Barindra Ghose and Ullaskar Dutt were given the death penalty (later commuted to the transportation of life), with the rest being condemned to transportation for life. The year-long hearing of Alipore Bomb case made a great impact and portrayed the nationalist revolutionaries as heroes to the general public.

Trial and the Aftermath

After his acquittal, Aurobindo Ghose took to a spiritual path and shifted his base to Pondicherry, where he stayed until his death in 1950. The idea of bringing an armed revolution, envisaged by Aurobindo Ghose, never materialized. The reason for the gradual decline in the revolutionary activities in Bengal was a combination of government repression and alienation from the people.

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Beside this, revolutionary terrorism suffered from certain social limitations too as most of the revolutionaries were drawn from the three upper castes – Brahmin, Kayastha, and Vaishya.

(b) British Repression

In December 1908 the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms were announced. The moderates welcomed the reforms. However, they soon realised that there was hardly any shift of power. In fact, measures taken by Minto were highly divisive as it institutionalised communal electorates creating Hindu-Muslim divide. Beside this, the colonial government also introduced certain repressive laws such as:

- The Newspapers (Incitement to Offence) Act, 1908. This act empowered the magistrate to confiscate press property which published objectionable material making it difficult to publish anything critical of British rule.
- Indian Press Act 1910 made it mandatory for publishers and the printers to deposit a security that could be seized in case they printed 'obnoxious material'.
- The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act allowed summary trails and also imposed the prohibition of 'association dangerous to the public peace'.

Even with the widespread repression, the charm of revolutionary action never disappeared from the Indian national movement. The centre of activities moved from Bengal to Uttar Pradesh and Punjab.

2.6 Swadeshi Campaign in Tamil Nadu

Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu, notably in Tirunelveli district, generated a lot of attention and support. While the Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu had an all India flavour, with collective anger against the British rule remaining the common thread, it was also underpinned by Tamil - pride and consciousness. There was a deep divide in the Tamilnadu congress between the moderates and the extremists.

(a) Development of Vernacular Oratory

Initially, the movement was more of a reaction to the partition of Bengal and regular meetings were held to protest the partition. The speakers, in such meetings, spoke mostly in the vernacular language to an audience that included students, lawyers, and labourers at that time. The shift from English oratory to vernacular oratory was a significant development of this time, which had a huge impact on the mass politics in Tamil Nadu.

Swadeshi meetings at the Marina beach in Madras were a regular sight. The Moore Market complex in Madras was another venue utilised for such gatherings. During the period (1905-1907) there are police reports calling students dangerous and their activities as seditious. Europeans in public places were greeted by the students with shouts of Vande Mataram. In 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal came to Madras and his speeches on the Madras Beach electrified the audience and won new converts to the nationalist cause. The visit had a profound impact all over Tamil Nadu. The public speeches in the Tamil language created an audience which was absent during the formative years of the political activities in Tamil Nadu.

(b) V.O.C. and Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNC)



V.O. Chidambaram

The Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu came to national attention in 1906 when V.O. Chidambaram mooted the idea of launching a swadeshi shipping venture in opposition to the monopoly of the British in navigation through the coast.

In 1906, V.O.C. registered a joint stock company called The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNC) with a capital of Rs 10 Lakh, divided into 40,000 shares of Rs. 25 each.

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Shares were open only to Indians, Ceylonese and other Asian nationals. V.O.C. purchased two steamships, S.S. Gallia and S.S. Lawoe. When in the other parts of India, the response to Swadeshi was limited to symbolic gestures of making candles and bangles, the idea of forging a Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was really spectacular. V.O.C invoked the rich history of the region and the maritime glory of India's past and used it as a reference point to galvanize the public opinion in favour of a Swadeshi venture in the sea.

The initiative of V.O.C. was lauded by the national leaders. Lokmanya Tilak wrote about the success of the Swadeshi Navigation Company in his papers *Kesari* and *Mahratta*. Aurobindo Ghose also lauded the Swadeshi efforts and helped to promote the sale of shares of the company. The major shareholders included Pandithurai and Haji Fakir Mohamed.



V.O.C. Ship

The initial response of the British administration was to ignore the Swadeshi company. As patronage for Swadeshi Company increased, the European officials exhibited blatant bias and racial partiality against the Swadeshi steamship.

(c) The Coral Mill Strike

After attending the session of the Indian National Congress at Surat, V.O.C. on his return decided to work on building a political organisation. While looking for an able orator, he came across Subramania Siva, a swadeshi preacher. From February to March 1907, both the leaders addressed meetings almost on a daily basis at the beach in Tuticorin, educating the people about swadeshi and the boycott campaign. The meetings were attended by thousands of people. These public gatherings were closely monitored by the administration.

In 1908, the abject working and living conditions of the Coral Mill workers attracted the attention of V.O.C and Siva. In the next few days, both the leaders addressed the mill workers. In March 1908, the workers of the Coral Cotton Mills, inspired by the address went on strike. It was one of the earliest organised labour agitations in India.

The strike of the mill workers was fully backed by the nationalist newspapers. The mill owners, however, did not budge and was supported by the government which had decided to suppress the strike. To further increase the pressure on the workers, the leaders were prohibited from holding any meetings in Tuticorin. Finally, the mill owners decided to negotiate with the workers and concede their demands.

This victory of the workers generated excitement among the militants in Bengal and it was hailed by the newspapers in Bengal. For instance, Aurobindo Ghosh's *Bande Matram* hailed the strike as "forging a bond between educated class and the masses, which is the first great step towards swaraj…. Every victory of Indian labour is a victory for the nation…."

(d) Subramania Bharati: Poet and Nationalist



Subramania Bharati

The growth of newspapers, both in English and Tamil language, aided the swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu. G. Subramaniam was one of the first among the leaders to use newspapers to spread the nationalist message across a larger audience. Subramaniam, along with five others, founded *The Hindu* (in English) and *Swadesamitran* (which was the first ever Tamil daily). In 1906 a book was published by Subramaniam to condemn the British actions during the Congress Conference in Barsal.

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Swadesamitran extensively reported nationalist activities, particularly the news regarding V.O.C. and his speeches in Tuticorin.

Subramania Bharati became the sub-editor of *Swadesamitran* around the time (1904) when Indian nationalism was looking for a fresh direction. Bharati was also editing *Chakravartini*, a Tamil monthly devoted to the cause of Indian women.

Two events had a significant impact on Subramania Bharati. A meeting in 1905 with Sister Nivedita, an Irish woman and a disciple of Vivekananda, whom he referred to as Gurumani (teacher), greatly inspired his nationalist ideals. The churning within the Congress on the nature of engagement with the British rule was also a contributory factor. As discussed earlier in this lesson, the militants ridiculed the mendicancy of the moderates who wanted to follow the constitutional methods. Bharati had little doubt, in his mind, that the British rule had to be challenged with a fresh approach and methods applied by the militant nationalists appealed to him more. For instance, his fascination with Tilak grew after the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He translated into Tamil Tilak's *Tenets of the New Party* and a booklet on the Madras militants' trip to the Surat Congress in 1907. Bharati edited a Tamil weekly *India*, which became the voice of the radicals.

(e) Arrest and imprisonment of V.O.C. and Subramania Siva

On March 9, 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal was released from prison after serving a six-month jail sentence. The swadeshi leaders in Tamil Nadu planned to celebrate the day of his release as 'Swarajya Day' in Tirunelveli. The local administration refused permission. V.O.C., Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar defied the ban and went ahead. They were arrested on March 12, 1908, on charges of sedition.



Subramania Siva

The local public, angered over the arrest of the prominent swadeshi leaders, reacted violently. Shops were closed in a general show of defiance. The municipality building and the police station in Tirunelveli were set on fire. More importantly, the mill workers came out in large numbers to protest the arrest of swadeshi leaders. After a few incidents of confrontation with the protesting crowd, the police open fired, and four people were killed.

On 7 July 1908, V.O.C. and Subramania Siva were found guilty and imprisoned on charges of sedition. Siva was awarded a sentence of 10 years of transportation for his seditious speech whereas V.O.C. got a life term (20 years) for abetting him. V.O.C. was given another life sentence for his own seditious speech. This draconian sentence reveals how seriously the Tirunelveli agitation was viewed by the government.

In the aftermath of this incident, the repression of the British administration was not limited to the arrest of a few leaders. In fact, people who had actively participated in the protest were also punished and a punitive tax was imposed on the people of Tirunelveli and Tuticorin.

Excerpts from the Judgment in the case of King Emperor versus V.O.C. and Subramania Siva (4 November 1908)."It seems to me that sedition at any time is a most serious offense. It is true that the case is the first of its kind in the Presidency, but the present condition of other Presidencies where the crime seems to have secured a foothold would seem to indicate that light sentences of imprisonment of a few months or maybe a year or two are instances of misplaced leniency. ...The first object of a sentence is that it shall be deterrent not to the criminal alone but to others who feel any inclination to follow his example. Here we have to deal with a campaign of sedition which nearly ended in revolt. The accused are morally responsible for all the lives lost in quelling the riots that ensured on their arrest".

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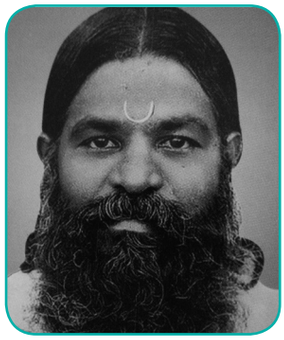
(f) Ashe Murder

Repression of the Swadeshi efforts in Tuticorin and the subsequent arrest and humiliation of the swadeshi leaders generated anger among the youth. A plan was hatched to avenge the Tirunelveli event. A sustained campaign in the newspapers about the repressive measures of the British administration also played a decisive role in building people's anger against the administration.



Vanchinathan

In June 1911, the collector of Tirunelveli, Robert Ashe, was shot dead at Maniyachi Railway station by Vanchinathan. Born in the Travancore state in 1880, he was employed as a forest guard at Punalur in the then Travancore state. He was one of the members of a radical group called Bharata Mata Association. The aim of the association was to kill the European officers and inspire Indians to revolt, which they believed would eventually lead to Swaraj. Vanchinathan was trained in the use of a revolver, as part of the mission, by V.V. Subramaniam in Pondicherry.



V.V. Subramaniam

After shooting Ashe at the Maniyachi Junction, Vanchinathan shot himself with the same pistol.

The aftermath of the Assassination

During the course of the trial, the British government was able to establish that V.V.S and other political exiles in Pondicherry were in close and active association with the accused in the Ashe murder conspiracy. The colonial administration grew more suspicious with the Pondicherry groups and their activities. Such an atmosphere further scuttled the possibility of nationalistic propaganda and their activities in Tamil Nadu. As a fall-out of the repressive measure taken by the colonial government, the nationalist movement in Tamil Nadu entered a period of lull and some sort of revival happened only with the Home Rule Movement in 1916.

Summary

- The swadeshi campaigns in the wake of partition of Bengal are watershed moments in the history of anti-colonial struggles.
- Besides building new techniques of political propaganda, the movement also gave impetus to carry on a sustained resistance even in the Gandhian phase of freedom movement.
- It was also a communication revolution as the Swadeshi movement resulted in a shift from English to swadeshi language (regional language) as the medium of political propaganda.
- The swadeshi movement also led to the emergence of youth who remained fascinated by the idea of taking to violence.
- The swadeshi atmosphere richly contributed to an interest in history, literature, and poetry on patriotism and nationalism in vernacular languages.
- The militants, however, failed to connect the nationalist slogans with larger economic grievances and the mass contact programmes, as the British unleashed violence against the nationalists.
- The use of religion and religious symbols to mobilize the Hindus alienated Muslims.

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EXERCISE

AT8I0

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Whose name was proposed as president by militant nationalists for the surat session of the Congress?
   (a) Aurobindo Ghose (b) Dadabhai Naoroji
   (c) Pherozesha Mehta (d) Lala Lajpat Rai

2. Consider the following statements.
   (i) The partition of Bengal in 1905 was the most striking example of the British divide and rule policy.
   (ii) In the Calcutta meeting 1905, Surendranath Banerjea gave a call for the boycott of British goods and institutions.
   (iii) On 7 August 1905 at Town Hall meeting in Calcutta, a formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made.

   Which of the statements given above is/are correct?
   (a) (i) only (b) (i) and (iii) only
   (c) (i) and (ii) only (d) All of the above.

3. Match List I and List II and select answer with the help of the codes given below.

List I		List II
A. Indian Press Act 1910	-	1. Self-rule
B. Dawn Society	-	2. a revolt against their state of dependence
C. Swaraj	-	3. crushed the nationalistic activities
D. Swadeshi	-	4. The National Council of education

Codes

	A	B	C	D
(a)	3	1	4	2
(b)	1	2	3	4
(c)	3	4	1	2
(d)	1	2	4	3

4. Which one of the following is correctly paired?
   (a) Bankim Chandra Chatterjee - Anandmath
   (b) G. Subramaniam - Dawn Society
   (c) Lord Minto - The University Act of 1904
   (d) Epicentre of militant nationalism - Madras

5. Anushilan Samity of Calcutta was founded by
   (a) Pulin Behari Das
   (b) Hemachandra Kanungo
   (c) Jatindernath Banerjee and Barindar Kumar Ghose
   (d) Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki

6. **Assertion (A):** 16 October 1905 was declared as a day of mourning.
   Reason (R): That day Bengal was officially divided into two provinces.
   (a) A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) A and R are true and R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is correct and R is wrong.
   (d) A is wrong and R is correct.

7. **Assertion (A):** V.O. Chidambaram established a Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.
   Reason (R): He wanted to oppose the monopoly of the British in navigation through the coast.
   (a) A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A
   (b) A and R are true and R is not the correct explanation of A
   (c) A is correct and R is wrong
   (d) A is wrong and R is correct

8. Which of the following statement is not true about Subramania Bharati?
   (a) Bharati was the sub–editor of *Swadesamitran.*
   (b) He translated Tilak's Tenets of the New Party into Tamil.
   (c) Bharati's Gurumani was Swami Vivekananda.
   (d) He was editor of a woman's magazine by name *Chakravartini*.

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II. Write brief answers

1. What was called the mendicant policy of the Moderates?
2. How did M.G. Ranade explain the idea of Swadeshi?
3. Identify the leaders of the epicenters of militant nationalism in British India
4. Why was militant nationalism was on the decline by 1908?
5. What were the repressive measures adopted by the colonial government to crush the nationalist movements?

III. Write short answer

1. Give an account of the proceedings of Surat session that ended in the split of the Congress.
2. Explain the reasons for the spurt in individual acts of violence during the Swadeshi movement.
3. Highlight the methods used by samitis for mass mobilization.
4. What do you know of Coral Mill Strike of 1908?
5. Outline the essence of the Alipore Bomb Case.
6. Write about the swadeshi venture of V.O.C.
7. Why was Collector Ashe killed by Vanchinathan.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Attempt an account of Swadeshi movement in Tamilnadu.
2. Write about the role played by V.O. Chidambaram in Indian National Movement.

V. Activity

1. Conduct a discourse on the vision of Poet Subramaia Bharati.
2. The Tamil movie Kappalotiya Tamilan be arranged to be screened.

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GLOSSARY

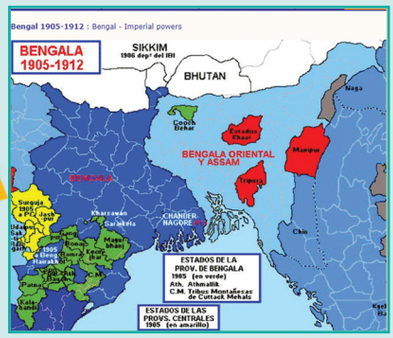
factionalism	difference of opinion or disagreement between two groups within a political organization.	உட்கட்சி பூசல்
intelligentsia	highly educated or the intellectual elite of a society	அறிவு ஜீவிகள் / கற்றறிந்தோர்
annulment	invalidation, nullification	நீக்கம், ஒழிப்பு, ரத்து செய்தல்
Swadeshi	made in one's own country	தனது நாட்டில் உற்பத்தி செய்த பொருள்
Boycott	refusal to take part in an activity or to buy a foreign product	புறக்கணிப்பு
triumvirate	a group of three persons dominating or holding control	முப்பெரும் தலைவர்கள்
seditious	Inciting people to rebel against the authority of a state	அரசுக்கு எதிராக / ஆட்சி எதிர்ப்பு
punitive tax	a tax intended as punishment	தண்டனை வரி

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ICT CORNER

Rise of Extremism and Swadeshi Movement

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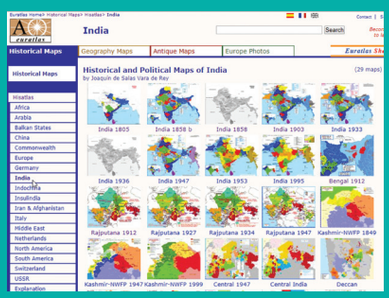
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Step - 2 Click on '**World History**' and Select '**India**' in menu

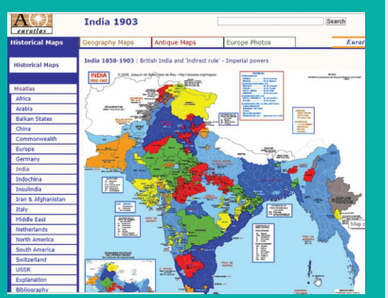
Step - 3 Click the topics one by one and explore the maps (Ex.1903)



Step1



Step2



Step3

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UNIT 3

Impact of World War I on Indian Freedom Movement

Learning Objectives

To acquire knowledge in

- The conditions created by World War I: Moderates and Militants putting up a united struggle against the British through the Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant.
- Repressive Measures of the British: Enactment of Defence of India Act.
- Lucknow Pact facilitating Hindu-Muslim unity.
- Jallianwalah Bagh Massacre and Hindu-Muslim solidarity in Khilafat Movement.
- The impact of World War I and Russian Revolution on the Indian Labour Movement

Introduction

Several events that preceded the First World War had a bearing on Indian nationalist politics. In 1905 Japan had defeated Russia. In 1908 the Young Turks and in 1911 the Chinese nationalists, using Western methods and ideas, had overthrown their governments. Along with the First World War these events provide the background to Indian nationalism during 1916 and 1920.

Europe was the main theatre of the War, though fighting took place in others parts of the world as well. The British recruited a vast contingent of Indians to serve in Europe, Africa and West Asia. After the War, the soldiers came back with new ideas which had an impact on the Indian society. India had to cough up around £ 367 million, of which £ 229 million as direct cash and the rest through loans to offset the war expenses. India also sent war materials to the value £ 250 million. This caused enormous economic distress, triggering discontent amongst Indians.

The nationalist politics was in low key, since the Indian National Congress had split into moderates and extremists, while the Muslim league supported British interests in war. In 1916 "the extremists" led by Tilak had gained control of Congress. This led to the rise of Home Rule Movement in India under the leadership of Dr Annie Besant in South India and Tilak in Western India. The Congress was reunited during the war. The strength of Indian nationalism was increased by the agreement signed between Hindus and Muslims, known as the Lucknow Pact, in 1916.

During the War, western revolutionary ideas were influencing the radical nationalists and so the British tried to suppress the national movement by passing repressive acts. Of all the repressive acts, the most draconic was the Rowlatt Act. This act was strongly criticized by the Indian leaders and they organised meetings to protest against the act. The international events too had its impact on India, such as the revolution in Russia. The defeat of Turkey

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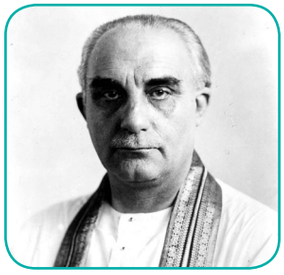
in World War I and the severe terms of the Treaty of Sevres signed thereafter undermined the position of Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa. Out of the resentment was born the Khilafat Movement.

India and Indians had taken an active part in the War believing that Britain would reward India's loyalty. But only disappointment was in store. Thus the War had multiple effects on Indian society, economy and polity. In this lesson we discuss the role played by Home Rule League, factors leading to the signing of Lucknow Pact and its provisions, the repressive measures of the British culminating in Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, the Khilafat Movement and the rise of an organized labour movement.

3.1 All India Home Rule League



Annie Besant



George Arundale

We may recall that many foreigners such as A.O. Hume had played a pivotal role in our freedom movement in the early stages. Dr Annie Besant played a similar role in the early part of the twentieth century. Besant was Irish by birth and had been active in the Irish home rule, fabian socialist and birth control movements while in Britain. She joined the Theosophical Society, and came to India in 1893. She founded the Central Hindu College in Benaras (later upgraded as Benaras Hindu University by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1916). With the death of H. S. Olcott in 1907, Besant succeeded him as the international president of the Theosophical Society. She was actively spreading the theosophical ideas from its headquarters, Adyar in Chennai, and gained the support of a number of educated followers such as Jamnadas Dwarkadas, George Arundale, Shankerlal Banker, Indulal Yagnik, C.P. Ramaswamy and B.P. Wadia.

In 1914 was when Britain announced its entry in First World War, it was claimed that it fighting for freedom and democracy. Indian leaders believed and supported the British war efforts. Soon they were disillusioned as there was no change in the British attitude towards India. Moreover, split into moderate and extremist wings, the Indian National Congress was not strong enough to press for further political reforms towards self-rule. The Muslim League was looked upon suspiciously by the British once the Sultan of Turkey entered the War supporting the Central powers.

It was in this backdrop that Besant entered into Indian Politics. She started a weekly *The Commonweal* in 1914. The weekly focussed on religious liberty, national education, social and political reforms. She published a book *How India Wrought for Freedom* in 1915. In this book she asserted that the beginnings of national consciousness are deeply embedded in its ancient past.

She gave the call, 'The moment of England's difficulty is the moment of India's opportunity' and wanted Indian leaders to press for reforms. She toured England and made many speeches in the cause of India's freedom. She also tried to form an Indian party in the Parliament but was unsuccessful. Her visit, however, aroused sympathy for India. On her return, she started a daily newspaper *New India* on July 14, 1915. She revealed her concept of self-rule in a speech at Bombay: "I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by the people, and responsible to the House". She organized public meetings and conferences to spread the idea and demanded that India be granted self-government on the lines of the White colonies after the War.

On September 28, 1915, Besant made a formal declaration that she would start the Home Rule League Movement for India with objectives

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on the lines of the Irish Home Rule League. The moderates did not like the idea of establishing another separate organisation. She too realised that the sanction of the Congress party was necessary for her movement to be successful.

In December 1915 due to the efforts of Tilak and Besant, the Bombay session of Congress suitably altered the constitution of the Congress party to admit the members from the extremist section. In the session she insisted on the Congress taking up the Home Rule League programme before September 1916, failing which she would organize the Home Rule League on her own.

In 1916, two Home Rule Movements were launched in the country: one under Tilak and the other under Besant with their spheres of activity well demarcated. The twin objectives of the Home Rule League were the establishment of Home Rule for India in British Empire and arousing in the Indian masses a sense of pride for the Motherland.

(a) Tilak Home Rule League

Tilak Home Rule League was set up at the Bombay Provincial conference held at Belgaum in April 1916. It League was to work in Maharashtra (including Bombay city), Karnataka, the Central Provinces and Berar. Tilak's League was organised into six branches and Annie Besant's League was given the rest of India.

Home Rule: It refers to a self-government granted by a central or regional government to its dependent political units on condition that their people should remain politically loyal to it. This was a common feature in the ancient Roman Empire and the modern British Empire. In Ireland the Home Rule Movement gathered force in the 1880s and a system of Home Rule was established by the Government of Ireland Act (1920) in six counties of Northern Ireland and later by the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) in the remaining 26 counties in the south.

Tilak popularised the demand for Home Rule through his lectures. The popularity of his League was confined to Maharashtra and Karnataka but claimed a membership of 14,000 in April 1917 and 32,000 by early 1918. On 23 July 1916 on his 60th birthday Tilak was arrested for propagating the idea of Home Rule.

(b) Besant's Home Rule League

Finding no signs from the Congress, Besant herself inaugurated the Home Rule League at Madras in September 1916. Its branches were established at Kanpur, Allahabad, Benaras, Mathura, Calicut and Ahmednagar. She made an extensive tour and spread the idea of Home Rule. She declared that "the price of India's loyalty is India's Freedom". Moderate congressmen who were dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Congress joined the Home Rule League. The popularity of the League can be gauged from the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, B. Chakravarti, Jitendralal Banerji, Satyamurti and Khaliquzzaman were taking up the membership of the League.

As Besant's Home Rule Movement became very popular in Madras, the Government of Madras decided to suppress it. Students were barred from attending its meetings. In June 1917 Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale were interred in Ootacamund. The government's repression strengthened the supporters, and with renewed determination they began to resist. To support Besant, Sir S. Subramaniam renounced his knighthood. Many leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Surendranath Banerjea who had earlier stayed away from the movement enlisted themselves. At the AICC meeting convened on 28 July 1917 Tilak advocated the use of civil disobedience if they were not released. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Shankerlal Banker, on the orders of Gandhi, collected one thousand signatures willing to defy the interment orders and march to Besant's place of detention. Due to the

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growing resistance the interned nationalists were released.

On 20 August 1917 the new Secretary of State Montagu announced that 'self-governing institutions and responsible government' was the goal of the British rule in India. Almost overnight this statement converted Besant into a near-loyalist. In September 1917, when she was released, she was elected the President of Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1917.

(c) Importance of the Home Rule Movement

The Home Rule Leagues prepared the ground for mass mobilization paving the way for the launch of Gandhi's satyagraha movements. Many of the early Gandhian satyagrahis had been members of the Home Rule Leagues. They used the organisational networks created by the Leagues to spread the Gandhian method of agitation. Home Rule League was the first Indian political movement to cut across sectarian lines and have members from the Congress, League, Theosophist and the Laborites.

(d) Decline of Home Rule Movement

Home Rule Movement declined after Besant accepted the proposed Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms and Tilak went to Britain in September 1918 to pursue the libel case that he had filed against Valentine Chirol, the author of *Indian Unrest*.

The Indian Home Rule League was renamed the Commonwealth of India League and used to lobby British MPs in support of self-government for India within the empire, or dominion status along the lines of Canada and Australia. It was transformed by V.K. Krishna Menon into the India League in 1929.

3.2 Impact of the War



Minto

During the years prior to First World War the political condition of the India was in disarray. In order to win over the "Moderates" and the Muslim League with a view to isolating the "Extremists" the British passed the Minto–Morley Reforms in 1909. The Moderates observed a policy of wait and watch. The Muslim League welcomed the separate electorate accorded to them. In 1913 a new group of leaders joined the League. The most prominent among them was Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was already a member of the Congress and demanded more reforms for the Muslims.

The First World War provided the objective conditions for the revolutionary activity in India. The revolutionaries wanted to make use of Britain's difficulty during the War to their advantage. The Ghadar Movement was one of its outcomes.



Morley

The First World War had a major impact on the freedom movement. Initially, the British didn't care for Indian support. Once the war theatre moved to West Asia and Africa the British were forced to look for Indian support. In this context Indian leaders decided to put pressure on the British Government for reforms. The Congress and Muslim League had their annual session at Bombay in 1915 and spoke on similar tones. In October 1916, the Hindu and Muslim elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy on the post-War reforms. The British Government was unmoved. The Congress and the League met at Calcutta in November 1916 and deliberated on the memorandum. It also

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Lala Hardayal

Lala Hardayal, who settled in San Francisco, founded Pacific Coast Hindustan Association in 1913, with Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president. This organization was popularly called Ghadar Party. ('Ghadar' means rebellion in Urdu.) The members of this party were largely immigrant Sikhs of US and Canada. The party published a journal called *Ghadar*. It began publication from San Francisco on November 1, 1913. Later it was published in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and other languages.

The Ghadar Movement was an important episode in India's freedom struggle. A ship named *Komagatamaru*, filled with Indian immigrants was turned back from Canada. As the ship returned to India several of its passengers were killed or arrested in a clash with the British police. This incident left a deep mark on the Indian nationalist movement.

agreed on the composition of the legislatures and the number of representation to be allowed to the two communities in the post-War reforms.

Parallel to this, Tilak and Besant were advocating Home Rule. Due to their efforts the Bombay session accepted to take back the extremist section and, consequently, the constitution of the Congress was altered. 1916 was therefore a historic year since the Congress, Muslim League and the Home Rule League held their annual sessions at Lucknow. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Congress president welcomed the extremists: "… after ten years of painful separation … Indian National Party have come to realize the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers..." The Congress got its old vigour with extremists back into it.



A.C. Mazumdar

Besant and Tilak also played an important role in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together under what is popularly known as the Congress–League Pact or the Lucknow Pact. Jinnah played a pivotal role during the Pact. The agreements accepted at Calcutta in November 1916 were confirmed by the annual sessions of the Congress and the League in December 1916.

3.3 Provisions of the Lucknow Pact

i) Provinces should be freed as much as possible from Central control in administration and finance.

ii) Four-fifths of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected, and one-fifth nominated.

iii) Four-fifths of the provincial and central legislatures were to be elected on as broad a franchise as possible.

iv) Half the executive council members, including those of the central executive council were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves.

v) The Congress also agreed to separate electorates for Muslims in provincial council elections and for preferences in their favour (beyond the proportions indicated by population) in all provinces except the Punjab and Bengal, where some ground was given to the Hindu and Sikh minorities. This pact paved the way for Hindu–Muslim cooperation in the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi's Non–Cooperation Movement.

vi) The Governments, Central and Provincial, should be bound to act in accordance with resolutions passed by their Legislative Councils unless they were vetoed by the Governor-General or Governors–in–Council and, in that event, if the resolution was passed again after an interval of not less than one year, it should be put into effect.

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vii) The relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India should be similar to those of the Colonial Secretary with the Governments of the Dominions, and India should have an equal status with that of the Dominions in any body concerned with imperial affairs.

The Lucknow Pact paved the way for Hindu-Muslim Unity. Sarojini Ammaiyar called Jinnah, the chief architect of the Lucknow Pact, "the Ambassador of Hindu–Muslim Unity".

The Lucknow Pact proved that the educated class both from the Congress and the League could work together with a common goal. This unity reached its climax during the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation Movements.

3.4 Repressive Measures of the Colonial State



Parallel to the Congress there emerged revolutionary groups who attempted to overthrow away the British government through violence methods. The revolutionary movements constituted an important landmark in India's freedom struggle. It began in the end of the nineteenth century and gained its momentum from the time of the partition of Bengal. The revolutionaries were the first to demand complete freedom. Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab were the major centers of revolutionary activity. For a brief while Madras presidency was also an active ground of the revolutionary activity.

In order to crush the growing nationalist movement, the government adopted many measures. Lord Curzon created the Criminal Intelligence Department (CID) in 1903 to secretly collect information on the activities of nationalists. The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act (1908) and the Explosives Substances Act (1908), and shortly thereafter the Indian Press Act (1910), and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (1911) were passed. The British suspected that some Indian nationalists were in contact with revolutionaries abroad. So the Foreigners Ordinance was promulgated in 1914 which restricted the entry of foreigners. A majority of these legislations were passed in order to break the base of the revolutionary movements. The colonial state also resorted to banning meetings, printing and circulation of seditious materials for propaganda, and by detaining the suspects.

3.5 The Defence of India Act, 1915

Also referred to as the Defence of India Regulations Act, it was an emergency criminal law enacted with the intention of curtailing the nationalist and revolutionary activities during the First World War. The Act allowed suspects to be tried by special tribunals each consisting of three Commissioners appointed by the Local Government. The act empowered the tribunal to inflict sentences of death, transportation for life, and imprisonment of up to ten years for the violation of rules or orders framed under the act. The trail was to be in camera and the decisions were not subject to appeal. The act was later applied during the First Lahore Conspiracy trial. This Act, after the end of First World War, formed the basis of the Rowlatt Act.

3.6 Khilafat Movement

In the First World War the Sultan of Turkey sided with the Triple Alliance against the allied powers and attacked Russia. The Sultan was also the Caliph and was the custodian of the Islamic sacred places. After the war, Britain decided to weaken the position of Turkey and the Treaty of Sevres was signed. The eastern part of the Turkish Empire such as Syria and Lebanon were mandated to France, while Palestine and Jordan became British protectorates. Thus the allied powers decided to end the caliphate.

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Khilafat Movement

The dismemberment of the Caliphate was seen as a blow to Islam. Muslims around the world, sympathetic to the cause of the Caliph, decided to oppose the move. Muslims in India also organised themselves under the leadership of the Ali brothers – Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali started a movement known as Khilafat Movement. The aim was to the support the Ottoman Empire and protest against the British rule in India. Numerous Muslim leaders such as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, M.A. Ansari, Sheikh Shaukat Ali Siddiqui and Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhari joined the movement.

Gandhi had been honoured with Kaisari-Hind gold medal for his humanitarian work in South Africa. He had also received the Zulu War silver medal for his services as an officer of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1906 and Boer War silver medal for his services as assistant superintendent of the Indian volunteer stretcher-bearer corps during Boer War of 1899–1900. When Gandhi launched the scheme of non-cooperation in connection with Khilafat Movement, he returned all the medals saying, '…events that have happened during the past one month have confirmed in me the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, criminal and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a government.'

The demands of the Khilafat Movement were presented by Mohammad Ali to the diplomats in Paris in March 1920. They were:

1. The Sultan of Turkey's position of Caliph should not be disturbed.
2. The Muslim sacred places must be handed over to the Sultan and should be controlled by him.
3. The Sultan must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith and
4. The Jazirat-ul-Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine) must remain under his sovereignty.

The demands of the movement had nothing do to with India but the question of Caliph was used as a symbol by the Khilafat leaders to unite the Indian Muslim community who were divided along regional, linguistic, class and sectarian lines. In Gail Minault's words: "A pan-Islamic symbol opened the way to pan-Indian Islamic political mobilization." It was anti-British, which inspired Gandhi to support this cause in a bid to bring the Muslims into the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Gandhi also saw this as an opportunity to strengthen Hindu–Muslim unity.

The Khilafat issue was interpreted differently by different sections. Lower-class Muslims in U.P. interpreted the Urdu word khilaf (against) and used it as a symbol of general revolt against authority, while the Mappillais of Malabar converted it into a banner of anti-landlord revolt.



Mappilla Uprising in Malabar

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3.7 Rise of Labour Movement



N.M. Lokhanday

Introduction of machinery, new methods of production, concentration of factories in certain big cities gave birth to a new class of wage earners called factory workers. In India, the factory workers, mostly drawn from villages, initially remained submissive and unorganised. Many leaders like Sorabjee Shapoorji and N.M. Lokhanday of Bombay and Sasipada Banerjee of Bengal raised their voice for protecting the interests of the industrial labourers.

In the aftermath of Swadeshi Movement (1905) Indian industries began to thrive. During the War the British encouraged Indian industries which manufactured war time goods. As the war progressed they wanted more goods so more workers were recruited. Once the war ended workers were laid off and production cut down. Further prices increased dramatically in the post-War situation. India was also in the grip of a world-wide epidemic of influenza. In response labourers began to organize to fight and trade unions were formed to protect the interests of the workers.

The success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 also had its effect on Indian labour. A wave of ideas of class consciousness and enlightenment swept the world of Indian labours. The Indian soldiers who had fought in Europe brought the news of good labour conditions. The industrial unrest that grew up as a result of grave economic difficulties created by War, and the widening gulf between the employers and the employees, and the establishment of International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations brought mass awakening among the labours.

Madras played a pivotal role in the history of labour movement of India. The first trade union in the modern sense, the Madras Labour Union, was formed in 1918 by B.P. Wadia. The union was formed mainly due to the ill-treatment of Indian worker in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Perambur. The working conditions was poor. Short interval for mid-day meal, frequent assaults on workers by the European assistants and inadequate wages led to the formation of this union. This union adopted collective bargaining and used trade unionism as a weapon for class struggle.



Sasipada Banerjee

This wave spread to other parts of India and many unions were formed at this time such as the Indian Seamen's Union both at Calcutta and Bombay, the Punjab Press Employers Association, the G.I.P. Railway Workers Union Bombay, M.S.M. Railwaymen's Union, Union of the Postmen and Port Trust Employees Union at Bombay and Calcutta, the Jamshedpur Labour Association, the Indian Colliery Employees Association of Jharia and the Unions of employees of various railways. To suppress the labour movement the Government, with the help of the capitalists, tried by all means to subdue the labourers. They imprisoned strikers, burnt their houses, and fined the unions, but the labourers were determined in their demands.

Nationalist leaders and intellectuals were moved by the plight of the workers, and many of them worked towards organizing them into unions. Their involvement also led to the politicization of the working class, and added to the strength of the freedom movement as most of the mills were owned by Europeans who were supported by the government.

On 30 October 1920, representatives of 64 trade unions, with a membership of 140,854, met in Bombay and established the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) under the Chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. It was supported by national leaders like Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, Vallabhbhai

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Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose and others from the Indian National Congress.

The trade unions slowly involved themselves in the national movement. In April 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Gandhi's arrest, the working class in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat resorted to strikes, agitations and demonstrations. Trade unions were not recognised by the capitalists or the government in the beginning. But the unity of the workers and the strength of their movement forced the both to recognise them. From 1919–20 the number of registered trade unions increased from 107 to 1833 in 1946–47.

Summary

- The events that took place in the first two decades of the twentieth century including the outbreak of the First World War had a major impact on Indian nationalist politics.
- The political vacuum created as a result of the split in the Congress paved the way for the rise of Home Rule League by Annie Besant.
- The Home Rule Movement of both Tilak and Besant demanded self-governing status for India.
- The War provided an opportunity for the Congress and the Muslim League to come together and sign the famous Lucknow Pact, resulting in Hindu–Muslim unity.
- During the War the British passed many repressive acts aimed at curbing any activity towards India's freedom from the British rule.
- While the crushing defeat of Turkey and the humiliating peace treaty imposed on it led to Khilafat Movement, the Russian Revolution paved the way for the rise of Trade Union Movement in India.
- The First World War indirectly prepared the ground for the launch of new form of protest under the leadership of Gandhi.

EXERCISE

PF39R

I. Choose the correct answer.

1. The Home Rule Movement in south India was started by
   (a) Tilak (b) Annie Besant
   (c) B.P. Wadia (d) Col. H.S. Olcott

2. Which of the following about Annie Besant are correct?
   1. Annie Besant was elected the international president of the Theosophical Society, after Col. H.S. Olcott.
   2. She started a weekly *The Commonweal* in 1914.
   3. She published a book *How India Wrought for Freedom* in 1915.

   (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
   (c) 1 and 3 (d) 1, 2 and 3

3. **Assertion:** Sarojini Ammaiyar called Jinnah 'the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'.
   Reason: Jinnah was the chief architect of the Lucknow pact.
   (a) A is correct R does not explain A.
   (b) A is correct and R explanations A.
   (c) A is wrong and R is correct.
   (d) Both A and R are wrong

4. Who founded the Banaras Hindu University?
   (a) Mahatma Gandhi
   (b) Madan Mohan Malaviya
   (c) Tilak
   (d) B.P. Wadia

5. The Lucknow session of 1916 is noted for
   (a) Resurgence of Muslim League
   (b) Temporary merger of Muslims League into Congress
   (c) Congress' acceptance of League's demand for separate electorates for Muslims
   (d) Jinnah's negative role in the joint-session of the League and the Congress

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6. Match the following with the help of codes given below.

(A) Ghadar Party	-	(i) 1916
(B) New India	-	(ii) 1913
(C) Home Rule	-	(iii) 1909
(D) Minto-Morley Reforms	-	(iv) 1915

(a) ii, iv, i, iii (b) iv, i, ii, iii

(c) i, iv, iii, ii (d) ii, iii, iv, i

7. The author of the book *Indian Unrest* was

(a) Lala Lajpat Rai (b) Valentine Chirol

(c) Tilak (d) Annie Besant

8. The Ghadar Party was started by

(a) Lala Lajpat Rai (b) A.C. Mazumdar

(c) Lala Hardayal (d) Sankarlal Banker

9. Who was the president of the first All-India Trade Union Congress?

(a) B.P. Wadia (b) Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Lala Lajpat Rai (d) C.R. Das

II. Write brief answers

1. What were the repressive measures adopted by colonial government to crush the growing nationalist movement during 1903-1914?
2. What was the background for the launch of the Khilafat movement?
3. Name the book and weekly published by Annie Besant.
4. Describe the Defence of India Act, 1915.

III. Write short answer

1. Discuss the twin objectives of the Home Rule League?
2. Why is Ghadar Movement considered an important episode in India's freedom struggle.
3. What were the demands of the Khilafat Movement presented to the Paris peace conference held in March 1920?
4. What was the impact and significance of the Madras Labour Union?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Highlight the important provisions of Lucknow Pact.
2. Narrate the work done by two Home Rule Movements one under Tilak and another under Annie Besant.

V. Activity

1. Debate why unions are important in today's society to be organised in classes.
2. The major association and unions be identified and their activits recorded through group projects.

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GLOSSARY

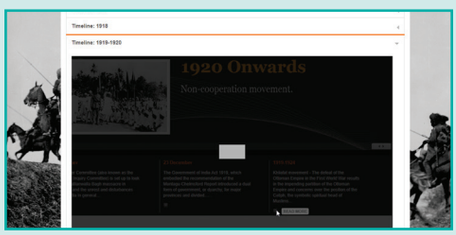
draconic	very harsh and severe	கடுமையான, கொடுமையான
contingent	a group of police or military personnel	காவலர் / ராணுவப் பிரிவு
conspiracy	a secret plan by a group of people to do something illegal	இரகசிய கூட்டம் / சதித்திட்டம்
moderate	avoiding extremes	மிதவாத தேசியவாதி
knighthood	a person given a rank of honour by a British king or queen because of his or her special achievement	வீரதிருத்தகைப்பட்டம்
extremist	a person who holds a radical view in politics or religion.	தீவிரவாதி
memorandum	a petition that is presented to a person or committee on a particular issue	குறிப்பாணை
immigrant	a person who arrives to take up permanent residence in a country	குடிபுகுபவர்



ICT CORNER

Impact of World War I on Indian Freedom Movement

Through this activity you will learn about Role of India in the World War - I



Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Scroll down, Click on **'Timeline'**

Step - 3 Drag the Time line bar and click to see the events

Web URL: http://indiaww1.in/index.aspx

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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UNIT 4

Advent of Gandhi and Mass Mobilisation

Learning Objectives

To acquire knowledge of

- Champaran movement and Kheda satyagraha
- Montague-Chelmsford reforms
- The non-Brahmin movement and non-cooperation movement
- Jallianwalah Bagh Massacre and Swaraj party and its activities
- Simon Commission, The Round Table Conferences
- Gandhi - Irwin pact and Ambedker in politics

Introduction

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in the coastal town of Porbandar in 1869. When he returned to India in 1915 he had a record of fighting against inequalities imposed by the racist government of South Africa. Gandhi certainly wanted to be of help to forces of nationalism in India. He was in touch with leaders India as he had come into contact with Congress leaders while mobilizing support for the South African Indian cause earlier. Impressed by activities and ideas of Gopala Krishna Gokhale, he acknowledged him as his political Guru. On his return to India, following Gokhale's advice, Gandhi, who was away from India for over two decades, spent a year travelling all over the country acquainting himself with the situation. He established his Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad but did not take active part in political movements including the Home Rule movement.

While in South Africa, Gandhi, gradually evolved the technique of 'Satyagraha,' based on 'Satya' and 'Ahimsa' i.e, truth and non-violence, to fight the racist South African regime. Even while resisting evil and wrong a Satyagrahi had to be at peace with himself and not hate the wrongdoer. A Satyagrahi would willingly accept suffering in the course of resistance, and hatred had no place in the exercise. Truth and nonviolence would be weapons of the brave and fearless and not cowards. For Gandhi there was no difference between precept and practice, faith and action.

4.1 Gandhi's Experiments of Satyagraha

(a) Champaran Movement (1917)

The first attempt at mobilizing the Indian masses was made by Gandhi on an invitation by peasants of Champaran. Before launching the struggle he made a detailed study of the situation. Indigo cultivators of the district Champaran in Bihar were severely exploited by the European planters who had bound the peasants to compulsorily grow indigo on lease on 3/20th of their fields and sell it at the rates

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Gandhi in Champaran

fixed by the planters. This system squeezed the peasants and eventually reduced them to penury. Accompanied by local leaders such as Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul Huq, Acharya Kripalani and Mahadeva Desai, Gandhi conducted a detailed enquiry. The British officials ordered Gandhi to leave the district. But he refused and told the administration that he would defy the order because it was unjust and face the consequences.

Subsequently an enquiry committee with Gandhi also as a member was formed. It was not difficult for Gandhi to convince the committee of the difficulties of the poor peasants. The report was accepted and implemented resulting in the release of the indigo cultivators of the bondage of European planters who gradually had to withdraw from Champaran itself.

(b) Mill Workers' Strike and Gandhi's Fast at Ahmedabad (1918)

Thus Gandhi met with his first success in his homeland. The struggle also enabled him to closely understand the condition of peasantry. The next step at mobilizing the masses was the workers of the urban centre, Ahmedabad. There was a dispute between the textile workers and the mill owners. He met both the parties and when the owners refused to accept the demands of the low paid workers, Gandhi advised them to go on strike demanding a 35 percent increase in their wages. To bolster the morale of the workers he went on fast. The worker's strike and Gandhi's fast ultimately forced the mill owners' to concede the demand.

(c) The Kheda Struggle (1918)

The peasants of Kheda district, due to the failure of monsoon, were in distress. They had appealed to the colonial authorities for remission of land revenue during 1918. As per government's famine code, in the event of crop yield being under 25 percent of the average the cultivators were entitled for total remission. But the authorities refused and harassed them demanding full payment. The Kheda peasants who were also battling the plague epidemic, high prices and famine approached the Servants of India Society, of which Gandhi was a member, for help. Gandhi, along with Vithalbhai Patel, intervened on behalf of the poor peasants and advised them to withhold payment and 'fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny.' Vallabhbhai Patel, a young lawyer and Indulal Yagnik joined Gandhi in the movement and urged the ryots to be firm. The government repression included attachment of crops, taking possession of the belongings of the ryots and their cattle and in some cases auctioning them.



Kheda Satyagraha

The government authorities issued instructions that revenues shall be collected only from those ryots who could afford to pay. On learning about the same, Gandhi decided to withdraw the struggle.

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The three struggles led by Gandhi, demonstrated that he had understood where the Indian nation lay. It was the poor peasants and workers of all classes and castes, who constituted the pith and marrow of India, whose interests Gandhi espoused in these struggles. He had confronted both the colonialist and Indian exploiters and by entering into dialogue with them, he had demonstrated that he was a leader who could mobilize the oppressed and at the same time negotiate with the oppressors. These virtues made him the man of the masses and soon he was hailed as the Mahatma.

Servants of India Society was founded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 to unite and train Indians of different castes, regions and religions in welfare work. It was the first secular organization in the country to devote itself to the betterment of underprivileged, rural and tribal people. The members involved themselves in relief work, the promotion of literacy, and other social causes. Members would have to go through a five-year training period and agree to serve on modest salaries. The organization has its headquarters in Pune (Maharashtra) and notable branches in Chennai (Madras), Mumbai (Bombay), Allahabad and Nagpur.

4.2 Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms

Edwin Montagu and Chelmsford, the Secretary of State for India and Viceroy respectively, announced their scheme of constitutional changes for India which came to be known as the Indian Councils Act of 1919. The Act enlarged the provincial legislative councils with elected majorities. The governments in the provinces were given more share in the administration under 'Dyarchy.' Under this arrangement all important subjects like law and order and finance 'reserved' for the whitemen and were directly under the control of the Governors. Other subjects such as health, educations and local self-government were 'transferred' to elected Indian representatives. Ministers holding 'transferred subjects' were responsible to the legislatures; but those in-charge of 'reserved' subjects were not further the Governor of the province could overrule the ministers under 'special (veto) powers,' thus making a mockery of the entire scheme. The part dealing with central legislature in the act created two houses of legislature (bi-cameral).

The Central Legislative Assembly was to have 41 nominated members, out of a total of 144. The Upper House known as the Council of States was to have 60 members, of whom 26 were to be nominated. Both the houses had no control over the Governor General and his Executive Council. But the Central Government had full control over the provincial governments. As a result, power was concentrated in the hands of the European / English authorities. Right to vote also continued to be restricted.

The public spirited men of India, who had extended unconditional support to the war efforts of Britain had expected more. The scheme, when announced in 1918, came to be criticized throughout India. The Indian National Congress met in a special session at Bombay in August 1918 to discuss the scheme. The congress termed the scheme 'disappointing and unsatisfactory.'

The colonial government followed a 'carrot and stick policy.' There was a group of moderate / liberal political leaders who wanted to try and work the reforms. Led by Surendranath Banerjee, they opposed the majority opinion and left the Congress to form their own party which came to be called Indian Liberal Federation.

4.3 The Non-Brahmin Movement

The hierarchical Indian society and the contradictions within, found expression in the formation of caste associations and movements to question the dominance of higher castes. The

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higher castes also were controlling the factors of production and thus the middle and lower castes were dependent on them for livelihood. Liberalism and humanism which influenced and accompanied the socio-religious reform movements of the nineteenth century had affected the society and stirred it. The symptoms of their awakening were already visible in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Namasudra movement in the Bengal and eastern India, the Adidharma movement in North Western India, the Satyashodhak movement in Western India and the Dravidian movements in South India had emerged and raised their voice by the turn of the century. They were all led by non Brahmin leaders who questioned the supremacy of the Brahmins and other 'superior' castes.

It first manifested itself, through Jyoti Rao Phule's book of 1872 titled *Gulamgiri*. His organization, Satyashodak Samaj, underscored the necessity to relieve the lower castes from the tyranny of Brahminism and the exploitative scriptures. The colonial administrators and the educational institutions that were established indirectly facilitated their origin. Added to the growing influence of Brahmin – upper caste men in the colonial times in whatever opportunity was open to natives, the colonial government published census reports once a decade. These reports classified castes on the basis of 'social precedence as recognized by native public opinion'. The censuses were a source of conflict between castes. There were claims and counterclaims as the leaders of caste organizations fought for pre-eminence and many started new caste associations. These attempts were further helped by the emerging political scenario.

Leading members of castes realized that it was important to mobilise their castes in struggles for social recognition. More than the recognition, many of them, as years passed by, started providing for education of their caste brethren and helped their educated youth in getting jobs. In the meantime, introduction of electoral politics from the 1880s gave a fillip to such organisations. The outcome of all this was the expression of socio-economic tensions through caste consciousness and caste solidarity.


Jyotiba Phule

Two trends emerged out of the non-Brahmin movements. One was what is called the process of 'Sanskritisatian' of the 'lower' castes and the second was a radical pro-poor and progressive peasant–labour movements. While the northern and eastern caste movements by and large were Sanskritic, the western and southern movements split and absorbed by the rising nationalist and Dravidian–Left movements. However all these movements were critical of what they called as 'Brahmin domination' and attacked their 'monopoly', and pleaded with the government through their associations for justice. In Bombay and Madras presidencies clear-cut Brahmin monopoly in the government services and general cultural arena led to non-Brahmin politics.

The pattern of the movement in south was a little different. The Brahmin monopoly was quite formidable as with only 3.2% of the population they had 72% of all graduates. They came to be challenged by educated and trading community members of the non-Brahmin castes. They were elitist in the beginning and their challenge was articulated by the Non-Brahmin Manifesto issued at the end of 1916. They asserted that they formed the 'bulk of the tax payers, including a large majority of the zamindars, landlords and agriculturists', yet they received no benefits from the state.


Ambedkar and Periyar

The colonial government made use of the genuine grievances of the non-Brahmins to divide and rule India. This was true with the Brahmanetara Parishat, and the Justice Party of

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Bombay and Madras presidencies respectively at least till 1930. Both the regions had some socially radical possibilities as could be seen in the emergence of a radical Dalit-Bahujan movement under the leadership of Dr Ambedkar and the Self-Respect Movement under the leadership of Periyar Ramaswamy.

The nationalists were unable to understand the liberal democratic content in the awakening among the lower strata of Indian society. While a section of the nationalists simply ignored the stirrings, a majority of them and particularly the so-called extremists–radicals were opposed to the movements. A few of them were even hostile and labelled them as stooges of British, anti-national etc. The early leaders of the non-Brahmin movement were in fact using the same tactics as the early nationalist leaders in dealing with the colonial government.

4.4 Non-cooperation Movement

(a) Rowlatt Act


Rowlatt

It was as part of the British policy of 'rally the moderates and isolate the extremists' that the Indian Councils Act 1919 and the Rowlatt Act of the same year were promulgated. Throughout the World War, the repressive measures against the terrorists and revolutionaries had continued. Many of them were hanged or imprisoned for long terms. As the general mood was restive, the government decided to arm itself with more repressive powers. Despite every elected member of the central legislature opposing the bill, the government passed the Rowlatt Act in March 1919. This Act empowered the government to imprison any person without trial.

Gandhi and his associates were shocked. It was the 'Satyagraha Sabha' founded by Gandhi, which pledged to disobey the Act first. In the place of the old agitational methods such as meetings, boycott of foreign cloth and schools, picketing of toddy shops, petitions and demonstrations, a novel method was adopted. Now 'Satyagraha' was the weapon to be used with the wider participation of labour, artisan and peasant masses. The symbol of this change was to be khadi, which soon became the uniform of nationalists. India's Swaraj would be a reality only when the masses awakened and became active in political work. Almost the entire country was electrified when Gandhi called upon the people to observe 'hartal' in March–April 1919 against the Rowlatt Act. He combined it with the Khilafat issue which brought together Hindus and Muslims.

(b) Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

The colonial government was enraged at the mass struggles and the enthusiasm of the masses as evidenced in the upsurge all over the country. On 13th April 1919, in Amritsar town, in the Jallianwala enclave that the most heinous of political crimes was perpetrated on an unarmed mass of people by the British regime. More than two thousand people had assembled at the venue to peacefully protest against the arrest of their leaders Satyapal and Saifudding Kitchlew. Michael O'Dwyer was the Lt. Governor of Punjab and the military commander was General Reginald Dyer. They decided to demonstrate their power and teach a lesson to the dissenters. The part where the gathering was held had only one narrow entrance. Dyer ordered firing on the trapped crowd with machine guns and rifles till the ammunition was exhausted. While the official


Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

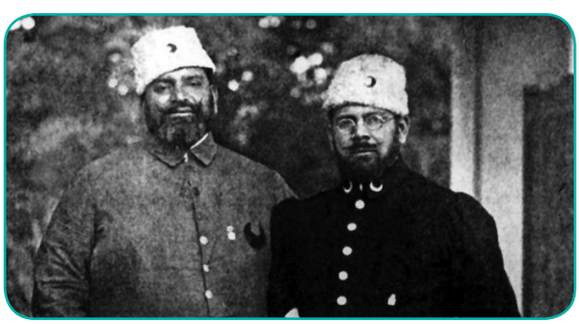
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figures of the dead was only about 379 the real number was over a thousand. Martial law was imposed all over Punjab and people were subject to untold indignities.

The entire country was horrified at the brutalities. In Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore there were widespread protests against the Rowlatt Act where the protesters were fired upon. There was violence in many towns and cities. Protesting against the brutalities many celebrities renounced their titles, of whom Ravindranath Tagore was one.

Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood immediately after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. In his protest letter to the viceroy on May 31, 1919, Tagore wrote "The time has come when the badge of honour makes our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who for their so-called insignificance are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings."

The two immediate causes responsible for launching the non-cooperation movement were the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. While the khilafat issue related to the position of the Turkish Sultan vis-a- vis the holy places of Islam, the Punjab issue related to the exoneration of the perpetrators of the Jallianwala massacre. While the control over holy places of Islam was taken over by non-Islamic powers against the assurances of the British rulers, the British courts of enquiry totally exonerated Reginald Dyer and Michael O'Dwyer of the crime perpetrated at Jallianwala.



Ali Brothers

A Sikh teenager who was raised at Khalsa Orphanage named Udham Singh saw the happening in his own eyes. To avenge the killings of Jallianwalla Bagh, on 30 March 1940, he assassinated Michael O'Dwyer in Caxton Hall of London. Udham Singh was hanged at Pentonville jail, London



Udham Singh

Gandhi and the Congress, who were bent upon Hindu-Muslim unity, now stood by their Muslim compatriots who felt betrayed by the British regime. The Ali brothers – Shukha and Muhammed – and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were the prime movers in the Khilafat movement.

(c) Launch of Non-Cooperation Movement

The Khilafat Conference, at the instance of Gandhi, decided to launch the non-cooperation movement from 31 August 1920. Earlier an all party meet at Allahabad had decided on a programme of boycott of government educational institutions and their law courts. The Congress met in a special session at Calcutta in September 1920 and resolved to accept Gandhi's proposal on non-cooperation with the colonial state till such time as Khilafat and Punjab grievances were redressed and self-government established.

Non-cooperation movement included boycott of schools, colleges, courts, government offices, legislatures, foreign goods, return of government conferred titles and awards. Alternatively, national schools, panchayats were to be set up and swadeshi goods manufactured and used. The struggle at a later stage was to include no tax campaign and mass civil disobedience, etc. A regular Congress session held at Nagpur in 1920 endorsed the earlier resolutions. Another important resolution at Nagpur was to recognize and set up linguistic

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Provincial Congress Committees which drew a large number of workers into the movement. In order to broad base the Congress, the workers were to reach out to the villages and enroll the villagers in the Congress on a nominal fee of four annas (25 paise). The overall character of the Congress underwent change and an atmosphere where a large majority of the masses could develop a sense of belonging to the nation and the national struggle developed. But it also led to some conservatives who were opposed to mass participation in the struggle to leave the Congress. Thus the Congress under Gandhi was shedding its elitist character, becoming a mass organization and in a real sense 'National'.



Non-Cooperaors with Gandhi

(d) Impact of Gandhi's Leadership

Thousands of schools and hundreds of colleges and vidyapeethas were established by the natives as alternatives to the government institutions. Several leading lawyers gave up their practice. Thousands of school and college students left the government institutions. The Ali brothers were arrested and jailed on sedition charges. The Congress committees called upon people to launch civil disobedience movement, including no tax movements if the Congress committees of their region were ready. The government as usual resorted to repression. Workers were arrested indiscriminately and put behind bars. The visit of Prince of Wales in 1921 to several cities in India was also boycotted. The calculation of the colonial government that the visit of the Prince would evoke loyal sentiments of the Indian people was proved wrong. Workers and peasants had gone on strike across the country. Gandhi promised Swaraj, if Indians participated in the non-cooperation movement on non-violent mode within a year.

South India surged forward during this phase of the struggle. The peasants of Andhra, withheld payment of taxes to the zamindars and the whole population of Chirala-Perala refused to pay taxes and vacated the town en-mass. Hundreds of village Patels and Shanbogues resigned their jobs. Non-Cooperation movement in Tamil Nadu was organised and led by stalwarts like C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthi and Periyar E.V.R. In Kerala, peasants organized anti-jenmi struggles.

The Viceroy admitted in a letter to the Secretary of State that the movement had seriously affected lower classes in certain areas of UP, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa the peasants have been affected. Impressed by the intensity of the movement, in a special session the Congress reiterated the intensification of the movement.In February 1922 Gandhi announced that he would lead a mass civil disobedience, including no tax campaigns, at Bardoli, if the government did not ensure press freedom and release the prisoners within seven days.

(e) Chauri Chaura Incident and Withdrawal of the Movement

The common people and the nationalist workers were exuberant that Swaraj would dawn soon and participated actively in the struggle. It had attracted all classes of people including the tribals living in the jungles. But at the same time sporadic violence was also witnessed along with arson. In Malabar and Andhra two very violent revolts also took place. In the Rampa region of coastal Andhra the tribals revolted under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju. In Malabar, Muslim (Mapilla) peasants rose up in armed rebellion against upper caste landholders and the British government.

Chauri-Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district of UP had an organized volunteer group which was participating and leading the picketing of liquor shops and local bazaar

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against high prices. On 5 February 1922, a Congress procession, 3000 strong, was fired upon by police Enraged by the firing, the mob attacked and burnt down the police station. 22 policemen lost their lives. It was this incident which made Gandhi announce the suspension of the non-cooperation movement.

The Congress Working Committee ratified the decision at Bardoli, to the disappointment of the nationalist workers. While the younger workers resented the decision, the others who had faith in Gandhi considered it a tactical retreat. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were critical of Gandhi, who was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison. Thus ended the non-cooperation movement.

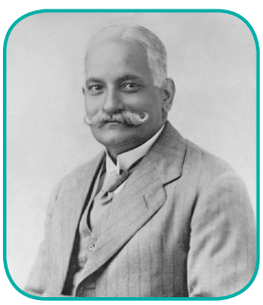
The Khilafat issue was made redundant when the people of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha rose in revolt and stripped the Sultan of his political power and abolished the Caliphate and declared that religion and politics could not go together.

4.5 Swarajist Party and its Activities

Following the suspension of Non-cooperation the question was what next? Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru proposed a new line of activity. They wanted to return to active politics which included entry into electoral politics and demonstrate that the nationalists were capable of obstructing the working of the reformed legislature by capturing them and arousing nationalist spirit. This group came to be called the 'Swarajists and pro-changers'. In Tamil Nadu, Satyamurti joined this group.



Chitaranjan Das



Motilal Nehru



Satyamurti

There was another group which opposed council entry and wanted to continue the Gandhian line by mobilizing the masses. This team led by Rajagopalachari, Vallabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad was called 'No changers.' They argued that electoral politics would divert the attention of nationalists and pull them away from the work of mass mobilization and their issues. They favoured the continuation of the Gandhian constructive programme of spinning, temperance, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and mobilise rural masses and prepare them for new mass movements. The pro-changers launched the Swarajya party as a part of the Congress. A truce was soon worked out and both the groups would engage themselves in the Congress programmes and their work should complement each other's activities under the leadership of Gandhi, though Gandhi personally favoured constructive work.

The Swarajya party did reasonably well in the elections to Central Assembly by winning 42 of the 101 seats open for election. With the cooperation of other members they were able to stall many anti-people legislations of the colonial regime, and were successful in exposing the inadequacy of the Act of 1919. But their efforts and enthusiasm petered out as time passed by and consciously or unconsciously they came to be co-opted by the Government as members of several committees constituted by it.

In the absence of nationalist mass struggle, fissiparous tendencies started rising their head. There were a series of communal riots with fundamentalist elements occupying the space. Even the Swaraj party was affected by the sectarianism as one group in the name of 'responsivists' started cooperating with the government, claiming to safeguard "Hindu

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interests". The Muslim fundamentalists similarly seized the space created by the lull in national struggle and started fanning communal feeling. Rise of Left Radicalism Gandhi was pained at the developments. To contain the communal frenzy he went on a 21 day fast.

Left Movement

Meanwhile socialist ideas and its activists also had filled some space through their work among peasants and workers. The labour and peasant movements were organized by the 'leftists'. Marxism as an ideology to criticise colonialism and capitalism had gained ground. It manifested itself in the organization of students and youth apart from trade unions. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose contributed to the spread of leftist ideology. They argued that both colonial exploitation and the internal exploitation by the emerging capitalists should be fought. A group of youngsters with S A. Dange, M.N Roy, Muzaffar Ahmed along with elderly persons such as Singaravelu form Tamilnadu founded the peasants and worker's parties. The government came down heavily on the communist-socialists and the revolutionaries a series of 'conspiracy cases' such as Kanpur, Meerut, Kakori were booked.

It was at this juncture Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad, Rajguru and Sukhdev emerged on the scene. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Hindustan Republican Association were started and thousands of youngmen and women became active anti-colonialists and revolutionaries. Youth and student conferences were organized all over the country. Meanwhile Ramprasad Bismil and Ashfaq-ullah were convicted to death and 17 others were sentenced to long term imprisonment in the Kakori conspiracy case. Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad and Rajguru, enraged at the police brutality and death of Lajpat Rai, killed Saunders, the British police officer who led the lathi charge at Lahore. Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt threw a bomb into the central Assembly hall on 8 April 1929. In 1929 the Meerut conspiracy case was filed and three dozen communist leaders were sentenced to long spells of jail terms. All these developments and incidents are discussed in detail in the next lesson.



Bhagat Singh



Rajguru



Sukhdev



Chandrashekar Azad

4.6 Simon Commission– Nehru Report – Lahore Congress

The British were due to consider and announce another instalment of constitutional reforms some time in 1929–30. In preparation, it announced the setting up of Indian Statutory commission (known as 'Simon Commission' after its chairman). The commission had only whitemen as members and it was an insult to Indians. The Congress at it annual session in Madras in 1927 resolved to boycott the commission. The Muslim league and the Hindu Mahasabha also supported the decision. A series of conferences were held and the consensus was to work for an alternative proposal. Most of the parties agreed to challenge the colonial attitude towards India and the result was the Motilal Nehru Report. However the All-Parties meet held in 1928 December at Calcutta failed to accept it on the issue of communal representation.

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Simon Go Back



Simon Go Back Demonstration

But the most important development was the popular protest against the Simon Commission. Whenever the commission went protests were held and the slogan 'Simon Go Back' rent the air. The movement demonstrated that the masses were gearing up for the next stage of the struggle. It was at Calcutta that the Congress met in December 1928. To conciliate the left wing it was announced that Jawaharlal would be the President of the next session in 1929. Thus Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, who presided over Congress in 1928, succeeded his father.

Lahore Congress Session-Poorna Swaraj

Lahore session of the Congress has a special significance in the history of the freedom movement. It was at the Lahore session that the Congress declared that the objective of the Congress was the attainment of complete independence. On 31 December 1929 the tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted at Lahore. It was also decided that 26 January would be celebrated as the Independence day every year. It was also announced that civil disobedience would be started under the leadership of Gandhi.

Dandi March

As a part of the movement Gandhi announced the 'Dandi March'. It was a protest against the unjust tax on salt, which is used by all. But the colonial government was taxing it and had a near monopoly over it. The Dandi March was to cover 375 kms from Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the Gujarat coast. Joined by a chosen band of 78 followers from all regions and social groups, after informing the colonial government in advance, Gandhi set out on the march and reached Dandi on the 25th day i.e. 6 April 1930. Throughout the period of the march the press covered the event in such a way that it had caught the attention of the entire world. He broke the salt law by picking up a fist full of salt. It was symbolic of the refusal of Indians to be under the repressive colonial government and its unjust laws.

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Gandhi's Salt March in Dandi

Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha

In Tamilnadu, a salt march was led by Rajaji to Vedaranyam. Vedaranyam, situated 150 miles from Tiruchirapalli from where march started was an obscure coastal village in Thanjavur district. Rajaji had just been elected president of the Tamilnadu Congress. The march started on 13th April and reached Vedaranyam on 28th April 1930.

The Thajavur collector J.A Thorne had warned the public of severe action if the marchers were harboured. But the Satyagrahis were warmly welcomed and provided with food and shelter. Those who dared to offer food and

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shelter were severely dealt with. The Satyagrahis marched via Kumbakonam, Semmangudi, Thiruthuraipoondi where they were given good reception.



Salt Satyagraha (Vedaranyam)

The Vedaranyam movement stirred the masses in south India and awakened them to the colonial oppression and the need to join the struggle.

4.7 The Round Table Conferences

The Simon Commission had submitted the report to the government. The Congress, Muslim league and Hindu Mahasabha had boycotted it. The British regime went ahead with the consideration of the report. But in the absence of consultations with Indian leaders it would have been useless. In order to secure some legitimacy and credibility to the report, the government announced that it would convene a Round Table Conference (RTC) in London with leaders of different shades of Indian opinion. But the Congress decided to boycott it, on the issue of granting independence. Everyone knew, more so the government, that it would be an exercise in futility if the Congress did not participate.

Thus negotiations with Congress were started and the Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on March 5, 1931. It marked the end of civil disobedience in India. The movement had generated worldwide publicity, and Viceroy Irwin was looking for a way to end it. Gandhi was released from custody in January 1931,



Second Round Table Conference with Gandhi

and the two men began negotiating the terms of the pact. In the end, Gandhi pledged to give up the *satyagraha* campaign, and Irwin agreed to release tens of thousands of Indians who had been jailed during the movement.

That year Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference in London as the sole representative of the Congress. The government agreed to allow people to make salt for their consumption, release political prisoners who had not indulged in violence, and permitted the picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. The Karachi Congress ratified the Gandhi–Irwin pact. However the Viceroy refused to commute the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

Gandhi attended the Second RTC but the government was adamant and declined to concede his demands. He returned empty handed and the Congress resolved on renewing the civil disobedience movement. The economic depression had worsened the condition of the people in general and of the peasants in particular. There were peasant protests all over the country. The leftists were in the forefront of the struggles of the workers and peasants. The government was determined to crush the movement. All key leaders including Nehru, Khan Abdul Gafar Khan and finally Gandhi were all arrested. The Congress was banned. Special laws were enacted to crush the agitations. Over a lakh of protesters were arrested and literature relating to nationalism was also declared illegal and confiscated. It was a reign of terror that was unleashed on the unarmed masses participating in the movement.

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The movement started waning and it was officially suspended in May 1933 and withdrawn in May 1934.

4.8 Emergence of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the Separate Electorates

Dr. Ambedkar came to the centre stage of the struggles of the oppressed world in the 1920's. Born in the then so-called "untouchable" caste called Mahar in Central India as the son of an army man, he was a brilliant student and was the first to matriculate from his community.

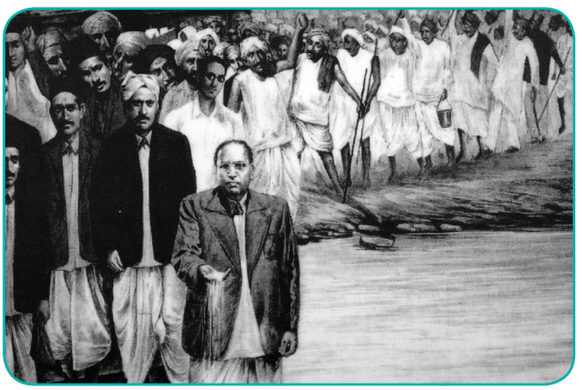
Ambedkar's Academic Accomplishments

Ambedkar joined the Elphinston College, with the help of a scholarship and graduated in 1912. With the help of a scholarship from the Maharaja of Barona he went to United States and secured a post-graduate degree, and doctorate, from the Columbia University. Then he went to London to study law and economics.

Ambedkar's brilliance caught the attention of many. Already in 1916, he had participated in an international conference of Anthropology and presented a research paper on 'Castes in India', which was published later in the *Indian Antiquary*. The British government which was searching for talents among the downtrodden of India invited him to interact with the Southborough or the Franchise Committee which was collecting evidence on the quantum and qualifications to be fixed for the Indian voters.

It was in these interactions that Ambedkar first spoke about separate electorates. He argued the untouchables be given separate electorates and reserved seats. Under this scheme only untouchables could vote in the constituencies reserved for them. Ambedkar felt that if any untouchable candidate contesting elections were to depend on non-untouchable voters he or she would be more obliged to the latter and would not therefore be in a position to worker at freely for the good of the untouchables. If only untouchable voters were to vote and elect in the reserved seats, those elected would be their real representatives.

Ambedkar's Activism



Mahad Satyagraha

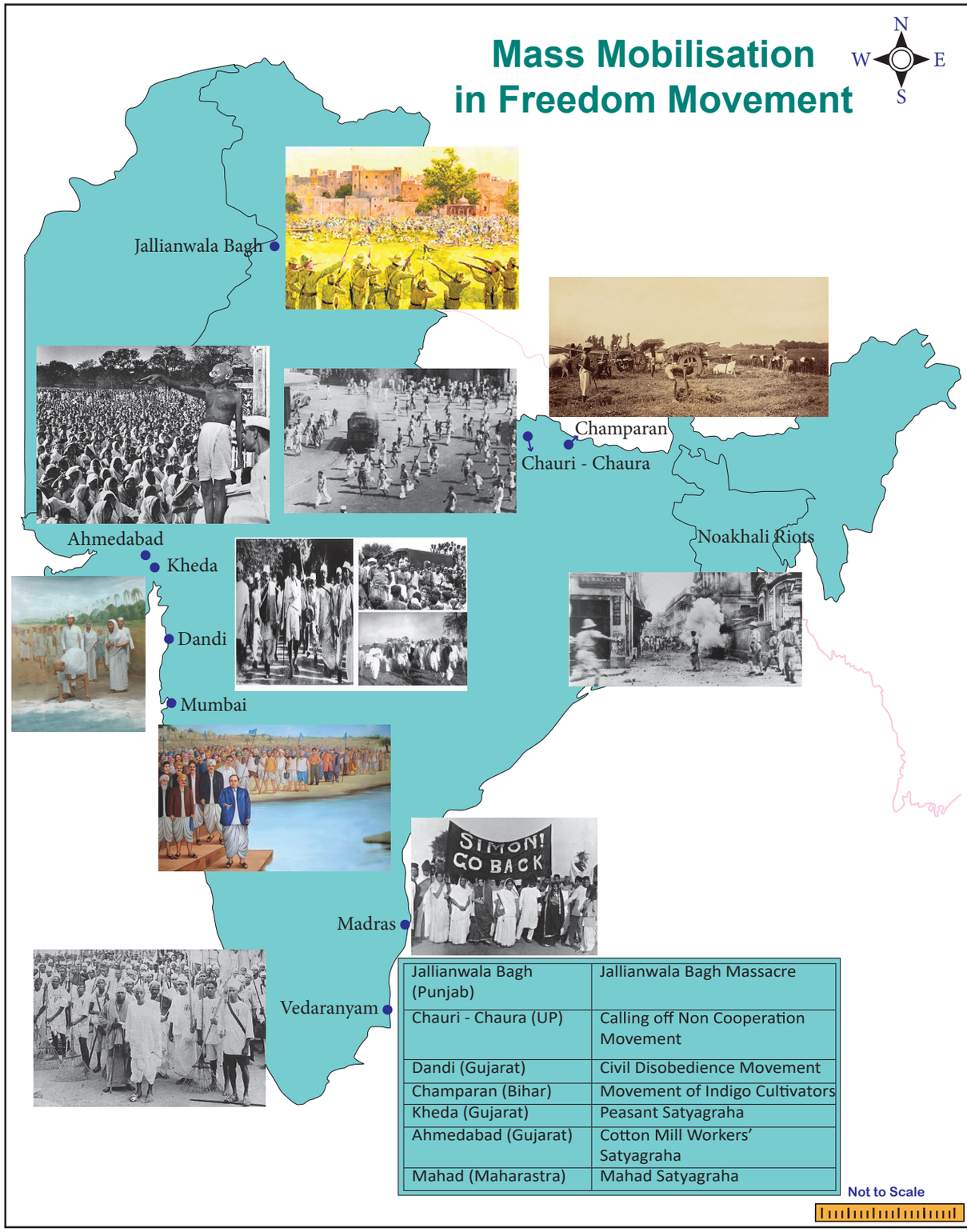
Ambedkar launched news journals and organizations. *Mook Nayak* (leader of the dumb) was the journal to articulate his views and the *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha* (Association for the welfare of excluded) spearheaded his activities. As a member of the Bombay legislative council he worked tirelessly to secure removal of disabilities imposed on untouchables. He launched the 'Mahad Satyagraha' to establish the civic right of the untouchables to public tanks and wells. Ambedkar's intellectual and public activities drew the attention of all concerned. His intellectual attacks were directed against leaders of the Indian National Congress and the colonial bureaucracy. In the meanwhile the struggle for freedom under Congress and Gandhi's leadership had reached a decisive phase with their declaration that their objective was to fight for complete independence or 'Purna Swaraj'.

Ambedkar on Separate Electorate for "Untouchables"

Ambedkar was concerned about the future of "untouchables" and the oppressed in an independent India which was certain to be under the control of Congress under the hegemony of the caste Hindus. He renewed

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Mass Mobilisation in Freedom Movement



Jallianwala Bagh (Punjab)	Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
Chauri - Chaura (UP)	Calling off Non Cooperation Movement
Dandi (Gujarat)	Civil Disobedience Movement
Champaran (Bihar)	Movement of Indigo Cultivators
Kheda (Gujarat)	Peasant Satyagraha
Ahmedabad (Gujarat)	Cotton Mill Workers' Satyagraha
Mahad (Maharastra)	Mahad Satyagraha

Not to Scale

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his demand for separate electorates, be it before the All-Parties conference or the Simon commission or at the Round Table Conference. The Congress and Gandhi were worried that separate electorates for untouchables would further weaken the national movement, as separate electorates to Muslims, Anglo Indians and other special interests had helped the British to successfully pursue its divide and rule policy. Gandhi feared that the separation of untouchables from other Hindus politically would also have its social impact.

Communal Award

A meeting between Gandhi and Ambedkar on this issue of separate electorates before they went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference ended in failure. There was an encounter between the two again in the RTC about the same issue. It ended in a deadlock and finally the issue was left to be arbitrated by the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald. The British government announced in August 1932 what came to be known as the Communal Award. Ambedkar's demands for separate electorates with reserved seats were conceded.

Poona Pact

Gandhi was deeply upset. He declared that he would resist separate electorates to untouchables 'with his life'. He went on a fast unto death in the Yervada jail where he was imprisoned. There was enormous pressure on Ambedkar to save Gandhi's life. Consultations, confabulations, meetings, prayers were held all over and ultimately after a meeting with Gandhi in the jail, the communal award was modified. The new agreement, between Ambedkar and Gandhians, called the 'Poona Pact' was signed.

The Poona Pact took away separate electorates but guaranteed reserved seats for the untouchables. The provision of reserved seats was incorporated in the constitutional changes which were made. It was also built into the Constitution of independent India.

Ambedkar and Party Politics

Ambedkar launched two political parties. The first one was the Independent Labour party in 1937 and the second Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942. The colonial government recognizing his struggles and also to balance its support base used the services of Ambedkar. Thus he was made a member of the Defence Advisory Committee in 1942, and a few months later, a minister in the Viceroy's cabinet.

The crowning recognition of his services to the nation was electing him as the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the independent India's Constitution. After independence Ambedkar was invited to be a member of the Nehru cabinet.

Summary

- Gandhi's entry into politics, bringing in its wake a new impulse, and his experiment of Satyagraha in peasant movements of Champaran and Kheda and in Ahmedabad mill workers' strike provided the base for the launch of non-cooperation movement.
- The shortcomings of Dyarchy, introduced in provinces through the Indian Councils Act of 1919 and the challenges posed by non-brahmin movements to mainstream nationalist politics bothered the Congress during this period.
- Gandhi's call for protest on the issues of Khilafat, and Rowlatt Act and as a response the British government's repressive measures leading to the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre prompted the Congress to launch non-cooperation movement.
- The withdrawal of non-cooperation movement after Chauri Chaura incident resulted in the birth of a short-lived Swarajist Party that carried on the struggle in the legislatures.
- The Congress boycotted the Simon Commission and the first Round Table

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Conference and intensified the struggle by launching civil disobedience movement, in the wake of fruitless outcome of Second Round Table Conference.

- Gandhi's Dandi March and Rajaji's Salt March to Vedaranyam in Tamilnadu succeeded in mobilizing the masses for the nationalist cause.
- The emergence of Ambedkar as a leader of the Depressed Classes and his support of separate electorate proclaimed by the British under Communal Award prompted Gandhi to undertake a fast unto death that ended with the signing of Poona Pact.

EXERCISE

6K0SA

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Who was the political guru of Gandhiji?
   (a) Tilak (b) Gokhale
   (c) W.C.Bannerjee (d) M.G. Ranade
2. After returning from South Africa Gandhi launched his first successful Satyagraha in
   (a) Kheda (b) Dandi
   (c) Champaran (d) Bardoli
3. Why was the Simon Commission boycotted by the Congress?
   (a) There was no recommendation for bestowing dominion status on India in its report.
   (b) It did not provide any safeguards for minorities.
   (c) It had excluded Indians from its fold.
   (d) It did not hold any promise for total independence
4. When was the tri-colour flag of freedom hoisted?
   (a) December 31, 1929 (b) March 12, 1930
   (c) January 26, 1930 (d) January 26, 1931
5. What was the name of the party formed by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das in 1923?
   (a) Swaraj Party
   (b) Ghadar Party
   (c) Swantara Party
   (d) Communist Party
6. Match List I with List II and select answer from the codes given below
   (A) The Namasudra Movement - 1. North Western India
   (B) The Adidharma Movement - 2. South India
   (C) The Satyashodhak Movement - 3. Eastern India
   (D) The Dravidian Movement - 4. Western India

   codes
   (a) 3, 1, 4, 2 (b) 2, 1, 4, 3
   (c) 1, 2, 3, 4 (d) 3, 4, 1, 2
7. Arrange the different stages of Non-Cooperation Movement in chronological order.
   1. The most heinous of political crime was perpetrated on an unarmed mass by the British regime at Amritsar town.
   2. Rowlatt Act was promulgated to imprison any person without trial by a law court.
   3. Chauri Chaura incident of mob violence made Gandhi announce the suspension of Non-Cooperation Movement.
   4. A special session held at Calcutta resolved to accept Gandhi's proposal on non-cooperation with the colonial state.

   (a) 2, 1, 4, 3 (b) 1, 3, 2, 4
   (c) 2, 4, 1, 3 (d) 3, 2, 4, 1
8. Which of the following is not correctly paired?
   (a) Lt. Governor of Punjab - Reginald Dyer
   (b) Dalit-Bahujan Movement - Dr. Ambedkar
   (c) Self Respect Movement - Periyar E.V.R.
   (d) Satyagraha Sabha - Rowlatt Act

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9. Arrange the launching of the following events in chronological order

(i) The Kheda Satyagraha

(ii) Champaran Movement

(iii) Non-Brahmin Movement

(iv) Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha

Choose the correct answer from the codes below.

(a) ii, iii, i, iv

(b) iii, ii, i, iv

(c) ii, i, iv, iii

(d) ii, i, iii, iv

10. Which of the following is/are not true?

(i) Gandhiji established Sabarmathi Ashram at Ahmedabad.

(ii) Vallabhai Patel was a lawyer

(iii) Simon Commission was welcomed by the Muslim League

(iv) Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference

Choose the answer from the code given below

(a) i (b) i and iv

(c) ii and iii (d) only iii

11. Non-Cooperation movement included

(A) boycott of government schools and colleges

(B) return of government conferred titles

(C) observing protest fasts

(D) conducting underground movements

Choose the correct answer from the codes given below.

(a) A and B (b) B and C

(c) A and D (d) C and D

12. **Assertion (A) :** B.R. Ambedkar launched Mahad Satyagraha.

Reason (R) : He wanted to unite Hindus and Muslims.

(a) A is correct R explains A

(b) A is correct does not explain R

(c) A is correct, R is wrong

(d) A is wrong, R is correct

13. **Assertion (A):** The Indian Council Act and the Rowlatt Act were passed in 1919.

Reason (R): It was part of the British policy of winning over the moderates and isolating the extremists

(a) Both A and R are correct R is the correct explanation of A

(b) Both A and R are correct R is not the correct explanation of A

(c) A is correct and R is wrong

(d) A wrong and R is correct.

14. Which of the undermentioned personality is unrelated to Swaraj Party?

(a) Rajaji (b) Chitaranjan Das

(c) Motilal Nehru (d) Sathya murthi

15. Gandhi set out on the March and reached Dandi on_____

(a) 6th April 1930 (b) 6th March 1930

(c) 4th April 1939 (d) 4th March 1930

II. Write brief answers

1. How was the visit of Prince of Wales to India received?
2. Who were the local leaders to accompany Gandhiji to Champaran ?
3. Why was Servants of India Society founded?
4. Write about Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha.
5. Why was the Rowlatt Act opposed by the nationalists?
6. What do you know of the Mahad Satyagraha launched by Dr. Ambedkhar.
7. What was agreed upon according to Gandhi-Irwin Pact?

III. Write short answers

1. Write a note on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
2. Write about the Dyarchy in provinces.
3. What is the importance of the Poona Pact?
4. "The leaders of the non-Brahman movement were using the same tactics as the early nationalist in dealing with the colonial government." Elaborate.

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5. Point out the difference between pro-changers and no changers.
6. Write about Communal Award of British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald.
7. Why was the Congress banned in the aftermath of the unsuccessful conclusion of three round table conferences?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Discuss the context of launching of the Non-Cooperation movement and its outcome.
2. In what way was the Civil Disobedient Movement different from Non-cooperation Movement?
3. Estimate the role of Mahathma Gandhi in the Indian Freedom Struggle.
4. Sketch the educational career of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar with particular focus on his activism to secure social justice to the depressed classes?

V. Activity

1. Make a time line of important events of Gandhian era of Indian National Movement.
2. Conduct a debate on the relevance of Gandhi in the present socio-politico and economic context.

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GLOSSARY

vindictiveness	desire for revenge	பழிவாங்கும் எண்ணம்
tyranny	crelty or oppression	கொடுங்கோன்மை / வல்லாட்சி
Dyarchy	government shared by two different independent authorities	இரட்டையாட்சி
hierarchial	arranging, according to various criteria, into successive ranks or grades	படிநிலை/ வர்க்கப் படிநிலை
humanism	system of thought giving importance to human rather than devine.	மனிதநேயக் கோட்பாடு
monopoly	an exclusive control over the trade or service through exclusive possession.	ஏகபோக உரிமை
hartal	the act of closing shops or suspending work	கடையடைப்பு
martial	warlike	போர்க்குணம் வாய்ந்த
ammunition	quantity of bullets and shells	வெடி பொருட்கள்
fissiparous	causing division	பிளவுண்டாக்குகிற

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ICT CORNER

Advent of Gandhi and Mass Mobilization

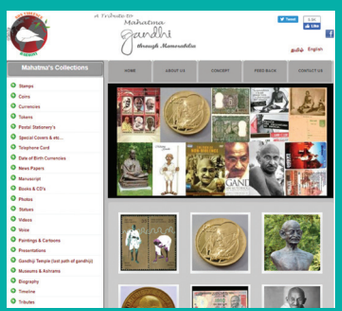
Through this activity you will learn about Collection of Mahatma Gandhi's rare photos, documents and vedios.



Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Change language options, go to 'Mahatma's Collection'

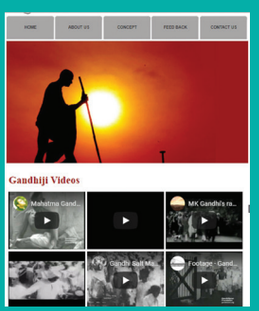
Step - 3 Select 'Newspaper' and click to see the events



Step1



Step2



Step3

Web URL: http://gandhiworld.in/english/index.html

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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UNIT 5

Period of Radicalism in Anti-imperialist Struggles

Learning Objectives

To Acquire Knowledge about

- The Kanpur Conspiracy Case
- Meerut Trial
- Bhagat Singh– Kalpana Dutt
- The Karachi Session of Indian National Congress
- The Great Depression and its impact on India
- Industrial development in India

Introduction

The influence of the Left-wing in the Indian National Congress and consequently on the struggle for independence was felt in a significant manner from the late 1920s. The Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed, by M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji, M.P.T. Acharya, Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Shafiq, in Tashkent, Uzbekistan then in the Soviet Union in October 1920. This opened a new radical era in the anti-imperialist struggles in India.

Even though there were many radical groups functioning in India earlier the presence of a Communist state in the form of USSR greatly alarmed the British in India. The first batch of radicals reached Peshawar on 3 June 1921. They were arrested immediately under the charges of being Bolshevik (Russian communist agents) comeing to India to create troubles. A series of five conspiracy cases were instituted against them between the years 1922 and 1927. The first of these was the Peshawar Conspiracy case. This was followed by the Kanpur (Bolshevik) Conspiracy case in (1924) and the most famous, the Meerut Conspiracy case (1929). Meanwhile, the CPI was formally founded on Indian soil in 1925 in Bombay.

Various revolutionary groups were functioning then in British India, adopting socialist ideas but were not communist parties. Two revolutionaries – Bhagat Singh of the Hindustan Revolutionary Socialist Association and Kalpana Dutt of the Indian Republican Army that organised repeated raids on the Chittagong Armoury in Bengal will be the focus of the next section. The Karachi Session of the INC and its famous resolutions especially on Fundamental Rights and Duties is dealt with next. The last two topics are about the world-wide economic depression popularly known as Great Depression and its impact on India and Tamil Society and the Industrial Development registered in India in its aftermath. The Great Depression dealt a severe blow to the labour force and peasants and consequently influenced the struggle for independence in a significant way.

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5.1 Kanpur Conspiracy Case, 1924



Kanpur Conspiracy Case Prisoners

The colonial administrators did not take the spread of communist ideas lightly. Radicalism spread across the British Provinces – Bombay, Calcutta and Madras - and industrial centres like Kanpur in United Province (UP) and cities like Lahore where factories had come up quite early. As a result, trade unions emerged in the jute and cotton textile industries, the railway companies across the country and among workers in the various municipal bodies. In order to curb the radicalisation of politics, especially to check what was then called Bolshevism, repressive measures were adopted by the British administration. The Kanpur Conspiracy case of 1924 was one such move. Those charged with the conspiracy were communists and trade unionists.

The accused were arrested spread over a period of six months. Eight of them were charged under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code – 'to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution', and sent to various jails. The case came before Sessions Judge H.E. Holmes who had earned notoriety while serving as Sessions Judge of Gorakhpur for awarding death sentence to 172 peasants for their involvement in the Chauri Chaura case.

In the Kanpur Conspiracy case, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta and S. A. Dange were sent to jail, for four years of rigorous imprisonment. The trial and the imprisonment, meanwhile, led to some awareness about the communist activities in India. A Communist Defence Committee was formed in British India to raise funds and engage lawyers for the defence of the accused. Apart from these, the native press in India reported the court proceedings extensively.

The trial in the conspiracy case and the imprisonment of some of the leaders,

13 persons were originally accused in the Kanpur case: (1) M.N. Roy, (2) Muzaffar Ahmad, (3) Shaukat Usmani, (4) Ghulam Hussain, (5) S.A. Dange, (6) M. Singaravelar, (7) R.L. Sharma, (8) Nalini Gupta, (9) Shamuddin Hassan, (10) M.R.S Velayudhun, (11) Doctor Manilal, (12) Sampurnananda, (13) Satyabhakta. 8 persons were charge-sheeted: M.N. Roy, Muzaffar Ahmad, S.A. Dange, Nalini Gupta, Ghulam Hussain, Singaravelar, Shaukat Usmani, and R.L. Sharma. Ghulam Hussain turned an approver. M.N. Roy and R.L. Sharma were charged in absentia as they were in Germany and Pondicherry (a French Territory) respectively. Singaravelar was released on bail due to his ill health. Finally the list got reduced to four.



M.N. Roy

M. Singaravelar (18 February 1860 – 11 February 1946), was born in Madras. He was an early Buddhist, and like many other communist leaders, he was also associated with Indian National Congress initially. However, after sometime he chose a radical path. Along with Thiru. V. Kalyanasundaram, he organised many trade unions in South India. On 1 May 1923, he organised the first ever celebration of May Day in the country. He was one of the main organisers of the strike in South Indian Railways (Golden Rock, Tiruchirappalli) in 1928 and was prosecuted for that.



M. Singaravelar

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rather than kill the spirit of the radicals gave a fillip to communist activities. In December 1925, a Communist Conference of different communist groups, from all over India, was held.Singaravelar from Tamil Nadu took part in this conference. It was from there that the Communist Party of India was established, formally, with Bombay as its Headquarters.

5.2 Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929

Communist Activities

The Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929, was, perhaps, the most famous of all the communist conspiracy cases instituted by the British Government. The late 1920s witnessed a number of labour upsurges and this period of unrest extended into the decade of the Great Depression (1929–1939). Trade unionism spread over to many urban centres and organised labour strikes. The communists played a prominent role in organising the working class throughout this period. The Kharagpur Railway workshop strikes in February and September 1927, the Liluah Rail workshop strike between January and July 1928, the Calcutta scavengers' strike in 1928, the several strikes in the jute mills in Bengal during July-August 1929, the strike at the Golden Rock workshop of the South Indian Railway, Tiruchirappalli, in July 1928, the textile workers' strike in Bombay in April 1928 are some of the strikes that deserve mention.

Government Repression

Alarmed by this wave of strikes and the spread of communist activities, the British Government brought two draconian Acts - the Trade Disputes Act, 1928 and the Public Safety Bill, 1928. These Acts armed the government with powers to curtail civil liberties in general and suppress the trade union activities in particular. The government was worried about the strong communist influence among the workers and peasants.

Determined to wipe out the radical movement, the government resorted to several repressive measures. They arrested 32 leading activists of the Communist Party, from different parts of British India like Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab, Poona and United Provinces. Most of them were trade union activists though not all of them were members of the Communist Party of India. At least eight of them belonged to the Indian National Congress. The arrested also included three British communists-Philip Spratt, Ban Bradley and Lester Hutchinson – who had been sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to help build the party in India. Like those arrested in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case they were charged under Section 121A of the Indian Penal Code. All the 32 leaders arrested were brought to Meerut (in United Province then) and jailed. A good deal of documents that the colonial administration described as 'subversive material,' like books, letters, and pamphlets were seized and produced as evidence against the accused.

The British government conceived of conducting the trial in Meerut (and not, for instance in Bombay from where a large chunk of the accused hailed) so that they could get away with the obligations of a jury trial. They feared a jury trial could create sympathy for the accused.

Trial and Punishment

Meanwhile, a National Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee was formed to coordinate defence in the case. Famous Indian lawyers like K.F. Nariman and M.C. Chagla appeared in the court on behalf of the accused. Even national



K.F. Nariman



M.C. Chagla

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leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru visited the accused in jail. All these show the importance of the case in the history of our freedom struggle.

The Sessions Court in Meerut awarded stringent sentences on 16 January 1933, four years after the arrests in 1929. 27 were convicted and sentenced to various duration of transportation. During the trial, the Communists made use of their defence as a platform for propaganda by making political statements. These were reported widely in the newspapers and thus lakhs of people came to know about the communist ideology and the communist activities in India. There were agitations against the conviction. That three British nationals were also accused in the case, the case became known internationally too. Most importantly, even Romain Rolland and Albert Einstein raised their voice in support of the convicted.

Under the national and international pressure, on appeal, the sentences were considerably reduced in July 1933.

5.3 Bhagat Singh and Kalpana Dutt

Bhagat Singh's Background

Bhagat Singh represented a distinct strand of nationalism. His radical strand complemented, in a unique way, to the overall ideals of the freedom movement.

> "I began to study. My previous faith and convictions underwent a remarkable modification. The romance of the violent methods alone which was so prominent among our predecessors was replaced by serious ideas. No more mysticism, no more blind faith. Realism became our cult. Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity: non-violence as a policy indispensable for all mass movements. So much about methods. The most important thing was the clear conception of the ideal for which we were to fight….. from Bhagat Singh's "*Why I am an Atheist*".

Bhagat Singh was born to Kishan Singh (father) and Vidyavati Kaur (mother) on 28 September 1907 in Jaranwala, Lyallpur district, Punjab, now a part of Pakistan. His father was a liberal and his family was a family of freedom fighters. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre happened when Bhagat Singh was 14 years. Early in his youth, he was associated with the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Hindustan Republican Association. The latter organisation was founded by Sachin Sanyal and Jogesh Chatterji. It was reorganised subsequently in September 1928 as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (H.S.R.A) by Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Socialist ideals and the October Revolution in Russia of 1917 were large influences on these revolutionaries. Bhagat Singh was one of the leaders of the H.S.R.A along with Chandrashekhar Azad, Shivaram Rajguru and Sukhdev Thapar.

Bhagat Singh's Bomb Throwing

The image that comes to our mind at the very mention of Bhagat Singh's name is that of the bomb he threw in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929. The bombs did not kill anybody. It was intended as a demonstrative action, an act of protest against the draconian laws of the British. They chose the day on which the Trade Disputes Bill, an anti-labour legislation was introduced in the assembly.

Lahore Conspiracy Case



Jatindra Nath Das

Bhagat Singh along with Rajguru, Sukhdev, Jatindra Nath Das and 21 others were arrested and tried for the murder of Saunders (the case was known as the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case). Jatindra Nath Das died in the jail after 64 days of hunger strike against the discriminatory practices and poor conditions in jail. The verdict in the bomb throwing case had been suspended until the trial of Lahore

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Conspiracy trials was over. It was in this case that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were sentenced to death on 7 October 1930.

A letter from them to the Governor of Punjab shows their courage and their optimism over the future of India even while facing death for the cause of freedom of their country. It says, 'the days of capitalism and imperialism are numbered. The war neither began with us nor is going to end with our lives… According to the verdict of your court we had waged a war and we are therefore war prisoners. And we claim to be treated as such i.e., we claim to be shot dead instead of being hanged."

Some narratives describe Bhagat Singh and his fellow patriots as terrorists. This is a misconception. The legendary Bhagat Singh clarified how his group is different from the terrorists. He said, during his trial, that revolution is not just the cult of bomb and pistol…Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is the imperishable birth-right of all. The labourer is the real sustainer of society.. To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause.' Symbolically, they also shouted *Inquilab Zindabad* after this defence statement of his in the court.

Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged early in the morning of March 23, 1931 in the Lahore Jail. They faced the gallows with courage, shouting *Inquilab Zindabad* and Down with British Imperialism until their last breath. The history of freedom struggle is incomplete without the revolutionary strand of nationalism and the ultimate sacrifice of these revolutionaries. One more name in the list of such fighters is Kalpana Dutt.

Kalpana Dutt (1913–1995)

In the late 1920s a young woman, Kalpana Dutt (known as Kalpana Joshi after her marriage to the communist leader P.C. Joshi), fired the patriotic imagination of young people by her daring raid of the Chittagong armoury.

The H.S.R.A was a renewed chapter of the Hindustan Republican Association. Its aim was the overthrow of the capitalist and imperialist government and establish a socialist society through a revolution. The H.S.R.A involved a number of actions such as the murder of Saunders in Lahore. In that, Saunders was mistaken for the Superintendent of Police, Lahore, James A. Scott who was responsible for seriously assaulting Lajpat Rai, in December 1928, and Rai's subsequent death. They also made an attempt to blow up the train in which Lord Irwin (Governor General and Viceroy of India, 1926-1931) was travelling, in December 1929, and a large number of such actions in Punjab and UP in 1930.



Kalpana Dutt

To understand the heroism of Kalpana Dutt, you should understand the revolutionary strand of nationalism that attracted women like her to these ideals. You have already learnt that there existed many revolutionary groups in British India. The character of these organisations gradually changed from being ones that practiced individual annihilation to organising collective actions aimed at larger changes in the system.

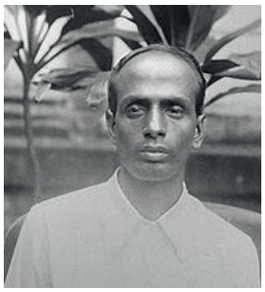
As Surya Sen, the revolutionary leader of Chittagong armoury raid, told Ananda Gupta, 'a dedicated band of youth must show the path of organised armed struggle in place of individual action. Most of us will have to die in the process but our sacrifice for such noble cause will not go in vain.' When revolutionary groups like the Yugantar and the Anushilan Samiti began stagnating in the mid-1920s, new groups sprang out of them. Among them, the most important group was the one led by Surya Sen, a school teacher by profession, in Bengal. He had actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement and wore

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Khadi. His group was closely working with the Chittagong unit of the Indian National Congress.

Chittagong Armoury Raid

Surya Sen's revolutionary group, the Indian Republican Army, was named after the Irish Republican Army. They planned a rebellion to occupy Chittagong in a guerrilla-style operation. The Chittagong armouries were raided on the night of 18 April 1930. Simultaneous attacks were launched on telegraph offices, the armoury and the police barracks to cut off all communication networks including the railways to isolate the region. It was aimed at challenging the colonial administration directly.



Surya Sen

The revolutionaries hoisted the national flag and symbolically shouted slogans such as Bande Matram and Inquilab Zindabad. The raids and the resistance continued for the next three years. Often, they operated from the villages and the villagers, gave food and shelter to the revolutionaries and suffered greatly at the hands of police for this. Due to the continuous nature of the actions, there was an Armoury Raid Supplementary Trial too. It took three years to arrest Surya Sen, in February 1933, and eleven months before he was sent to the gallows on 12 January 1934. Kalpana Dutt was among those who participated in the raids.

> On 13 June 1932 in a face-to-face battle against government forces, two of the absconders of the Armoury Raid were killed, while they in turn killed Capt. Cameron, Commander of the government forces in the village of Dhalghat in the house of a poor Brahmin widow, Savitri Debi. After the incident the widow was arrested together with her children. Despite many offers and temptations, not a word could the police get out of the widow. They were uneducated and poor, yet they resisted all the temptation offers of gold and unflinchingly could bear all the tortures that were inflicted upon them.
>
> —From Kalpana Dutt's autobiography *Chittagong Armoury Raiders' Reminiscences*.

Women in Action

While Bhagat Singh represented young men who dedicated their lives to the freedom of the country, Kalpana Dutt represented the young women who defied the existing patriarchal set up and took to arms for the liberation of their motherland. Not only did they act as messengers (as elsewhere) but they also participated in direct actions, fought along with men, carrying guns.

Kalpana Dutt's active participation in the revolutionary Chittagong movement led to her arrest. Tried along with Surya Sen, Kalpana was sentenced to transportation for life. The charge was "waging war against the King Emperor." As all their activities started with the raid on the Armoury, the trial came to be known as the Chittagong Armoury Raid Trial.

Kalpana Dutt recalls in her book *Chittagong Armoury Raiders Reminiscences* the revolutionary youth of Chittagong wanted "to inspire self-confidence by demonstrating that even without outside help it was possible to fight the Government.

5.4 Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress, 1931

The Indian National Congress, in contrast to the violent actions of revolutionaries, mobilised the masses for non-violent struggles. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhi gave priority to the problems of peasants. In the context of great agrarian distress, deepened by world-wide economic depression, the Congress mobilised the peasantry. The Congress adopted a

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no-rent and no-tax campaign as a part of its civil disobedience programme. Under the pressure of Great Depression, socio-economic demands were sharply articulated in its Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress.



Karachi Session

The freedom struggle was taking a new shape. Peasants organised themselves into Kisan Sabhas and industrial workers were organized by the trade unions, made their presence felt in a big way in the freedom struggle. The Indian National Congress had become a mass party during the 1930s. The Congress leadership, which was now taking a left turn under Nehru's leadership, began to talk about an egalitarian society based on social and economic justice.

The Karachi session held in March 1931, presided over by Sardar Valabhbhai Patel, adopted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and provided an insight into what the economic policy of an independent India. In some ways, it was the manifesto of the Indian National Congress for independent India. These rights and the social and economic programmes were derived from a firm conviction that political freedom and economic freedom were inseparable.

Even a cursory look at the fundamental rights resolution will tell you that all the basic rights that the British denied to the Indians found a prominent place in the Resolution. The colonial government curtailed civil liberties and freedom by passing draconian acts and ordinances. Gandhian ideals and Nehru's socialist vision also found a place in the list of rights that the Indian National Congress promised to ensure in free India.

The existing social relations, especially the caste system and the practice untouchability, were also challenged with a promise to ensure equal access to public places and institutions.

The Fundamental Rights, in fact, found a place in the Part III of the Constitution of India– Fundamental Rights - and some of them went into Part IV, the Directive Principles of the State policy.

5.5 The Great Depression and its Impact on India



Stock Market Crash in US Wall Street

The Great Depression was a severe and prolonged economic crisis which lasted for about a decade from 1929. The slowdown of the economic activities, especially industrial production, led to crises like lockouts, wage cut, unemployment and starvation. It began in North America and affected Europe and all the industrial centres in the world. As the world was integrated by the colonial order in its economic sphere, developments in one part of the world affected other parts as well.

The crash in the Wall Street (where the American Stock Exchange was located) triggered an economic depression of great magnitude. The Depression hit India too. British colonialism aggravated the situation in India. Depression affected both industrial and agrarian sectors. Labour unrest broke out in industrial centres such as Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, United Province and Madras against wage cuts, lay-offs and for the betterment of living conditions. In the agriculture sector,

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prices of the agricultural products, which depended on export markets like jute and raw cotton fell steeply. The depression brought down the value of Indian exports from Rs. 311 crores in 1929–1930 to Rs 132 crores in 1932–33. Therefore, the 1930s witnessed the emergence of the Kisan Sabhas which fought for rent reduction, relief from debt traps and even for the abolition of Zamindari.

The only positive impact was on the Indian industrial sector that could use the availability of land at reduced prices and labour at cheap wage rates. The weakening ties with Britain and other capitalist countries created a condition where growth was recorded in some of the Indian industries. Yet only the industries which fed the local consumption thrived.

5.6 Industrial Development in India

The British trade policy took a heavy toll on the indigenous industry. Industrialization of India was not part of British policy. Like other colonies, India was treated as a raw material procurement area and a market for their finished goods.

Despite this, industrial expansion took place in India, because of certain unforeseen circumstances, first during the course of the First World War and then during the Great Depression.



Cowasjee Nanabhoy Davar

The first Indian to start a cotton mill was Cowasjee Nanabhoy Davar (1815–73), a Parsi, in Bombay in 1854. This was known as the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company. The city's leading traders, mostly Parsis, contributed to this endeavour. The American Civil War (1861–65) was a boon to the cotton farmers. But after the Civil War when Britain continued to import cotton from America, Indian cotton cultivators came to grief. But Europeans started textile mills in India, taking advantage of the cheapness of cotton available. Ahmedabad textiles mills were established by Indian entrepreneurs and both Ahmedabad and Bombay became prominent centres of cotton mills. By 1914, there were 129 spinning, weaving and other cotton mills within Bombay presidency. Between 1875–76 and 1913-14, the number of cotton textile mills in India increased from 47 to 271.



On April 16th, 1853, at 3.35pm, the first train in India left Bori Bunder, in Bombay (now Mumbai), for its destination Thane, 34 kilometres away.

An important landmark in the establishment of industries in India was the expansion of the railways system in India. The first passenger train ran in 1853, connecting Bombay with Thane. By the first decade of the twentieth century, railways was the biggest engineering industry in India. This British-managed industry, run by railway companies, employed 98,723 persons in 1911. The advent of railways and other means of transport and communication facilities helped the development of various industries.

Jute was yet another industry that picked up in India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first jute mill in Calcutta was founded in 1855. The growth of jute industry was so rapid and by 1914, there were 64 mills in Calcutta Presidency. However, unlike the Bombay textile industry, these mills were owned by Europeans. Though the industrial development in the nineteenth century was mainly confined to very limited sectors like cotton, jute, etc., efforts were made to diversify the sectors. For example, the Bengal Coal Company was set

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up in 1843 in Raiganj by Dwarakanath Tagore (1794–1847), grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore. The coal industry picked up after 1892 and its growth peaked during First World War years.



Dwarakanath Tagore

It was in the early twentieth century, industries in India began to diversify. The first major steel industry – Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) – was set up by the Tatas in 1907 as a part of swadeshi effort in Sakchi, Bihar. Prior to this, a group of Europeans had attempted in 1875 to found the Bengal Iron Company. Following this, the Bengal Iron and Steel Company was set up in 1889. However, TISCO made a huge headway than the other endeavourers in this sector. Its production increased from 31,000 tons in 1912–13 to 1,81,000 tons in 1917–18.

The First World War gave a landmark break to the industrialisation of the country. For the first time, Britain's strategic position in the East was challenged by Japan. The traditional trade routes were vulnerable to attack. To meet the requirements, development of industries in India became necessary. Hence, Britain loosened its grip and granted some concessions to the Indian capitalists. Comparative relaxation of control by the British government and the expansion of domestic market due to the War, facilitated the process of industrialisation. For the first time, an industrial commission was appointed in 1916. During the war-period, the cotton and jute industries showed much growth. Steel industry was yet another sector marked by substantial growth.



Tata Iron and Steel Company

Other industries showing progress were paper, chemicals, cement, fertilisers, tanning, etc. The first Indian owned paper mill – Couper Paper Mill – was set up in 1882 in Lucknow. Following this, Itaghur Paper Mill and Bengal Paper Mill, both owned by Europeans, were established. Cement manufacturing began in 1904 in Madras with the establishment of South Indian Industries Ltd. Tanning industry began in the late nineteenth

Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, popularly known as J. N. Tata (1839–1904), came from a Parsi (Zoroastrian) business family in Navsari, Baroda. The first successful Indian entrepreneur, he is called the father of the Indian modern industry. In order to help his father's business, he travelled all over the world and this exposure helped him in his future endeavours. His trading company, established in 1868, evolved into the Tata Group. A nationalist, he called one of the mills established in Kurla, Bombay "Swadeshi". His children Dorabji Tata and Ratanji Tata followed his dream and it was Dorabji Tata who finally realised the long term dream of his father to establish an iron and steel company in 1907. His enthusiasm was such that he spent two years in US to learn from the American Iron Industrialists. His yet another dream to set up a hydroelectric company did not materialize during his life time. However, the first major Hydroelectric project – Tata Hydroelectric Company–was set up in 1910. With great foresight the Tatas founded the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.



J. N. Tata

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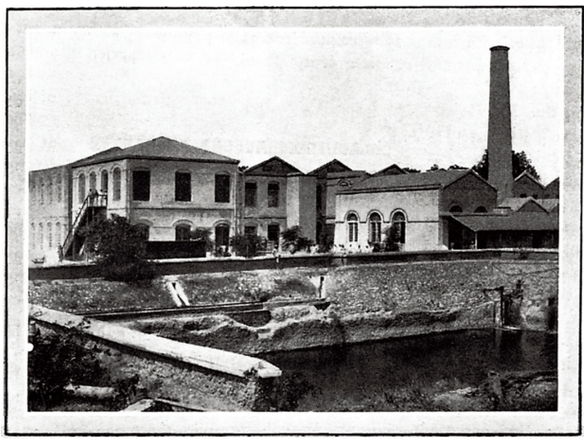
century and a government leather factory was set up in 1860 in Kanpur. The first Indian-owned National Tannery was established in 1905 in Calcutta. The gold mining in Kolar also started in the late nineteenth century in the Kolar mining field, Mysore.

The inter-war period registered growth in manufacturing industries. Interestingly the growth rate was far better than Britain and even better than the world average. After a short slug in 1923–24, the output of textile industry began to pick up. During the interwar period, the number of looms and spindles increased considerably.

In 1929–30, 44 per cent of the total amount of cotton piece goods consumed in India came from outside, but by 1933–34, after the Great Depression, the proportion had fallen to 20.5 percent. Other two industries which registered impressive growth were sugar and cement. The Interwar years saw a growth in the shipping industry too. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company Limited (1919) was the pioneer. In 1939, they even took over the Bombay Steam Navigation Company Ltd., a British concern. Eight Indian concerns were operational in this sector. A new phase of production began with the Second World War, which led to the extension of manufacturing industries to machineries, aircrafts, locomotives, and so on

Industrial Development in Tamilnadu during the Depression

The industrial growth in the Madras Presidency was substantial. In Coimbatore, after Stanes Mill (Coimbatore Spinning and Weaving Mills) was established in 1896, no other mill could come up. The objective conditions created by the Depression like fall in prices of land, cheapness of labour and low interest rates led to the expansion of textile industry in Coimbatore. Twenty nine mills and ginning factories were floated in the Coimbatore area during 1929-37. A cement factory started at Madukkarai in Coimbatore district in 1932 gave fillip to the cement industry



Coimbatore Stanes Mill

in the state. The number of sugar factories in the province rose from two to eleven between 1931 and 1936. There were also proliferation of rice mills, oil mills and cinema enterprise during this period.

Summary

- The 1920s and 30's witnessed a surge of radicalism, a totally different strand of nationalism.
- Communist Party of India was founded and the communist activities ended in Kanpur Conspiracy and Meerut Conspiracy Cases
- Young women also participated in the revolutionary movements and Kalpna Dutta was one among them
- Great revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukdev and Surya Sen attained martyrdom for the cause of Indian independence.
- 1930s was a period of Great Depression which had impacted globally. India as a colony of Great Britain was worst hit. India's industrial development from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of the inter-war years was without any prompting from the British and was mainly due to the conditions created first by the First World War and later by the Great Depression.

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EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer

1. Communist Party of India was formed in the year
   (a) 1920 (b) 1925
   (c) 1930 (d) 1935
2. Kalpana Dutt was associated with
   (a) Hindustan Socialist Republican Association
   (b) Bengal Association
   (c) Indian Republican Army
   (d) None of the above
3. Match the following
   (A) Kanpur Conspiracy Case - 1. Fundamental rights
   (B) Meerut Conspiracy Case - 2. Surya Sen
   (C) Chittagong Armoury Ride - 3. 1929
   (D) Karachi Session of Indian National Congress - 4. 1924
   (a) 1, 2, 3, 4 (b) 2, 3, 4, 1
   (c) 3, 4, 1, 2 (d) 4, 3, 2, 1
4. Who died in jail after 64 days of hunger strike?
   (a) Pulin Das (b) Sachin Sanyal
   (c) Jatindra Nath Das (d) Preet Waddadar
5. Which of the following about Great Depression are true?
   (i) It started in North America
   (ii) The crash in the Wall Street triggered the Depression
   (iii) Depression hit only the rich
   (iv) Labourers enjoyed better living conditions during the Depression because of fall in prices.
   (a) i and ii (b) i, ii and iii
   (c) i and iv (d) i, iii and iv
6. The First Cotton Mill in Bombay was started in
   (a) 1852 (b) 1854
   (c) 1861 (d) 1865
7. Find out which of the following statements are correct with the help of the code given below.
   I. *Chittagong Armoury Raiders' Reminiscences* was written by Kalpana Dutt.
   II. Kalpana Dutt fought carrying guns for the liberation of her mother land.
   III. She was charged with 'waging war against the King Emperor'.
   (a) Only I (b) I and II
   (c) II and III (d) all the above
8. The first passenger train ran in 1853 between
   (a) Madras – Arakkonam
   (b) Bombay – Pune
   (c) Bombay – Thane
   (d) Kolkata – Hoogly
9. The first Jute Mill in Calcutta was founded in
   (a) 1855 (b) 1866
   (c) 1877 (d) 1888
10. Who among the following was arrested in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case?
    (a) M.N. Roy (b) Baghat Singh
    (c) S.A. Dange (d) Ram Prasad Bismil
11. Which of the following statements about the Kanpur conspiracy case are true?
    (i) Trade unions emerged in the jute and cotton textile industries.
    (ii) The Communists and trade unionists were charged
    (iii) The case came before session Judge H.E. Holmes
    (iv) The trial and the imprisonment led to some awareness of the Congress activities in India

    Codes
    (a) i, ii and iii (b) i, iii and iv
    (c) ii, iii and iv (d) i, ii and iv

II. Write brief answers

1. Name the three British communists sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to help build the party in India.
2. Identify the persons who appeared and defended the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case.
3. What do you know of the notorious Sessions Judge of Gorakhpur H.E. Holmes?
4. Which incident was known as the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case?
5. Why is J.N. Tata called the father of Indian modern industry?

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III. Write short answers

1. Explain how Surya Sen organised the Chitagong Armoury Raid.
2. Write a short note on TISCO.
3. Write about the contribution of Singaravelar to the promotion of trade unionism in South India.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Discuss Bhagat Singh's radical strand of nationalism, and his revolutionary activitsm that led to his hanging.
2. Write an account of the industrial development in colonial India during 1919- 1939.
3. Examine the importance of Karachi session of India National Congress in articulating the socio-economic political aspirations, under the pressure of Great Depression.

V. Activity

1. A group project exploring the role played by women in India's struggle for independence.
2. Also an assignment to each student be given in the class to attempt an account of the role played by prominent women activists in Tamilnadu during the Gandhian Era.

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GLOSSARY

Communism	a political and economic system in which there is no private ownership of property or industry and people of all social classes are treated equally.	பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கை
Bolshevik	a member of the majority faction of the Russian Communist Party, which seized power in the October Revolution of 1917.	வலிமையின் மூலம் உடனடியாக அதிகாரத்தைக் கைப்பற்ற வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்துடையவர்
fundamental Rights	civil liberties of the people.	அடிப்படை உரிமைகள்
Great Depression	a deep and prolonged economic crisis.	பொருளாதார பெருமந்தம்
radicalism	social or political movements that aim at fundamental change in the structure of society.	புரட்சிகர தேசியவாத கோட்பாடு
draconian	severe.	கடுமையான
civil liberties	personal freedom which cannot be denied without due process of law.	சிவில் உரிமைகள்

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UNIT 6

Communalism in Nationalist Politics

Learning Objectives

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To acquaint ourselves with

- The emergence of religious nationalism in pre-independent India
- British Divide and Rule policy to promote their imperial interests
- Grant of separate electorate by the British for Muslims encouraging the League and Jinnah to press their demand for a separate state for Muslims
- Acceptance of office by Congress, under Government of India Act, 1935, and the increasing gap between Congress and Muslim League
- Call for Direct Action Day given by Jinnah and the resultant communal violence in Calcutta
- The partition of the country into India and Pakistan

Introduction

Before the establishment of British Raj, Mughals and their agents had ruled large parts of the country. Large sections of the Muslims therefore enjoyed the advantages of being the co-religionists of the ruling class many of whom were sovereigns, landlords, the generals and officials. The official and court language was Persian. When the British gradually replaced them they introduced a new system of administration. By the mid-nineteenth century English education predominated. The 1857 rebellion was the last gasp of the earlier ruling class. Following the brutal suppression of the revolt, the Muslims lost everything, their land, their job and other opportunities and were reduced to the state of penury. Unable to reconcile to the condition to which they were reduced, the Muslims retreated into a shell. And for the first few generations after 1857 they hated everything British. Besides they resented competing with the Hindus who had taken recourse to the new avenues opened by colonialism. With the emergence of Indian nationalism especially among the educated Hindu upper castes, the British saw in the Muslim middle class a force to keep the Congress in check. They cleverly exploited the situation for the promotion of their own interests. The competing three strands of nationalism namely Indian nationalism, Hindu nationalism, and Muslim nationalism are dealt with in this lesson.

6.1 Origin and Growth of Communalism in British India

(a) Hindu Revivalism

Some of the early nationalists believed that nationalism could be built only on a Hindu foundation. As pointed out by Sarvepalli Gopal, Hindu, revivalism found its voice in politics through the Arya Samaj, founded in 1875, with its assertion of superior qualities of Hinduism. Besant identified herself with Hindu nationalists

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and expressed her ideas as follows: 'The Indian work is first of all the revival, strengthening and uplifting of ancient religions. This has brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future and as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation.'

(b) Rise of Muslims Consciousness

Islam on the other hand, to quote Sarvepalli Gopal again, was securing its articulation through the Aligarh movement. The British, by building the Aligarh college and backing Syed Ahmed Khan, had assisted the birth of a Muslim national party and Muslim political ideology. The Wahabis wanted to take Islam to its pristine purity and to end the superstition which according to them had sapped its vitality. From the Wahabis to the Khilafatists, grassroots activism played a significant role in the politicization of Muslims.

Muslim consciousness developed due to other reasons as well. The Bengal government's order in the 1870s to replace Urdu by Hindi, and the Perso-Arabic script by Nagri script in the courts and offices created apprehension in the minds of the Muslim professional group.

(c) Divide and Rule Policy of British



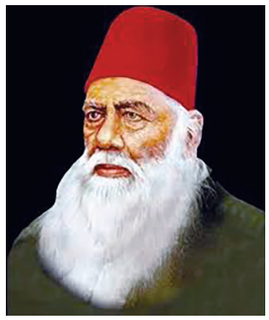
Elphinstone

The object of the British was to check the development of a composite Indian identity, and to forestall attempts at consolidation and unification of Indians. The British imperialism followed the policy of Divide and Rule. Bombay Governor Elphinstone wrote, '*Divide et Impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours.' The British government lent legitimacy and prestige to communal ideology and politics despite the governance challenge that communal riots posed.

(d) Moves of the Congress

Though many congress men had involvement in Hindu organisations like Arya Samaj, the Congress leadership was secular. When there was an attempt by some Congressmen to pass a resolution in the third session of the Indian National Congress, making cow killing a penal offence, the Congress leadership refused to entertain it. The Congress subsequently resolved that if any resolution affecting a particular class or community was objected to by the delegates representing that community, even though they were in minority, it would not be considered by the Congress.

(e) Role of Syed Ahmed Khan



Sir Syed Ahmed khan

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh movement was initially supportive of the Congress. Soon he was converted to the thinking that in a country governed by Hindus, Muslims would be helpless, as they would be in a minority. However, there were Muslim leaders like Badruddin Tyabji, Rahmatullah Sayani in Mumbai, Nawab Syed Mohammed Bahadur in Chennai and A. Rasul in Bengal who supported the Congress. But the majority of Muslims in north India toed the line of Syed Ahmed Khan, and preferred to support the British. The introduction of representative institutions and of open competition to government posts gave rise to apprehensions amongst Muslims and prompted Syed Ahmed Khan and his followers to work for close collaboration with the Government. By collaborating with the Government he hoped to secure for his community a bigger share than otherwise would be due according to the principles of number or merit.

The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in

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the country before the British. But Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and other Muslim leaders like Syed Ameer Ali, the first Indian to find a place in London Privy Council, projected the Congress as a representative body of only the Hindus. Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the Congress only two were Muslims. Muslim leaders opposed the Congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims' participation in it would create an unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community.

(f) Communalism in Local Body Elections

Democratic politics had the unintended effect of fostering communal tendencies. Local administrative bodies in the 1880s provided the scope for pursuing communal politics. Municipal councillors acquired vast powers of patronage which were used to build-up one's political base. Hindus wresting the control of municipal boards from the Muslims and vice-versa led to communalisation of local politics.



Lal Chand

Lal Chand, the principal spokesperson of the Punjab Hindu Sabha and later the leader of Arya Samaj, highlighted the extent to which some Municipalities were organised on communal lines: 'The members of the Committee arrange themselves in two rows, around the presidential chair. On the left are seated the representatives of the banner of Islam and on the right the descendants of old Rishis of Aryavarta. By this arrangement the members are constantly reminded that they are not simply Municipal Councillors, but they are as Muhammedans versus Hindus and vice-versa....'

(g) Weak-kneed Policy of the Congress

At the dawn of twentieth century, during the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905–06), Muslim supporters of the Swadeshi movement were condemned as "Congress touts." The silence of the Congress and its refusal to deal with such elements frontally not only provided stimulus to communal politics but also demoralized and discouraged the nationalist Muslims.

> Hindu and Muslim Communalism were products of middle class infighting utterly divorced from the consciousness of the Hindu and Muslim masses. —Jawaharlal Nehru

The situation took a turn for the worst in the first decade of the twentieth century when political radicalism went hand in hand with religious conservatism. Tilak, Aurobindo Gosh and Lala Lajpat Rai aroused anti-colonial consciousness by using religious symbols, festivals and platforms. The most aggravating factor was Tilak's effort to mobilise Hindus through the Ganapati festival. Lal Chand spared no efforts to condemn the Indian National Congress of pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Muslims.

6.2 Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1 October 1906, a 35-member delegation of the Muslim nobles, aristocrats, legal professionals and other elite sections of the community mostly associated with Aligarh movement gathered at Simla under the leadership of Aga Khan to present an address to Lord Minto, the viceroy. They demanded proportionate representation of Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim judges in High Courts and members in Viceroy's council, etc. Though the Simla deputation failed to obtain any positive commitment from the Viceroy, it worked as a catalyst for the foundation of the All India Muslim League (AIML) to safeguard the interests of the Muslims in 1907. A group of big zamindars, erstwhile Nawabs and ex-bureaucrats became active members of this movement. The League supported the partition of Bengal, demanded separate electorates for Muslims, and pressed for safeguards for Muslims in Government Service.

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Objectives of All India Muslim League

The All India Muslim League, the first centrally organized political party exclusively for Muslims, had the following objectives:

- To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and remove any misconception that may arise as to the instruction of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of Muslims of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the aforementioned objects of the League.

Initially, AIML was an elitist organization of urbanized Muslims. However, the support of the British Government helped the League to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims. Within three years of its formation, the AIML successfully achieved the status of separate electorates for the Muslims. It granted separate constitutional identity to the Muslims. The Lucknow Pact (1916) put an official seal on a separate political identity to Muslims.

Separate Electorate or Communal Electorate: Under this arrangement only Muslims could vote for the Muslim candidates. Minto-Morely Reforms, 1909 provided for eight seats to Muslims in the Imperial Legislative Council, out of the 27 non-officials to be elected. In the Legislative Council of the provinces seats reserved for the Muslim candidates were: Madras 4; Bombay 4; Bengal 5.

Separate Electorates and the Spread of Communalism

The institution of separate electorate was the principle technique adopted by the Government of British India for fostering and spreading communalism.

That the British did this with ulterior motive was evident from a note sent by one of the British officers to Lady Minto: 'I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship, that will affect Indian History for many a long year. It is nothing less than pulling of 62 million people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition.'

The announcement of separate electorates and the incorporation of the principle of "divide and rule" into a formal constitutional arrangement made the estrangement between Hindus and Muslims total.

6.3 Emergence of the All India Hindu Mahasabha

In the wake of the formation of the Muslim League and introduction of the Government of India Act of 1909, a move to start a Hindu organisation was in the air. In pursuance of the resolution passed at the fifth Punjab Hindu Conference at Ambala and the sixth conference at Ferozepur, the first all Indian Conference of Hindus was convened at Haridwar in 1915. The All India Hindu Mahasabha was started there with headquarters at Dehra Dun. Provincial Hindu Sabhas were started subsequently in UP, with headquarters at Allahabad and in Bombay and Bihar. While the sabhas in Bombay and Bihar were not active, there was little response in Madras and Bengal.

Predominantly urban in character, the Mahasabha was concentrated in the larger trading cities of north India, particularly in Allahabad, Kanpur, Benares, Lucknow and Lahore. In United Province, Bihar the Mahasabha, to a large extent was the creation of the educated middle class leaders who were also activists in the Congress. The Khilafat movement gave some respite to the separatist politics of the communalists. As a result, between 1920 and 1922, the Mahasabha ceased to function.

The entry of *ulema* into politics led Hindus to fear a revived and aggressive Islam. Even important Muslim leaders like Ali brothers had always been Khilafatists first and Congressmen second. The power of mobilisation on religious

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grounds demonstrated by the Muslims during the Khilafat movement motivated the Hindu communalists to imitate them in mobilising the Hindu masses. Suddhi movement was not a new phenomenon but in the post-Khilafat period it assumed new importance. In an effort to draw Hindus into the boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales in 1921, Swami Shradhananda tried to revive the Mahasabha by organizing cow-protection propaganda.

Before the World War I, Britain had promised to safeguard the interests of the Caliph as well the Kaaba (the holiest seat of Islam). But after Turkey's defeat in the War, they refused to keep their word. The stunned Muslim community showed its displeasure to the British government by starting the Khilafat movement to secure the Caliphate in Turkey.

The bloody Malabar rebellion of 1921, where Muslim peasants were pitted against both the British rulers and Hindu landlords, gave another reason for the renewed campaign of the Hindu Mahasabha. Though the outbreak was basically an agrarian revolt, communal passion ran high in consequence of which Gandhi himself viewed it as a Hindu-Muslim conflict. Gandhi wanted Muslim leaders to tender a public apology for the happenings in Malabar.



Malabar Rebellion, 1921

(a) Communalism in United Provinces (UP)

The suspension of the non-cooperation movement in 1922 and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 left the Muslims in a state of frustration. In the aftermath of Non-Co-operation movement, the alliance between the Khilafatists and the Congress crumbled. There was a fresh spate of communal violence, as Hindus and Muslims, in the context of self-governing institutions created under the Act of 1919, began to stake their political claims and in the process vied with each other to acquire power and position. Of 968 delegates attending the sixth annual conference of the Hindu Mahasabha in Varanasi in August 1923, 56.7 % came from the U.P. The United Provinces (UP), the Punjab, Delhi and Bihar together contributed 86.8 % of the delegates. Madras, Bombay and Bengal combined sent only 6.6% of the delegates. 1920s was a trying period for the Congress. This time the communal tension in the United Province was not only due to the zeal of Hindu and Muslim religious leaders, but was fuelled by the political rivalries of the Swarajists and Liberals.



Motilal Nehru



M.M. Malaviya

In Allahabad, Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya confronted each other. When Nehru's faction emerged victorious in the municipal elections of 1923, Malaviya's faction began to exploit religious passions. The District Magistrate Crosthwaite who conducted the investigation reported: 'The Malavia family have deliberately stirred up the Hindus and this has reacted on the Muslims.'

(b) The Hindu Mahasabha

In the Punjab communalism as a powerful movement had set in completely.

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In 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai openly advocated the partition of the Punjab into Hindu and Muslim Provinces. The Hindu Mahasabha, represented the forces of Hindu revivalism in the political domain, raised the slogan of 'Akhand Hindustan' against the Muslim League's demand of separate electorates for Muslims. Ever since its inception, the Mahasabha's role in the freedom struggle has been rather controversial. While not supportive of British rule, the Mahasabha did not offer its full support to the nationalist movement either.

Since the Indian National Congress had to mobilize the support of all classes and communities against foreign domination, the leaders of different communities could not press for principle of secularism firmly for the fear of losing the support of religious-minded groups. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhi held a number of unity conferences during this period, but to no avail.

(c) Delhi Conference of Muslims and their Proposals

One great outcome of the efforts at unity, however, was an offer by the Conference of Muslims, which met at Delhi on March 20, 1927 to give up separate electorates if four proposals were accepted. 1. the separation of Sind from Bombay 2. Reforms for the Frontier and Baluchistan 3. Representation by population in the Punjab and Bengal and 4. Thirty-three per cent seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature.

Motilal Nehru and S. Srinvasan persuaded the All India Congress Committee to accept the Delhi proposals formulated by the Conference of the Muslims. But communalism had struck such deep roots that the initiative fell through. Gandhi commented that the Hindu-Muslim issue had passed out of human hands. Instead of seizing the opportunity to resolve the tangle, the Congress chose to drag its feet by appointing two committees, one to find out whether it was financially feasible to separate Sind from Bombay and the other to examine proportional representation as a means of safeguarding Muslim majorities. Jinnah who had taken the initiative to narrow down the breach between the two, and had been hailed the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity by Sarojini, felt let down as the Hindu Mahasabha members present at the All Parties Convention held in Calcutta in 1928 rejected all amendments and destroyed any possibility of unity. Thereafter, most of the Muslims were convinced that they would get a better deal from Government rather than from the Congress.

Expressing anguish over the development of sectarian nationalism, Gandhi wrote, 'There are as many religions as there are individuals, but those who are conscious of the spirit of the nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in a dream land. The Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muhammedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made their country are fellow countrymen and they will have to live in unity if only for their interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms nor has it ever been so in India.'



Sarojini

(d) Communal Award and its Aftermath

The British Government was consistent in promoting communalism. Even the delegates for the second Round Table Conference were chosen on the basis of their communal bearings. After the failure of the Round Table Conferences, the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald announced the Communal Award which further vitiated the political climate.

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V.D. Savarkar

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.) founded in 1925 was expanding and its volunteers had shot upto 1,00,000. K.B. Hedgewar, V.D. Savarkar and M.S. Golwalker were attempting to elaborate on the concept of the Hindu Rashtra and openly advocated that 'the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must adopt the Hindu culture and language... they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation claiming nothing.' V.D. Savarkar asserted that 'We Hindus are a Nation by ourselves'. Though the Congress had forbidden its members from joining the Mahasabha or the R.S.S. as early as 1934, it was only in December 1938 that the Congress Working Committee declared Mahasabha membership to be a disqualification for remaining in the Congress.

6.4 First Congress Ministries

The nationalism of the Indian National Congress was personified by Mahatma Gandhi, who rejected the narrow nationalism exemplified by the Arya Samaj and the Aligargh movement and strove to evolve a political identity that transcended the different religions. Notwithstanding the state-supported communalism of different hues, the Indian National Congress remained a dominant political force in India. In the 1937 elections, Congress won in seven of the eleven provinces and formed the largest party in three others. The Muslim League's performance was dismal. It succeeded in winning only 4.8 per cent of the Muslim votes. The Congress had emerged as a mass secular party. Yet the Government branded it a Hindu organisation and projected the Muslim League as the real representative of the Muslims and treated it on a par with the Congress.

6.5 Observation of Day of Deliverance

The Second World War broke out in 1939 and the Viceroy of India Linlithgow immediately announced that India was also at war. Since the declaration was made without any consultation with the Congress, it was greatly resented by it. The Congress Working Committee decided that all Congress ministries in the provinces would resign. After the resignation of Congress ministries, the provincial governors suspended the legislatures and took charge of the provincial administration.

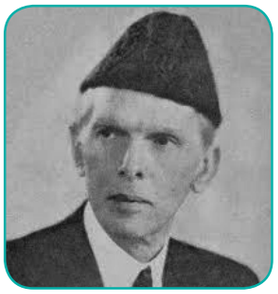
The Muslim League celebrated the end of Congress rule as a day of deliverance on 22 December 1939. On that day, the League passed resolutions in various places against Congress for its alleged atrocities against Muslims. The demonstration of Nationalist Muslims was dubbed as anti-Islamic and denigrated. It was in this atmosphere that the League passed its resolution on 26 March 1940 in Lahore demanding a separate nation for Muslims.

Though the idea of Pakistan came from the Muslim League platform in 1940 it had been conceived ten years earlier by the poet–scholar Mohammad Iqbal. At the League's annual conference at Allahabad (1930), Iqbal expressed his wish to see a consolidated North-west Indian Muslim State. It was then articulated forcefully by Rahmat Ali, a Cambridge student. The basis of League's demand was its "Two Nation Theory" which first came from Sir Wazir Hasan in his presidential address at Bombay session of League in 1937. He said, "the Hindus and Mussalmans inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects."

Neither Jinnah nor Nawab Zafrullah Khan then had considered creation of separate state for Muslims practicable. However, on March 23, 1940, the Muslim League formally adopted

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the idea by passing a resolution. The text of the resolution ran as under: "Resolved that it is the concerted view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional scheme would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in majority should be grouped to constitute Independent State." The League resolved that the British government before leaving India should effect the partition of the country into Indian union and Pakistan.



Muhammad Ali Jinnah

6.6 Direct Action Day

Hindu communalism and Muslim communalism fed on each other throughout the early 1940s. Muslim League openly boycotted the Quit India movement of 1942. In the elections held in 1946 to the Constituent Assembly, Muslim League won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly and most of the reserved provincial seats as well. The Congress Party was successful in gathering most of the general electorate seats, but it could no longer effectively insist that it spoke for the entire population of British India.

In 1946 Secretary of State Pethick-Lawrence led a three-member Cabinet Mission to New Delhi with the hope of resolving the Congress–Muslim League deadlock and, thus, of transferring British power to a single Indian administration. Cripps was primarily responsible for drafting the Cabinet Mission Plan. The plan proposed a three-tier federation for India, integrated by a central government in Delhi, which would be limited to handling foreign affairs, communications, defence, and only those finances required to take care of union matters. The subcontinent was to be divided into three major groups of provinces: Group A, to include the Hindu-majority provinces of the Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and the Central Provinces; Group B, to contain the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier, and Baluchistan; and Group C, to include the Muslim-majority Bengal and the Hindu-majority Assam. The group governments were to be autonomous in everything excepting in matters reserved to the centre. The princely states within each group were to be integrated later into their neighbouring provinces. Local provincial governments were to have the choice of opting out of the group in which they found themselves, should a majority of their people desire to do so.

Jinnah accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposal, as did the Congress leaders. But after several weeks of behind-the-scene negotiations, on July 29, 1946, the Muslim League adopted a resolution rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan and called upon the Muslims throughout India to observe a 'Direct Action Day' in protest on August 16. The rioting and killing that took place for four days in Calcutta led to a terrible violence resulting in thousands of deaths. Gandhi who was until then resisting any effort to vivisect the country had to accede to the demand of the Muslim League for creation of Pakistan.

Mountbatten who succeeded Wavell came to India as Viceroy to effect the partition plan and transfer of power.

Summary

- Communalism in British India is traced to the religious reform movements, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society representing Hinduism and Wahabi and Khilafat movements representing Islam.
- Cow Protection Associations and their attempt to prevent killing of cows led to riots and spread of communalism.

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- Use of religion in politics and its fallout in north India created estrangement between Hindus and Muslims.
- Jinnah's obstinacy in arriving at a settlement based on Cabinet Mission Plan and his call for Direct Action Day in 1946 led to a civil war like situation in Calcutta, ending in the partition of the country into India and Pakistan.

EXERCISE

V05IJ

I. Choose the correct answer

1. During the Mughal Period the Official and Court language was

   (a) Urdu (b) Hindi (c) Marathi (d) Persian

2. The first Indian to find a place in London Privy Council

   (a) Rahmatullah Sayani

   (b) Sir Syed Ahmed

   (c) Syed Ameer Ali

   (d) Badruddin Tyabji

3. **Assertion:** The Bengal government's order of 1870 created apprehension in the minds of Muslim professional groups.

   Reason: It replaced Urdu by Hindi and the Perso-Arabic script in the courts and offices.

   (a) A is correct R does not explain A.

   (b) A is correct and R explains A.

   (c) A is wrong and R is correct.

   (d) Both A and R are wrong

4. The Two Nation Theory first came from

   (a) Rajaji
   (b) Ramsay MacDonald
   (c) Mohammad Iqbal
   (d) Sir Wazir Hasan

5. In the 1937 elections, Congress won in

   (a) 12 Provinces (b) 7 Provinces

   (c) 5 Provinces (d) 8 Provinces

6. The Muslim League celebrated the end of Congress rule as a Day of Deliverance on

   (a) 22 December 1940

   (b) 5 February 1939

   (c) 23 March 1937

   (d) 22 December 1939

7. Match List- I with List- II and select the correct answer using the codes given below

List- I	List- II
(A) Annie Besant	- 1. Aligarh Movement
(B) Syed Ahmed Khan	- 2. Dayanand Saraswati
(C) Khilafat Movement	- 3. Theosophical Society
(D) Suddhi Movement	- 4. Ali Brothers

	A	B	C	D
(a)	3	1	4	2
(b)	1	2	3	4
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	2	3	4	1

8. Find out the correct answer from the following:

   i) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh movement, was initially supportive of the Congress.

   ii) The Punjab Hindu Sabha founded in 1909 laid the foundation for Hindu communal politics.

   (a) Statement (i) & (ii) are correct

   (b) statement (i) correct (ii) wrong

   (c) Statement (i) wrong (ii) correct

   (d) statement (i) & (ii) are wrong

9. Direct Action Day organised by the Muslim League on

   (a) 25 December, 1942

   (b) 16 August, 1946

   (c) 21 March, 1937

   (d) 22 December, 1939

10. Wavell was succeeded by

    (a) Linlithgow (b) Pethic Lawrence

    (c) Mountbatten (d) Chelmsford

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11. **Assertion (A):** The institution of separate electorate was the principle adopted by the British Government for fostering and spreading communalism.

Reason (R): The people were split into separate constituencies so that they voted communally.

(a) A is correct, R is not the correct explanation of A

(b) A is correct, R is wrong

(c) A and R are wrong

(d) A is correct, R is the correct explanation of A

12. Match the following and choose the correct answer form the codes given below

(A) Hindu Revivalism	1. M.S. Golwalkar
(B) Abolition of the Caliphate	2. Arya Samaj
(C) Lala Lajpat Rai	3. 1924
(D) RSS	4. Partition of the Punjab into Hindu and Muslim Provinces

	A	B	C	D
(a)	2	4	3	1
(b)	3	4	1	2
(c)	1	3	2	4
(d)	2	3	4	1

II. Write brief answers

1. Why was supported to British by Syed Ahmad Khan?
2. Write a short note on Separate Electorate.
3. What were the demands put forth by Muslim under the leadership of Aga Khan.
4. Write about the sixth annual conference of the All India Hindu Mahasabha held in Varanasi in 1923.

III. Write short answers

1. How did Gandhi view the Malabar Rebellion of 1921.
2. Highlight the objectives of the first centrally-organized political party of Muslims.
3. State the importance of Minto-Morley reforms of 1909.
4. What were the proposals of the Delhi Conference of Muslims held in 1927?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Trace the origin and growth of communalism in British India.
2. How did the divide and rule policy of the British impact on Indian nationalism?
3. Hindu nationalism, Muslim nationalism and Indian nationalism were equally responsible for the partition of the country. How?

V. Activity

1. Compile an account of major Hindu-Muslim Riots in India since 1875.
2. Hold a discussion on whether religion can come into the public sphere.

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GLOSSARY

communalism	socio-political grouping based on religious or ethnic affiliation.	வகுப்புவாதம்
nationalism	the policy or doctrine of asserting the interests of one's own nation.	தேசியம் / நாட்டுப்பற்று
Divide and Rule	breaking up larger centres of power into small groups.	பிரித்தாளும் ஆட்சி
revivalism	a desire to revive a former customs or practice	மீட்புவாதம்
imperialism	a policy of extending political or economic control by a powerful country over a weaker country.	ஏகாதிபத்தியம்
jizya	the poll tax formerly paid by religious groups other than Muslims in Islamic empires	இஸ்லாமியர் அல்லாத பிற சமயத்தினர் செலுத்திய வரி
shariat	Islamic code of law based on Koran and the teachings of the Prophet	இஸ்லாமியச் சட்ட முறைமை
communal award	a judgement based on religion	வகுப்புவாத தீர்ப்பு

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UNIT 7

Last Phase of Indian National Movement

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Cripps Mission and its failure
- Quit India Movement and Gandhi's call for "Do or Die"
- Subash Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA)
- Rajaji's compromise proposals and Wavell Plan
- Royal Indian Navy Revolt (1946)
- Mountbatten Plan & Partition

PBMFS

Introduction

The outbreak of Second World War and Britain's decision to involve India in the War without consulting Congress ministries in provinces, provoked the leaders of Indian National Congress and Gandhi. The Congress ministers resigned in protest. Gandhi launched the individual Satyagraha in October 1940 to keep up the morale of the Congress. In the meantime, the election of Subash Chandra Bose as Congress President upset Gandhi this led to Bose's resignation. Later Bose started his Forward Bloc Party. After his escape to Germany and Singapore formed Indian National Army and carried on his revolutionary activities independent of the Congress movement.

The Cripps Mission arrived in March 1942 to assuage the nationalists. But its proposals bore no fruit. Gandhi decided to embark on the Quit India Movement in August 1942. The British arrested all prominent leaders of the Congress and put down the movement with an iron hand. Gandhi languished in jail until May 1944. Then came the Cabinet Mission, whose plan was eventually accepted by the Congress. However, Jinnah and the Muslim League, persisting in their Pakistan demand, announced Direct Action Day programme that ignited communal riots in East Bengal. Gandhi began his tour in the riot-hit Naokali. Rajaji's compromise formula and Wavell plan and the Simla conference convened to consider the latter's plan did not help to resolve the deadlock. In the meantime, Royal Indian Navy revolted, prompting the British to quicken the process of Independence. Mountbatten was appointed governor general to oversee independence and the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan.

Individual Satyagraha

Unlike in the past, where Gandhi's campaign had assumed a mass character, Gandhi decided on the strategy of individual Satyagraha so that the war against fascism was not hampered. The *satyagrahis* were handpicked by Gandhi and their demand was restricted

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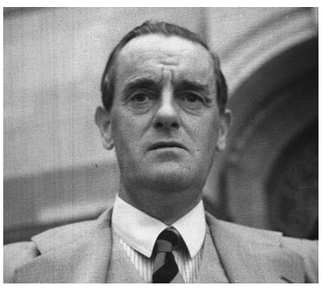
to asserting their freedom of speech to preach against participation in the war. The chosen satyagrahi was to inform the District Magistrate of the date, time and place of the protest. On reaching there at the appointed time, and publicly declare the following: 'It is wrong to help the British War effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war efforts with non-violent resistance' and offer arrest.



Paunar Ashram in Maharashtra

The programme began on October 17, 1940 with Vinobha Bhave offering Satyagraha near his Paunar ashram in Maharashtra. Gandhi suspended the Satyagraha in December 1940. It was revived with some changes and groups offered *satyagrahas* from January 1941 and was eventually withdrawn in August 1941.

August Offer



Lord Linlithgow

Individual Satyagraha was the Congress response to the August offer by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. On August 8, 1940, Linlithgow offered the following: Dominion status at some unspecified future; expansion of the Viceroy's Council (or the Executive Council) to accommodate more Indians in it; setting up a War Advisory Council with Indians in it; recognition of the rights of the minority; and a promise to recognize the Indian peoples' right to draft a constitution at some future date after the war.

Removal of Bose from Congress



Subhas Chandra Bose

The August offer came too late for the Congress to even negotiate a settlement. The Congress, at this time, was losing its sheen. Its membership had fallen from 4.5 million in 1938–39 to 1.4 million in 1940-41. Subhas Chandra Bose was isolated within the Congress, as most leaders in the organisation's top refused cooperation with him. Bose resigned and the AICC session at Calcutta elected Rajendra Prasad as president. Bose founded the Forward Bloc to function within the Congress and was eventually removed from all positions in the organization in August 1939.

Lahore Resolution

The arrogance displayed by the colonial government and its refusal to find a meeting point between the promise of dominion status at some future date and the Congress demand for the promise of independence after cessation of the war as a pre-condition to support war efforts was drawn from another development. That was the demand for a separate nation for Muslims. Though the genesis of a separate unit or units consisting of Muslim majority regions in the Eastern and North-Western India was in the making since the 1930s, the resolution on March 23, 1940, at Lahore was distinct.

There is ample evidence that the Muslim League and its associates were given the necessary encouragement to go for such a demand by the colonial administrators. The resolution, then, gave the colonial rulers a certain sense of courage to refuse negotiating with the Indian National Congress even while they sought cooperation in the war efforts.

In many ways the Congress at the time was weaker in the organizational sense. Moreover, its leaders were committed to the idea that the British war efforts called for support given the character of the Axis powers – Germany, Italy

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and Japan – being fascist and thus a danger for democracy. Bose was the only leader who sought non-cooperation with the allied forces and active cooperation with the Axis powers.

All these were the important markers of 1940. Things however changed soon with the Japanese advance in Southeast Asia and the collapse of the British army. It led to a sense of urgency among the colonial rulers to ensure cooperation for the war efforts in India even while not committing to freedom. Winston Churchill, now heading the war cabinet, dispatched Sir Stafford Cripps to talk with the Congress.

7.1 Cripps Mission

Japan Storm South-East Asia

The year 1941 was bad for the allied forces. France, Poland, Belgium, Norway and Holland had fallen to Germany and Great Britain was facing destruction as well. Of far more significance to India was Japan's march into South-east Asia. This was happening alongside the attack on Pearl Harbour, where Japanese war-planes bombed the American port on December 7, 1941. US President F.D. Roosevelt and Chinese President Chiang Kai-Shek were concerned with halting Japan on its march. India, thus, came on their radar and the two put pressure on British Prime Minister, Churchill to ensure cooperation for the war from the Indian people.

By the end of 1941, the Japanese forces had stormed through the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Burma and were waiting to knock at India's doors in the North-East. The way the South East Asian region fell raised concerns to Britain and the Indian National Congress. The British forces ran without offering any resistance. The Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army were left to the mercy of the Japanese forces. It was from among them that what would later on to become the Indian National Army (INA) would be raised. We will study that in detail in this lesson (in Section 7.3). Churchill was worried that Calcutta and Madras might fall in Japanese hands. Similar thoughts ran in the minds of the leaders of the Congress too and they too were desperate to seek an honourable way out to offer cooperation in the war effort.

It was in this situation that the Congress Working Committee, in December 1941, passed a resolution offering cooperation with the war effort on condition that Britain promised independence to India after the war and transfer power to Indians in a substantial sense immediately.

Arrival of Cripps

A delegation headed by Sir Stafford Cripps reached India in March 1942. That Cripps, a Labour party representative in the War cabinet under Churchill, was chosen to head the delegation lent credibility to the mission. Before setting out to India, he announced that British policy in India aimed at 'the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India'. But the draft declaration he presented before he began negotiations fell far short of independence.

Cripps Proposals



Sir Stafford Cripps

Cripps promised Dominion Status and a constitution-making body after the war. The constitution-making body was to be partly elected by the provincial assemblies and nominated members from the Princely states. The draft also spelt out the prospect of Pakistan. It said that any province that was not prepared to accept the new constitution would have the right to enter into a separate agreement with Britain regarding its future status. The draft did not contain anything new. Nehru recalled later: 'When I read these proposals for the first time I was profoundly depressed.'

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Rejection of Cripps' Proposals

The offer of Dominion Status was too little. The Congress also rejected the idea of nominated members to the constitution-making body and sought elections in the Princely States as in the Provinces. Above all these was the possibility of partition. The negotiations were bound to breakdown and it did.

Options for Congress in the wake of Pearl Harbour Attack

Churchill's attitude towards the Indian National Movement for independence in general and Gandhi in particular was one of contempt even earlier. Churchill did not change even when Britain needed cooperation in the war efforts so desperately. But he came under pressure from the US and China.

The Indian National Congress, meanwhile, was pushed against the wall. This happened in two ways: the colonial government's adamant stand against any assurance of independence on the one hand and Subhas Chandra Bose's campaign to join hands with the Axis powers in the fight for independence. Bose had addressed the people of India on the Azad Hind Radio broadcast from Germany in March 1942. This was the context in which Gandhi thought of the Quit India movement.

7.2 Quit India Movement

Sometime in May 1942 Gandhi took it upon himself to steer the Indian National Congress into action. Gandhi's decision to launch a mass struggle this time, however, met with reservation from C. Rajaji as much as from Nehru. Conditions were ripe for an agitation. Prices of commodities had shot up many-fold and there was shortage of food-grains too.

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Congress Meet at Wardha

It was in this context that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress met at Wardha on July 14, 1942. The meeting resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience movement. C. Rajaji and Bhulabhai Desai who had reservations against launching a movement at that time resigned from the Congress Working Committee. Nehru, despite being among those who did not want a movement then bound himself with the majority's decision in the Working Committee.

'Do or Die'

The futility that marked the Cripps mission had turned both Gandhi and Nehru sour with the British than any time in the past. Gandhi expressed this in a press interview on May 16, 1942 where he said: 'Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy should go and if there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' The Mahatma called upon the people to 'Do or Die' and called the movement he launched from there as a 'fight to the finish'.



Mahatma Gandhi

Quit India

The colonial government did not wait. All the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi, were arrested early in the morning on August 9, 1942. The Indian people too did not wait. The immediate response to the pre-dawn arrests was hartals in almost all the towns where the people clashed, often violently, with the police. Industrial workers across India went on strike. The Tata Steel Plant in Jamshedpur closed down by the striking workers for 13 days beginning August 20. The textile workers in Ahmedabad struck work for more than three months. Industrial towns witnessed strikes for varied periods across India.

Brutal Repression

The colonial government responded with brutal repression and police resorted to firing in many places. The army was called in to suppress the protest. The intensity of the movement and

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the repression can be made out from the fact that as many as 57 battalions were called in as a whole. Aircrafts were used to strafe protesters. The momentum and its intensity was such that Linlithgow, wrote to Churchill, describing the protests as 'by far the most serious rebellion since 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.'

Though this phase of the protest, predominantly urban, involving the industrial workers and the students was put down by use of brutal force, the upsurge did not end. It spread in its second phase into the villages. A sixty-point increase in prices of food-grains recorded between April and August 1942 had laid the seeds of resentment. In addition, those leaders of the Congress, particularly the Socialists within, who had managed to escape arrest on August 9 fanned into the countryside where they organised the youth into guerrilla actions.

Outbreak of Violence

Beginning late September 1942, the movement took the shape of attacks and destruction of communication facilities such as telegraph lines, railway stations and tracks and setting fire to government offices. This spread across the country and was most intense in Eastern United Provinces, Bihar, Maharashtra and in Bengal. The rebels even set up 'national governments' in pockets they liberated from the colonial administration. An instance of this was the 'Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar' in the Midnapore district in Bengal that lasted until September 1944. There was a parallel government in Satara.

Socialists like Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asaf Ali, Yusuf Mehraly and Ram Manohar Lohia provided leadership. Gandhi's 21 day fast in jail, beginning February 10, 1943, marked a turning point and gave the movement (and even the violence in a limited sense) a great push.

Spread and Intensity of the Movement

The spread of the movement and its intensity can be gauged from the extent of force that the colonial administration used to put it down. By the end of 1943, the number of persons arrested across India stood at 91, 836. The police shot dead 1060 persons during the same period. 208 police outposts, 332 railway stations and 945 post offices were destroyed or damaged very badly. At least 205 policemen defected and joined the rebels. R.H. Niblett, who served as District Collector of Azamgarh in eastern United Province, removed from service for being too mild with the rebels, recorded in his diary that the British unleashed 'white terror' using an 'incendiary police to set fire to villages for several miles' and that 'reprisals (becoming) the rule of the day.' Collective fines were imposed on all the people in a village where public property was destroyed.

Clandestine Radio

Yet another prominent feature of the Quit India movement was the use of Radio by the rebels. The press being censored, the rebels set up a clandestine radio broadcast system from Bombay. The transmitter was shifted from one place to another in and around the city. Usha Mehta was the force behind the clandestine radio operations and its broadcast was heard as far away as Madras.

The Quit India movement was the most powerful onslaught against the colonial state hitherto. The movement included the Congress, the Socialists, and the Forward Bloc. The movement witnessed unprecedented unity of the people and sent a message that the colonial rulers could not ignore.

Release of Gandhi

Gandhi's release from prison, on health grounds, on May 6, 1944 led to the revival of the Constructive Programme. Congress committees began activities in its garb and the ban on the Congress imposed in the wake of the Quit India movement was thus overcome. The

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colonial state, meanwhile, put forward a plan for negotiation. Lord Archibald Wavell, who had replaced Linlithgow as Viceroy in October 1943, had begun to work towards another round of negotiation. The message was clear: The British had no option but to negotiate!

7.3 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA



Bose with INA

A considerably large contingent of the Indian Army was posted on the South East Asian countries that were part of the British Empire. They were in Malaya, Burma and elsewhere. The forces, however, could not stand up to the Japanese army. The command of the British Indian Army in the South-East Asian front simply retreated leaving the ranks behind as Prisoners of War (POWs).

Mohan Singh, an officer of the British Indian Army in Malaya, approached the Japanese for help and they found in this an opportunity. Japan's interests lay in colonising China and not much India. The Indian POWs with the Japanese were left under Mohan Singh's command. The fall of Singapore to the Japanese forces added to the strength of the POWs and Mohan Singh now had 45,000 POWs under his command. Of these, Mohan Singh had drafted about 40,000 men in the Indian National Army by the end of 1942. Indians in the region saw the INA as saviours against Japanese expansionism as much as the commander and other officers held out that the army would march into India but only on invitation from the Indian National Congress.

On July 2, 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose, reached Singapore. From there he went to Tokyo and after a meeting with Prime Minister Tojo, the Japanese leader declared that his country did not desire territorial expansion into India. Bose returned to Singapore and set up the Provisional Government of Free India on October 21, 1943. This Provisional Government declared war against Britain and the other allied nations. The Axis powers recognised Bose's Provisional Government as its ally.

After the Indian National Congress acted against Bose in August 1939, shunting him out of all offices including as president of the Bengal Congress Committee, Bose embarked upon a campaign trail, to mobilise support to his position, across India. He was arrested by the British on July 3, 1940 under the Defence of India Act. and kept under constant surveillance. As the war progressed in Europe Bose believed that Germany was going to win. He began to nurture the idea that Indian independence could be achieved by joining hands with the Axis powers. In the midnight of January 16-17, 1941, Bose slipped out of Calcutta, and reached Berlin by the end of March, travelling through Kabul and the Soviet Union on an Italian passport. Bose met Hitler and Goebbels in Berlin. Both the Nazi leaders were cold and the only concession they gave was to set up the Azad Hind Radio. Nothing more came out of his rendezvous with Hitler and his aides. With Germany facing reverses, Bose found his way to Singapore in July 1943

Subash and INA

Bose enlisted civilians too into the INA and one of the regiments was made up of women. The Rani of Jhansi regiment of the INA was commanded by a medical doctor and daughter of freedom fighter Ammu Swaminathan from Madras, Dr Lakshmi. On July 6, 1944, Subhas Chandra Bose addressed a message to Gandhi

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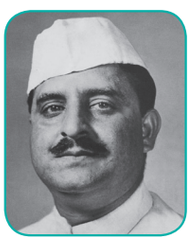
over the Azad Hind Radio from Rangoon. Calling him the 'Father of the Nation', Bose appealed to Gandhi for his blessing in what he described as 'India's last war of independence.'

INA with Axis Powers in War

A battalion of the INA commanded by Shah Nawaz accompanied the Japanese army, in its march on Imphal. This was in late 1944 and the Axis powers, including the Japanese forces, had fallen into bad times all over. The Imphal campaign did not succeed and the Japanese retreated before the final surrender to the British command in mid-1945. Shah Nawaz and his soldiers of the INA were taken prisoners and charged with treason.

INA Trial

The INA trials were held at the Red Fort in New Delhi. The Indian National Congress fielded its best lawyers in defence of the INA soldiers. Nehru, who had given up his legal practice as early as in 1920 responding to Gandhi's call for non-cooperation, wore his black gown to appear in defence. Even though the INA did not achieve much militarily, the trials made a huge impact in inspiring the masses.


Shah Nawaz Khan


P.K. Sehgal


G.S. Dhillon

The colonial government's arrogance once again set the stage for another mass mobilisation. The Indian National Congress, after the debacle at the Simla Conference (June 25 and July 14, 1945) plunged into reaching out to the masses by way of public meetings across the country. The INA figured more prominently as an issue in all these meetings than even the Congress's pitch for votes in the elections (under the 1935 Act) that were expected soon.

It was in this context that the colonial rulers sent up three prominent officers of the INA – Shah Nawaz Khan, P.K. Sehgal and G.S. Dhillon – to trial. The press in India reported the trials with all empathy and editorials sought the soldiers freed immediately. The INA week was marked by processions, hartals and even general strikes across the nation demanding release of the soldiers.

The choice of the three men to be sent up for trial ended up rallying all political opinion behind the campaign. The Muslim League, the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Hindu Maha Sabha, all those who had stayed clear of the Quit India campaign, joined the protests and raised funds for their defence. Although the trial court found Sehgal, Dhillon and Shah Nawaz Khan guilty of treason, the commander in chief remitted the sentences and set them free on January 6, 1946. The INA trials, indeed, set the stage for yet another important stage in the history of the Indian National Movement in February 1946. The ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) raised the banner of revolt.

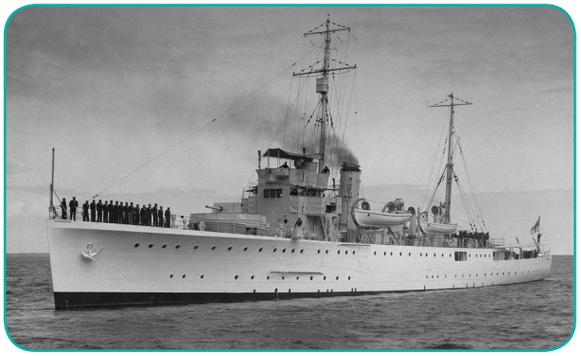
7.4 The Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The economic impact of the war was manifest in rising prices, shortage of food-grains and closure of war time industries causing retrenchment and employment. This merged with the anti-British sentiments evident in the mass scale of the protests revolving around the INA trials.

B.C. Dutt, a rating (the designation for the Indians employed in the various war-ships and elsewhere in the Royal Indian Navy) in the HMIS *Talwar* was arrested for scribbling 'Quit India' on the panel of the ship. This provoked a strike by the 1,100 ratings on the ship. The ratings resented the racist behaviour of the English commanders, the poor quality of the food and abuses that were the norm. Dutt's arrest served as the trigger for the revolt on February 18, 1946. The day after, the revolt

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was joined by the ratings in the Fort Barracks and the Castle and a large number of them went into the Bombay cities in commandeered trucks waving Congress flags and shouting anti-British slogans.



Royal Indian Navy Revolt

Soon, the workers in the textile mills of Bombay joined the struggle. The trade unions in Bombay and Calcutta called for a sympathy strike and the two cities turned into war zones. Barricades were erected all over and pitched battles fought. Shopkeepers downed shutters and hartals became the order of the day. Trains were stopped in the two cities with people sitting on the tracks. On news of the Bombay revolt reaching Karachi, ratings in the HMIS *Hindustan* and other naval establishments in Karachi went on a lightning strike on February 19. The strike wave spread to almost all the naval establishments across India and at least 20,000 ratings from 78 ships and 20 shore establishments ended up revolting in the days after February 18, 1946. There were strikes, expressing support to the ratings in the Royal Indian Air Force stationed in Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Jessore and Ambala units. The Sepoys in the army cantonment station at Jabalpur too went on strike.

The ratings, in many places, hoisted the Congress, the Communist, and the Muslim League flags together on the ship masts during the revolt.

The colonial government's response was brutal repression. It was, indeed, a revolt without a leadership; nor did the ratings move in an organised direction. While the trade unions came out in solidarity with the ratings in no time and the strikes in Bombay and Calcutta and Madras were strong expressions against British rule in India, these did not last for long and the ratings were forced to surrender soon.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, then in Bombay, took the initiative to bring the revolt to an end. The RIN mutiny, however, was indeed a glorious chapter in the Indian National Movement and perhaps the last act of rebellion in the long story of such acts of valour in the cause of independence.

The March 23, 1940 resolution read as follows: 'That geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States", in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.' (Source: Sumit Sarkar *Modern India 1885-1947*, Pearson, 2018, p 324)

7.5 Rajaji Proposals and the Wavell Plan

Demand for a Separate Nation

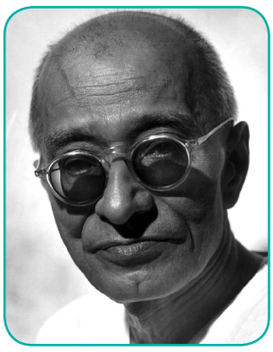
Meanwhile, the communal challenge persisted and the Muslim League pressed with its demand for a separate nation. The Lahore resolution of the Muslim League in March 1940 had altered the discourse from the Muslims being a 'minority' to the Muslims constituting a 'nation'. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was asserting this right as the sole spokesperson of the community.

Rajaji's Proposals

In April 1944, when the Congress leaders were in jail, C.Rajaji put out a proposal to resolve the issue. It contained the following:

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- A post-war commission to be formed to demarcate the contiguous districts where the Muslims were in absolute majority and a plebiscite of the adult population there to ascertain whether they would prefer Pakistan;
- In case of a partition there would be a mutual agreement to run certain essential services, like defence or communication;
- The border districts could choose to join either of the two sovereign states;
- The implementation of the scheme would wait till after full transfer of power.



C. Rajagopalachari

After his release from prison, Gandhi, in July 1944, proposed talks with Jinnah based on what came to be the 'Rajaji formula'. The talks did not go anywhere.

Wavell Plan

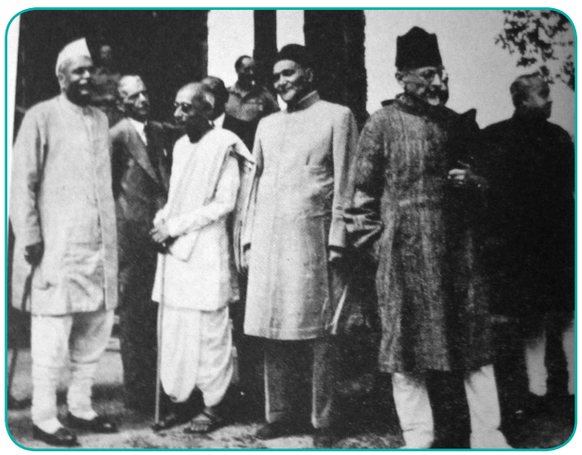
In June 1945 Lord Wavell moved to negotiate and called for the Simla conference. The rest of the Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Congress president, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were released from jail for this. Wavell had set out on this project in March 1945 and sailed to London. There he convinced Churchill of the imperative for a Congress–Muslim League coalition government as a way to deal with the post-war political crisis.



Lord Wavell

The Viceroy's proposal before the leaders of all political formations and most prominently the Congress and the Muslim League was setting up of an Executive Council, exclusively with Indians along with himself and the commander-in-chief; equal number of representatives in the council for the caste Hindus and the Muslims and separate representation for the Scheduled Castes; and start of discussions for a new constitution.

The proposal displeased everyone. The Simla Conference held between June 25 and July 14, 1945 ended without resolution. The talks broke down on the right of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to nominate members to the Viceroy's Council.



Simla Conference (1945)

The Muslim League insisted on its exclusive right to nominate Muslim members to the Council. Its demand was that the Congress nominees shall only be caste Hindus and that the Indian National Congress should not nominate a Muslim or a member from the Scheduled Caste! This was seen as a means to further the divide on communal lines and deny the Congress the status of representing the Indian people. Lord Wavell found a council without Muslim League representation as unworkable and thus abandoned the Simla talks.

The years between the Lahore resolution of 1940 and the Simla Conference in 1945 marked the consolidation of a Muslim national identity and the emergence of Jinnah as its sole spokesperson. It was at a convention of Muslim League Legislators in Delhi in April 1946, that Pakistan was defined as a 'sovereign independent state'. For the first time the League also declared its composition in geographical terms as 'the region consisting of the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Assam in the Northeast and the Punjab, North-West

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Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the Northwest. The Congress president Maulana Abul Kalam Azad rejected this idea and held that the Congress stood for a united India with complete independence.

All these were developments after the Simla conference of June–July 1945 and after Churchill was voted out and replaced by a Labour Party government headed by Clement Attlee. Times had changed in a substantial sense. British Prime Minister, Attlee had declared the certainty of independence to India with only the terms left to be decided.

7.6 Cabinet Mission and Mountbatten Plan

Cabinet Mission

The changed global scenario in the post–World War II context led to the setting up of the Cabinet Mission. Headed by Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps with A.V.Alexander and Pethick Lawrence as members the mission landed in India in March 1946 and began work on its brief: to set up a national government before the final transfer of power. The mission proposed to constitute a 'representative' body by way of elections across the provinces and the princely states and entrust this body with the task of making a constitution for free India. The idea of partition did not figure at this stage. Instead, the mission's proposal was for a loose-knit confederation in which the Muslim League could dominate the administration in the North-East and North-West provinces while the Congress would administer rest of the provinces.

Jinnah sounded out his acceptance of the idea on June 6, 1946. The Congress, meanwhile, perceived the Cabinet Mission's plan as a clear sanction for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly. Nehru conveyed through his speech at the AICC, on July 7, 1946, that the Indian National Congress accepted the proposal. Subsequently, Jinnah on July 29, 1946, reacted to this and announced that the League stood opposed to the plan.



Nehru and Jinnah

After elaborate consultations, the viceroy issued invitations on 15 June 1946 to the 14 men to join the interim government. The invitees were: Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajaji and Hari Krishna Mahtab (on behalf of the INC); Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Mohammed Ismail Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and Abdul Rab Nishtar (from the Muslim League) and Sardar Baldev Singh (on behalf of the Sikh community), Sir N.P. Engineer (to represent the Parsis), Jagjivan Ram (representing the scheduled castes) and John Mathai (as representative of the Indian Christians).

Meanwhile, the Congress proposed Zakir Hussain from its quota of five nominees to the interim council. The Muslim League objected to this and, on 29 July 1946, Jinnah announced that the League would not participate in the process to form the Constituent Assembly. This invited a sharp reaction from the British administration. On 12 August 1946, the viceroy announced that he was inviting Nehru (Congress president) to form the provisional government. After consultation with Nehru, 12 members of the National Interim Government were announced on 25 August 1946. Apart from Nehru, the other members were: Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Asaf Ali, C. Rajaji, Sarat Chandra Bose, John Mathai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer and Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha. It was stated that two more Muslims will be nominated in due course.

Five Hindus, three Muslims and one representative each from the scheduled castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs and Parsis formed the

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basis of this list. Later Hare Krishna Mahtab was replaced by Sarat Chandra Bose. The Parsi nominee, N.P. Engineer was replaced by Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha. In place of the League's nominees, the Congress put in the names of three of its own men: Asaf Ali, Shafaat Ahmed Khan and Syed Ali Zaheer.


ROHTAS

The Sunday Statesman

PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM CALCUTTA AND DELHI.

Vol. XII, No. 616 CALCUTTA, SUNDAY, AUGUST 18, 1946.

OVER 270 KILLED, 1,600 INJURED IN TWO DAYS

Communal Riots in Calcutta

Troops Called Out to Help Police

"Lawlessness Shall Not Prevail"

Governor's Broadcast to Citizens

CONGRESS PLAN NOT TO BE UPSET

JINNAH CONDEMNS VIOLENCE

HOOLIGANS MUST BE PUNISHED BY LAW

Latest T... Propos...

Egypt Repor... Dispos...

Violent Clashes on Direct Action Day

The League, meanwhile, gave a call for 'Direct Action' on 16 August 1946. There was bloodshed in Calcutta and several other places, including in Delhi. This was when Gandhi set out on his own course to arrive in Calcutta and decided to stay on at a deserted house in Beliaghatta, a locality that was worst affected, accompanied only by a handful of followers. Muslims who were hounded out of their homes in Delhi were held in transit camps (in Purana Quila and other places). It was only after Gandhi arrived there (on 9 September 1946) and conveyed that the Muslims were Indian nationals and hence must be protected by the Indian state (Nehru by then was the head of the interim government) that the Delhi authorities began organising rations and building latrines.

It was in this context that the Congress agreed to the constitution of the interim government. Nehru assumed office on 2 September 1946. Yet another round of communal violence broke out across the country and more prominently in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Lord Wavell set out on another round of discussion and after sounding out Nehru, he proposed, once again, to Jinnah that the League participate in the interim government. The Muslim League accepted the proposal but Jinnah refused to join the cabinet.

The interim cabinet was reconstituted on October 26, 1946. Those who joined on behalf of the League were Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, A. R. Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogendra Nath Mandal.

But there was no let-up in the animosity between the Congress and the League and this was reflected in the functioning (rather non-functioning) of the interim council of ministers. The League, meanwhile, was determined against cooperating in the making of the constituent assembly. At another level, the nation was in the grip of communal violence of unprecedented magnitude. Naokhali in East Bengal was ravaged by communal violence. The members of the League who were part of the interim government refused to participate in the 'informal' consultations that Nehru held before the formal meeting of the cabinet in the viceroy's presence. The Muslim League, it seemed, were determined to wreck the interim government from within.



Gandhi in Naokhali

While the Congress scored impressive victories in the July–August 1946 elections and secured 199 from out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League did equally well in seats reserved for the Muslims. The League's tally was 76. All but one of the 76 seats came from the Muslim-reserved constituencies. The League, however, decided against participating in the Constituent Assembly. Hence, only 207 members attended the first session of the Constituent Assembly on 9 December 1946.

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Meanwhile the functioning of the interim government was far from smooth with animosity between the Congress and the League growing by the day. The 'informal' meetings of the cabinet intended to settle differences before any proposal was taken to the formal meeting that the Viceroy presided over, could not be held from the very beginning.

The proverbial last straw was the budget proposals presented by Liaquat Ali Khan in March 1947. The finance minister proposed a variety of taxes on industry and trade and proposed a commission to go into the affairs of about 150 big business houses and inquire into the allegations of tax evasion against them. Khan called this a 'socialistic budget'. This, indeed, was a calculated bid to hit the Indian industrialists who had, by this time, emerged as the most powerful supporters of the Congress. The intention was clear: to hasten the partition and prove that there was no way that the League and the Congress could work together towards independence.

British Prime Minister Atlee's statement in Parliament on February 20, 1947, that the British were firm on their intention to leave India by June 1948 set the pace for another stage. Lord Wavell was replaced as Viceroy by Lord Mountbatten on March 22, 1947.

Mountbatten Plan

Mountbatten came up with a definite plan for partition. It involved splitting up Punjab into West and East (where the west would go to Pakistan) and similar division of Bengal wherein the Western parts will remain in India and the East become Pakistan. The Congress Working Committee, on 1 May 1947, conveyed its acceptance of the idea of partition to Mountbatten. The viceroy left for London soon after and on his return disclosed the blueprint for partition and, more importantly, the desire to advance the date of British withdrawal to 15 August 1947. There were only 11 weeks left between then and the eventual day of independence. The AICC met on 15 June 1947. It was here that the resolution, moved by Govind Ballabh Pant, accepting partition, was approved. It required the persuasive powers of Nehru and Patel as well as the moral authority of Gandhi to get the majority in the AICC in favour of the resolution.



Lord Mountbatten

The period between March 1946 and 15 August 1947 saw many tumultuous events such as (i) the setting up of the Cabinet Mission, (ii) the formation of the interim government, (iii) the birth of the Constituent Assembly and (iv) the widening of rift between the Congress and the Muslim League leading to the partition and finally the dawn of independence.

Summary

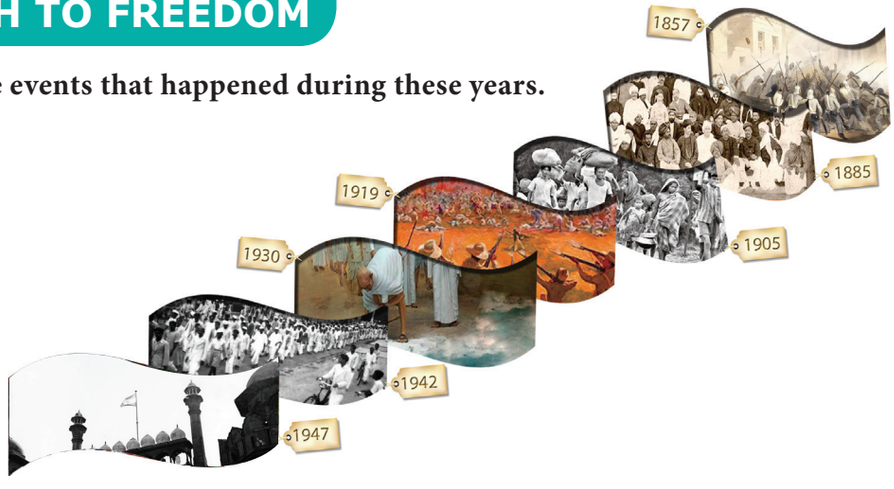
- The last phase of India's struggle for freedom, began with the 'Anti-War Individual Satyagraha' launched in November 1940.
- The calm, however, was only a prelude to the storm that rocked the British Empire with the Quit India Movement of 1942.
- Despite brutal repressive measures, the mass upsurge did not fade away and the INA trials and the RIN mutiny bear evidence to this.
- The dark side of the struggle for freedom too was to manifest during the seven years beginning with the idea of separate nation for Muslims, vaguely expressed, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League.
- It culminated in the Partition of India along with freedom, taking a heavy toll of human lives in communal riots.
- Free India was born with the challenge to the idea of secularism.

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MARCH TO FREEDOM

Name the events that happened during these years.



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EXERCISE

FSY87

I. Choose the correct answer

1. When did 'Individual Satyagraha' begin?

(a) March 23, 1940 (b) August 8, 1940

(c) 17 October 1940 (d) August 9, 1942

2. Match the following

A. Hindu-Muslim Riot - 1. Mohan Singh

B. August Offer - 2. Govind Ballabh Pant

C. Proposal of Partition Resolution - 3. Lord Linlithgow

D. Indian National Army - 4. Naokhali

	A	B	C	D
(a)	3	4	2	1
(b)	4	2	1	3
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	3	2	4	1

3. The Cripps Mission visited India during the regime of

(a) Lord Wavell (b) Lord Linlithgow

(c) Lord Mountbatten (d) None of these

4. Match the following

(A) US President - 1. Tojo

(B) Chinese President - 2. Winston Churchill

(C) British Prime Minister - 3. Chiang Kai-Shek

(D) Japanese Prime Minister - 4. F.D. Roosevelt

	A	B	C	D
(a)	1	4	3	2
(b)	1	3	2	4
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	4	2	3	1

5. When was Subhash Chandra Bose removed from the congress?

(a) 1938 (b) 1939 (c) 1940 (d) 1942

6. Mahatma Gandhi gave the call 'Do or Die' during the

(a) Civil Disobedience Movement

(b) Non-Cooperation Movement

(c) Quit India Movement

(d) All of the above

7. Who ran clandestine radio operations at Bombay during the Quit India Movement?

(a) Usha Mehta

(b) Preeti Waddadar

(c) Asaf Ali

(d) Captain Lakshmii

8. Who appeared in court in defence of the INA soldiers

(a) Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Motilal Nehru

(c) Rajaji

(d) Subhash Chandra Bose

9. Who was the Viceroy of India when the Quit India Movement started in 1942?

(a) Lord Wavell

(b) Lord Linlithgow

(c) Lord Mountbatten

(d) Winston Churchill

10. **Assertion (A):** Quit India Movement could not achieve its goal.

Reason (R): The government of the day adopted a very repressive policy.

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.

(b) Both A and R are true and R is not the correct explanation of A.

(c) A is true but R is false.

(d) A is false but R is true.

11. INA was founded with the help of

(a) Germany

(b) Japan

(c) France

(d) USA

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12. Name the regiment of Indian National Army consisting of women soldiers.

(a) Subhash regiment

(b) Kasturba regiment

(c) Captain Lakshmi Regiment

(d) Rani of Jhansi regiment

13. Where did Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose form the Provincial Government of Free India?

(a) Rangoon (b) Malaya

(c) Imphal (d) Singapore

14. The INA trials took place in

(a) Red Fort, New Delhi

(b) Penang

(c) Viceregal Lodge, Simla

(d) Singapore

15. Which Viceroy convened the 'Simla Conference' in 1945?

(a) Lord Wavell

(b) Lord Linlithgow

(c) Lord Mountbatten

(d) Clement Attlee

16. Interim Government of 1946 was headed by

(a) Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Moulana Abul Kalam Azad

(c) Rajendra Prasad

(d) Vallabhai Patel

17. Arrange the following in correct order

(i) Formation of Indian National Army

(ii) Royal Indian Navy Revolt

(iii) Indian National Army Trials

(iv) Rajaji formula

Select the correct answer from the codes given below

(a) ii, i, iii, iv

(b) i, iv, iii, ii

(c) iii, iv, i, ii

(d) iii, iv, ii, i

18. Which is the correct sequence of the following events?

(i) INA Trial

(ii) Direct Action Day

(iii) August Offer

(iv) Individual Satyagraha

Select the answer from the codes below:

(a) i, ii, iii, iv (b) iii, i, ii, iv

(c) iii, iv, i, ii (d) i, iii, iv, ii

19. Name the British Prime Minster who announced the transfer of power to the Indian hands?

(a) Winston Churchill

(b) Lord Mountbatten

(c) Clement Attlee

(d) F.D. Roosevelt

20. British had their intention to leave India by

(a) August 15, 1947 (b) January 26, 1950

(c) June, 1948 (d) December, 1949

II. Write brief answers

1. What is the importance of Lahore resolution?
2. State the main features of August Offer.
3. Why was the Cripps Mission rejected by the Congress?
4. Why did the talks at Simla Conference break down.
5. How did Captain Mohan Singh organise the INA?

III. Write short answer

1. Name the organisations which did not participate in the Quit India Movement.
2. Discuss the proposals of Sir Strafford Cripps.
3. Explain the reasons for the removal of S.C. Bose from the INC.
4. Who were the Muslim League representatives in the Interim Government formed in 1946?
5. What was the context in which Gandhi thought of Quit India Movement?

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IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Discuss the course of the Quit India Movement.
2. How far was the INA Trial instrumental in intensifying the freedom struggle?
3. Write a paragraph about the Rajaji Formula.
4. Why is the Royal Indian Revolt considered a glorious chapter in the history of Indian National Movement?

V. Activity

1. Prepare a scrap book collecting information on and pictures of prominent leaders of the Indian National Movement from Tamilnadu.
2. Compile a list of those who served the INA from your area with their family background.

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GLOSSARY

dominion status	autonomous units within a political system having equal status, in every aspect of the domestic or external affairs	தன்னாட்சி அந்தஸ்து
Axis Powers	The "Axis powers" formally took the name after the Tripartite Pact was signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan.	அச்சு நாடுகள்
prisoners of war	fighters captured by the forces of the enemy, during an armed conflict	போர்க் கைதிகள்
partition	the process of dividing a country into two or more separate countries.	பிரிவினை

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UNIT 8

Reconstruction of Post-colonial India

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The challenges of Partition
- Making of the Constitution: The Process and the Spirit
- Integrating the Princely States into the Indian Union
- Reorganisation of states on linguistic basis
- India's Relations with the neighbouring countries and its role in world affairs.

Introduction

Freedom from colonial rule came with a price. The partition of India involved dividing the provinces of Bengal and Punjab into two. Though not envisaged at the time of the division, it was followed by migration of Hindus from East Bengal to West Bengal and Muslims from Bihar and West Bengal to East Bengal. Similarly, Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab had to migrate to eastern Punjab and Muslims in eastern Punjab to western Punjab. The boundaries between India and Pakistan were to be determined on the composition of the people in each village on their religion; and villages where the majority were Muslims were to constitute Pakistan and where the Hindus were the majority to form India. There were other factors too: rivers, roads and mountains acted as markers of boundaries. The proposal was that the religious minorities – whether Hindus or Muslims – in these villages were to stay on and live as Indians (in case of Muslims) and Pakistanis (in case of Hindus) wherever they were.

There was a separate scheme for those villages where the Muslims were a majority and yet the village not contiguous with the proposed territory of Pakistan and those villages where the Hindus were a majority and yet not contiguous with the proposed territory of India: they were to remain part of the nation with which the village was contiguous. A new complication had arisen by this time and that was the recognition of Sikhs as a religious identity in Punjab, in addition to the Hindus, and the Muslims; the Akali Dal had declared its preference to stay on with India irrespective of its people living in villages that would otherwise become part of Pakistan.

This complex situation was the consequence of the fast pace of developments in Britain on the issue of independence to India. The declaration on February 20, 1947 by Prime Minister Atlee, setting June 30, 1948 for the British to withdraw from India and Mountbatten's arrival as viceroy replacing Wavell on March 22, 1947 had set the stage for the transfer of power to Indians. This was when the Muslim League leadership had gathered the support of a vast majority of the Muslim community behind it and disputing the claims of the Congress to represent all Indians. On June 3, 1947, Mountbatten advanced the date of British withdrawal to August 15, 1947. As for the communal question and the issue

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of two nations, the proposal was to hand over power to two successor dominion governments of India and Pakistan. The division of Bengal and the Punjab, as proposed, meant partition – a reality to which Congress finally reconciled. The Mountbatten plan for independence along with partition of India was accepted at the AICC meeting at Meerut on June 14, 1947.

Gandhi, who had opposed the idea of division with vehemence in the past, now conceded its inevitability. Gandhi explained the change. He held that the unabated communal violence and the participation in it of the people across the Punjab and in Bengal had left himself and the Congress with no any strength to resist partition. Sadly, the canker of communalism and the partition system that the colonial collaborators produced took its toll on the infant Indian nation. It began with the assassination of the Mahatma on January 30, 1948. How did the infant nation take up the challenge, resolving some and grappling with some others in the years to come?

Jawaharlal Nehru put this aptly in his address to the members of the Constituent Assembly in the intervening night on August 14/15, 1947, in which he laid out the roadmap, its ideals and the inevitability of taking such a path. "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially…." Teachers may put on screen the full speech by Jawaharlal Nehru and share the experience of listening to it with the class: Speech may be accessed from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uj4TfcELODM

8.1 Consequences of Partition

The challenges before free India included grappling with the consequences of partition, planning the economy and reforming the education system (which will be dealt with in the following lesson), making a Constitution that reflected the aspirations kindled by the freedom struggle, merger of the Princely states (more than 500 in number and of different sizes), and resolving the diversity on the basis of languages spoken by the people with the needs of a nation-state. Further, a foreign policy that was in tune with the ideals of democracy, sovereignty and fraternity had to be formulated.

The partition of India on Hindu–Muslim lines was put forth as a demand by the Muslim League in vague terms ever since its Lahore session (March 1940). But its architecture and execution began only with Lord Mountbatten's announcement of his plan on June 3, 1947 and advancing the date of transfer of power to August 15, 1947. The time left between the two dates was a mere 72 days.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a lawyer by training with no exposure to India and its reality, was sent from London to re-draw the map of India. Its execution was left to the dominion governments of India and Pakistan after August 15, 1947.


Sir Cyril Radcliffe

Radcliffe arrived in India on July 8, 1947. He was given charge of presiding over two Boundary Commissions: one for the Punjab and the other for Bengal. Two judges from the Muslim community and two from the Hindu community were included. The commissions were left with five weeks to identify villages as Hindu or Muslim majority on the basis of the 1941 census. It is widely accepted that the census of 1941, conducted in the midst of the World War II led to faulty results everywhere.

The commissions were also constrained by factors such as contiguity of villages and by demands of the Sikh community that villages in West Punjab where their shrines were located be taken into India irrespective of the population of Sikhs in those villages. The two commissions submitted the report on August 9, 1947. Mountbatten's dispensation, meanwhile, decided to postpone the execution of the

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boundaries to a date after power was transferred to the two dominions. The contours of the two dominions – India and Pakistan – were drawn in the scheme on August 14/15, 1947 insofar as the administration was concerned; the people, however, were not informed about the new map when they celebrated independence day on August 14/15, 1947.

Radcliffe's award contained all kinds of anomalies. The provincial assembly in Punjab had resolved that West Punjab would go to Pakistan. The other provinces, which were geographically contiguous with Pakistan such as Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces followed this. Similarly, the Bengal Assembly, resolved that the eastern parts of the province were to constitute Pakistan on this side.

The award Radcliffe presented, on August 9, 1947, marked 62,000 square miles of land that was hitherto part of the Punjab to Pakistan. The total population (based on the 1941 census) of this region was 15,800,000 people of whom 11,850,000 were Muslims. Almost a quarter of the population in this territory – West Punjab – were non-Muslims; and the Mountbatten Plan as executed by Sir Radcliffe meant they continued to live as minorities in Pakistan. Similarly, East Punjab that was to be part of India was demarcated to consist of 37,000 square miles of territory with a population of 12,600,000. Of this, 4,375,000 were Muslims. In other words, more than a third of the population in east Punjab would be Muslims.

The demographic composition of the Indian and Pakistani parts of Bengal was no less complicated. West Bengal that remained part of India accounted for an area of 28,000 square miles with a population of 21,200,00 out of which 5,30,000 were Muslims; in other words, Muslims constituted a quarter of the population of the Indian part of the former Bengal province. Sir Radcliffe's commission marked 49,400 square miles of territory from former Bengal with 39,100,000 people for Pakistan. The Muslim population there, according to the 1941 census, was 27,700,000. In other words, 29 per cent of the population were Hindus. East Pakistan (which became Bangladesh in December 1971) was constituted by putting together the eastern part of divided Bengal, Sylhet district of Assam, the district of Khulna in the region and also the Chittagong Hill tracts. Such districts of Bengal as Murshidabad, Malda and Nadia which had a substantially large Muslim population were left to remain in India. The exercise was one without a method.

The re-drawn map of India was left with the two independent governments by the colonial rulers. It was left to the independent governments of India and Pakistan to fix the exact boundaries. However, the understanding was that the religious minorities in both the nations – the Hindus in West and East Pakistan and the Muslims in India, in East Punjab and West Bengal as well as in United Provinces and elsewhere – would continue to live as minorities but as citizens in their nations.

After the partition, there were as many as 42 million Muslims in India and 20 million non-Muslims (Hindus, Sindhis and Sikhs) in Pakistan. The vivisection of India, taking place as it did in the middle of heightened Hindu-Muslim violence, had rendered a smooth transition impossible. Despite the conspicuous exhibition of Hindu–Muslim unity during the RIN mutiny and the INA trials (see previous lesson), the polity now resembled a volcano. Communal riots had become normal in many parts of India, and were most pronounced in the Punjab and Bengal.

Minorities on both sides of the divide lived in fear and insecurity even as the two nations were born. That Gandhi, who led the struggle for freedom from the front and whom the colonial rulers found impossible to ignore, stayed far away from New Delhi and observed a fast on August 15, 1947, was symbolic. The partition brought about a system in place where the minorities on either side were beginning to think of relocating to the other side due to fear and insecurity.

As violence spread, police remained mute spectators. This triggered more migration of the minorities from both nations. In the four months between August and November 1947,

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Partition

Unbiased at least he was when he arrived on his mission,
Having never set eyes on the land he was called to partition
Between two peoples fanatically at odds,
With their different diets and incompatible gods.
'Time,' they had briefed him in London, 'is short. It's too late
For mutual reconciliation or rational debate:
The only solution now lies in separation.
The Viceroy thinks, as you will see from his letter,
That the less you are seen in his company the better,
So we've arranged to provide you with other accommodation.
We can give you four judges, two Moslem and two Hindu,
To consult with, but the final decision must rest with you.'

Shut up in a lonely mansion, with police night and day
Patrolling the gardens to keep the assassins away,
He got down to work, to the task of settling the fate Of millions.
The maps at his disposal were out of date
And the Census Returns almost certainly incorrect,
But there was no time to check them, no time to inspect Contested areas.
The weather was frightfully hot,
And a bout of dysentery kept him constantly on the trot,
But in seven weeks it was done, the frontiers decided,
A continent for better or worse divided.

The next day he sailed for England, where he could quickly forget
The case, as a good lawyer must. Return he would not,
Afraid, as he told his Club, that he might get shot.

— A poem by W.H. Auden

as many as four-and-a-half million people left West Pakistan to India, reaching towns in East Punjab or Delhi. Meanwhile, five-and-a-half million Muslims left their homes in India (East Punjab, United Provinces and Delhi) to live in Pakistan. A large number of those who left their homes on either side of the newly marked border thought they would return after things normalised; but that was not to be. Similar migration happened between either sides of the new border in Bengal too.

Historian Gyanendra Pandey records 500,000 non-Muslim (Hindus and Sikhs) refugees flowing into the Punjab and Delhi in 1947-48. Pandey also records that several thousand Muslims were forced out of their homes in Delhi and nearby places by violent mobs to seek asylum in camps set up around the Red Fort and the Purana Quila. Refugee camps were set up but they had hardly any sanitation and water supply.

In both countries property left behind by the fleeing families were up for grabs. The long line of refugees walking crossing the borders was called 'kafila'. The refugees on the march were targets for gangs belonging to the 'other' community to wreak vengeance. Trains from either side of the new border in the Punjab were targeted by killer mobs and many of those reached their destination with piles of dead bodies. The violence was of such a scale that those killed the numbers of remains mere estimates. The number ranges between 200,000 to 500,000 people dead and 15 million people displaced.



Movement of Refugees

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Even as late as in April 1950, the political leadership of the two nations wished and hoped to restore normality and the return of those who left their homes on either side. On April 8, 1950, Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan signed the Delhi pact, with a view to restoring confidence among the minorities on both sides. This, however, failed to change the ground reality. Even while the pact was signed the Government of India was also working on measures to rehabilitate those who had left West Punjab to the East and to Delhi and render them vocational skills and training. The wounds caused by the partition violence hardly healed even after decades. Scores of literary works stand testimony to the trauma of partition.

The partition posed a bigger challenge before Nehru and the Constituent Assembly, now engaged with drafting the founding and the fundamental law of the nation: to draft a constitution that is secular, democratic and republican as against Pakistan's decision to become an Islamic Republic.

8.2 Making of the Constitution



It was a demand from the Indian National Congress, voiced formally in 1934, that the Indian people shall draft their constitution rather than the British Parliament. The Congress thus rejected the White Paper circulated by the colonial government. The founding principle that Indians shall make their own constitution was laid down by Gandhi as early as in 1922. Gandhi had held that rather than a gift of the British Parliament, swaraj must spring from 'the wishes of the people of India as expressed through their freely chosen representatives'.

Elections were held, based on the 1935 Act, to the Provincial Assemblies in August 1946. These elected assemblies in turn were to elect the Central Assembly, which would also become the Constituent Assembly. The voters in the July 1946 elections to the provinces were those who owned property – the principle of universal adult franchise was still a far cry. The results revealed the Muslim League's command in Muslim majority constituencies while the Indian National Congress swept the elections elsewhere. The League decided to stay away from the Constitution making process and pressed hard for a separate nation. The Congress went for the Constituent assembly.

The elected members of the various Provincial assemblies voted nominees of the Congress to the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly (224 seats) that came into being, though dominated by the Congress, also included smaller outfits such as the communists, socialists and others. The Congress ensured the election of Dr B.R. Ambedkar from a seat in Bombay and subsequently elected him chairman of the drafting committee. Apart from electing its own stalwarts to the Assembly, the Congress leadership made it a point to send leading constitutional lawyers.

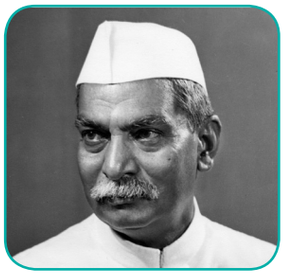
This was to make a constitution that contained the idealism that marked the freedom struggle and the meaning of swaraj, as specified in the Fundamental Rights Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its Karachi session (March 1931). This, indeed, laid the basis for the making of our constitution a document conveying an article of faith guaranteeing to the citizens a set of fundamental rights as much as a set of directive principles of state policy. The constitution also committed the nation to the principle of universal adult franchise, and an autonomous election commission. The constitution also underscored the independence of the judiciary as much as it laid down sovereign law-making powers with the representatives of the people.

The members of the constituent assembly were not averse to learn and pick up features from the constitutions from all over the world; and at the same time they were clear that the exercise was not about copying provisions from the various constitutions from across the world.

Jawaharlal Nehru set the ball rolling, on December 13, 1946, by placing the Objectives Resolution before the Constituent Assembly. The assembly was convened for the first time,

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on December 9, 1946. Rajendra Prasad was elected chairman of the House.



Rajendra Prasad

The Objectives Resolution is indeed the most concise introduction to the spirit and the contents of the Constitution of India. The importance of this resolution can be understood if we see the Preamble to the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in it and as adopted on November 26, 1949.



Constituent Assembly in Session

The Constitution of India, thus, marked a new beginning and yet established continuity with India's past. The Fundamental Rights drew everything from clause 5 of the Objectives Resolution as much as from the rights enlisted by the Indian National Congress at its Karachi session (discussed in Lesson 5). The spirit of the Constitution was drawn from the experience of the struggle for freedom and the legal language from the Objectives Resolution and most importantly from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), promulgated by the United Nations on December 10, 1948.

8.3 Merger of Princely States

The adoption of the Constitution on November 26, 1949 was only the beginning of a bold new experiment by the infant nation. There were a host of other challenges that the nation and its leaders faced and they had to be addressed even while the Constituent Assembly met and started its job of drafting independent India's constitution. Among them was the integration of the Indian States or the Princely States.

The task of integrating the Princely States into the Indian Union was achieved with such speed that by August 15, 1947, except Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad, all had agreed to sign an Instrument of Accession with India, acknowledging its central authority over Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

The task of integrating these states, with one or the other Provinces of the Indian Union was accomplished with ease. The resolution passed at the All India States People's Conference (December 1945 and April 1947) that states refusing to join the Constituent Assembly would be treated as hostile was enough to get the rulers to sign the Instrument of Accession in most cases. There was the offer of a generous privy purse to the princes. The rapid unification of India was ably handled and achieved by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, who as Home Minister in the Interim Cabinet was also entrusted with the States Ministry for this purpose. The People's Movements exerted pressure on the princes to accede to the Indian union.



Vallabhbhai Patel

The long, militant struggle that went on in the Travancore State for Responsible Government culminating in the Punnapra–Vayalar armed struggle against the Diwan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy, the Praja Mandal as well as some tribal agitations that took place in the Orissa region – Nilagiri, Dhenkanal and Talcher – and the movement against the Maharaja of Mysore conducted by the Indian National Congress all played a major role in the integration of Princely States.

Yet, there was the problem posed by the recalcitrant ruler of Hyderabad, with the Nizam declaring his kingdom as independent. The ruler of Junagadh wanted to join Pakistan, much

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Instrument of Accession: A legal document, introduced in Government of India Act, 1935, which was later used in the context of Partition enabling Indian rulers to accede their state to either India or Pakistan.

against the wishes of the people. Similarly, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, declared that Kashmir would remain independent while the people of the State under the leadership of the National Conference had waged a "Quit Kashmir" agitation against the Maharaja. It must be stressed here that the movement in Kashmir as well as the other Princely States were also against the decadent practice of feudal land and social relations that prevailed there.



Nizam of Hyderabad

"The police action" executed in Hyderabad within 48 hours after the Nizam declared his intentions demonstrated that India meant business. It was the popular anger against the Nizam and his militia, known as the Razakkars, that was manifest in the Telengana people's movement led by the communists there which provided the legitimacy to "the police action".

Though Patel had been negotiating with the Maharaja of Kashmir since 1946, Hari Singh was opposed to accession. However, in a few months after independence – in October 1947 – marauders from Pakistan raided Kashmir and there was no way that Maharaja Hari Singh could resist this attack on his own. Before India went to his rescue the Instrument of Accession was signed by him at the instance of Patel. Thus Kashmir too became an integral part of the Indian Union.



Maharaja Hari Singh

This process and the commitment of the leaders of independent India to the concerns of the people of Kashmir led the Constituent Assembly to provide for autonomous status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 of the Constitution.

8.4 Linguistic Reorganization of States

An important aspect of the making of independent India was the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. The colonial rulers had rendered the sub-continent into administrative units, dividing the land by way of Presidencies or Provinces without taking into account the language and its impact on culture on a region. Independence and the idea of a constitutional democracy meant that the people were sovereign and that India was a multi-cultural nation where federal principles were to be adopted in a holistic sense and not just as an administrative strategy.

The linguistic reorganization of states was raised and argued out in Constituent Assembly between 1947 and 1949. The assembly however decided to hold it in abeyance for a while. This was on the grounds that the task was huge and could create problems in the aftermath of the partition and the accompanying violence.

After the Constitution came into force it began to be implemented in stages, beginning with the formation of a composite Andhra Pradesh in 1956. It culminated in the trifurcation of Punjab to constitute a Punjabi-speaking state of Punjab and carving out Haryana and Himachal Pradesh from the existing state of Punjab in 1966.

The idea of linguistic reorganisation of states was integral to the national movement, at least since 1920. The Indian National Congress, at its Nagpur session (1920), recorded that the national identity will have to be necessarily achieved through linguistic identity and resolved to set up the Provincial Congress Committees on a linguistic basis.

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It took concrete expression in the Nehru Committee Report of 1928. Section 86 of the Nehru Report read: "The redistribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the area concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations."

This idea was expressed, in categorical terms, in the manifesto of the Indian National Congress for the elections to the Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies in 1945. The manifesto made a clear reference to the reorganisation of the provinces: "… it (the Congress) has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis…"

On August 31, 1946, only a month after the elections to the Constituent Assembly, Pattabhi Sitaramayya raised the demand for an Andhra Province: "The whole problem" he wrote, "must be taken up as the first and foremost problem to be solved by the Constituent Assembly". He also presided over a conference, on December 8, 1946, that passed a resolution demanding that the Constituent Assembly accept the principle for linguistic reorganisation of States. The Government of India in a communique stated that Andhra could be mentioned as a separate unit in the new Constitution as was done in case of the Sind and Orissa under the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, however, found such a mention of Andhra was not possible until the geographical schedule of the province was outlined. Hence, on June 17, 1948, Chairman Rajendra Prasad set up a 3-member commission, called The Linguistic Provinces Commission with a specific brief to examine and report on the formation of new provinces of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Its report, submitted on December 10, 1948, listed out reasons against the idea of linguistic reorganisation in the given context. It dealt with each of the four proposed States – Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra – and concluded against such an idea.

However, the demand for linguistic reorganisation of states did not stop. The issue gained centre-stage with Pattabhi Sitaramayya's election as the Congress President at the Jaipur session. A resolution there led to the constitution of a committee with Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jawaharlal Nehru (also called the JVP committee).

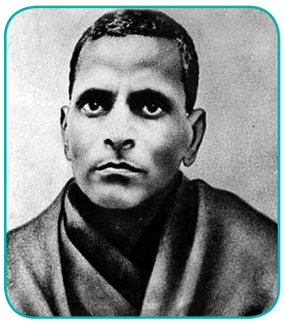

Pattabhi Sitaramayya

The JVP committee submitted its report on April 1, 1949. It too held that the demand for linguistic states, in the given context, as "narrow provincialism" and that it could become a "menace" to the development of the country. The JVP committee also held out that "while language is a binding force, it is also a separating one". However, it stressed that it was possible that "when conditions are more static and the state of peoples' minds calmer, the adjustment of these boundaries or the creation of new provinces can be undertaken with relative ease and with advantage to all concerned."

The committee said in conclusion that it was not the right time to embark upon the idea of linguistic reorganisation of States. In other words, the consensus was that the linguistic reorganisation of states be postponed. There was provision for re-working the boundaries between states and also for the formation of new states from parts of existing states.

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The makers of the Constitution did not qualify the reorganisation of the States as only on linguistic basis but left it open as long as there was agreement on such reorganisation.


Potti Sriramulu

The idea of linguistic states revived soon after the first general elections were over. Potti Sriramulu's fast demanding a separate state of Andhra, beginning October 19, 1952 and his death thereafter on December 15, 1952.

Article 3, reads as follows:

Parliament may by law- (a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two of more States or parts of States by uniting any territory to a part of any State;
(b) increase the area of any State;
(c) diminish the area of any State;
(d) alter the boundaries of any State;

This led to the constitution of the States Reorganisation Commission, with Fazli Ali as Chairperson, and K.M. Panikkar and H.N. Kunzru as members. The Commission submitted its report in October 1955. The Commission recommended the following States to constitute the Indian Union: Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Andhra, Bombay, Vidharbha, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Jammu & Kashmir. In other words, the Commission's recommendations were a compromise between administrative convenience and linguistic concerns.

The Nehru regime, however, was, by then, committed to the principle of linguistic reorganization of the States and thus went ahead implementing the States Reorganisation Act, 1956. Andhra Pradesh, including the Hyderabad State came into existence. Kerala, including the Travancore-Cochin State and the Malabar district of Madras, came into existence. Karnataka came into being including the Mysore State and also parts of Bombay and Madras States. In all these cases, the core principle was linguistic identity.

In May 1960 Gujarat was created from Maharastra to fulfil the demand of the Gujarati speaking people. Subsequently, the demand for a Punjabi subha continued to be described by the establishment as separatist until 1966. The trifurcation of Punjab, brought to an end the process that was initiated by the Indian National Congress, in 1920, to put language as the basis for the reorganization of the provinces.

8.5 India's Foreign Policy

The founding principles of independent India's foreign policy were, in fact, formulated at least three decades before independence. It evolved in the course of the freedom struggle and was rooted in its conviction against any form of colonialism. Jawaharlal Nehru was its prime architect.

India's foreign policy was based on certain basic principles. They are: anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-apartheid or anti-racism, non-alignment with the super powers, Afro-Asian Unity, non-aggression, non-interference in other's internal affairs, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the promotion of world peace and security. The commitment to peace between nations was not placed in a vacuum; it was placed with an equally emphatic commitment to justice.

The context in which India's foreign policy was formulated was further complicated by the two contesting power blocs that dominated the world in the post-war scenario: the US and the USSR. Independent India responded to this with non-alignment as its foreign policy doctrine.

Before we go into the details of non-alignment, it will be useful to look at India's relationship with China since independence. China was liberated by its people from Japanese colonial expansionism in 1949, just two years

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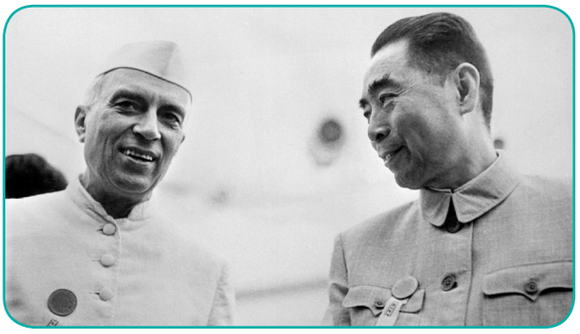
after India's Independence. Nehru laid a lot of importance on friendship with China, with whom India shared a long border.

India was the first to recognize the new People's Republic of China on January 1, 1950. The shared experience of suffering at the hands of colonial powers and its consequences –poverty and underdevelopment – in Nehru's perception was force enough to get the two nations to join hands to give Asia its due place in the world. Nehru pressed for representation for Communist China in the UN Security Council. However, when China occupied Tibet, in 1950, India was unhappy that it had not been taken into confidence. In 1954, India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized China's rights over Tibet and the two countries placed their relationship within a set of principles, widely known since then as the principles of Panch Sheel.

Panch Sheel (five virtues)

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Mutual non-aggression
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs
4. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit
5. Peaceful co-existence

Meanwhile, Nehru took special efforts to project China and Chou En-lai at the Bandung Conference, held in April 1955. In 1959, the Dalai Lama, fled Tibet along with thousands of refugees after a revolt by the Buddhists was crushed by the Chinese government. The Dalai Lama was given asylum in India and it made the Chinese unhappy. Soon after, in October 1959, the Chinese opened fire on an Indian patrol near the Kongka pass in Ladakh, killing five Indian policemen and capturing a dozen others. Though talks were held at various levels including with Chou En-lai, not much headway was made.



Nehru and Chou En-lai

Then came the 1962 war with China. On 8 September 1962, Chinese forces attacked the Thagla ridge and dislodged Indian troops. All the goodwill and attempts to forge an Asian bloc in the world came to a stop. India took a long time to recover from the blow to its self-respect, and perhaps it was only the victory over Pakistan in the Bangladesh war, in which China and the US were also supporting Pakistan, that restored the sense of self-worth.

India's contribution to the world, however, was not restricted to its relationship with China and the Panch Sheel. It was most pronounced and lasting in the form of non-alignment and its concretisation at the Bandung Conference.

In March 1947, Nehru organised the Asian Relations Conference, attended by more than twenty countries. The theme of the conference was Asian independence and assertion on the world stage. Another such conference was held in December 1948 in specific response to the Dutch attempt to re-colonize Indonesia. The de-colonization initiative was carried forward further at the Asian leaders' conference in Colombo in 1954, culminating in the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia,



Bandung Conference

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in 1955. The Bandung Conference set the stage for the meeting of nations at Belgrade and the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The architect of independent India's foreign policy, indeed, was Jawaharlal Nehru and the high point of it was reached in 1961 when he stood with Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia to call for nuclear disarmament and peace. The importance of non-alignment and its essence in such a world is best explained from what Nehru had to say about it.

Bandung Declaration

A 10-point "declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation," incorporating the principles of the United Nations Charter was adopted unanimously:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve any particular interests of the big powers (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties own choice, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

"So far as all these evil forces of fascism, colonialism and racialism or the nuclear bomb and aggression and suppression are concerned, we stand most emphatically and unequivocally committed against them . . . We are unaligned only in relation to the cold war with its military pacts. We object to all this business of forcing the new nations of Asia and Africa into their cold war machine. Otherwise, we are free to condemn any development which we consider wrong or harmful to the world or ourselves and we use that freedom every time the occasion arises."

Summary

- The partition of the sub-continent into two nation-states, India and Pakistan, and the outbreak of communal violence of unprecedented magnitude in its wake, posing a serious threat to our hard won freedom are discussed in detail.
- Despite the trying time Nehru and Patel had, the problem of law and order and the issue of settling the displaced people who were thrown into the condition of refugees in their own homeland were solved ably.
- The pressing problems that confronted Indian leaders, such as constitution making, integration of princely states with the Indian Union, reorganisation of on some sound and scientific basis and evolving a long lasting foreign policy for the country were handled, despite several odds and challenges, prioritised and tackled to the satisfaction of every section of the society.
- Though many of the Princely states agreed to sign the Instrument of Accession, states like Travancore, Hyderabad, and Kashmir showed defiance but were dealt with sternly.
- India evolved its foreign policy by adopting basic principles. India adhered to the concept of non-alignment to prevent war and promote world peace.

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EXERCISE

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Match the following.

(A) JVP Committee	- 1. 1928
(B) Sir Cyril Radcliffe	- 2. State Reorganisation Commission
(C) Fazl Ali	- 3. 1948
(D) Nehru Committee Report	- 4. Boundary Commission

	A	B	C	D
(a)	1	2	3	4
(b)	3	4	2	1
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	4	2	3	1

2. Arrange the following in chronological order.

(i) Atlee's announcement on India's independence

(ii) Interim Government under Nehru

(iii) Lord Mountbatten Plan

Choose the answer from the codes given below:

(a) ii, i, iii (b) i, ii, iii

(c) iii, ii, i (d) ii, iii, i

3. Match the following.

(A) People's Republic of China	- 1. Belgrade
(B) Bandung Conference	- 2. March 1947
(C) Asian Relations Conference	- 3. April 1955
(D) Birth of Non-Aligned Movement	- 4. January 1, 1950

	A	B	C	D
(a)	3	4	2	1
(b)	4	2	3	1
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	3	2	4	1

4. Which is the correct sequence of the following events?

(i) People's Republic of China

(ii) India's war with China

(iii) Meeting of the Constituent Assembly

(iv) Panch Sheel

(v) Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan Pact

Select the answer from the codes below:

(a) i, ii, iii, iv, v (b) iii, i, v, iv, ii

(c) iii, iv, i, v, ii (d) i, iii, iv, v, ii

5. Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on

(a) January, 30, 1948

(b) August 15, 1947

(c) January, 30, 1949

(d) October, 2, 1948

6. Who was the first to raise the demand for Andhra province ?

(a) Potti Sriramulu

(b) Pattabhi Sitaramayya

(c) K.M. Panikkar

(d) T. Prakasam

7. The Objectives Resolution before the Constituent Assembly was placed by

(a) Rajendra Prashad

(b) Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Vallabh bhai Patel

(d) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

8. The Congress ensured the election of Dr B.R. Ambedkar from a seat in

(a) Amethi (b) Bombay

(c) Nagpur (d) Mhow

9. **Assertion (A):** Radcliffe's award contained all kinds of anomalies.

Reason (R): Despite anomalies the award was accepted by all stakeholders.

(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.

(b) Both A and R are true and R is not the correct explanation of A.

(c) A is true but R is false.

(d) A is false but R is true.

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10. The Constituent Assembly was convened for the first time on
    (a) March 22, 1949
    (b) January 26,1946
    (c) December 9, 1946
    (d) December 13, 1946

11. The adoption of the Constitution was on
    (a) January 30, 1949
    (b) August 15, 1947
    (c) January 30, 1948
    (d) November 26, 1949

12. The first State formed on linguistic basis was
    (a) Kashmir (b) Assam
    (c) Andhra (d) Orissa

II. Write brief answers

1. What do you know of Instrument of Accession?
2. Describe the composition of Constituent Assembly.
3. What is the significance of article 370 of the Constitution?
4. What justified the "police action" in Hyderabad to get it integrated into union of India?
5. What was the essence of the JVP Committee's recommendations?

III. Write short answers

1. How was the Raja of Kashmir made to sign the Instrument of Accession?
2. What are the hallmarks of our Indian Constitution?
3. Highlight the tragic consequences of Partition.
4. Explain the five principles of Panch Sheel.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. What were the problems in the merger of princely states with the Indian Union and how they were ably handled by Patel and Nehru.
2. Trace the different stages in the reorganization of Indian States from 1920 to 1956.
3. What were the basic principles of India's foreign policy? What role did Prime minister Nehru in organizing the Afro-Asian countries into a non-aligned movement.

V. Activity

1. Conduct special meetings debating the pros and cons of identity politics.
2. Teachers may organise screening of Govind Nihalani's tele-film titled *Tamas* and M.S. Satyu's feature film *'Garam Hawa'* with English sub-titles to the students and initiate interaction with students.
3. Kushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* is also an excellent book to read in this context.

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1. Bipan Chandra, et. al., *India Since Independence*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2010.
2. Bipan Chandra, et. al., *India's Struggle for Independence,* Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2016 (Revised and Updated).
3. Sekhar Bandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*: A *History of Modern India*, Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad, 2009.

INTERNET RESOURCES

1. Teachers may expose the students to what led to the UDHR and its content through the following URL https://www.humanrights.com/what-are-human-rights/brief-history/the-united-nations.html

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GLOSSARY

constitution	fundamental principles by which a state is governed.	அரசமைப்பு
anomalies	a deviation from the common rule, type, arrangement, or form.	முரண்பாடுகள்
demographic	of human population	மக்கள்தொகை சார்ந்த
symbolic	serving as a symbol of something.	அடையாளமாக, குறியீடாக
constituent assembly	is a body of representatives that is elected to formulate or change their country's Constitution	அரசமைப்பு நிர்ணய சபை
autonomous	Self governing; independent.	தன்னாட்சி அதிகாரம் கொண்ட
Objectives Resolution	a resolution spelling out the	குறிக்கோள் தீர்மானங்கள்
Princely states	Indian rulers and their States under British rule	சுதேச அரசுகள்
privy purse	the sum from the public revenues granted to the sovereign as compensation for their loss of kingdom	மன்னர் மானியம்
linguistic	relating to language.	மொழிவாரி



ICT CORNER

Reconstruction of Post-colonial India

Through this page you will learn about **The Constitutional Origins of India.**



Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Scroll down, click on **'Click on Constitution making process'**

Step - 3 Select **'Stages'** and explore the Constitutional sessions

Web URL: http://cadindia.clpr.org.in/

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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UNIT 9

Envisioning a New Socio-Economic Order

Learning Objectives

To understand

- The economic situation in India at the time of Independence
- India as a socialist, democratic nation and what this signified
- Steps taken to improve agriculture and the rural economy
  a) Land reforms, and assessment of their effectiveness
  b) Technological development through the Green Revolution
  c) Rural development programmes
  d) Rural employment schemes
- Industrial Development
  a) Strategy and rationale of investment in heavy industry
  b) The role of the state and government controls on private industry and consumption through industrial regulation policies and legislation
  c) The role of the public sector
  d) Liberalisation and after
- Five Year Plans in India
- Education - The progress in literacy and expansion of school education
- Science and Technology: Growth of institutions of scientific research and technology in the country

Introduction

When India became independent in 1947, the economy of the country was very fragile and facing many problems. The level of poverty was very high. Nearly 80% of the population was living in rural areas, depending on agriculture for their livelihood. As the craft-based occupations had suffered during British rule, many skilled artisans had lost their livelihood. As a result, agriculture was overcrowded, and the per capita income from agriculture was very low. Agriculture was also characterised by semi-feudal relations between landowners and cultivators or peasants, who were often exploited by the land-owning classes.

The industrial sector had grown in the decades before Independence, but it was still quite small. The best known heavy industry was Tata Iron and Steel. Besides this, the main manufactures were cotton spinning and weaving, paper, chemicals, sugar, jute and cement. Engineering units produced machinery

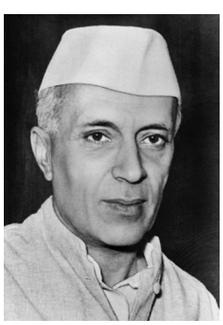
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for these units. However, the sector was relatively small and did not offer a significant potential for employing the surplus labour from the agricultural sector. In fact, the industry sector only accounted for 13% of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1950. Most manufactured consumer goods were imported. The Indian offices of major foreign companies were involved only in marketing and sales, and not in manufacturing.

Thus, the new government of India was faced with the mammoth task of developing the economy, improving conditions in agriculture, widening the manufacturing sector, increasing employment and reducing poverty.

Socialistic Pattern of Society

Economic development can be achieved in many ways. One option would be to follow the free enterprise, capitalist path; the other was to follow the socialist path. India chose the latter. In fact, the Preamble to the Indian Constitution, cited in the previous lesson, stated unambiguously that India would be "a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic". The objectives of this socialist pattern of development were: the reduction of inequalities, elimination of exploitation, and prevention of concentration of wealth. Social justice meant that all citizens would have an equal opportunity to education and employment. This essentially entailed the active participation of the state in the process of development.


Jawaharlal Nehru

In agriculture, social and economic justice was to be achieved through a process of land reforms which would empower the cultivator. In industry, the state would play an active role by setting up major industries under the public sector. These were to be achieved through a comprehensive process of planning under Five Year Plans. These strategies had been borrowed from the Soviet experience of rapid economic development. Nehru was a great admirer of the success of the Soviet Union in achieving rapid development, and thus the ideology on which this strategy is based is often referred to as "Nehruvian Socialism".

Agricultural Policy

At the time of Independence, agriculture in India was beset with many problems. In general, productivity was low. The total production of food grains was not enough to feed the country, so that a large quantity of food grains had to be imported. Nearly 80 percent of the population depended on agriculture for their livelihood. This automatically reduced the income of each person to very low levels. This is a situation described as 'disguised unemployment'. That is, even if many people shifted to other occupations, total production levels would remain the same, because this surplus population was not really required to sustain the activity, and was, in effect, unemployed. Given the high level of poverty among the rural population, most of them were heavily indebted to moneylenders.

The backwardness of agriculture could be attributed to two factors: institutional and technological. Institutional factors refer to the social and economic relations that prevailed, particularly between the land-owning classes and the cultivating classes. Technological factors relate to use of better seeds, improved methods of cultivation, use of chemical fertilizers, use of machinery like tractors and harvester combines, and provision of irrigation. The government decided to tackle the institutional drawbacks first and began a programme of land reforms to improve the conditions in agriculture. The basic assumption was that such measures would improve the efficiency of land use or productivity, apart from empowering the peasants by creating a socially just system.

9.1 Land Reforms and Rural Reconstruction

Under the Constitution of India, agriculture was a 'state subject', that is, each state had to pass laws relating to land reforms individually.

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Thus, while the basic form of land reforms was common among all the states, there was no uniformity in the specific terms of land reform legislation among the states.



(a) Zamindari Abolition

Abolition of Zamindari was part of the manifesto of the Indian National Congress party even before Independence.

What was Zamindari and who were the zamindars? Zamindar referred to the class of landowners who had been designated during British rule as the intermediaries who paid the land revenue to the government under a Permanent Settlement. They collected rent from peasants cultivating their land and were obliged to remit a fixed amount to the government as land taxes. There was no legal limit to these demands, and zamindars generally extorted high rents from the cultivators leaving them impoverished. In public opinion, these zamindars were considered to be a decadent, extravagant and unproductive class who were living on unearned income. Abolishing their privileges and restoring land to the cultivators was therefore a prime objective of the government.

Three systems of revenue collection had been introduced by the British. In Bengal and most of north India, the Permanent Settlement placed the responsibility of paying land revenue on the rentier class of zamindars. In south India, the cultivators paid the land revenue demand directly to the government under the system known as 'ryotwari' ('ryot' means cultivator). The third system, found in very small pockets of the country, was 'mahalwari' where the village was collectively responsible for paying the land revenue.

Most provinces in India had enacted laws abolishing the zamindari system even before the Constitution was framed. By 1949, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Assam and Bombay had introduced such legislation. West Bengal, where the Permanent Settlement was first introduced, the act was passed only in 1955. Land taken away from the zamindars was distributed among the tenants. The provincial legislatures also recommended the amount of compensation to be paid to the zamindars.

Zamindars in various parts of the country challenged the constitutionality of the zamindari abolition laws in court. The government then passed two amendments to the Constitution, the First Amendment in 1951 and the Fourth Amendment in 1955, which pre-empted the right of zamindars to question the takeover of their land or the value of the compensation.

Finally, zamindari abolition was completed by 1956, and was possibly the most successful of the land reforms. About 30 lakh tenants and sharecroppers gained ownership of 62 lakh hectares of land. The total compensation actually paid to the zamindars amounted to ₹16,420 lakhs (which amounted to only about one-fourth of the total compensation amount due).

In sum, however, the reform only achieved a very small part of the original objective. Many zamindars were able to evict their tenants and take over their land claiming that this land was under their 'personal cultivation'. Thus, while the institution of zamindari was dismantled, many landowners continued in possession of vast tracts of land.

(b) Tenancy Reform

Nearly half of the total cultivated land in India was under tenancy. Tenancy refers to an arrangement under which land was taken on lease from landowners by cultivators under specific terms. Not all tenants were landless peasants. Many small landowners who wanted to cultivate additional land leased out land from other landowners. Some richer landowners also took additional land for cultivation on lease. In general, the rent was paid in kind, as a share of the produce from the land.

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It was common for large landowners to lease out the land to tenants. Usually these tenancy arrangements continued for long periods of time. The rents received by the landowners generally amounted to about 50% or more of the produce from the land, which was very high. Tenancy was a customary practice and agreements were rarely recorded. Thus, tenants of long-standing were almost never deprived of tenancy rights. However, tenants could also be evicted at short notice, and tenants therefore always lived under some uncertainty.

Tenancy reform was undertaken with two objectives. One was to empower the cultivators by protecting them against the landowners. The other was to improve the efficiency of land use, based on the assumption that tenancy was inefficient. Landowners rarely had any incentive to invest in improving the land, and were interested only in deriving an income from their land. Tenants, who had no ownership rights and were liable to pay high rents, had neither the incentive nor surplus money to invest in land.

Tenancy reform legislation was aimed at achieving three ends:

(i) to regulate the rent;

(ii) to secure the rights of the tenant;

(iii) to confer ownership rights on the tenants by expropriating the land of the land owners.

Legislation was passed in the states regulating the rent at one-fourth to one-third of the produce. But this could never be implemented successfully. The agricultural sector had a surplus of labour whereas land was a resource in short supply. Price controls did not work in a situation when the demand exceeded the supply. All that happened was that rent rates were pushed under the table without any official record.

Laws to secure the rights of the tenant and to make tenancy heritable were equally unsuccessful. Tenancy agreements were made orally, and were unrecorded. The tenant thus always had to live with the uncertainty that their land could be resumed by the landlord any time. When tenancy reform laws were announced many landowners claimed to have taken back their land for 'personal cultivation' and that tenants were only being employed as labour to work the land. Tenancy reform was bound to be ineffectual in the absence of a comprehensive and enforceable land ceiling programme.

Land reform measures initiated in Kerala and West Bengal met with reasonable success. While abolition of landlordism was remarkably successful, conferment of ownership rights to tenants had mixed results.

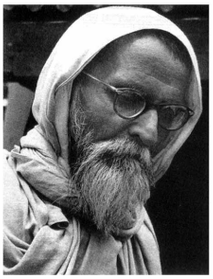
(c) Land Ceiling

Land ceiling refers to the maximum amount of land that could be legally owned by individuals. Laws were passed after the 1950s to enforce it. In Tamilnadu it was implemented first in 1961. Until 1972, there was a ceiling on the extent of land that a 'landholder' could own. After 1972, the unit was changed to a 'family'. This meant that the landowners could claim that each member of the family owned a part of the land which would be much less than the prescribed limit under the ceiling.

Deciding the extent of land under land ceiling was a complex exercise, since land was not of uniform quality. Distinctions had to be made between irrigated and unirrigated dry land, and single crop and double crop producing land. At the same time, exemptions from the Act were granted to certain categories of land such as orchards, horticultural land, grazing land, land belonging to religious and charitable trusts, and sugarcane plantations. These exemptions were also used to evade the land cieling acts and reported cases of manipulation of land records adversely impacted the otherwise laudable initiative.

Ultimately, only about 65 lakh hectares of land was taken over as surplus land. This was distributed to about 55 lakh tenants–an average of a little over 1 hectare per tenant. Clearly, with their political power the dominant castes who were the big landowners managed to dilute and vitiate the entire legislation.

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Vinoba Bhave

Efforts like *Bhoodan* started by Vinoba Bhave to persuade large landowners to surrender their surplus land voluntarily attracted much public attention.

(d) Overall Appraisal

Land reform legislation has overall not been a great success. In economic terms, the dream of an agricultural sector prospering under peasant cultivators with secure ownership rights has remained just that – a dream – and there was no visible improvement in efficiency. In more recent years, when agriculture has grown due to technological progress, a more efficient land market is seen to be operating which is more conducive for long term growth.

In terms of social justice, the abolition of the semi-feudal system of zamindari has been effective. The land reform measures have also made the peasants more politically aware of their rights and empowered them.

9.2 Development of Agriculture

(a) Green Revolution

By the middle of the 1960s the scenario with regard to food production was very grim. The country was incurring enormous expenditure on importing food. Land reforms had made no impact on agricultural production. The government therefore turned to technological alternatives to develop agriculture. High Yielding Variety (HYV) of seeds of wheat and rice was adopted in 1965 in select areas well endowed with irrigation.

Unlike traditional agriculture, cultivation of HYV seeds required a lot of water and use of tractors, chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The success of the initial experimental projects led to the large-scale adoption of HYV seeds



Green Revolution in India

across the country. This is generally referred to as the Green Revolution. This also created an enormous demand for chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and these industries grew as well.

Finally, within twenty years, India achieved self-sufficiency in food production. Total rice production increased from 35 million tonnes in 1960–61 to 104 million tonnes in 2011–12. The increase in wheat production was even more impressive, from 11 million tonnes to 94 million tonnes during the same period. Productivity also increased. A large reserve stock of food grain was built up by the government through buying the surplus food grain from the farmers and storing this in warehouses of the Food Corporation of India (FCI). The stored food grains were made available under the Public Distribution System (PDS) and to ensure food security for the people.

Another positive feature has been the sustained increase in the production of milk and eggs. Due to this, the food basket of all income groups became more diversified.

While the Green Revolution has been very successful in terms of increasing food production in India, it has also had some negative outcomes. First of all, it increased the disparities between the well-endowed and the less well-endowed regions. Over the decades, there has been a tendency among farmers to use chemical fertilizers and pesticides in excessive quantities resulting in environmental problems. There is now a move to go back to organic farming in many parts of the country. The

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lesson to be learnt is that development comes at a certain cost.

(b) Rural Development Programmes

By the 1970s, the levels of poverty had not declined in spite of overall development of industry and agriculture. The assumption that development would solve the problem of poverty was not realised, and nearly half the population was found to be living below the poverty line. (The poverty line is defined as the level of expenditure required to purchase food grains to supply the recommended calorie level to sustain a person.) Though the percentage of the persons below the poverty line did not increase, as the population grew, the number of persons living below the poverty line kept increasing.

Poverty prevailed both in rural and urban areas. But since nearly three-fourths of the population lived in rural areas, rural poverty was a much more critical problem requiring immediate attention. Poverty levels were also much higher among specific social groups such as small and marginal farmers, landless labourers and depressed classes in resource poor regions without irrigation and with poor soil, etc.

A whole range of rural development programmes was introduced by the government to tackle rural poverty. These included Community Development Programmes, reviving local institutions like Panchayati Raj, and targeted programmes aimed at specific groups such as small and marginal farmers. The thrust was on providing additional sources of income to the rural households to augment their earnings from agriculture. Two major programmes are explained in greater detail below.

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), 1980–1999

In 1980 a consolidated rural development programme called Integrated Rural Development Programme was introduced. The purpose was to provide rural households with assets which would improve their economic position, so that they would be able to come out of poverty. These could be improvements to the land, supply of cows or goats for dairying or help to set up small shops or other trade-related businesses. Introduced in all the 5011 blocks in the country, the target was to provide assistance to 600 families in each block over five years (1980–1985), which would reach a total of 15 million families.

The capital cost of the assets provided was covered by subsidies (divided equally between the Centre and the States) and loans. The subsidy varied according to the economic situation of the family receiving assistance. For small farmers, the subsidy component was 25%, 33.3% for marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, and 50% for tribal households. Banks were to give loans to the selected households to cover the balance of the cost of the asset. About 53.5 million households were covered under the programme till 1999.

Dairy animals accounted for 50% of the assets, non-farm activities for 25% and minor irrigation works for about 15%. The functioning and the effects of IRDP were assessed by many economists as well as government bodies. These studies raised many questions about the end result.

Lack of proper selection procedures for identification of beneficiaries, insufficient investment per household, absence of post implementation audits of the scheme, regional disparities in lifting the identified beneficiaries above the poverty line was a major issue.

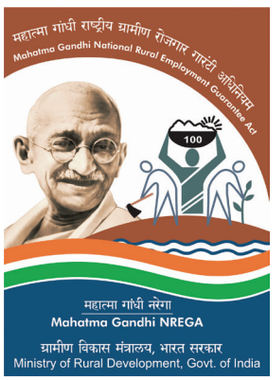
Considering the limited success achieved by the programme it was restructured in 1999 as a programme to promote self-employment of the rural poor.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (MGNREGA)

Over the years, due to concerted efforts, the percentage of households below the poverty

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line has come down substantially in India. It is now widely recognised that eradicating rural poverty can be achieved only by expanding the scope for non-agricultural employment. Many programmes to generate additional employment had been introduced over the years. Many were merged with the employment guarantee scheme, which is now the biggest programme on this front in the country.



The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (subsequently renamed MGNREGA after Mahatma Gandhi) was passed in 2005, with the aim of providing livelihood security to poor rural households. This was to be achieved by giving at least 100 days of wage employment each year to adult members of every household willing to do unskilled manual work. This would provide a cushion to poor rural households which could not get any work in the lean agricultural season which lasted for about three months each year. In this exercise, the work undertaken would create durable assets in rural areas like roads, canals, minor irrigation works and restoration of traditional water bodies.

The earlier targeted programmes of rural development were based on the identification of below poverty line families, which had led to several complaints that ineligible families had been selected. MGNREGA, however, is applicable to all rural households. The reasoning is that it is a self-targeting scheme, because persons with education or from more affluent backgrounds would not come forward to do manual work at minimum wages.

The earlier employment generation programmes did not give the rural poor any right to demand and get work. The significant feature of this Act is that they have the legal right to demand work. The programme is implemented by Gram Panchayats. The applicants have to apply for this work and are provided with job cards. Work is to be provided by the local authorities within 15 days. If not, the applicant is entitled to an unemployment allowance. The work site should be located within five kilometres of the house of the applicant.

No contractors are to be involved. This is to avoid the profits which will be taken by the middlemen thus cutting into the wages. The ratio of wages to capital investment should be 60:40. One-third of the workers would be women. Men and women would be paid the same wage.

As with all government programmes, many studies have brought out the weaknesses in the implementation of MGNREGA. On the positive side, agricultural wages have gone up due to the improved bargaining power of labour. This has also reduced the migration of agricultural workers to urban areas during the lean period or during droughts. One of the most important benefits is that women are participating in the works in large numbers and have been empowered by the programme.

Wages of the workers are paid directly into bank accounts or post office accounts to ensure transparency and hassle - free transfer of payments. The involvement of civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and political representatives, and a more responsive attitude of the civil servants have improved the functioning of MGNREGA in states like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. Efficiency has increased up to 97%.

Between 2006 and 2012, around ₹1,10,000 crores had been distributed directly as wage payment under the programme, generating 1200 crore person-days of employment. In spite of many shortcomings, the functioning of the programme has improved due to higher levels of consciousness among the rural poor and concerned civil society organisations. Though many critics feel that the high expenditure involved in the programme increases the fiscal deficit, the programme remains popular and nearly one-fourth of all rural households participate in the programme each year.

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9.3 Development of Industry

India was committed to the idea of promoting rapid industrial growth for economic development. Development can be achieved through several pathways. In a country like India with a large population where many raw materials were grown or were available, processing industries which were more labour-intensive would have also led to industrial growth. Alternatively, the Gandhian model stressed a model of growth with village and cottage industries as the ideal way to produce consumer goods, which would eliminate rural poverty and unemployment.

But the government adopted the Nehruvian model of focusing on large scale, heavy industry to promote wide-ranging industrial development. In keeping with the basic principle of a "socialistic society", the state would play a major role in developing the industrial sector through setting up units wholly owned by the state. The emphasis on heavy industry was to promote the production of steel and intermediate products like machines, chemicals and fertilizers for the developing industries. The social purpose that would be achieved by this model of development was to restrict private capital which was considered to be exploitative and excessively profit-oriented, which benefited a small class of capitalists.

(a) Industrial Policy

A series of Industrial Policy statements were adopted to promote these objectives. The first policy statement was made in 1948. It classified industries into four categories:

1. Strategic industries which would be state monopolies (atomic energy, railways, arms and ammunition);
2. 18 industries of national importance under government control (heavy machinery, fertilizer, heavy chemicals, defence equipment, etc.);
3. Industries in both the public and private sectors;
4. Industries in the private sector.

The most definitive policy statement was the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 which classified industries into three categories: Schedule A industries were under the monopoly of the state; Schedule B industries, the state could start new units but the private sector could also set up or expand their units; Schedule C were the remaining industries.

The Industrial Development and Regulation Act of 1951 was an important instrument for controlling the private sector. This Act stipulated that no new industrial units could be set up, nor the capacity of existing units expanded without a licence or permit from the government.

The Policy Statement of 1973 encouraged large industrial houses to start operations in rural and backward areas to reduce regional imbalances in development. The Policy Statement of 1977 was framed by the short-lived Janata government which was aimed at promoting rural, village and small scale industries.

The Policy Statement of 1980 was announced by the Congress government which also aimed at promoting balanced growth. Otherwise all these statements continued the ideology of a strong public sector owned by the state and control over the private sector and especially the large business houses.

There were also other interventions which intruded into the market economy. For instance, inputs produced in the private sector like cement were rationed, and permits had to be obtained even for private construction of houses. The manufacture of consumer goods was severely restricted under the licensing policy. This was partly an expression of the ideology of reducing inequalities in consumption between the affluent and weaker sections of society. But it was also a way to ensure that scarce resources like steel, cement etc. would be used in strategic industries for the long-term development of the economy.

Many important industries and services were nationalised. These included coal mines,

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petroleum companies, banking and insurance services. Private entrants have been allowed into some of these activities only in recent years.

(b) Public Sector

There were only five public sector enterprises in India in 1951. By 2012, this number had increased to 225. The capital investment increased from ₹29 crores in 1951 to 7.3 lakh crores in 2012. The setting up of public sector enterprises in heavy industry was again dictated by two considerations. First, at the ideological level, the government was committed to a socialistic pattern of development which involved a high degree of state control over the economy. But at a more practical level, the government had to take over the responsibility for the establishment of heavy industrial units which required a very high level of investment. These were known as "long gestation" projects, that is, it would take many years before such units would be able to start production.

In the 1950s, the private sector did not have the resources or the willingness to enter into such investment. Steel plants in Bhilai (Chhattisgarh), Rourkela (Odisha), Durgapur (West Bengal), Bokaro (Jharkhand), engineering plants like Bharat Heavy Electricals (BHEL) and Hindustan Machine Tools were all set up in the 1950s in collaboration with Britain, Germany and Russia which provided the technical support.

Units which did not have to be located near raw material sources were set up in backward areas to reduce regional disparities in industrial and economic development. BHEL was first set up in Bhopal, and later in Tiruchirappalli, Hyderabad and Haridwar. Steel plants were set up in the relatively backward belt of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal. Public sector enterprises also contributed to the national exchequer because their profits accrued in part to the central government. Thus the growth of the public sector served many economic and social purposes, in addition to creating industrial capacity in the country.



Steel Plant, Bokaro



BHEL, Tiruchirappalli

(c) Crisis in Public Sector Industrial Units

By 1991 it was clear that public sector enterprises were facing severe problems. While on the whole they were showing a profit, nearly half of the profit was contributed by the petroleum units. Many were making continuous losses. Part of the problem lay in the expansion of the public sector into non-strategic areas like tourism, hotels, consumer goods (for instance, in the 1970s, television sets were produced only by public sector companies) and so on.

There were many factors which contributed to the poor performance of public sector enterprises. Decisions on location were made for political rather than efficiency considerations. Delays in construction resulted in cost overrun, so that the units were overcapitalized. Administrative prices were not always economical and did not make sense when the intermediate goods produced in the public sector were used as inputs in the private sector. Public sector units were also overstaffed, though the technology of heavy industries did not require so many workers. This increased the operating cost of the units. Bureaucrats were entrusted with the management of public enterprises, leading to inefficiency in management. Recognising all these problems,

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the government began a programme of disinvestment of the loss-making and non-strategic units in 1991.

In spite of all the shortcomings, the strategy of industrialisation by concentrating on building up long-term industrial capacity through the establishment of heavy industries has been successful in making India into a modern, industrial economy.

(d) Liberalisation: Industrial Policy Statement 1991

Finally in 1991 the Indian government announced a shift in its industrial policy to remove controls and licences, moving to a liberalised economy permitting a much larger role to the private sector. The share of the public sector was to be reduced through a policy of disinvestment and closure of sick units. This created a sea change in the economic outlook of the country, particularly from the point of view of the consumers. It is not merely that the aspirations of the growing middle class for a better standard of living in terms of availability of goods and services have been met. Even the lower income families could now buy such goods.

On the positive side, liberalisation has certainly made India a more attractive destination for foreign investment. State governments are keen to advertise that they are relaxing restrictions to improve the ease of doing business in their state. All this has created a general air of prosperity which is reflected in the growth statistics of the economy as a whole.

On the negative side, liberalisation and globalisation have resulted in a significant increase in income disparities between the top income groups and the lower income groups. The removal of ceilings on corporate salaries has widened the disparities between the salaried class of corporate executives and wage earners. The formal sector has very limited potential for additional employment and most of the new employment is generated in the informal sector, and disparities have also increased across these two sectors.

However, neither the advocates of a free economy nor leftist economists are happy with the level of liberalisation. The former want more free play of market forces to eradicate imbalances and checks to progress which are still in place. The leftists are unhappy that the state has abdicated its responsibility of ensuring and promoting social justice and welfare by allowing free play to private capitalists to exploit the economy.

9.4 Five Year Plans

India followed the example of the USSR in planning for development through five year plans. The Planning Commission was set up in 1950 to formulate plans for developing the economy. Each Plan assessed the performance of the economy and the resources available for future development. Targets were set in accordance with the priorities of the government. Resources were allocated to various sectors, like agriculture, industry, power, social sectors and technology, and a growth target was also set for the economy as a whole. One of the primary objectives of planning was to build a self-sufficient economy.

The First Five Year Plan covered the period 1951–56. Till now there have been twelve Five Year Plans in addition to three one year plans between 1966 and 1969.

The proposed outlays for a Plan take both private and public sector outlays into account. The total outlay proposed for the First Plan was ₹3870 crores. By the Eleventh Plan, it had crossed ₹36.44 lakh crores, which is an indication of the extent to which the Indian economy had grown in less than sixty years. Between the Second and Sixth Plans, public sector accounted for 60 to 70% of the total plan outlay. But since then, the share of the public sector gradually came down, and private sector began to dominate in total plan outlay.

The First Plan (1951–56) focused on developing agriculture, especially increasing agricultural production. The allocation for Agriculture and Irrigation accounted for 31% of the total outlay. After this, the emphasis shifted to industry, and the share of agriculture in total outlay hovered between 20 and 24%.

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P.C. Mahalanobis

By the Eleventh Plan it had come down to less than 20%. The Second Plan (1956–61), commonly referred to as the Mahalanobis Plan, stressed the development of heavy industry for achieving economic growth. The share of industry in Plan outlay was only 6% in the First Plan, and increased to about 24% after the Second Plan. But the share has been declining since the Sixth Plan, perhaps because the major investments in the public sector had been completed. The allocation for power development was very low in the first four plans and this created a huge shortage of power in the country.

The first two Plans had set fairly modest targets of growth at about 4%, which economists described as the "Hindu rate of growth". These growth rates were achieved so that the first two Plans were considered to have been successful. The targets in subsequent plans were not achieved due to a variety of factors. From the Fourth Plan (1969–74) the emphasis was on poverty alleviation, so that social objectives were introduced into the planning exercise. The targeted growth rates were reached from the Sixth Plan onwards.

The economy was liberalised during the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992–97). Since then, the growth rates have been in excess of 7% (except for a slowdown in the Ninth Plan).There has been considerable emphasis on growth with justice, and inclusive and sustainable growth.



Twelve five year plans have been made between 1951 and 2017. Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) was the last plan. In 2015, the Planning Commission was wound up and replaced by the NITI Aayog.

There are positive and negative assessments of the performance of planning in India.

Achievements

1. The expansion of the economy
2. The significant growth in national and per capita income
3. Increase in industrial production
4. Increased use of modern inputs in agriculture and increase in agricultural production
5. A more diversified economy.

9.5 Education, Science and Technology

(a) Education

Education and health constitute the social sectors, and the status of education and health indicators are yardsticks for assessing the level of social development in a country. Literacy levels have increased in India from 18.3% in 1951 to 74% in 2011. Female literacy still lags behind the male literacy rate at 65% as compared to 82% among men. There has been a great increase in the number of schools from the primary to senior high school level and in the growth of institutions of higher learning. In 2014 - 15 there were 12.72 lakh primary and upper primary schools, 2.45 lakh secondary and higher secondary schools, 38,498 colleges and 43 Central Universities, 316 State Universities, 122 Deemed Universities and 181 State Private Universities in the country.

Children dropping out of school mostly belonged to the poorer families in rural and urban areas. The drop-out rate is particularly high among girl children. There are great inter-regional variations in the drop-out and enrolment rates, so that backward states and regions have the poorest record on school education. Various initiatives are being taken by the government to such as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) and the recently integrated scheme of Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan to redress the issue of dropouts.

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(b) Science and Technology

India has made great strides in developing institutions of scientific research and technology. The only science research institute in India before Independence was the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) established in 1909 in Bangalore with funding from J.R.D. Tata and the Maharaja of Mysore.



Indian Institute of Science, Bengaluru

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) was set up in 1945 on the initiative of Homi J. Bhabha, with some funding from the Tatas. It was intended to promote research in mathematics and pure sciences. The National Chemical Laboratory, Pune and the National Physics Laboratory, New Delhi were the first institutes set up in India around the time of Independence. Since then there has been a steady increase in the number of institutes doing research in pure sciences, ranging from astrophysics, geology/ geo-physics, cellular and molecular biology, mathematical sciences and so on.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) is the umbrella organisation under which most of the scientific research institutions function. The CSIR also advances research in applied fields like machinery, drugs, planes etc.

The Atomic Energy Commission is the nodal agency for the development of nuclear science which is strategically important, focusing both on nuclear power generation and nuclear weapons. The Atomic Energy Commission also funds several institutes of pure science research.

Agriculture is another area where there has been a significant expansion of research and development. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) is the coordinating agency for the research done not only in basic agriculture, but also associated activities like fishery, forests, dairy, plant genetics, bio-technology, varieties of crops like rice, potato, tubers, fruits and pest control. Agricultural universities are also actively engaged in teaching and research on agricultural practices. There are 67 agricultural universities in India, and 3 in Tamil Nadu.



IIT, Chennai

Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were set up as centres of excellence in different fields of engineering. The first IIT was located in Kharagpur, followed by Delhi, Bombay, Kanpur and Madras (Chennai). There are now 23 IITs in the country, in addition to 31 NITs (National Institutes of Technology) and about 25 IIITs (Indian Institutes of Information Technology).

In spite of advances, the general perception is that science research in India still has a long way to go to catch up with the more developed countries and China. The research output in theoretical fields is rather disappointing and scanty in spite of the number of research institutions in the country.

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Summary

- India was an economically underdeveloped country at the time of Independence. The framers of the Constitution had opted to develop the country as a socialist democracy, so that ensuring social justice was an important priority for the government.
- One of the first priorities of the government was therefore to undertake measures to improve conditions in agriculture. Reforms were initiated to eliminate the institutional weaknesses, by doing away with landlordism (*zamindari*), reforming tenancy and imposing land ceilings. These were partially successful but did not really improve conditions in agriculture.
- The shortage of food grains was acute by the 1960s, and the government therefore switched to the technological alternative of improving agriculture through the introduction of high-yielding varieties of seeds and investment in major irrigation, chemical pesticides and fertilizers. This succeeded in ensuring food security in India, but also had negative effects on the environment.
- There was no reduction in the ratio of people living in poverty, especially in rural areas. The IRDP was a concerted effort to tackle rural poverty. Though the level of rural poverty did come down, the number of persons below the poverty line did not decrease because the population was growing.
- The MGNREGA, which gives rural households the legal right to demand work, is now the major employment generation programme.
- Nehru was determined to create a socialist society, and he proclaimed that the state would direct industrial growth by investing in heavy industrial units and also exercise control over private industry to ensure long term objectives of growth and preventing exploitation by private business houses and capitalists.
- Industries to produce steel, heavy engineering and machine tools which required large investments were set up by the state in various parts of the country. While this strategy pushed India into becoming an industrially developed economy, the over-extension of the public sector into too many products and services ultimately led to heavy losses. This eventually made the government liberalise the economy and do away with licences and controls and allow free market forces to guide the economy.
- The Planning Commission was set up to formulate five year plans which would assess the resources of the country and specify targets for the growth of the economy as a whole and the various sub-sectors of the economy. Considerable improvement has been made in literacy and establishment of schools and colleges in the country.
- There has been an impressive increase in the number of institutions of science research (pure and applied). Similarly, many institutes of technology have been set up across the country for education in various engineering disciplines. In addition, there has been an explosion in the number of private engineering colleges.

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EXERCISE

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Arrange the following in chronological order.
   (i) Laws abolishing zamindari system
   (ii) Adoption of High Yielding Variety of seeds
   (iii) First Land Ceiling Act, Tamilnadu
   Choose the answer from the codes given below:
   (a) ii, i, iii (b) i, iii, ii
   (c) iii, ii, i (d) ii, iii, i

2. Government of India was committed to a _____ pattern of development.
   (a) Capitalistic (b) Socialistic
   (c) Theocratic (d) Industrial

3. When was the first amendment to the constitution of India made?
   (a) 1951 (b) 1952 (c) 1976 (d) 1978

4. Match the following and choose the correct answer from the codes given blow.

A. Industrial Development Policy Resolution	-	1. 1951-56
B. IISc	-	2. Second Five Year Plan
C. Mahalanobis	-	3. 1909
D. First Five Year Plan	-	4. 1956

	A	B	C	D
(a)	1	2	3	4
(b)	3	1	4	2
(c)	4	3	2	1
(d)	4	2	3	1

5. Land Ceiling Act in Tamilnadu was for the second time implemented in the year _____
   (a) 1961 (b) 1972 (c) 1976 (d) 1978

6. Bhoodan movement was started by _____
   (a) Ram Manohar Lohia
   (b) Jayaprakash Narayan
   (c) Vinoba Bhave
   (d) Sundar Lal Bahuguna

7. **Assertion (A):** Zamindari abolition achieved only a part of the original objective.
   Reason (R): Many zamindars managed to evict their tenants and claim that the land was under their personal cultivation.
   (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.
   (b) Both A and R are true and R is not the correct explanation of A.
   (c) A is true but R is false.
   (d) A is false but R is true.

8. The Industrial Development and Regulation Act was passed in the year _____
   (a) 1951 (b) 1961 (c) 1971 (d) 1972

9. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act was passed in the year _____
   (a) 2005 (b) 2006 (c) 2007 (d) 2008

10. In which year did Indian public sector enterprises face severe problems _____
    (a) 1961 (b) 1991 (c) 2008 (d) 2005

11. MGNREG Act provided _____ days work for an individual.
    (a) 200 (b) 150 (c) 100 (d) 75

12. When was Tata Institute of Fundamental Research established?
    (a) 1905 (b) 1921 (c) 1945 (d) 1957

13. How many public sector enterprises were functioning in India in 1951?
    (a) 5 (b) 7 (c) 6 (d) 225

II. Write brief answers

1. Give an account of the conditions of the Indian economy at the time of independence.
2. What were the immediate tasks before the new government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru?
3. What do you understand by the Socialistic Pattern of Society?

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4. Point out the two important considerations that determined the setting up of public sector enterprises in the wake of India's independence.
5. Write about the Bhoodan movement.

III. Write short answers

1. What are the main objectives of the Tenancy reforms?
2. What was the outcome of Green Revolution in India?
3. Describe the Integrated Rural Development Programme introduced by the Union Government in the 1980s.
4. What were the reasons for agricultural backwardness in India?
5. What were the factors which contributed to the poor performance of the public sector enterprises?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Highlight the measures adopted by the Government of India towards rural reconstruction.
2. Assess the educational progress made in independent India.
3. Assess the achievements of the first two Five-Year plans.
4. Examine the development of institutions of scientific research and technology after India's independence.

V. Activity

1. Deliberations on the impact of the policy, both positive and negative, of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation may be held in classes.

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GLOSSARY

socialism	a political and economic theory which advocates that the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned by the community as a whole.	சமதர்மக் கோட்பாடு
reconstruction	the process of rebuilding or creating something again.	மறுகட்டுமானம்
zamindari system	a system of landholding and tax collection in British India.	ஆங்கிலேய அரசின் நிலவருவாய் வசூலிக்கும் ஒரு முறை
tenancy	occupancy of land, a house, under a lease or on payment of rent	குத்தகை
legislation	the act of making or enacting laws.	சட்டமியற்றல்
land ceiling	quantum of land to be owned by an individual or a family under the prescribed law	நில உச்சவரம்பு
public sector	economic fields under the control of state	பொதுத்துறை
literacy	the quality or state of being literate, especially the ability to read and write.	எழுத்தறிவு

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UNIT 10

Modern World: The Age of Reason

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Renaissance in Italy and its spread to western Europe
- The discovery of new land and sea routes
- Commercial revolution and its Impact
- Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation
- Rise of new monarchies and the emergence of Nation-States in Western Europe

Introduction

Three great events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – the Renaissance, the geographical discoveries and the Reformation – mark a transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern. The essence of Renaissance was the centrality given to the human and the natural, with religion relegated to subordinate place. Renaissance had a profound impact on the making of the modern world. It stimulated the geographical imagination of Europe. The success of Columbus encouraged overseas enterprise enormously. Reformation, a revolt against the Catholic Church, transformed the religious map and marked a major turning point in attitudes to religion. Attempts to consolidate a monarchy and to make it absolute resulted in Spain, France, and England evolving as nation states.

10.1 Renaissance in Italy and its Spread in Western Europe

Significance of Renaissance

The word Renaissance, of Latin origin, means rebirth or revival. It signifies the sudden revival of interest in the classical learning of Greece and Rome. In the course of development, however, the Renaissance became more than a mere revival of classical learning. It included an impressive record of new achievements in art, literature, science, philosophy, education, religion, and politics. Renaissance incorporated a number of ideas. Notable among them were humanism, scepticism, individualism, and secularism. A unique aspect of the Renaissance was the contribution made not by monks and nobles, but by laypersons.

Causes of Renaissance

(i) New experiences during the Crusades [religious wars aimed at recovering the Holy Land from Muslim rule], the rise of independent trading cities like Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lisbon, Paris, London, Antwerp, Hamburg and Nuremberg, with many visiting travellers, and the establishment of universities at Paris (France), Oxford (England), and Bologno (Italy) provided the necessary preliminary conditions for the birth of renaissance.

(ii) Philosophical discussion, which had begun as early as the eleventh century, continued to produce great minds. The most prominent among them in the

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thirteenth century was Roger Bacon (1214–1294). An English philosopher who lived in Oxford, Bacon is considered the father of modern experimental science. He wanted human kind to be ruled not by dogma and authority but rather by reason.



Roger Bacon

(iii) In 1393, a famous scholar of Constantinople, Manuel Chrysaloras, arrived in Venice on a mission from the Byzantine emperor to seek the help of the West in the war against the Turks. Chrysaloras was eventually persuaded to accept a professorship of Greek classics at the University of Florence. About the beginning of the fifteenth century several other Byzantine scholars migrated to Italy. The influence of these scholars inspired Italian scholars to make trips to Constantinople and other Byzantine cities in search of manuscripts. Between 1413 and 1423 one Giovanni Aurispa brought back nearly 250 manuscript books, including the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Thucydides. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 there was a great exodus of classical scholars to Western Europe which gave a fillip to classical learning.

(iv) The Byzantine world not only gave Christendom the stimulus of its scholars and philosophers, it also gave it paper. Though paper originated in China in second century BC (BCE)., it reached Germany only by the fourteenth century. Thereupon, the invention of moveable type and the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg followed. With printing, the intellectual life of the world entered a far more vigorous phase. Knowledge spread swiftly.

Italy as the birthplace of Renaissance

Renaissance began in Italian cities and later spread to western Europe. Italians preserved the belief that they were descendants of the ancient Romans. They looked back upon their ancestry with pride. Italy had a more secular culture than most other parts of Latin Christendom. The old cathedrals and paintings seemed to them gloomy and the old traditions irksome. So in their search for something more to their liking, they discovered books written in Latin. They learnt to write Latin as the ancient Romans did. They also learnt Greek and thereby discovered wonderful works of the Athenians of the time of Pericles and facilitated a rebirth of the ancient and the bygone era of Greek and Roman culture. Italian universities were established primarily for the study of law and philosophy.

The Medici Family: Florence is one of the city states in Italy which was influenced by a powerful merchant family called Medici. Cosimo de Medici who was engaged in banking with many branches across Italy had indirect control over the functioning of the government between 1434 and 1464. After his death, his grandson Lorenzo took over and controlled the government. He was known as Lorenzo, the Magnificent. During this period, the Medici family patronised many artists including Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci.

Italy was situated in the centre of Mediterranean Sea and hence the Italian cities were the main beneficiaries of the revival of trade with the East. By the fourteenth century Italian cities engaged in sea-borne trade had become fabulously rich. The Renaissance movement was accelerated by two prosperous families, the Medici family in Florence and the Sforza family in Milan.

Popes such as NicholasV, Pius II, Julius II and Leo X bestowed their patronage upon the most brilliant artists of the Italian Renaissance.

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Florence as Home of Renaissance

Renaissance in Literature



Dante



Petrarch

Even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Florence had produced Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch, the two great poets of the Italian language. Dante's *Divine Comedy* is a summation of medieval culture. Its dominant theme is the salvation of mankind through reason and divine grace. But it abounds with many other themes such as human love, love of country, interest in natural phenomena and even the desire for a free and united Italian nation.

Petrarch (1304-1374) produced works both in Latin and Italian. An early humanist, he is considered to be the father of Italian Renaissance literature. Petrarch's inquiring mind and love of classical authors led him to travel, visiting men of learning and searching in monastic libraries for classical manuscripts. It is believed that his rediscovery of Cicero's letters was a key moment in the 14th century Italian Renaissance.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), also a Florentine, produced *Decameron*, a collection of 100 stories, as told by seven young women and three young men, during their stay at a villa outside of Florence to escape the ravages of the Black Death.



Boccaccio

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527)

Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* became famous because of its relevance as a political guide for the rulers. In his view, the supreme obligation of the ruler was to maintain the power and safety of the country over which he ruled. No consideration of justice or mercy or the sanctity of treaties should be allowed to stand in his way. Machiavelli maintained that all men are prompted exclusively by motives of self-interest and the head of the state should therefore take nothing for granted as to the loyalty or affection of his subjects.



Machiavelli

'A Prince' says Machiavelli, 'must know how to play at once man and beast, lion and fox. He neither should nor can keep his word when to do so will turn against him…. I venture to maintain that it is very disadvantageous always to be honest; useful on the other hand, to appear pious and faithful, humane and devout. Nothing is more useful than the appearance of virtue.'

Renaissance in Art

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519)

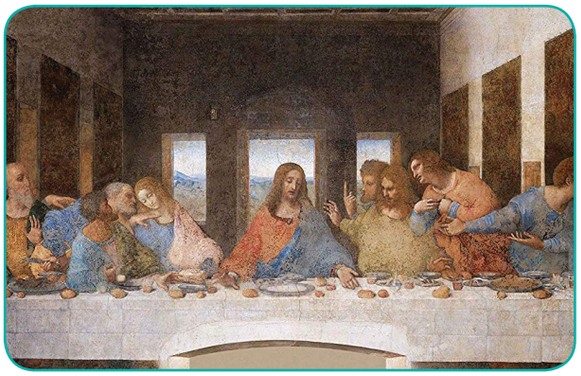


Leonardo da Vinci

In Florence there was an artist who wanted to have a perfect understanding of all the things he painted and how they related to each other. This was Leonardo da Vinci, the son of a farm servant-girl. So he was a self-taught man in Latin and Mathematics. He was also a sculptor, a great thinker and scientist. He got corpses from graveyards to dissect and understand human anatomy so that he could depict human bodies realistically. He was the first to discover that blood circulated through the body. Given his multifaceted talents da Vinci is considered to be a great example of the Renaissance Man.

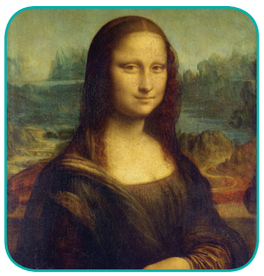
Leonardo da Vinci's masterpieces include *Virgin of the Rocks, Last Supper* and *Mona Lisa*. In *Virgin of the Rocks*, the Virgin Mary, emerging from darkness, presents the young John the

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Last Supper

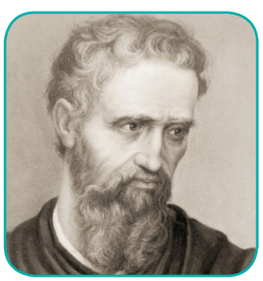
Baptist to the Christ Child. He painted *Last Supper* (Jesus's final meal with the apostles before his crucifixon) for the Dominican monastery in Milan. *Mona Lisa*, his most famous portrait, is believed to be the image of Lisa Gherardini, wife of a wealthy merchant from Florence, Francesco del Giocondo, who commissioned it.



Mona Lisa

Michelangelo (1475–1564)

Donatello was one of the earlier artists to create a very realistic and majestic painting of David, the Biblical hero in the 1460s. He influenced Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni who is considered to be the greatest Renaissance sculptor. The Cathedral of St. Peters in Rome, built by the Popes, was fashioned by Michelangelo. His dome of St. Peters, the realistic statue of David, and the magnificent paintings on the ceilings of the Sistine Chapel are outstanding examples of Renaissance art. He also sculpted the famous Pieta, a statue of the Virgin Mary, grieving over the body of dead Christ. It was carved out of a single marble stone from Carrera in Central Italy.



Michelangelo

Raphael (1483–1520)

Raphael's famous work is *Madonna and Child*, where Virgin Mary and child Jesus are portrayed. Raphael painted the library walls of Pope Julius II with various religious themes. One such theme was School of Athens that highlighted the classical influence on the renaissance art. He painted himself along with the paintings of Leonardo and Michelangelo.



Raphael

Science and Technology

During the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, science also developed rapidly leading to a Scientific Revolution. Scientists of this period had to antagonise the Church, for the Church did not like people to think and experiment, and question god.



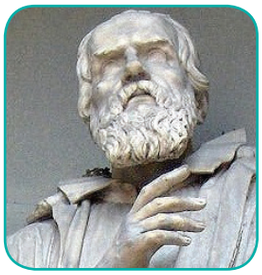
Nicolas Copernicus

Nicolas Copernicus (1473–1543), a Polish scientist, propounded the theory that the Sun was at the centre of the solar system and all the planets including the earth revolved around the sun (heliocentric). This was the opposite view of the Church which propagated the earth-centric (geocentric) view. Any views that opposed the Church's ideas were considered heresy. Copernicus postponed the publication of his work on the *Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres* almost till the end of his life. Giordano Bruno, an Italian, was burned in Rome by the Church in 1600 for insisting that the earth went round the sun.

The most important astronomical evidence for the heliocentric theory was furnished by the great of astronomer Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). With a telescope, he discovered the satellites of Jupiter, the rings of Saturn and the spots on the sun. He was

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made the professor of Medicine and Maths by the Medici family at the University of Padua (Republic of Venice). He made efforts to make science stay detached from religion. He accepted the views of Copernicus who propounded the heliocentric theory. He was tried for heresy by the Church and was kept under house arrest.



Galileo Galilei

Among the prominent men of science in the sixteenth century William Harvey (1578-1657) was one who finally proved the circulation of the blood in the human body.



William Harvey

Spread of Renaissance in Western Europe

Renaissance in England

The renaissance had its impact not only in Italy but in many parts of Europe including France and Germany. It left a deep imprint on England. The rule of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) came to be called the Elizabethan Age. The Elizabethan Age produced many scholars during the English Renaissance. Notable among them were William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, and Francis Bacon. Christopher Marlowe was an English playwright, whose important works include *Dido, The Queen of Carthage*, and *Tamburlaine the Great*.



Elizabeth I

The greatest writer in English was William Shakespeare. Born at Stratford upon Avon, he wrote 38 plays and many poems involving various human emotions namely love, anger, tragedy, jealousy, and deceit. His comedy plays include *As You Like It, The Taming of the Shrew*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* while *Othello, Hamlet, King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet* are examples of tragedies. His plays, performed in the Globe theatre in London were popular. The plays had a profound impact on the English language, and when Britain became an empire after the industrial revolution his plays spread across the world.

Francis Bacon is considered the father of empiricism. He argued that inductive reasoning (an approach to logical thinking that involves making generalisations based on specific details and is the opposite of deductive reasoning) is the base for scientific knowledge. His most important work is *Novum Organum*, a philosophical work written in Latin. It deals with methodical observation of facts as a means of studying and interpreting natural phenomena.

10.2 Discovery of New Sea Routes to the East

The Turkish conquests and the fall of Constantinople provided stimulus to the European maritime nations to find a sea route to the East so that they did not have to depend on the old land routes controlled by the Ottomans. These efforts eventually resulted in the great geographical discoveries which revealed to Europeans the existence of a New World on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

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Multiple factors lead to the exploration of sea

(a) During the Crusades, the knights (warriors) returned with many types of goods from the East. The Europeans liked the eastern products, mainly the spices, which were used as food preservatives in the West. Till that time Arabs controlled the land-bound and maritime trade with the Asian countries including India and further east. They exchanged the goods from various

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parts of Asia with the Italians, who then traded on them in Europe. The European powers, particularly Portugal and Spain, wanted to have direct trade with the Asian countries. They therefore encouraged the exploration of new routes, so that they could profit more. This was the decisive economic factor that provided the urge to discover new trade routes.

(b) As the demands for the products from the East increased, the European states wanted to earn more profits and control sea-borne trade. Hence they were interested in investing in the sea exploration.

(c) The spirit of the age that 'let fools contest elections and the adventurous go and explore' prompted many to opt for the latter course that promised both money and fame.

(d) The eagerness to spread religion (Christianity) also acted as an impetus to the exploration of new lands, though this was not a primary factor in the initial period. During the time of the Counter Reformation spreading the word of god gained prominence.

(e) Due to Renaissance there was development of technology in many fields. One such field was cartography (map-making). Ptolemy's map of the first century CE was redrawn using new advances in techniques. A Renaissance geographer, Gerardus Mercator used the concepts of latitude and longitude to draw maps that were useful for the navigators.

(f) A new improved design of ships played a crucial role in the long, risky sea voyages. The building of caravel, a lighter ship that could easily sail in shallow water, was an important technological innovation.

(g) The hazards of sea voyages was mitigated by the availability of firearms and cannons.

(h) Sailors were no longer left to the mercy of a calm night and the bright stars to determine the direction in which they were sailing, since the Mariner's compass was now available in Europe.



Mariner's compass

Initiatives of Portugal



Henry, the Navigator

Located on the south-western part of Europe, the small country of Portugal led the way first in exploration, discovering the Canaries, Madeira and the Azores. In 1442 sailors sent out by Prince Henry, the Navigator reached Guinea Coast of Africa and later in 1488 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope.

Henry, the Navigator was a Portuguese prince. Though he never ventured into the sea, he started a school of navigation at Sagres, Portugal. He hired cartographers, shipbuilders and instrument makers to help sailors undertake planned voyages.

Christopher Columbus (1451–1506)



Columbus

Christopher Columbus, an Italian from Genoa, fought many difficulties before he secured the patronage of the Spanish rulers Ferdinand and Isabella. On 3 August 1492 Columbus sailed from the harbour of Palos near Cadiz, with three small ships (the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*).

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After a voyage of two months and nine days in 1492 he came to a land which he believed to be India. But it was really a new continent, America. He returned to Spain with gold, cotton, strange beasts and two wild-eyed painted "Indians" to be baptised. They were called Indians because, to the end of his days, he believed that the land he had discovered was India.

Vasco da Gama



Vasco da Gama

The success of Columbus prompted Vasco da Gama to start his historic voyage (1497) to the eastern part. He set sail with four ships from Lisbon and reached the island of Mozambique. Later he travelled further south and reached Kapad, a beach near Kozhikode, Kerala. By reaching a part of India, he opened avenues for direct trade with India. This voyage led to the colonisation of a few regions in India. One such region was Goa.

Papal Bull (1493)

The Spanish kings were apprehensive about the Portuguese venture into sea voyages. They requested Pope Alexander VI to find a solution. In 1493, the Pope issued a Papal Bull (proclamation). The proclamation drew a north–south line from pole to pole, passing around 320 miles west of the Cape Verde islands. It declared that any new discoveries west of the line belonged to Spain. Portugal was not happy with the arrangement. The following year (1494) it struck an agreement with Spain, signing the Treaty of Tordesillas. This arrangement respected the concept of a north–south line of demarcation, but shifted it to 1,185 miles west of the Cape Verde islands, and acknowledged that everything discovered east of it would belong to Portugal. Six years later, in April 1500, this turned out to Portugal's advantage, when Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on the east coast of Brazil, and was able to claim it for Portugal.

Portuguese Navigator Pedro Cabral



Pedro Cabral

In 1500 Pedro Cabral sailed westward and discovered Brazil. Pedro Cabral named the island as "Island of the True Cross". Brazil became Portugal's colony and its subsequent history is dealt with in Unit XI.

Cabral sailed to India, following the route of Vasco da Gama, and reached Kozhikode. Initially the zamorin ruler was well disposed towards the Portuguese and allowed Cabral to build a fort and carry on trade. However, disputes soon arose with the Arab traders and a large Arab force attacked the trading post and killed many Portuguese soldiers. Cabral retaliated with reinforcements from Portugal. He captured 10 Arab vessels and executed their crews. He then left for Cochin (now Kochi), further south, where he was warmly received and permitted to trade. After establishing a port at Cannanore (now Kannur) Cabral returned on January 16, 1501, with six shiploads of spices to Portugal. On his way, however, two ships failed, and Cabral finally reached Portugal with four ships on June 23, 1501.

Voyage of Magellan

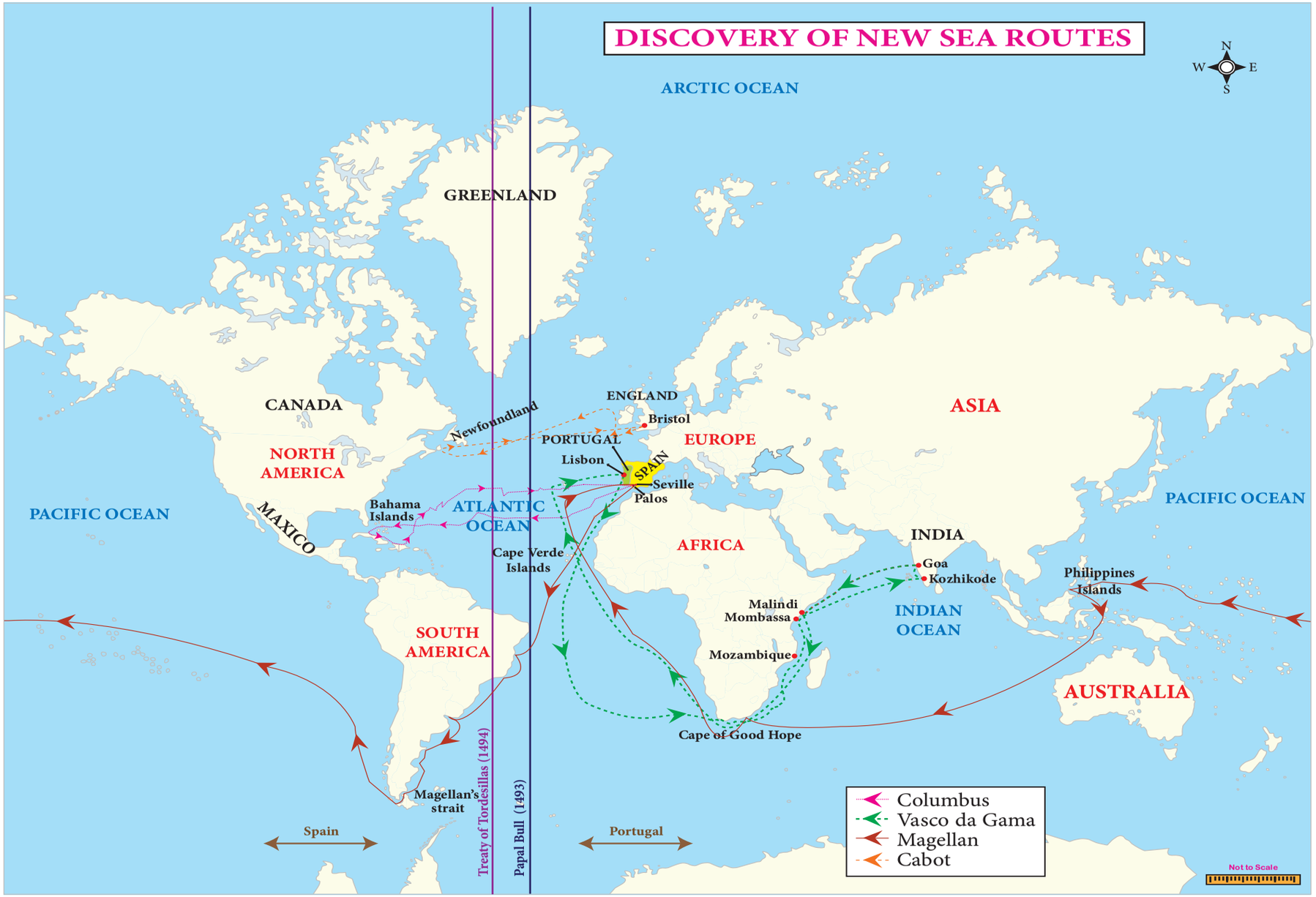


Magellan

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor got Spanish support to explore the world. With five ships he sailed out of Seville westward in 1519. He found a strait at the tip of South America and named it the Strait of Magellan. From there the crew reached the Great South Sea. As the sea remained calm, he called it Pacific Ocean (*Pacifico* means peaceful in Spanish). In the voyage, Magellan lost two of his ships and many of the crew due to disease. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippie Isles. Finally, a single ship, the *Vittoria* (or

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Victoria) with 18 sailors returned to Seville in 1522. Vittoria was the first ship that ever circumnavigated the world.

Turks, French, English, and Germans had not yet realised the significance of the new sea routes to Asia. They were yet to understand the political importance of the European discovery of America. Hernan Cortes, a Spanish Conquistador, with a mere handful of men conquered the Empire of Mexico for Spain. Pizarro crossed the Isthmus of Panama (1530) and subjugated another country Peru, destroying the Inca Empire in south America.

Other Important European Expeditions

Following in the footsteps of the Portuguese and the Spanish seafarers, other European countries started exploring the world. John Cabot, an Italian explorer, was commissioned by England to find new lands across the globe. On his voyage he saw Canada and made it an English colony. Giovanni da Verrazano, another Italian, explored the lands for the French. He annexed provinces for the French in eastern Canada. An English explorer named Henry Hudson wanted to find the passage from North America to the Pacific Ocean. Though he failed in his initiative, he explored the region which now bears his name – Hudson River.

Catastrophic Impact of Spanish Arms: Although the Aztecs had superior numbers, with firearms and steel blades at his disposal, just one Spaniard could annihilate dozens or even hundreds of opponents: "On a sudden, they speared and thrust people into shreds," wrote one indigenous chronicler, a witness to the terrifying impact of European arms. "Others were beheaded in one swipe... Others tried to run in vain from the butchery, their innards falling from them and entangling their very feet." A smallpox epidemic outbreak weakened the Aztec while giving Cortes time to regroup, resume fighting and finally emerge victorious.

Due to the rising competition from England, there was conflict between Spain and England. Francis Drake annexed California region for the English, despite protests from Spain. This led to war between the two nations. In 1588 King Philip II of Spain sent an armada or Spanish fleet of 130 vessels and 31,000 soldiers to invade England. However, the English with their easily manoeuvrable fleet easily destroyed the Spanish Armada. This marked the rise of the British as an important power in modern world.

10.3 Commercial Revolution

The Renaissance and the Reformation were accompanied by fundamental economic changes. The series of economic changes, making the transition from the semi-static, localised, non-profit economy of the late Middle Ages to the dynamic, world-wide, capitalistic regime of the fourteenth and succeeding centuries is known as the Commercial Revolution. This Revolution was gradual.

The causes of the beginning of the Revolution were (a) the capture of Mediterranean trade by the Italian cities; (b) the development of a flourishing trade between Italian cities and the merchants of Hanseatic League (a merchant guild) in northern Europe; (c) introduction of coins such as the *duca* of Venice and the *florin* of Florence; (d) the accumulation of surplus earned out of trading, shipping and mining enterprises; (e) the demand for war materials and the encouragement given by the new monarchs to the development of commerce in order to create more taxable wealth. The combination of these factors along with the stimulus given by the voyages resulting in Spanish and Portuguese merchants to discover a new route to the Orient, independent of Italian control, paved the way for Commercial Revolution.

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Important Results of Commercial Revolution

An important element of the Commercial Revolution was the growth of banking. Because of the strong religious disapproval of usury, banking was not a respectable business in the Middle Ages. But by the fourteenth century lending money for profit became an established business practice. The real founders of banking institutions were the great commercial houses of Italian cities. By the fifteenth century, the banking business had spread to southern Germany and France. The rise of private financial houses was followed by the establishment of government banks. The first was the Bank of Sweden (1657). The Bank of England was founded in 1694.

New industries like mining and smelting had sprung up and these enterprises were stimulated by technical advances. There was also change in business organisation. Regulated companies came to be formed. The regulated company was an association of merchants for a common venture. A leading example of this type was an English company known as the *Merchant Adventurers* established for the purpose of trade with the Netherlands and Germany.

The system of manufacture developed by the craft guilds in the later Middle Ages became defunct. In the seventeenth century the regulated company was superseded by a new type of organisation called the joint-stock company. Joint stock company with limited liability was a Dutch innovation that made large scale investment possible by spreading out the risks (and profits) across large numbers of people.

In later stages, the Commercial Revolution was accompanied by the adoption of a new set of doctrines and practices known as mercantilism. Mercantilism is a system of government intervention to promote national prosperity and increase the power of the state. The purpose of intervention was not merely to expand the volume of manufacturing and trade, but also to bring more money into the treasury of the state.

Other significant results of the Commercial Revolution were the rise of the middle class to economic power. The middle class ranks included merchants, bankers, ship owners, principal investors and industrial entrepreneurs. Their rise to power was the result of increasing wealth and their support to the king against the feudal aristocracy.

The most negative result of the Commercial Revolution was the revival of slavery. Slavery had virtually disappeared from European society by the end of the first millennium. But the development of mining and plantation farming in the Spanish, Portuguese and English colonies led to the recruitment of slaves as unskilled labourers. The attempt to enslave native Americans ended in failure, as they proved too tough to manage. The problem was solved by importing Africans. This transatalantic slave trade that exported more than 11 million Africans to the Americas is a sordid story that is a shame on the making of the modern world.

Finally, the Commercial Revolution prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution. By creating a class of capitalists and pursuing the mercantilist policy, stimulus was provided to the growth of manufactures. The outstanding example of factory production was the manufacture of cotton textiles.

10.4 Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation



Pope Leo X

The people of medieval Europe were mainly Christians who believed in the power of god. God-fearing Catholics accepted the role of the Church that acted as the medium between them and god. The church became the focal point for all the activities of common people from birth to death. In due course of time, the power wielded by the church

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authorities increased beyond measure. The kings and people of Europe were, however, beginning to feel the heavy hand of the Church. There were occasional instances of defiance and disobedience of Papal authority. The Church created the Inquisition to treat this new heresy with violence. The Inquisition dubbed the people who questioned the activities of the Church as heretics and women as witches.

The revolt against the absolute power of the church was called Protestant because it protested against the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. The movement is called the Reformation. It was a popular revolt against corruption as well as the authoritarianism of the Church. In response the loyal Roman Church men made some attempts to reform the Church of its abuses from within. This phase of reform movement came to be known as Counter-Reformation which once again acted against the protest sternly.

Causes for the Reformation Movement

Corruption of Church authorities

The practice of sale of indulgence (absolving one's sin by getting papal pardon through payment of money), nepotism, and simony (sale of church posts for money) came under attack. The indulgence emptied the pockets of poor as they had to spend money to get papal pardon for their sins. Some Popes such as Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X quarrelled with the rulers on the above practices. There was an instance of Albert of Mainz becoming the archbishop by paying money to Pope Leo X. The Pope was said to have collected it saying that half of the money would be used for St. Peter's Basilica.

Members of the great merchant families such as the Medicis became Popes in order to increase their own wealth and expected to pass the wealth on to illegitimate sons. Inexperienced youths were appointed to lucrative bishoprics. Clergymen received incomes from several churches but never appeared in any of them. The peasantry saw the Church as an oppressive landowner. Many of the princes were casting their covetous eyes on the vast properties of the Church.

The People behind the Reformation Movement



John Wycliffe

The reformation movement had a few pioneers. Erasmus was a protester of many Church practices and teachings. His well known work, *The Praise of Folly* (1511), made fun of theologians and monks. Others like him who worked towards reform two centuries before him were John Wycliffe and John Hus. They preached the gospel in the language of the people, and not in Latin. John Wycliffe, an English clergyman, was famous as the first translator of the Bible into English. He managed to escape the anger of Rome during his life time, but in 1415, after thirty-one years of his death, a Church Council ordered that his bones should be dug up and burnt. And this was faithfully carried out.

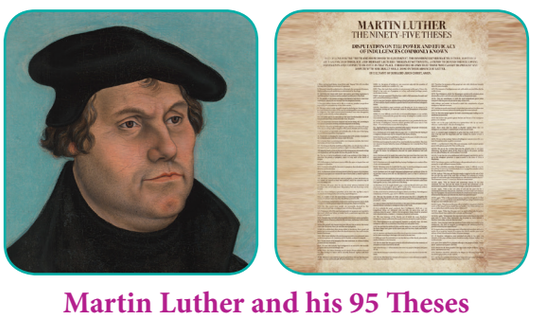
Though the bones of Wycliffe could be burnt, his views could not easily be suppressed. The event reached Bohemia, and influenced John Huss. Huss, the head of the Prague University, was excommunicated by the Pope for his views. As he was popular in his town he escaped harm. Promising a safe conduct by the Emperor, he was invited to Constance (Konstanz) in Switzerland, where a Church Council was in session. He was pressurised to confess his error. When he refused, in spite of their promise for his safety, he was burnt alive.

The reformation movement was popularised by three reformers at three different places. Martin Luther at Wittenberg, Huldrych Zwingli at Zurich, and John Calvin at Geneva.

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Martin Luther (1483–1546)

Martin Luther, a Christian priest, rose in revolt in Germany against Rome. After a visit to Rome he became disgusted with the corruption and luxury of the Church. He wrote ninety-five complaints against the Roman Church known as '95 Theses' and nailed it on the door of the church at Wittenberg. He made a few moderate suggestions to reform the church. The role of printing press was a key factor in making his ideas widespread. He argued that Bible alone is supreme and not the Pope and Bishops. He believed that only two main rituals, namely, baptism and Holy Communion are accepted by the Bible. Salvation, he said, could be attained by one's belief in Lord only. In this way the Protestant revolt began. Luther translated the Bible into German and Lutheran Protestants laid down certain rules and regulations. They did not accept the authority of Pope. They had their own churches, administrative set-up and they believed in the supremacy of Bible alone. The rules for priests were relaxed by which they were permitted to lead a married life.



Martin Luther and his 95 Theses

The pope tried to hold peace talks with Luther by calling him for Diet of Worms. It failed. The Diet of Worms disavowed his books and burnt them. He was outlawed from the Holy Roman Empire by the emperor. Martin Luther's radical views influenced many and one such was Thomas Muntzer who fought for a classless society. This started the Peasant's Rebellion in parts of Germany. However, Luther supported the feudal lords in this fight and denounced the peasant movement. As the Protestants became popular there was a civil war in Germany. In the end the northern Germany became Protestant, while the southern state remained catholic.

Zwingli (1484–1531)

Huldrych Zwingli started a similar movement in Switzerland. He was influenced by the Dutch humanist Erasmus. He did not agree with some of Luther's viewpoints. Zwingli believed that Christ lives in the heart of the believer and not in the bread and wine. He had written sixty-seven articles outlining the reformist views against the Catholic Church. Zwingli opposed the celibacy of the monks and construction of monasteries, indulgence, fasting and pilgrimage. Efforts made to bring Luther and Zwingli together for a stronger Protestant movement failed.



Zwingli

Holy Communion (also known as the Eucharist) is a religious ceremony performed in church by Catholics. Catholic Christians partake of Holy Communion in remembrance of the sacrifices made by Jesus. They accept bread and wine which are believed to symbolise (transubstantiation) the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

John Calvin (1509–1564)

Calvin was one of the later leaders of the Protestant movement. As a French Protestant he opposed the activities of the Church. He was excommunicated for fighting the Pope. After his excommunication, he settled In Geneva, Switzerland. His book titled '*Institutes of the Christian Religion*' in Latin contains his core ideas. Calvin was a great organiser and for a while he controlled the



John Calvin

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city of Geneva. He strived hard to establish an organised society based on biblical teachings. Calvinism became popular even during his lifetime. It became widespread in other parts of Europe as Huguenots in France, Puritans in England and Presbyterians in Scotland.

The English Reformation

The Reformation in England was started not by theologians but by the king. It was Henry VIII who separated the state from the Church. Though he was a devout catholic in the initial years, due to his personal needs (a divorce from his wife Queen Catherine of Aragon for a remarriage to another woman, Ann Boleyn), he favoured the Protestants. He passed the Act of Supremacy, 1534, and severed England's connection with Rome. He established the Anglican Church and ordered the confiscation of Church property, including all the lands of abbeys and monasteries. This Protestant movement led to the Puritan movement in various parts of England and her colonies.

Effects of the Reformation

(a) **Divisions in the European nations:** The schism in the church led to the division of religious practices in the same country. North Germany became Lutheran while South Germany remained Catholic. England became Protestant while Scotland and the people of Ireland became devout Catholics.

(b) **Literacy:** The printing press encouraged the printing of various religious teachings of reformation movement and also reading of the same by common people. People were encouraged to read and understand the Bible. The use of vernacular language in preaching and the translation of Bible in regional languages opened a new avenue to reach ordinary people.

(c) **Status of Women:** Due to the opposition of celibacy in churches, the pastors of the Protestant churches became married men. This strengthened the role of women in household and in churches. Women were encouraged to read the Bible and bring up the children in Protestant methods. This led to the increase in literacy level of women.

(d) **Power of Kings:** The reformation movement gave more power to some rulers such as Henry VIII, who became the head of both the state and the Church.

(e) **Race for colonies:** Both the Protestants and the Catholics wanted to convert people from other parts of the world to their own religious beliefs. The Spanish conquest in South America was followed by Jesuit priests (a new sect of Roman Catholics created to spread Catholicism). The Puritans, Catholics and Anglicans set up their churches in the thirteen British colonies of North America.

(f) **Spread of Christianity:** The availability of gold and silver from the colonies made the European nations to send explorers in the guise of missionaries to various parts of the world. "First the missionary, then the gun boat, then the land grabbing" – that was the sequence of events people of the succeeding generation had to contend with.

Catholic Counter Reformation

The Society of Jesus



Ignatius of Loyola

The Catholic religion watched the rise of the Protestant movement with caution and concern. Just about the time Martin Luther was gaining in popularity, a new Church order was started by a Spaniard, Ignatius of Loyola in Paris, France, on 15 August 1534, when he and six university students pledged to keep vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience and to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. One of the students was Francis Xavier, who later became a missionary to India and Japan. This society aimed at training people

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for efficient and dedicated service of the Roman Church and the Pope. It used education as a tool to teach the Catholic religion to the masses. They set up various educational institutions to promote the Catholic religion. Society of Jesus succeeded in producing efficient and faithful followers of the Church. These priests, known as the Jesuits, helped in raising the standard of the Church in Europe.

The measures adopted by the Roman Church, largely on account of the threat posed by the Protestant revolt, included the removal of abuses from the church, reiteration of the power of Pope, and rebuilding the faith in seven sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist or Holy Communion, Reconciliation or Confession, Anointing of the Sick, Ordination or Holy Orders, and Marriage).This movement is known as Counter Reformation. Three major events that mark the Counter Reformation are: Council of Trent, the Inquisition, and the founding of new religious schools to popularise Catholic religion.

Council of Trent (1545–1563)



Council of Trent

Pope Paul III appointed the cardinals to reform the Catholic Church. The Council of Trent met three times in eighteen years and emphasised faith in the Bible and the teachings at Church along with adherence to the seven sacraments for salvation. The celibacy of the priests and the supremacy of the Pope were upheld. The council also removed the abuses in the Church such as sale of indulgence, nepotism and absenteeism of the Bishops (who did not visit their dioceses). It insisted on the study of catechism, an instruction on the sacraments. It supported the image worship of Jesus and Mary in all churches. Due to the Council of Trent, the Catholic religion became better organised.

Inquisition

Special Church courts were established to give punishment to the heretics. They used many methods to make the heretics confess, which ranged from recantation, flogging to burning at the stake. Roman Inquisition was set up to deal with the Protestants. Witch-hunt became a common practice. Women, usually widowed or single, were called witches and blamed for crop failures, diseases etc. They were captured and put to death. It has been estimated that about 110,000 people in Europe were put on trial and 60,000 put to death in the Inquisition.

Effects of Counter Reformation

Due to the Counter Reformation, Europe was divided along religious lines. Wars broke out within the countries and with the countries professing faith in different denomination. The Thirty-Years' War fought between 1618 and 1648 at various provinces of Holy Roman Empire was an example of this division. Protestant churches were austere, while the Catholic churches became more ornamental. Both the religious communities used education as a tool to spread their religious and spiritual ideas.

10.5 Rise of New Monarchies/ Nation-States

In the age of feudalism, the kings entered into agreement with the nobility for the provision of arms and ammunition during war with enemies. In return the kings offered them knighthood and tax free lands. The 'fief' was a land given to the nobles as tax free for services rendered to the kings. This relationship helped both the parties. This feudal lord–vassal relationship began to decline leading to the emergence of new powerful monarchies during this period of Renaissance and Reformation.

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Causes

Decline of Feudalism

Under the feudal system, the medieval kings were at the mercy of their nobles who were prepared to align with the king's enemies at any time. The kings had no control over the vassal lands, as the nobles had their own sub vassals and army to protect them. This weakened the position and power of the kings. The plague that struck Europe in medieval time weakened the nobility. As thousands of peasants died, the nobility lost their work force and their taxes too. Nobles died in large numbers during the course of Crusades. The decline of feudalism was a decisive factor in enabling the new rising monarchy to assert itself.

New warfare techniques such as use of gunpowder also contributed to the changes. The weakening war strategy of the knights came to the forefront during the Thirty Years War. The English longbow along with gunpowder caused more damage than the mounted knights.

Growing Unpopularity of the Church

During the medieval period, the Church was the dominant institution. It had large tracts of lands under its control. Church establishments such as monasteries, convents and buildings acquired more land, which were exempted from taxes. Further the church imposed tithe, 10% of the total produce, as a tax levied on the people under its jurisdiction. The Church became wealthier than the state. Through its economic and religious power, the Church assumed greater significance than the kings. The Church had its own justice system too. Ecclesiastical courts were set up to punish erring church officials such as the bishops, priests and nuns. The royal courts could not try them. Ecclesiastical courts had more power than the courts of the kings. This further undermined the power of the kings. Excommunication was a powerful punishment exercised by the Pope to humiliate the king in front of his nobles and subjects. Henry IV of Germany was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII for not respecting his ordinances. The kings could not, therefore, antagonise the church. But the Black Death weakened the position of the church as it could not explain the causes for the Black Death. The authority of Pope came to be increasingly challenged by many of the early dissenters.



Pope Gregory VII

Spain as Nation-State

Major parts of Spain were under the control of the Moors, Muslim Saracens, the descendants of the Arab conquerors. There were two important kingdoms: Aragon and Castile. A turning point in the history of Spain was the King Ferdinand of Aragon marrying Queen Isabella of Castile. Together they worked hard to drive away the Moors and unite Spain. The king and queen took power in their hands (1479) and controlled the nobles by eliminating them from the royal councils. Spain emerged as a nation state.

Both Ferdinand and Isabella who jointly ruled Spain were devout Catholics. During the rule of the Moors, the Jews who controlled the economy of Spain enjoyed considerable freedom. Now, the Moors and the Jews were forced to convert to Christianity. The king setup the Spanish Inquisition through which the Jew and Moor converts were kept in strict vigil. Many non-believers were tried, tortured and burnt at the stake. The royal house became more powerful than the church.

The discovery of the sea route to Americas by Columbus and the conquest of Inca and Aztec empires by the Spaniards brought enormous wealth. This made Spain prosperous, and it began to play a leading part in European politics.

England as Nation-State

There was conflict between two royal houses in England namely the House of York and House of Lancaster for the throne. This led to the War of the Roses. (They wore badges of white rose and red rose respectively, hence the name.)

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In this civil war, Henry Tudor emerged victorious and he started a new line of monarchy in England. He assumed the title Henry VII and entered into matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth of York family. This made England to emerge as a nation-state.

Henry VII decided to remove the threat of the nobles to his rule. The nobles maintained private armies with special insignia called livery and maintenance. On becoming the king, Henry abolished this practice. He took the support of the merchant class and a few minority nobles to pass laws in the parliament. He created a special court in the Star Chamber to put the rebellious nobles on trial. The kingdom collected money as fine from the nobles that increased the royal revenue. The parliament gave the king right to collect taxes too. Henry VII, who ruled between 1485 and 1509, established a firm control over the kingdom.

Livery was the system of giving badges or uniform to the followers of nobles. Maintenance was the system of protecting the interests of the followers by the nobles.

Star Chamber was the court of law created by Henry VII to try cases related to the property of the nobles. It is named after the stars painted on the ceiling of a room in Westminster Palace, where the proceedings of the court were conducted.

The king strengthened his ties with Scotland by giving his elder daughter in marriage to the Scottish prince. He maintained matrimonial relationship with the Spain too by making his son marry the princess of Spain.

France as Nation-State

Burgundy, situated to the east of France, was a powerful state. Though nominally vassal to the king of France, it was a turbulent vassal, and the English intrigued with it against France. A good part of western France was for long in English possession. The Valois dynasty, which was ruling France, fought to retain and retrieve the French territories from English control. There was what is called the Hundred Years' War between England and France from early in the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century. In this war, the French king Charles VII was helped by Joan of Arc, a young girl who fought courageously and won the battle at Orleans. Joan of Arc was given the title Maid of Orleans. However, she was captured by the English and tried by the court for her claim that she was guided by heavenly voices. She was condemned as a witch and burnt at the stakes in 1430. (In 1920, the Catholic Church conferred sainthood on her.)



Louis XI

After the death of Joan of Arc, the French continued the Hundred Years' War and emerged victorious. Having got the English out of his country, Louis XI, son of Charles VII, turned to Burgundy. This troublesome vassal was finally brought under control and Burgundy became part of France in about 1483. France became a strong centralised monarchy. Louis XI strengthened and unified France. For the first time in the history of France, a permanent army was created for the monarch without relying on the support from the nobles. His Royal Council had more lawyers than nobles, thus undermining the influence of the nobles in the royal affairs.

Summary

- Renaissance of Italy and its spread to western Europe are discussed.
- Renaissance in literature, art and science with special reference to prominent renaissance scholars, artists and scientists are described.
- Factors responsible for geographical discoveries of fifteenth and sixteenth century are explored.
- Leading role played by Portugal and Spain are highlighted.

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- Attempts of other European countries in sea exploration are also detailed.
- Commercial Revolution and its fallout are elaborated.
- The causes of Reformation Movement are analysed.
- Contribution of Martin Luther, Zwingli and Calvin are assessed, with a focus on the unique nature of English Reformation.
- The Counter-Reformation Movement of the Catholic Church and its impact are elaborated.
- Circumstances leading to the rise of new monarchies in western Europe are traced.
- Emergence of Spain, England and France as nation-states is explained.

EXERCISE

1YVO3

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Which one of the following was not an independent trading city?

   (a) Nuremberg (b) Antwerp

   (c) Genoa (d) St. Petersburg

2. Which one of the following had relegated religion to a subordinate place?

   (a) Renaissance

   (b) Reformation

   (c) Geographical Discovery

   (d) Commercial Revolution

3. Of the following Popes, who was not the patron of Italian Renaissance?

   (a) Nicholas V (b) Julius II

   (c) Pius II (d) Paul III

4. Whose success encouraged overseas enterprises enormously?

   (a) Marco Polo (b) Roger Bacon

   (c) Columbus (d) Bartholomew Diaz

5. **Assertion (A):** Paper originated in China in second century BC (BCE).

   Reason (R): Germany invented the movable printing press .

   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct but R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct but R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong but R is correct

6. Which one of the following was not an idea developed during the age of Renaissance?

   (a) rationalism (b) scepticism

   (c) anarchism (d) individualism

7. Who is considered the father of modern experimental science?

   (a) Aristotle (b) Plato

   (c) Roger Bacon (d) Landsteiner

8. Who wanted humankind to be ruled not by dogma and authority but rather by reason?

   (a) Dante (b) Machiavelli

   (c) Roger Bacon (d) Petrarch

9. Who came to Italy seeking the help of the West in the war against the Turks?

   (a) Giovanni Aurispa

   (b) Manuel Chrysaloras

   (c) Roger Bacon

   (d) Columbus

10. **Assertion (A):** Galileo Galilei was tried by the Church for heresy.

    Reason (R): He accepted the views of Copernicus' heliocentric theory.

    (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

    (b) Both A and R are correct but R does not explain A

    (c) A is correct but R is wrong

    (d) A is wrong but R is correct

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11. Which of the following statement/s is/are correct?

Statement I: Italians managed to preserve the belief that they were descendants of the ancient Vikings.

Statement II: The hazard of sea voyages was reduced by the use of firearms and canon.

Statement III: The eagerness to spread religion (Christianity) also acted as an impetus to the exploration of new lands.

Statement IV: Ferdinand Magellan sailed westward and discovered Brazil

(a) I, II & III (b) II & III

(c) I & III (d) All are correct

12. Which one of the following was not the work of Leonardo da Vinci?

(a) *Virgin of the Rocks* (b) *Last Supper*

(c) *Mona Lisa* (d) *Madonna and Child*

13. The Cathedral of St. Peters in Rome, built by the Popes, was fashioned by _____

(a) Donatello (b) Raphael

(c) Leonardo da Vinci (d) Michelangelo

14. Which one of the following is not correctly matched?

(a) Marlowe - *Dido*

(b) Shakespeare - *King Lear*

(c) Francis Bacon - *Novum Organum*

(d) Roger Bacon - *Decameron*

15. **Assertion (A):** The Turkish conquests and the fall of Constantinople provided stimulus to find a sea route to the East.

Reason (R): As the demands for the products from the East increased, the European states wanted to control sea-borne trade.

(a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong but R is correct

16. Which one of the following ships was returned after the death of Magellan?

(a) Santa Maria (b) Pinta

(c) Nina (d) Vittoria

17. Who conquered Mexico for Spain?

(a) Pedro Cabral (b) Columbus

(c) Hernan Cortes (d) James Cook

18. When was the Act of Supremacy passed by Henry VIII in England ?

(a) 1519 (b) 1532 (c) 1533 (d) 1534

19. **Assertion (A):** The Black Death weakened the position of the church as it could not explain the causes for the Black Death.

Reason (R): The authority of Pope came to be increasingly challenged.

(a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong but R is correct

20. Who was the ruler of Germany excommunicated by Gregory VII?

(a) Henry VII (b) Henry VIII

(c) Henry II (d) Henry IV

II. Write Short answers

1. How did Erasmus pave the way for Reformation?
2. Write about the Medici family in Florence.
3. What do you know of the Papal Bull of 1493?
4. What was the significant outcome of Spanish Armeda?
5. Point out the outcome of Diet of Worms.
6. What purpose did the Star Chamber serve and why was it called so ?
7. Why did feudalism fail in the later stage of the Middle Ages?
8. What did the Inquisition do in Spain?

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9. Highlight the work of the Council of Trent.
10. Why is Joan of Arc remembered in history?

III. Write brief answers

1. Why did Italy become the birthplace of Renaissance?
2. Highlight the literary accomplishments of England during the Renaissance.
3. What were the achievements of Italian and English explorers?
4. Bring out the negative outcome of Commercial Revolution.
5. Discuss the contribution of Society of Jesus to the counter-reformation movement in Europe.
6. Write about the voyage of Columbus in 1492.
7. Describe the voyage of Portuguese sailor Pedro Cabral in India.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Analyse the contributions of Florentines to Italian Renaissance.
2. Attempt a comprehensive account of the evolution of England, France and Spain as nation-states.
3. Explain the initiatives of Portugal and Spain in the discovery of new sea routes to the East and point out why it is considered as an important event in the economic history of modern world.
4. What are the causes of Protestant Reformation? How did Martin Luther organise the movement in Germany?

V. Activity

1. Teachers to discuss with students the meaning and importance of Age of Reason.
2. In an outline world map, mark the routes Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan passed through.
3. Let students watch the videos on Renaissance art in You tube.
4. They may also watch some of the films/videos on genocides of Europeans on indigenous peoples in America.

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- Stephen J.Lee *Aspects of European History 1494–1789.* London: Routledge, 1978.
- Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations*, Vol. 2, New York: W.W. Norton, 1973.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- https://www.history.com/topics/reformation/martin-luther-and-the-95-theses
- http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/John_Calvin
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/english_reformation_01.shtml kids.britannica
- http://www.vcsd.k12.ny.us/cms/lib/NY24000141/Centricity/Domain/941/Impact%20of%20the%20Reformation%202.ppt
- https://www.coreknowledge.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/CKHG-G5-U5-about-the-counter-reformation.pdf

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GLOSSARY

scepticism	doubt about the truth of something, disbelief	சமய நம்பிக்கையின்மை, எதிலும் அவநம்பிக்கையாக இருத்தல்
irksome	irritating, teasing	வெறுப்புத் தருகிற, தொந்தரவூட்டுகிற
antagonise	act in opposition to, counteract	பகைத்துக்கொள்வது, விரோதமூட்டுவது
polish	relating to Poland or its people or its language	போலந்து நாட்டையோ, அதன் மக்களையோ, அதன் மொழியையோ குறிப்பிடுவது
heresy	a belief that rejects the orthodox tenets of a religion	மதங்களுக்கெதிரான கொள்கை
empiricism	the doctrine that holds that the most reliable source of knowledge is from experience or experimentation	அறிவனைத்தும் அனுபவத்தால் பெறப்படுபவையே எனும் கோட்பாடு
demarcation	dividing line	வரையறை, எல்லைப் பிரிவினை
retaliate	revenge, avenge	பதிலடி கொடு, பழிவாங்கு
supercede	replace, take the place of	ஒருவரிடத்தில் மற்றொருவரை அமர்த்து, தள்ளி வை
lucrative	producing a sizeable profit, money spinning	இலாபகரமான, ஆதாயமளிக்கிற
disavow	refuse to acknowledge	ஒப்புக்கொள்ள மறு, பொறுப்பைத் தட்டிக்கழி
confiscation	seizure of property	பறிமுதல்
schism	a division, split	(திருச்சபை) உட்பிளவு, பிரிவினைக் குழு
reconciliation	restoring friendly relations	சமரசப்படுத்துதல், ஒத்துப்போதல்
adherence	faithfully following a party or religion	பின்பற்றுதல், கடைப்பிடித்தல்
diocese	the territorial jurisdiction of a bishop	மறை மாவட்டம்
catechism	religious instruction in question and answer form	சமயத்துறை வினாவிடை ஏடு
recantation	withdrawal of an early assertion	திரும்பப்பெறல்
inquisition	interrogation, cross-examination	நீதி விசாரணை
ecclesiastical	associated with church	கிறித்தவ திருச்சபை சார்ந்த
turbulent	characterised by unrest, troubled	கொந்தளிப்பான, கிளர்ந்தெழுகிற

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ICT CORNER

Modern World: The Age of Reason

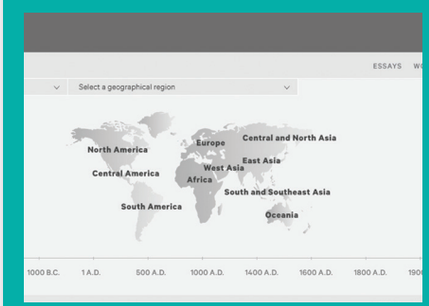
Through this activity you will know about the thematic, chronological, and geographical exploration of world art history.



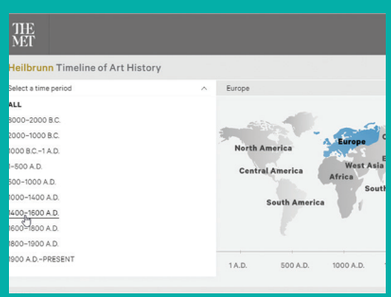
Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Select any geographical region (ex. Europe) and select a time period (ex.1400-1600 A.D)

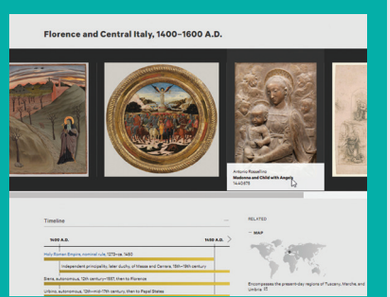
Step - 3 Scroll down and click to see the gallery of Renaissance art



Step1



Step2



Step3

Web URL: https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/chronology/

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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UNIT 11

The Age of Revolutions

Learning Objectives

Acquainting ourselves with

- The causes, course and effects of American War of Independence
- French Revolution, its causes, course and its impact in Europe and across the world
- Revolution in Latin America
- The beginning of Industrial revolution in England and later in Germany and the USA

Introduction

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, political, religious, social and economic conditions began to change all over the world, due to geographical discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation and "the age of kings". By the time the eighteenth century ended, there were two revolutions: The American Revolution of 1775–83 and the French Revolution of 1789–95. These revolutions dealt a severe blow to the monarchical form of government and had a lasting impact on the subsequent history of humanity. The industrial revolution, beginning in the eighteenth century, engendered many changes in the lives of the people, heralding a new era that was marked by the shift from primarily agriculture-based economy to industry-based economy. This lesson will help us understand the aforesaid events of global importance.

11.1 The American War of Independence

During the Age of Discovery, adventurous seafarers explored the so-called New World and discovered new trade routes with royal support. This ensured better connectivity and profits. Though Spain and Portugal took the lead in exploring the new places, establishing trade centres first and later colonies, it was Britain which established colonies all over the world and successfully controlled them over a long period of time. Though the English were the first to settle in North America, in due course of time, the Germans, the Swedes, the French, the Italians and the Dutch too went to the America and settled there. The colonisation of the New World absorbed the growing population of Europe at a time of rapid economic and demographic growth.

King James I sent an expedition to Virginia where a colony was established in 1607 and named Jamestown. Then the pilgrims from Britain sailed in a ship called *Mayflower* and set up a colony at Plymouth in Massachusetts. Slowly other colonies were established. The Dutch set up a colony, in 1624, near the mouth of the River Hudson and named it New Amsterdam. Later, the English acquired it from the Dutch and renamed it New York. In the early 1700s enslaved Africans made up a growing percentage of the colonial population. By 1770, more than 2 million people lived and worked in Great Britain's 13 North American colonies.

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In 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh set up the first colony at Roanoke Island in North Carolina and named it Virginia after the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I. However, due to the stiff resistance put up by the native Indians some of the early settlers returned to England. The Roanoke Island became a lost colony as there was no trace of it when the British sailors reached the island some years later.



Mayflower ship

Life in the Thirteen Colonies

The colonies varied much in character and the manner in which they had been acquired. They were divided into south and north. In the southern part, endowed with fertile land, agriculture was the primary means of subsistence. The slaves brought from Africa worked in the farm-lands which mainly grew cotton, wheat and tobacco. The Northern states, on the other hand, were devoid of agricultural farmlands. They created mills for cutting timber, ship-building and milling the grains. Iron and textiles were also manufactured. The harbours promoted sea-borne trade.

The transatlantic slave trade is a blot in the history of humanity. The Portuguese began the African slave trade at the opening of seventeenth century. The other nations of Christian Europe followed immediately. The first slaves to be brought to America came in a Dutch ship in 1619. The first English man who realised that lots of money could be made by seizing "unsuspecting negroes" in Africa and selling them to work on plantations in the New World (America) was John Hawkins. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for "his prosperous success and much gain." It is estimated that more than 11 million Africans reached the Americas as slaves.



Fed up with the unsettled living conditions in Europe, people came to live in these colonies mainly to lead a free life. They also wanted to experience religious freedom and to practice the religion of their choice (for example the Puritans).The colonies were ruled by the British representatives called Governors appointed by the British monarch. The Governors had an assembly similar to a parliament. Women had no voting rights. Among the men, those who paid taxes and owned land alone could vote. Initially they built a cordial relationship with the indigenous people of America, known as American Indians and Native Americans. (They were then referred to pejoratively as 'Red Indians') However, in due course of time, they were dispossessed of their land or liquidated.

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European encounters with natives

By the time Christopher Columbus reached the Caribbean in 1492, there were 10 million indigenous people living in U.S. territory. But by 1900, the number had reduced to less than 300,000. Spreading disease was one of the strategies adopted by the Europeans to exterminate the native population. In 1763, a serious uprising threatened British garrisons in Pennsylvania. Worried about limited resources, and provoked by the violence of some Native Americans, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet at Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania:"*You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians [with smallpox] by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method, that can serve to extirpate this execrable race.*" Consequently, small pox was spread to the Native Americans by distributing blankets previously used by infected patients. Colonists in search of gold (1848) staged violent ambushes on tribal villages. Several wars broke out between tribes and American settlers which led to large scale deaths, land dispossession, oppression and blatant racism.

The American War of Independence : Causes

Colonial Governance: Navigation Acts

England considered the colonies as parts of its country and governed them for their own benefit neglecting the interests of the colonies. England passed laws known as Navigation Acts, which mandated that colonial produce should be exported only in British ships. There were also laws restricting or prohibiting the manufacture of certain articles in the colonies, such as cloth.

IYS87

The Seven Years War (1756–63)

The revolt of colonies against England was a direct consequence of England's intervention in the Seven Years' War. During the War the colonial assemblies did not co-operate with the mother country in the way expected of them. They voted inadequate supplies and resisted the moves of England to impose certain duties on articles used by the Americans. The English conquest of Canada and removal of all danger from the French made the British government to feel secure. This in turn made the colonies jittery and less disposed than ever to submit to the dictates of England.

Taxes on Colonies

Taxes on Sugar and Molasses

In order to solve the financial crisis arising out of constant wars with other European powers, the British imposed new taxes on the colonies. The first tax imposed was on sugar and molasses, a by-product of sugar, in 1764. All the colonies in North America were forced to pay this tax and the settlers protested against this by raising the slogan 'no taxation without representation'.

Stamp Act

In 1765, a new tax was introduced on the stamps. The settlers were forced to use stamps on all legal documents and pay the tax for the use of stamps. The settlers refused to buy them and the British traders forced the colonial government to repeal the act.

Townshend Act

Though the Stamp Act was abolished in 1766, in the very next year, an Act was passed that imposed taxes on certain goods imported from Britain. Townshend, who was the Chancellor of

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Exchequer in Britain, brought this act into force and hence came to be called Townshend Act.

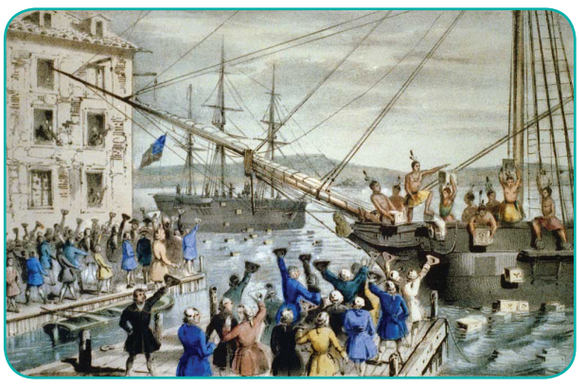
Boston Massacre (1770)

In 1770, Lord North, the new prime minister of England, abolished taxes on products except tea. This was retained to assert that the British Parliament had a right to tax the colonies directly as well as indirectly. When the British forces marched on the streets of Boston, Americans criticised the British. This angered the British forces who fired against the people. This Boston Massacre brought to light the aggressive and autocratic nature of the British government.

Boston Tea Party (1773)

In the wake of the Boston Massacre, around 100 activists dressed like Native Americans, boarded the three ships carrying tea and threw 342 boxes into sea at Boston. This incident came to be called the Boston Tea Party.

The British Parliament retaliated with severity. General Gage was appointed Governor of Massachusetts and troops were dispatched with instructions to bring the colony to heel.



Boston Tea Party

Intolerable Acts (1774)

Angered by the Boston Tea Party, the British parliament passed the Boston Port Bill. The Boston harbour was closed until the colonists paid for all the tea thrown into sea. Then the Parliament passed the Massachusetts Government Act, replacing the elective local council, and enhancing the powers of the military governor Gage. The third measure, the Administration of Justice Act allowed British officials charged with capital offenses to be tried in another colony or in England. The fourth intolerable Act, a replica of the Quartering Act, which was abolished, permitted the requisition of unoccupied buildings to house British troops. The Intolerable Acts (1774), also known as Coercive Acts, evoked a wave of outrage in colonies.

Quebec Act

The Quebec Act passed by the British government in 1774 awarded the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the province of Quebec. The colonial governments of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia were angered by the unilateral assignment of the Ohio lands to Quebec, which had been granted to them in their royal charters. By permitting French Civil Law and the Roman Catholic religion in the newly carved out area, Britain also provoked the protestant colonies.

The Intolerable Acts of 1774 became the justification for convening the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The representatives of all the colonies, except that of Georgia, demanded the repeal of the Intolerable Acts. The Congress decided to boycott the British goods until then. They sent a representation with an olive branch (peace proposal) to the British King George III. This was known as the Olive Branch Petition. The king however refused to buy peace.

Outbreak of War



Thomas Jefferson

In the meantime, in 1775, at Lexington in Massachusetts, the farmers fought the British and then marched on Boston to besiege the British garrison at Bunker Hill. On 4 July 1776, all the thirteen colonies declared independence from Britain. The declaration of independence was essentially the work of Thomas Jefferson which marked the beginning of the history of an independent country called the United States of America.

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The Declaration of Independence (1776)

It was Richard Lee who proposed that the colonies should be independent states. A draft committee was formed to draft the declaration of independence whose members included Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams.

The British army was led by William Howe while the American forces were led by George Washington. Though in the initial phases Howe made a few successful attempts by defeating Washington at Brooklyn, New York and New Jersey, Washington, through his planned military tactics inflicted defeat on the British army. In 1777, at the Battle of Saratoga, the British General Burgoyne was forced to surrender. Finally, the British forces surrendered to the American forces in 1781 at York Town. With this victory the northern colonies became free. However, Howe retained New York almost till the end of the war.



American war of independence

Solidarity of European Powers with Colonists

During the American war of independence, the European powers that were not on friendly terms with the British decided to support the American colonies. The countries in Northern Europe including Prussia, Sweden and Denmark formed the 'Armed neutrality' against Great Britain. Britain was in turmoil as it had to face hostility from its enemies as well as neutral powers.

The French, followed by the Spanish and the Dutch, helped the American colonies in this war of independence. France lent support to the Americans as vengeance against the loss of Canada. The French volunteers who crossed the Atlantic to fight for the colonists returned with ideas of individual liberty which made them intolerant of the restrictions of the Bourbon monarchy.

Thomas (Tom) Paine and *Common Sense*

Thomas Paine, an Englishman, wrote the pamphlet titled *Common Sense* (1776). In this pamphlet Paine sought to provide arguments to justify the demands of the colonists. He picked up libertarian ideas from Hobbes, Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau and presented them in ways the common people could understand. The pamphlet sold over 150,000 copies and had an astounding impact of people.

Many of the wealthy merchants and large landowners remained loyal to the British monarchy and influenced a large section of the population especially in New York and Pennsylvania. The colonists split into two divisions: the Patriots who wanted freedom and the Loyalists who wanted to remain loyal to the British crown. The Loyalists, called Tories, wanted the British to rule as they belonged to the Anglican Church. So a civil war in the midst of the revolution became inevitable.

Treaty of Paris



George Washington

In 1783, the British Parliament decided that it was pointless to carry on the war. Lord North resigned as Prime Minister. King George lost control over the House of Commons. The new Prime Minister Lord Rockingham started the peace talks. A peace treaty was signed between the Great Britain and America in 1783 at Paris.

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Signing of Treaty of Paris

George Washington (1732–1799) became the first president of the United States of America. One of the founding fathers of America, he played a significant role in the American Revolution first as a military officer and later as an astute politician.

Important Provisions of the Treaty

- Britain recognised the freedom of 13 colonies and the formation of a new country called the United States of America.
- The area bordered by Mississippi River on the west and the 31st parallel in the south went to USA.
- France gained certain British territories in West Indies, India and Africa.
- Spain obtained Florida from Great Britain
- Holland and England maintained the status quo that prevailed before the war.

Significance of American Revolution

- The American Revolution opened up many avenues in the history of the world.
- The concepts of democracy and republic became widespread.
- The political and social changes were on the lines of democracy and equality.
- USA became a land of opportunities and freedom for all settlers.
- Education gained prominence.
- The principle of federalism became widespread.
- The American Revolution was a setback for colonialism. The demand of the colonies for independence against their colonial masters became widespread in many parts of the world.
- It paved the way for a free society where every individual was given the freedom of speech, freedom of religion and equal opportunities.

11.2 The French Revolution

In the 18th century, Europe was ruled by monarchs of various dynasties, and they wielded absolute powers. Along with the nobility and clergy they enjoyed hereditary privileges. In France the clergy and nobility did not pay taxes like the common people. It was in this context that the French Revolution occurred and stood for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

France in Eighteenth Century



Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette

The political and social system of France prior to the French Revolution was called *ancien regime*, meaning old order. Under the regime, everyone was a member of an estate. All rights and status flowed from three orders namely clergy, nobility and others, belonging to the Third Estate. France was ruled by Louis XVI, a young king of the Bourbon dynasty. He was married to Mary Antoinette, the princess of Austria. The king had absolute power and he led a lavish lifestyle. The government taxed the poor and not the rich.

On 14 July 1789, the Paris mob, hungry due to a lack of food from poor harvests, upset at the conditions of their lives and annoyed with their king and government, stormed the Bastille fortress (a prison). The storming of the Bastille symbolised the beginning of a new age in the history of the world. There were many reasons for the outbreak of this revolution.

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Storming of Bastille Prison

Conditions of Peasantry

The peasantry made up the bulk of French society. The peasants were serfs. They had to work certain days in the week for their lords without any remuneration. They could not marry or dispose of their lands without the lord's permission. Lords claimed certain feudal dues such as the right to levy fees even for using ovens to bake bread, and a toll on sheep and cattle possessed by the peasants. It has been estimated that the peasant paid eighty percent of his earnings to various tax collectors. Carlyle wrote that 'one third of them had nothing but third-rate potatoes to eat for one-third of the year.'

Three Estates

French society had three main divisions or *estates*: Clergy (the priestly class), Nobility (the landed and aristocratic class), and the rest, the commoners, formed the unprivileged class. The clergy and the nobility enjoyed special privileges and they were exempted from various taxes imposed by the monarchy. Out of the three divisions, only the third estate bore the brunt of taxation, as other two estates were exempted from tax payment due to the special privileges. The important taxes were *tithe*, a tax exclusively collected by the church on the laity, *Taille*, a tax paid by the peasants, *gabelle* salt tax, and tax on tobacco.

The peasants could not fight feudal regulations on their own. They looked for outside help and leadership. The rising bourgeoisie wanted their political power to match their economic status. They wanted to have a voice in government. So the bourgeoisie took the lead and were instrumental in bringing about the French Revolution.

The Bourgeoisie comprised the educated middle class. Writers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, and civil servants formed this class.

Financial Bankruptcy

France was in constant war with neighbouring British Empire that proved to be too costly for the exchequer. It had spent enormous sums on the Seven Years' War with Britain and Prussia, and more again during the American war with Britain. The valuable assistance which the French gave to the American colonists was such as it could not really afford. The government had to pay high interests on the loan. In order to settles the dues, the government imposed more taxes on the common people. The nobles and higher clergy hesitated to come forward and save the state by voluntarily giving up their claims to exemption from taxes. Matters were further complicated by the extravagance of the court and the incompetence of the Louis XVI.

Role of Intellectuals

Long before the revolution of 1789 there was a revolution in the realm of ideas. Public intellectuals (who were called *philosophes* in the French language) who were inspired by the Enlightenment ideal of applying reason to all spheres of knowledge played a key role in preparing the soil for the outbreak of the French Revolution. The writings of Voltaire and Rousseau acted as an impetus to the revolution. Montesquieu (1689–1755), in his *The Spirit of Laws*, argued for the division of power among the legislative, executive and judiciary and opposed the concentration of power in a single hand. Voltaire (1694–1778), in his *The Age of Louis XIV*, opposed the religious superstitions of the French and criticised the French administration

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under the rule of the monarchs. Rousseau (1712–1778), in his *Social Contract*, argued that the relationship between the rulers and ruled should be bound by a contract. If the ruler ruled the country in a just manner, he would be respected by his subjects. If he ruled in an unjust manner, in violation of the contract, he should be punished. The English philosopher, John Locke, in 'Two Treatises of Government', opposed the divine right and absolute monarchy. These ideas were also expressed in the writings of Diderot and the Encyclopaedists.

Rousseau is known for his famous beginning lines of The *Social Contract*, 'Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains'.



Rousseau Voltaire Montesquieu

The French Revolution

The Beginning

The French Revolution began with the meeting of the Estates-General in May 1789. The summoning of the Estates-General became necessary because of the financial problems faced by the government. The first two estates, namely, the clergy and nobility had sent 300 representatives each to the meeting held at the palace of Versailles, while the 600 delegates of the third estate, mainly the business people and educated members, were made to stand behind them. The question that was taken up at the Estates General was how they would vote. According to the norm each estate had one vote and Louis XVI wanted the same arrangement to continue. However, the third estate wanted one vote for each member.

Tennis Court Oath



Mirabeau



Abbe Sieyes

When this demand by the third estate was not accepted, the representatives formed the National Assembly on 17 June 1789. Then they left the Estates General and assembled at the tennis court on 20 June 1789. They took the 'tennis court oath' by which they wanted to limit the power of the monarch and introduce a new constitution. In this protest, they were led by a noble named Mirabeau and a clergy, Abbé Sieyès.



Tennis Court Oath

The Storming of the Bastille

When the representatives of the third estate were busy with the formation of the national assembly, the common people were suffering due to the high price of essential commodities, even as the rich merchants started hoarding the grains. The agitated women started storming into the market area. Seeing the unrest, the king ordered the army to move into the streets of Paris. Angered by this move, the people stormed the Bastille, the great prison of the city of Paris, and after destroying the fort released the prisoners on 14 July 1789.

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14 July is still celebrated as Bastille Day or the French National Day in France.

National Assembly

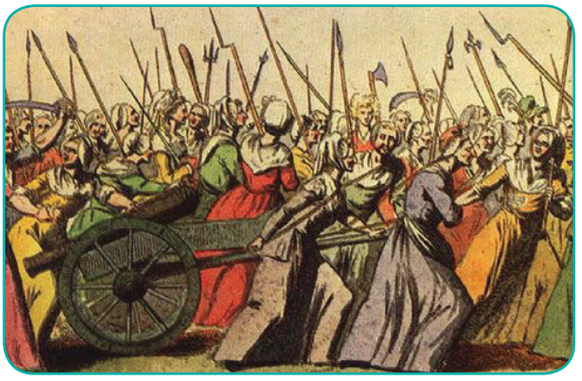
The fall of Bastille emboldened the National Assembly to abolish feudalism in the country. Shaken by the turn of events, the king also accepted the formation of a national assembly. The Church was asked to forego its privileges and abolish the tithe. In 1791, the National Assembly drafted the constitution by which the powers of the king were limited. It also proposed to have three different organs: executive, legislative and judiciary. The members of the National Assembly were indirectly elected by a group of electors. The electors were voted by the male citizens, who were above 25 years of age and who paid taxes. Thus the majority of the citizens did not get voting rights.

Constitution Making

The National Constituent Assembly prepared the constitution. On 26 August 1789 the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was adopted. It subordinated the monarchy to the rule of law and defined individual and collective rights. It maintained that no person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except in those cases established by the law (clause 7); and insisted that taxation could only be raised by common consent (clause 14). Thomas Jefferson's influence is clearly discernible in clause 1, which declares that, 'Men are born and remain free and equal in rights'.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen has a preamble and 17 articles. The first article contains the statement: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." The purpose of "political association," as the Declaration states, should be the preservation of these rights, detailed as liberty, security to property, and resistance to oppression. It also declares that both sovereignty and law should come from the "general will." It protects the freedom of speech and of religion and insists on equal treatment before the law. It also asserts that taxes should be paid by all citizens in accordance with their means. The Declaration served as the preamble to the Constitution of 1791.

Women played a significant role in the French revolution. Women from the poorer areas of Paris marched on Versailles supported by 20,000 armed men. They broke into the palace and forced the king to return with them to Paris, where he was kept under public surveillance. Many women were politically active. Olympe de Gouges was dissatisfied with the Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen, as it excluded women. She wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Citizen, arguing for equality for women.



Women's March on Versailles

War against Austria and Prussia

While the king agreed to the constitutional monarchy on one hand, on the other he was secretly appealing for help from Austria and Prussia. The neighbouring kingdoms were watching the developments in France with concern. They feared that the rise of common people might bring to an end the rule of monarchs and so they sent their troops to France to contain the revolution. Meanwhile the National Assembly declared war against Austria and Prussia. On hearing this, people from various parts of France united to fight the foreign forces. A group of people from the place of Marseilles proceeded to Paris by singing the *Marseillaise* song.

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A song for French troops from Marseilles composed (1792) by Roget de Lisle came to be called *La Marseillaise*. By a degree enacted on 14 July 1795, it was declared the national anthem of France

Formation of Clubs

The common people continued to suffer even after the formation of the National Assembly. Majority of the people saw the assembly as a place for rich persons as commoners were excluded from voting. The new armed power in Paris was in the hands of a National Guard recruited from the middle class. Lafayette, who acted as an official French adviser in the American War of Independence, was its chief. There was a general feeling of liberation and exaltation when the king, ex-aristocrats, the middle classes and the Parisian masses jointly commemorated the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille as a great festival. But this sense of unity did not last long. Dissatisfied people started forming political clubs to discuss the problems they faced. One such club which attained popularity was the Jacobin Club in Paris. The members were from poor sections of the society – small scale business people, artisans, servants and wage labourers. Their leader was Maximilian Robespierre. A majority of the members of the Jacobin club wore long-striped trousers as against the trousers with knee breeches usually worn by the noble class. In order to differentiate from them, they called themselves 'the people without knee breaches' (*sans-culottes*). Another lawyer Danton dominated the Cordelier Club.


Lafayette


Robespierre


Danton

Girondins and Jacobins

Lafayette's constitutional monarchy dominated the political scene for two years. An attempt by the king to flee Paris in June 1791 to join counter-revolutionary armies congregating across the border was thwarted by the local militia. Yet food shortages, price rises and unemployment drove the artisans and traders as well as the labourers to the point of despair. Repression could not stop rising popular upsurge. The moderates who ran the government fell out among themselves. Within the Jacobin Club a group called the Girondins, also known as the Brissotins (after one of their leaders, Brissot), were less radical than Robespierre and Danton. Though there were differences of opinion among themselves, all of them excepting Robespierre, believed that a war against the foreign powers would help. Robespierre, however, argued that war would open the door to counter-revolution. But he could not stop the Girondins from agreeing with the king to form a government and then declaring war on Austria and Prussia in April 1792.

National Convention

The plan of Girondins turned out to be a disaster. The enraged members of the Jacobin Club stormed into the palace of Tuileries, the official residence of Louis XVI, and ransacked it. They killed the guards and took the king as prisoner. A new assembly called Convention voted that the king should be imprisoned and a new election conducted to elect a leader for the country. In this election, every one above the age of 21 got the right to vote, without any distinction in wealth, and status.

September Massacres

After the overthrow of the monarchy, the people believed that political prisoners in the jails were planning to join a plot of the counter-revolutionaries. So the mob descended on the prisons and summarily executed those they believed to be royalists. Commencing on 2 September 1792, at Abbaye prison in Paris, it continued in the next four days in other prisons of the city.

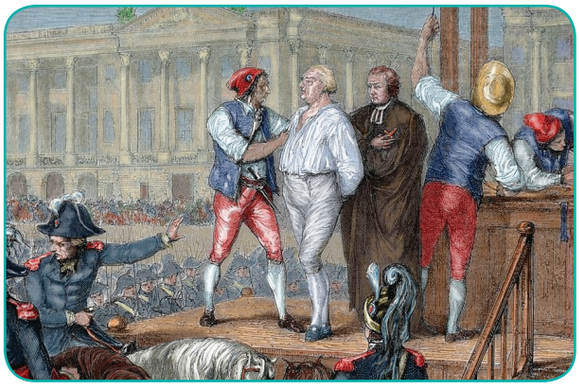
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In all about 1,200 prisoners were killed in what came to be known as the September Massacres. The September Massacres were publicised abroad as proof of the horrors of revolution. The Girondins blamed their more radical enemies, especially Marat, Danton and Robespierre.

Work of the National Convention

On 20 September 1792 the revolutionary army halted the invading forces at Valmy. The next day the new Convention abolished monarchy and declared France a republic.

King Louis XVI was brought before the People's tribunal and executed by guillotine on 21 January 1793. The offence he committed was his appeal to foreigners for help against his own people. Soon afterwards Marie Antoinette was beheaded.



Execution of Louis XVI

Against a background of growing hunger in the towns and countryside alike, there were demands from the Parisians to control prices, to maintain grain supplies to feed people and to take action against hoarders and speculators. Instead of initiating steps to meet the just demands of the Parisian masses, the Convention used the army to attack the agitating masses. The army suffered a series of defeats as its commander deserted to the enemy. Disillusioned peasants in the Vendee region in the west of France joined a monarchist rising. Finally moderates and royalists (29 May 1793) together seized control of Lyons, where silk industry was thriving and wealthy merchants from Germany and Italy had settled.

Rule of Jacobins

Robespierre did not want to lose the gains made in the previous four years and hence commenced his dictatorial rule. The Jacobins sent Girondin leaders to the guillotine, a beheading machine. Danton was beheaded.

The period between 1793 and 1794 was also a time of radical reforms. On 4 February 1794 the Jacobin-dominated Convention decreed the abolition of slavery in all French Lands. Robespierre imposed a maximum ceiling on the wages of the people. Food items such as bread and meat were rationed. Prices were fixed by the government for farm produces. The use of Sir and Madam was replaced by the use of the words male citizen and female citizen. Religious places such as churches were converted into army barracks. Angered over the radicalisation of the government and at the base of society, his own party members turned against Robespierre. He was convicted and finally executed in 1794.

Dr Joseph-Ignace Guillotin was a French physician, who in an article wrote about a machine to quickly execute the convicts. Though he did not invent such a machine, it was named after him. The invention is attributed to Antoine Louis.

The Directory

The allies who had overthrown Robespierre did not stay long in power. Those who hated the revolution began to take over the streets of Paris, attacking anyone who tried to defend the revolutionary ideals. There were two risings in April and May 1795. But they were crushed by forces loyal to the new political group called Thermidorians. *Emigres* began to return to the country and boast that the monarchy would be restored soon.

Emigres: Persons who leave their own country in order to settle in another for political reasons. In the present context, the nobles who fled France in the years following the French Revolution came to be called émigrés.

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In October 1795 the royalists staged a rising of their own in Paris. The army led by a rising officer and one-time Jacobin named Napoleon Bonaparte came to their assistance. Fearful of bloodshed, the Thermidorians agreed to concentrate power in the hands of a Directory of five men. In four years, under one pretext or another, Napoleon gained power. In 1799 Napoleon staged a coup which in effect gave him dictatorial power. In 1804 Napoleon made the Pope crown him as the Emperor of France.

The French revolutionaries may have been defeated, but much of the revolution's heritage survived to shape the modern world.

Impact of French Revolution

- The French revolution created a deep impact, not only in France but also all over Europe, and even inspired anti-colonial intellectuals and movements across the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- The French revolution brought to an end the rule of Louis XVI in France.
- It reduced social inequality. The privileges given to certain sections of the society based on birth were curtailed.
- It introduced a republican form of government with electoral rights.
- The feudal system was abolished
- Slavery was abolished though it took some more years for the total abolition of slavery
- The Church lost it supremacy and it became subordinate to the state. Freedom of faith and religious tolerance had come to stay.
- The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens brought to light the importance of personal and collective rights.
- The three organs of the government, namely, the legislative, executive and judiciary became prominent, and kept a check and balance on each other. It removed the concentration of power under a single authority.
- All over Europe, the French Revolution gave the hope to the people to end the despotic rule and establish an egalitarian society

11.3 Revolution in Latin America

The regions of Latin America were conquered by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese and the French also had their presence there. The political power of the South American cultures such as the Incas and the Aztecs was destroyed by these colonial powers. The colonizers (*conquistadores*) brought to an end the local religious beliefs and introduced Catholic religion. The colonial rule in Latin America was brutal and was marked by widespread genocide and decimation of the indigenous population. The native people were made to work as slave labourers in the farm lands as well as the mines of the colonial masters who exported goods such as sugar, coffee, gold and silver to European nations.



Atrocities of Conquistadores

Latin America today consists of many nations such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, and Caribbean countries in Central and South America.

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The Haitian Revolution

Haiti, earlier known as Saint-Domingue (as the French called their colony) was the richest French colony (1659–1804) in the Caribbean Sea. Its plantations produced more sugar than all of Europe's other Caribbean and American colonies put together. The island's indigenous population, forced to mine for gold, was devastated by European diseases and brutal working conditions, and by the end of the sixteenth century it had virtually vanished. Landowners in western Hispaniola imported increasing numbers of African slaves. By 1789, the estimated 556,000 population of Saint-Domingue included 500,000 African slaves, 32,000 European colonists (whites), and 24,000 free *affranchis* or mulattoes (black-people of mixed African and European descent).

News of the storming of the Bastille was followed by armed defiance of the royal governor. Vincent Ogé, a mulatto, who had lobbied with the Parisian assembly for colonial reforms, led an uprising in late 1790 but was captured and executed. In May 1791 the French revolutionary government granted citizenship to the wealthier mulattoes who had even owned slaves. But Haiti's European population disregarded the law. Within two months isolated fighting broke out between European whites and mulattoes. All of them expected the black slaves to continue working, suffering and dying as if nothing had changed. But they took them by surprise when in August thousands of slaves rose in rebellion.



Vincent Ogé

The European whites attempted to appease the mulattoes to quell the slave revolt. The French National Assembly granted citizenship to all mulattoes in April 1792. The country was torn by rival factions, some of which were playing into the hands of Spanish colonists in Santo Domingo or of British troops from Jamaica. In 1793, a commissioner, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, was sent from France to maintain order. He offered freedom to slaves who joined his army. He soon abolished slavery altogether, a decision ratified subsequently by the French government.

In the late 1790s, Toussaint L'Ouverture, a military leader and former slave, gained control of several areas. Napoleon sent a fleet of 12,000 troops to seize control of Saint-Domingue from Toussaint L'Ouverture's forces. The war which followed was prolonged and bloody. At one point the French army seemed to have won after Toussaint was misled into believing in the possibility of conciliating with the enemy. But he was kidnapped and killed. His former lieutenant Dessalines rose to the occasion and organised black resistance. He defeated Napoleon's army. Saint Domingue became the independent black state of Haiti in 1804.



Toussaint L'Ouverture

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Venezuela and New Granada (now Columbia)

Inspired by the Haitian revolution, slaves in Venezuela rose in rebellion in the 1790s. Creoles (persons of mixed European and black descent) wanted an expansion of the free trade that was benefiting their plantation economy. At the same time, however, they feared that the removal of Spanish control might bring about a revolution that would destroy their own power. Therefore, they formed the strong loyalist faction in the Viceroyalty of New Granada.

In 1808 Napoleon had made his brother Joseph the king of Spain after the abdication of the weak king Charles IV in favour of his son Ferdinand. Napoleon had them both imprisoned. With Charles and Ferdinand removed from the scene, the Empire was without a stable government for six years. The political crisis in Spain provided the opportunity for the assertion of its colonies. Soon the rebels as patriots organised revolutionary governments that introduced some social and economic reforms in 1810.



Simon Bolivar

In Venezuela the patriots led by Simon Bolivar openly declared a break with Spain the following year. The earthquake that wreaked particular destruction in patriot-held areas in 1812 provided the pretext for loyalist forces to crush the patriots' army, and drive Bolivar and others to seek refuge in New Granada (the heart of the viceroyalty).

Bolívar soon returned to Venezuela with a new army in 1813 and waged a campaign with the army's motto, "Guerra a muerte" ("War to the death"). The army led by loyalist Jose Tomas Boves again succeeded in driving Bolívar out of his home country. By 1815 independence movements in Venezuela and almost all across Spanish South America seemed dead. A large military expedition sent by Ferdinand VII in that year re-conquered Venezuela and most of New Granada. Yet another invasion led by Bolívar in 1816 failed.

The following year (1817) a larger and revitalised independence movement emerged, winning the struggle in the north and taking it into the Andean highlands. Bolivar emerged as a strong military and political force after the struggles. At this point a group of *llaneros* (cow boys) of mixed ethnicity led by Jose Antonia Paez joined the struggle and contributed decisively to the patriots' military victories in 1818–19. After leading his army up the face of the eastern Andes, Bolívar dealt a crushing defeat to his enemies in the Battle of Boyaca.



Battle of Boyaca

Consolidating victory in the north proved difficult. A congress that Bolívar convened in Angostura in 1819 named Bolivar as president of Gran Colombia, a union of what are today Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador. But the sharp divisions prevailing in the region ultimately dashed Bolívar's hopes of uniting the former Spanish colonies into a single new nation as United States of Latin America. Furthermore, loyalist supporters still held much of Venezuela, parts of the Colombian Andes, and all of Ecuador. Conditions became favourable in 1820 troops waiting in Cádiz to be sent as part of the crown's military campaigns revolted. Eventually New Granada and Venezuela were liberated in 1821. A congress held that year in Cúcuta, a Columbian city, chose Bolívar president of a now much more centralised Gran Colombia.

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Simon Bolivar: Bolivar belonged to an old aristocratic Creole family in Caracas. He was of fundamental importance to the movement as an ideologue and military leader. In his most famous "Jamaica Letter" (written during one of his periods of exile, 1815), Bolívar affirmed his undying faith in the cause of independence, even in the face of the patriots' repeated defeats. While critiquing Spanish colonialism, Bolívar held the view that the only path for the former colonies was the establishment of an autonomous and centralised republican government. The type of republic that he eventually espoused was very much an oligarchic one. He believed that a virtuous governing system would not be possible if the nation was divided by ethnicity. Bolivar was an inspiring figure to left-wing and emancipatory movements in Latin America even in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Mexican Revolution

The independence of Mexico came late. Mexico had a powerful segment of Creoles and Peninsulars, who were the colonial masters born in Spain or Portugal. For many of the powerful in Mexican society, a break with Spain meant a loss of traditional status and power. Between 1808 and 1810, Peninsulars had acted aggressively to preserve Spain's power in the region. Rejecting the notion of a congress that would address the question of governance in the absence of the Spanish king, leading Peninsulars in Mexico City deposed the viceroy and persecuted Creoles. They then welcomed weaker viceroys whom they knew they could dominate. Peninsulars' efforts could not, however, prevent the emergence of an independence struggle.

The revolution in Mexico was led by a catholic priest, Miguel Hidalgo. He supported the poor people of Mexico and sympathised with the poor living conditions of Native Americans. His emotional speeches at the Church of Dolores called for independent Mexico. He led a revolutionary army consisting of Mestizos



Miguel Hidalgo



Jose Maria Morelos

against the army of Spain and Creoles. However, he was defeated and killed in 1811. Later the movement was led by Jose Maria Morelos, who declared independence from Spain in 1813. He was also defeated in 1815.

The Creoles or the wealthy merchants were watching the developments in Spain where a movement to overthrow monarchy and to make a new constitution was afoot. Thinking that this might reduce the power of the Creoles, they declared independence in 1821. It is interesting to note that the person who led the movement was the same officer who defeated the army of Maria Morelos. He declared himself as the emperor whose ruthless rule was overthrown finally. In 1824 Mexico declared itself as a republic.

Independence of Brazil



Dom Pedro

Brazil was a colony of Portugal. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1808, the Portuguese emperor Dam Joao (John VI) fled to Brazil. He had developed the colony in all aspects by introducing land reforms and establishing military, medical and art schools. Even after the defeat of Napoleon, the Portuguese ruler continued to stay in Brazil. But when his power was challenged he decided to go to Portugal leaving the colony of Brazil in the hands of his son Dom Pedro.

The reliance of the Brazilian upper classes on African slavery favoured their continued ties with Portugal. Plantation owners depended

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on the African slave trade, which Portugal controlled. The size of the slave population – approximately half the total of Brazilian population in 1800 – also meant that Creoles shied away from political initiatives that might mean a loss of control over their social inferiors. Therefore, the Portuguese authorities at home put an end to the reforms undertaken by Joao in Brazil. They wanted Dom Pedro to return to Portugal. However, Pedro declared Brazil's independence and decided to stay on. In 1822, Brazil obtained independence from Portugal and it became the only constitutional monarchy in South America with Pedro I becoming its first emperor.

Other Revolts



San Martin

The liberator of Argentina, San Martin joined the Chilean liberator Bernardo O'Higgins and both were able to get independence for Chile in 1818 followed by Peru in 1820. Bolivar and San Martin met at the port in Ecuador, Guayaquil, to discuss the future course of actions in Latin America and for a probable unification. While San Martin wanted European form of government with constitutional monarchy in the colonies, Bolivar wanted republican form of government. Though they could not reach any agreement, San Martin retired and allowed Bolivar to take full command. Bolivar could get independence for all South American colonies by 1826.

After the independence of all the colonies, Bolivar tried to unite all Latin American countries under one nation called Gran Colombia. However, the rugged geographical features with mountains and forests along with power struggles could not make it a reality. Though most of the Latin American countries declared themselves as republics and were free from Spanish rule, they were still dependent to a greater extent on foreign powers. While Mexico was invaded by the US and France, in the course of the nineteenth century, Britain continued to exercise its dominating influence over countries like Argentina and Chile for a long time to come. In each Latin American country oligarchic cliques ran rival Liberal and Conservative parties and preserved unequal social structure characterised by extreme privilege to great landowners and grinding poverty to the underprivileged.

In the twentieth century, especially after World War II, South America was a troubled continent as USA sought to control it by pliant dictatorial governments (often referred to as banana republics).

11.4 Industrial Revolution

In the aftermath of the French Revolution, when Napoleon was holding the entire Europe to ransom, another revolution which was destined to affect the history of mankind was taking place in England. This was the Industrial Revolution. Industrial Revolution refers to the adoption of a system of producing commodities on a large scale in huge factories. This was opposed to the old system of making goods in the cottages or workshops by the artisans.

The first phase of the Revolution was the appearance of certain important inventions which revolutionised the cotton industry. The use of steam helped to abandon the old method of smelting iron by means of charcoal. The coal and iron industries made rapid progress. Then the means of communication made great strides. Locomotive, the first passenger railway (1830), steam boat and use of electric telegraph (1835) came into existence. In a period of about a hundred years England was thoroughly transformed.

The second Industrial Revolution (between 1870 and 1914) witnessed new innovations in steel production, petroleum and electricity. The whole of Europe and North America began to feel the impact of the first Industrial Revolution during this period.

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Main Features

The essential feature of Industrial Revolution was application of science to industry. The use of iron and steel, the use of new sources of energy or fuels such as coal, steam, and iron, the invention of new machines that increased production, a new method of organisation of work known as the factory system, which involved increased division of labour and specialisation of skill, and developments in transport and communication made possible the mass production of manufactured goods.

Causes of Industrial Revolution in England

The Industrial Revolution started first in Britain due to a variety of causes.

(a) The impact of Commercial Revolution. Revolution in trade and commerce brought into existence a class of capitalists who were constantly seeking new opportunities to invest their surplus wealth. As a result, more and more capital was made available for the development of manufacturing.

(b) Though a later entrant to the race in establishing colonies overseas, Britain gained supremacy over a period of time. It defeated the European powers such as Spain, Portugal, and France. In the beginning of the 18th century, Britain had colonies in one fourth of the world and ruled over 25% of the world population in Africa, America and Asia. So there was a growing demand for industrial products from these Empire colonies.

(c) The markets at home were also expanding as the population grew. In England, population rose from four million in 1600 to six million in 1700 and nine million by the end of the eighteenth century.

(d) The drain of wealth to England from various colonies, notably from India, provided the capital necessary for investment in industries.

(e) Compared to other European countries, Britain was more liberal. Political stability also provided objective conditions for industrial development.

(f) The availability of coal and iron deposits in large quantities in England was another contributory factor. By 1800, Britain was producing ten million tons of coal, or 90% of the world's output

(g) Before the industrial revolution, Britain registered rapid agricultural growth. More lands were brought under cultivation through mechanisation. Small land holdings were consolidated into larger enclosures under the control of wealthy private landowners and the method of crop rotation along with the new farming techniques yielded more produce. But it also caused unemployment among the agricultural labourers. Pauparised peasants moved to the cities and became the workforce for various factories from the mid eighteenth century.

(h) The British had well established ports all across the coast which enabled easy internal and external trade.

(i) The geographical location of England, slightly away from the mainland and relatively safe from foreign invasions, was another cause for industrial revolution

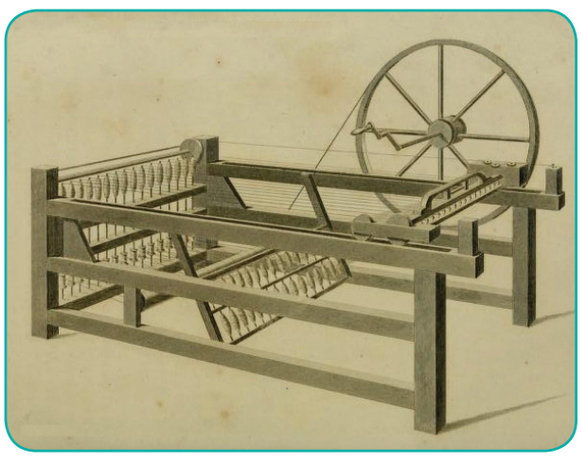
(j) Finally the temperate climate of the British isles was favourable for the manufacturing of cotton cloth.

Important Inventions during Industrial Revolution

The factory System: Before the industrial revolution, production took place in small workshops or in the cottages of the workers. Potters, wheel makers, cart makers, spinners and weavers used their skill and strength to produce the desired goods. With the advent of new inventions, the tasks were performed by machines that needed to be operated at regular intervals by skilled or semi-skilled people. Factories became the places where the goods were produced in large quantities.

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Cotton Industries: The first factories were established in the cotton industry. This became possible due to the invention of spinning jenny, flying shuttle, water frame and Crompton's Mule. Flying shuttle was invented by John Kay in 1733. Before this invention the thread in the shuttle in the weaver's hand had to be carried slowly across and through the other threads placed lengthwise, called the warp. The flying shuttle quickened this process and thus doubled the weaver's output. Spinning Jenny, invented in 1764 by James Hargreaves, could spin eight threads at the same time while in the traditional method only one thread could be spun. Water frame, developed in 1769 by Richard Arkwright, was able to spin 128 threads at a time. Crompton's Mule, a combination of Water Frame and Spinning Jenny, was invented by Samuel Crompton. It gave greater control over the weaving process and as a result, spinners could make many different types of yarn.



Spinning Jenny

In 1700, only 500 tons of cotton were imported by Britain. With innovations in spinning and weaving and the rise of factory production in textiles, the demand of raw cotton increased dramatically. By 1860, the country was importing 500,000 tons each year. By the early nineteenth century, Manchester, the centre of the British textile industry, had acquired the nickname "Cottonopolis".

Iron industries: Traditionally iron could be extracted from iron ore by heating (smelting) it. For this, a large quantum of charcoal was required which was obtained by burning firewood. Sources of coal had depleted by 1700 because of deforestation. Britain partially solved the problem, as about 1709, Abraham Darby a coal owner in Derbyshire, discovered that coke could be used for melting. The chief obstacle for the extraction of coal was the accumulation of water in the mines. What they found useful was a device, developed first by Thomas Newcomen in 1712, to pump the water from the coal mines. This was further improved by James Watt in 1769. He joined hands with an entrepreneur (Mathew Boulton) and together they produced more than 500 steam engines that were used to supply power to the new factories. The coming of power-driven machinery meant the rise of the factory system on a wide scale.



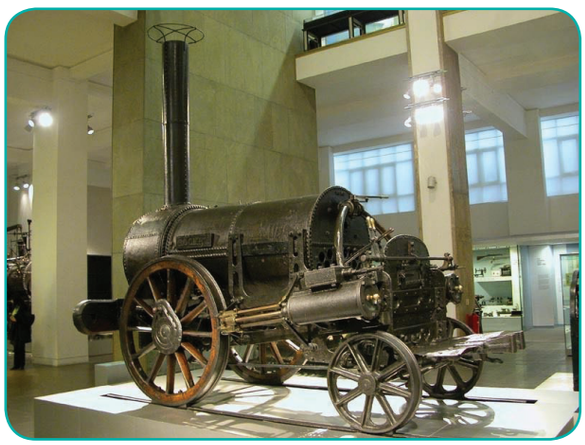
Newcomen Engine lifting coal from mines

Coke was smokeless and could produce more heat than charcoal. Due to this, iron industries were set up near coal mines. Due to the rapid production of iron many household objects such as spoons and pans were made of iron. Even the factories were built with strong iron girders.

Fascinated by the use of iron in the massive structures, the French in 1889 constructed the 324-metre-tall the Eiffel Tower in Paris.

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Steam Engines: The steamboat preceded the steam engine as a means of locomotion. On the Firth of Clyde Canal there was a steam boat in 1802. In 1804 the first locomotive was made. In 1830 the first passenger railway between Liverpool and Manchester was opened. George Stephenson's engine, "The Rocket," functioned with a speed of over thirty miles an hour, unimaginable at that time.



Steam Engine - The Rocket

In 1807, an American Robert Fulton made the first successful steam boat. In April 1838, the first steasmships, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, crossed the Atlantic. Isambard Kingdom Brunel, an English Engineer, built the first fully iron ship with the screw propellers called SS *Great Britain* in 1843. In earlier times, instead of screw propellers, paddle wheels were used.

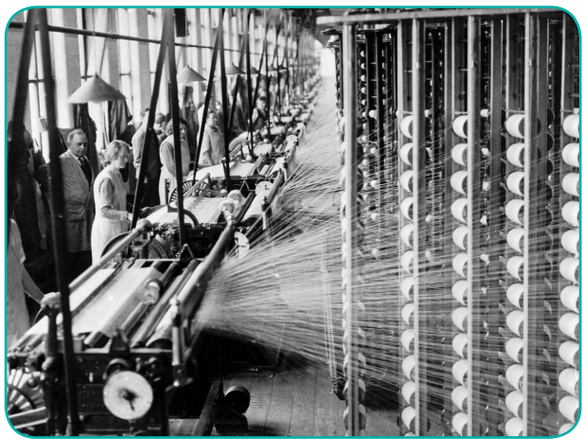
Roads: With the increase in production, it became important to have good roads. However, the roads were of poor quality and the travelling time was long and strenuous. Due to the pressure exercised by leading industrialists roads were maintained by turnpikes, who collected toll from the people for the proper management of the roads. John Loudon McAdam invented an effective and economical method of constructing roads.

Macadamisation means to pave the road by laying and compacting successive layers of broken stone, often with hot tar.



John McAdam

In 1835 the first electric telegraph came into existence. Sixteen years later the first undersea cable was laid between England and France. In a few years the telegraph system spread throughout the world. The modern factory with its giant chimneys began to dominate the landscape of the area around Manchester in Lancashire and Glasgow in Scotland. In 1750, England had two cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, London and Edinburgh. By 1851 the number of cities of this size had increased to 29.



Industrial Manchester

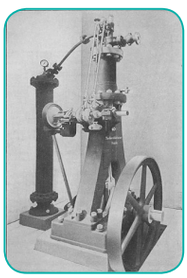
Second Stage of Industrial Revolution : Germany and the USA

The significant discoveries of the Second Industrial Revolution emanated more from the laboratory of the physicist or chemist than from the brain of the individual inventor. The other essential features of the Second Industrial Revolution were the introduction of automatic machinery, and the enormous increase in mass production and a division of the labour into minute segments of the manufacturing process.

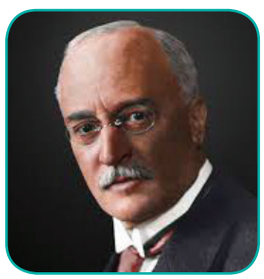
Throughout the eighteenth century there was steady industrial development and great commercial activity in Western Europe. This was exemplified by the development of banking, and improvement in internal

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means of communication such as roads and canals. In France and Prussia there were factories under state patronage. Glass works at Le Creusot, and the linen manufacture of Silesia were important. On the continent of Europe, the Napoleonic Wars checked the progress of commerce and industry. But with the coming of peace, English machines were freely introduced in France and Germany. During the thirty years that followed the fall of Napoleon, steam came rapidly into use throughout Western Europe. By 1847, in cities of France such as Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Toulouse there were great factories. The English scientist Michael Faraday had invented the idea of electricity and a few years later the American inventor Thomas Alva Edison had perfected his model of a light bulb for home use. This led to the making of electrical generators in the 1870s, thereby making public electricity possible.



Diesel Engine



Rudolf Diesel

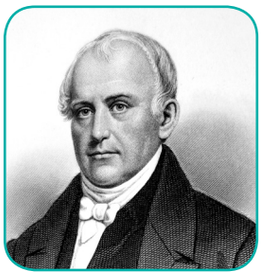
In Germany, states led by Prussia used British techniques in industrial production and manufacturing. The Zollverein, as the union of States with free trade as their common policy, was formed by Prussia. This led to the removal of tariff wall. The unification of Germany in 1871 made industrial development more rapid. The invention and use of electricity and along with this the invention of Diesel engine by Rudolf Diesel helped the Germans to be the masters of automobile industry in Europe. Daimler and Benz became the most popular brands of automobile in Germany and the world. Germany made its mark in iron and steel industry. Germany contributed to the use of chemicals in agriculture, dye in the textile industry, and electronics goods industry.



Werner Von Siemens

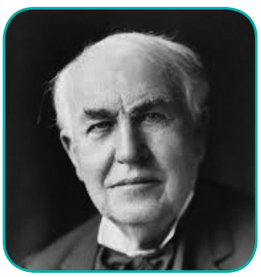
By the end of the nineteenth century Germany emerged as the most industrialised country. It surpassed the home of the Industrial Revolution, Britain, and proved to be a competitor of the United States. In electrics, German companies like Siemens outshone its counterparts in other countries. In chemicals, Germany excelled in the production of potassium salt, dyes, pharmaceutical products, and synthetics. Companies like Bayer and Hoechst led the chemical industry of Germany.

Industrial Revolution in USA

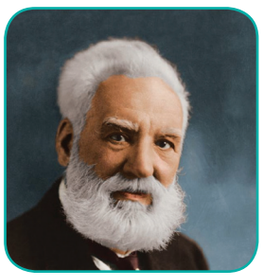


Samuel Slater

The USA was largely an agrarian country in the early nineteenth century. There was an increase in population along with the number of colonies. Samuel Slater, a citizen of England, having gained the experience of operating a mill offered his services to Moses Brown, a leading Rhode Island industrialist, who had earlier made an abortive attempt to operate a mill. Brown agreed, and in consequence the mill became operational in 1793, being the first water-powered roller spinning textile mill in the Americas. By 1800, Slater's mill had been duplicated by many other entrepreneurs. Andrew Jackson, the U.S. President hailed him as "Father of the American Industrial Revolution."



Thomas Alva Edison



Alexander Graham Bell

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Samuel F.B. Morse's invention of the telegraph and Elias Howe's invention of the sewing machine came before the Civil war. After the Civil war, industrialisation went on at a rapid pace. In 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was completed to transport people, raw materials and manufactures. The invention of electric bulb by Thomas Alva Edison (1879) and telephone by Alexander Graham Bell (1876) changed the whole world.

The Industrial Revolution quickened the process of the transition of the United States from a rural to an urban society. Young people raised on farms saw greater opportunities in the cities and moved there. There was unprecedented urbanisation and territorial expansion in the US and, as a result, between 1860 and 1900, fourteen million immigrants came to the country, providing workers for a wide variety of industries.

Impact of Industrial Revolution

- If the Renaissance changed people's approach to life, the Industrial Revolution changed the way they had existed since the agrarian times. The mechanisation of industry resulted in much greater production and therefore it produced greater wealth. But this new wealth went to a small group, the owners of the new industries.
- The Industrial Revolution solved the problem of production. But not the problem of distribution of new wealth created.
- Machine-made manufactures ruined the handicrafts and rendered tens of thousands of artisans and weavers jobless.
- During the first phase of the Industrial Revolution the introduction of machines meant that able-bodied men were thrown out of employment by the cheap labour of women and children. Moreover, many of the factories and mines were dangerous and unsanitary.
- An important outcome of the Industrial Revolution was the creation of two new classes: an industrial bourgeoisie and a proletariat. To the industrial bourgeoisie most forms of government intervention, except protective tariffs and suppression of strikes, were allergic. They insisted that free enterprise was absolutely essential to vigorous economic growth.
- The new class of industrial workers did not simply suffer. Towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars, strong waves of agitations began. The struggle went through different phases: machine breaking, mass demonstrations and formation of collectives (trade unions).

Peterloo Massacre: In 1819, a year of industrial depression and high food prices, a great demonstration was organised by the radical leader Henry Hunt. About 60,000 persons attended, including a large number of women and children. None was armed, and their demonstration was peaceful. The magistrates, who were alarmed by the size and mood of the crowd, ordered the Manchester yeomanry (a voluntary cavalry corps) to attack the crowd. More than 700 people were injured and 17 killed. Hunt and the other radical leaders were arrested, tried, and convicted.

Tolpuddle Prosecution: The Whig government in Britain, alarmed at the growing discontent of the working-class, arrested six Tolpuddle labourers (1834) for organising the labourers against the proposed wage cuts. All the six were convicted and sentenced to seven years' transportation to a penal colony in Australia. The six became martyrs for the cause of labour.

Great Railroad Strike of 1877 in the USA

The bad working conditions in the factories, long hours of work, low wages, exploitation of women and children contributed to the growth of labour unions in the USA. After the Civil War, workers organised strikes and one major strike was the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Wage cuts in the railroad industry, in the context of a prolonged economic depression, led to the strike. The strike was crushed by a combination of vigilantes, National Guardsmen, and the Federal Army.

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Haymarket Massacre

A labour protest took place on 4 May 1886, at Haymarket Square in Chicago. It began as a peaceful rally in support of workers striking for an eight-hour day and in reaction to the killing of several workers the previous day by the police. An unknown person threw a bomb at the police as they began to disperse the crowd. The bomb blast and ensuing gunfire resulted in the deaths of seven police officers and at least four civilians; scores of others were wounded. To commemorate the Haymarket Affair 1 May 1887 is observed as the Labour Day or May Day or International Workers' Day.

Summary

- Oppressive taxation measures of Britain and the resistance of colonists leading to the outbreak of American War of Independence are narrated.
- The course and outcome of the War along with the significance of Revolution are assessed.
- The woeful conditions of peasantry, the financial bankruptcy of the French government, and the revolutionary ideas articulated by the intellectuals of the time leading to the French Revolution of 1789 are explained.
- The formation of National Assembly and its Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen are detailed.
- The execution of the French king and the abolition of monarchy, and the work done by the National Convention dominated by the Jacobins are elaborated.
- Revolution in the French-controlled Saint-Domingue followed by revolutions in other Latin American countries like Venezuela, Columbia, Mexico and Brazil are highlighted.
- The essential features and causes of Industrial Revolution of England, the machines invented and the use of steam revolutionising cotton, and iron industries and transport and communication systems are dealt with.
- The Second Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, notably in Germany, and in the US is explored.
- Impact of Industrial Revolution and the incidence of state violence on organised working class movement in England and America are related.

EXERCISE

4NH7I

I. Choose the correct answer

1. The Europeans who settled first in North America were _____

   (a) Portuguese

   (b) Spanish

   (c) Danish

   (d) English

2. New Amsterdam was renamed as _____

   (a) Washington

   (b) New York

   (c) Chicago

   (d) Amsterdam

3. **Assertion (A):** England passed the Navigation Acts.

   Reason (R): The Act mandated that colonial produce should be exported only in British ships.

   (a) Both A and R are correct, R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct, R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct but R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong but R is correct

4. **Assertion (A):** In 1770, England abolished the taxes on products except tea.

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Reason (R): This was retained to assert that the British Parliament had a right to tax the colonies directly as well as indirectly.

(a) Both A and R are correct, R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct, R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong but R is correct

5. Boston Tea Party incident took place in the year _____

(a) 1775 (b) 1773

(c) 1784 (d) 1799

6. **Assertion (A):** The representatives of all the colonies except that of Georgia, demanded the repeal of the Intolerable Acts.

Reason (R): The Congress decided to boycott the British goods until then.

(a) Both A and R are correct, R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct, R does not explain A

(c) A is correct R is wrong

(d) A is wrong R is correct

7. Which of the following statement/s is/are correct?

Statement I: On July 4, 1776, all the thirteen colonies declared independence from Britain.

Statement II: The Declaration of Independence was essentially the work of Thomas Jefferson.

(a) I (b) II

(c) None of the above (d) All the above

8. In the American War of Independence the British army was led by _____

(a) Richard Lee

(b) George Washington

(c) William Howe

(d) Rockingham

9. Which of the following statement/s is/are Correct?

Statement I: The peasantry made up the bulk of French society.

Statement II: The peasants in France were serfs.

Statement III: The peasants had to work certain days in the week for their lords for remuneration.

(a) I and II (b) II and III

(c) I and III (d) All are Correct

10. The noble who led the protest that led to Tennis Court Oath was _____

(a) Marat (b) Danton

(c) Lafayette (d) Mirabeau

11. **Assertion (A):** The rising bourgeoisie wanted their political power to match their economic status.

Reason (R): They wanted to have a voice in government.

(a) Both A and R correct. R explains A

(b) Both A and R correct. R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong but R is correct

12. Match and choose the correct answer from the code given below.

(A) Montesquieu	1. Jacobins
(B) Voltaire	2. English Philosopher
(C) Reign of Terror	3. The Age of Louis XIV
(D) John Locke	4. The Spirit of Laws

(a) 1 3 4 2 (b) 4 3 1 2

(c) 4 1 2 3 (d) 1 4 3 2

13. The storming of the Bastille happened on _____

(a) June 5, 1789

(b) July 14, 1789

(c) November 11, 1789

(d) May 1, 1789

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14. During the French Revolution _____ was dissatisfied with the Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen, as it excluded women.

(a) Olympe de Gouges

(b) Mary Antoinette

(c) Roget de Lisle

(d) Robespierre

15. The official residence of Louise XVI was _____

(a) Versailles (b) Toulon

(c) Marseilles (d) Tuileries

16. _____ was earlier known as Saint-Dominigue

(a) Mexico (b) Panama (c) Haiti (d) Havana

17. The revolution in Mexico was led by _____

(a) Simon Bolivar

(b) Jose Maria Morelos

(c) Ferdinand de Lesseps

(d) Miguel Hidalgo

18. The liberator of Argentina was _____

(a) San Martin

(b) Dom Pedro

(c) Bernardo O'Higgins

(d) Marina Morelos

19. _____ city acquired the nickname "Cottonopolis".

(a) Manchester (b) Lancashire

(c) Liverpool (d) Glasgow

20. Match and choose the correct answer from the code given below

(A) Michael Faraday 1. Ark Wright
(B) Elias Howe 2. Robert Fulton
(C) Water Frame 3. Electricity
(D) Steam Boat 4. Sewing machine

	A	B	C	D
(a)	1	3	4	2
(b)	1	4	2	3
(c)	3	4	1	2
(d)	3	4	2	1

II. Write brief answers

1. What impact did the European settlement in North America make on the indigenous population?
2. What do you know about the Boston Tea Party?
3. What was the intellectual contribution of Thomas Paine to the American Revolution?
4. Point out the importance of the battle of Saratoga.
5. Discuss the three Estates of the *ancien regime*.
6. Highlight the essence of The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.
7. Outline the contribution of Simon Bolivar to Latin American independence.
8. Highlight the essential features of Industrial Revolution.
9. Why is Samuel Slater considered the father of American Industrial Revolution?
10. What was the background for the Peterloo Massacre?

III. Write short answers

1. Discuss the important provisions of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1783.
2. Analyse the significance of American Revolution.
3. Long before the revolution of 1789, there was a revolution in the realm of ideas. Explain.
4. What caused the "September Massacres"?
5. Trace the circumstances in which Brazil became the first constitutional monarchy in South America.
6. What happened in Germany during the second phase of Industrial Revolution?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Discuss the causes, course and results of the American War of Independence
2. Sketch the course of French Revolution from the storming of Bastille to the execution of Robespierre.

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3. American Revolution and French Revolution inspired the revolution in Haiti. Substantiate.
4. Why did Industrial revolution start in England first? What impact did it make on modern society?

V. Activity

1. A debate may be organised on 'Had not American Revolution succeeded, what would have happened?'
2. Students may be organised into three groups forming Three Estates of the ancient regime and hold a mock session of the States-General convened by Louis XVI in May 1789.
3. Students may be exposed to the ruin of handicrafts in England in the context of introduction of machines and factory system and be apprised of the corresponding situation in India after the establishment of British colonial rule.

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GLOSSARY

adventurous	willing to undertake any task involving risks	துணிவான சாகசங்கள்
transatlantic	across the Atlantic Ocean	அட்லாண்டிக் கடலுக்கு அப்பால்
Puritans	English Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries who demanded the simplification of doctrine and worship	16, 17 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளில் கோட்பாட்டிலும் வழிபாட்டிலும் எளிமை வேண்டுமெனக் கோரிய ஆங்கிலேய புராட்டஸ்டண்டுகள்; தூய நெறியினர்
extirpate	destroy completely	முற்றிலும் அழி, நிர்மூலமாக்கு
massacre	mass murder	படுகொலை
byproduct	a product made during the manufacture of something else / a secondary product	துணை உற்பத்திப் பொருள், துணை விளைபொருள்
replica	an exact copy or model of something	நகல் / பிரதி
status quo	the existing state of affair	முன்பிருந்த நிலை
bourgeoisie	the middle class / the capitalist class who own means of production and possess most of society's wealth	நடுத்தரவகுப்பினர்/ உற்பத்திக் காரணிகளையும் சமூகத்தின் பெரும்பான்மையான செல்வத்தையும் தங்களிடம் கொண்டுள்ள முதலாளி வர்க்கம்

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UNIT 12

Europe in Turmoil

Learning Objectives

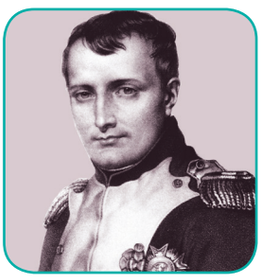
SRKI7

To acquire knowledge in

- The rise of socialist ideas and birth of communism.
- Chartist movement in England.
- Significance of the July (1830) and the February (1848) revolutions in France.
- Role of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi in the Unification of Italy.
- Bismarck's 'blood and iron policy' for the Unification of Germany.
- The Long Depression and its Impact in Germany and America, 1873-1896.

Introduction

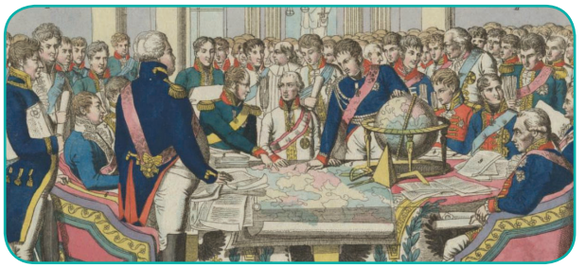
Europe in the nineteenth century was influenced by the developments in France. Klemens von Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, who formed a 'Holy Alliance' between the monarchies of Austria, Russia, Prussia and France to suppress democratic and nationalistic trends in Europe, famously said, "When France sneezes, Europe catches a cold." France sneezed not once, but thrice in 1789, 1830 and 1848, when revolutions broke out in France. The French Revolution of 1789 led to the emergence of the idea of liberalism expressed through its famous slogan, 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'. The revolutionary energies released and ideals fostered during the Era of Revolution were destroyed by Napoleon Bonaparte. For some years Napoleon's reign was a career of victory. However, as he never won the command of the sea from the British, his fleets suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the British in 1805. Spain rose against Napoleon in 1808 and then a British army under Wellington pushed the French armies out of the peninsula. In 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia with a great army of 600,000 men, but the French armies were beaten back. Napoleon abdicated (1814) and was exiled to Elba but returned to France for one last effort to seize power in 1815. He was defeated by the allied forces of British, Belgians and Prussians at Waterloo in Belgium. He was finally exiled to the remote island of St. Helena in the West Atlantic until his death in 1821.



Napoleon Bonaparte

After the fall of Napoleon, an unstable peace lasted for nearly forty years. Two factors prepared the way for the outbreak of wars between 1854 and 1871. The first one was the restoration of monarchy and the unfair privileges abolished during the Revolution. On regaining their former position, forgetting past lessons, the rulers almost immediately aimed at absolute power once more. The second was the unworkable system of boundaries drawn by the diplomats at Congress of Vienna (1815), disregarding the principle of nationality.

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Congress of Vienna (1815)

The reactionary monarchical forces under the leadership of Metternich had begun to function despotically through the Concert of Europe. There was repression of the liberation movements. Popular revolts in Naples (1820) and Spain (1822) were suppressed with the aid of foreign troops, Austrian in the case of former and French in the latter case. There was little liberty in any European country. In spite of this, the American and the French Revolutions had made the ideas of democracy and political liberty known and appreciated by liberal thinkers. Progressive thinkers and liberals believed in the virtues of democracy, and tried hard to achieve them. But democracy offered no solution to issues of poverty or class conflict. Europe in the nineteenth century was 'a strange mixture of capitalism and imperialism and nationalism and internationalism and wealth and poverty'.

The Industrial Revolution ended the domestic system of industry and necessitated the workmen to live near the factories. Long rows of tenement houses were built for their accommodation. Wages were abominably low. Hours of labour were as high as fifteen or even eighteen a day. Women and children were employed in large numbers. The factories were owned by a small class of capitalists, whose main object was unbridled profit. The working classes were initially unorganised and therefore wholly at the mercy of their employers. Many, however,



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soon began to feel that without organisation and unity, no permanent improvement was possible. So they strove to establish trade unions. When trade unions arose, the government first declared these unions illegal. Many of the frontline leaders, as we have seen in the previous lesson, were imprisoned or banished. In 1824, however, labour unions were legalised. With the rise of trade unions, an alternate system to capitalism was conceived and socialism was used as a plank by many to attack the state and defend the interests of the working class. The working class organising into the Chartist Movement in England and later posing a serious challenge, as the Paris Commune did in France, to the capitalist order, and the unscrupulous measures adopted by the capitalists in connivance with the capitalist state to crush labour struggles are highlighted in this lesson.

Concert of Europe: Founded by major European Powers, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain, in the post-Napoleonic era, it worked for the preservation of European order and balance of power. Under the pretext of political status quo, the great powers under the aegis of Concert of Europe intervened and imposed their collective will on states threatened by internal rebellion during the so-called Metternich Era (1815–1848).



Metternich

Under Napoleon Italy had been reduced to three political divisions. This step towards unity was destroyed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Eight states were set up and the whole of Northern Italy was handed over to the German-speaking Austrians. Germany was organised into a confederation of thirty eight states, governed by a Diet presided over by Austria. But the cause of nationality was not lost either in Italy or Germany. Both Italy and Germany unified and emerged as nation states.

12.1 Rise of Socialist Ideas and Birth of Communism



Étienne-Gabriel Morally

Socialist ideas in the modern sense came to be articulated by the Physiocrats or the economists who were making enquiries into the production and distribution of food and goods. Étienne-Gabriel Morally, the Utopian thinker, in his *Code de la Nature* (1755), denounced the institution of private property and proposed a communistic organisation of society. He was the precursor of various schools of collectivist thinkers in the nineteenth century who are categorised as Socialists. Francois Babeuf, a political agitator of the French Revolutionary period, felt that the Revolution in France did not address the needs of the peasants and workers, and argued in favour of abolition of private property and for common ownership of land.

Utopian Socialism

The earliest socialists in Europe were not revolutionaries. They proposed idealistic schemes for cooperative societies, in which all would work at their assigned tasks and share the outcome of their common efforts. The term "Utopian Socialism" was first used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to describe the ideas articulated by the socialists before them. Utopian Socialists recommended the establishment of model communities, where the means of production would be collectively owned. They promoted a visionary idea of a socialistic society, devoid of poverty or unemployment. Their influence led to the establishment of several hundred model communes (communities) in Europe and USA. Claude-Henri Saint-Simon, Francois-Marie-Charles Fourier and Robert Owen were some of the prominent Utopian Socialists.

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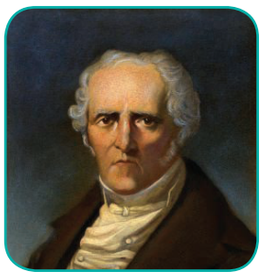
Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760–1825)



Saint Simon

Saint Simon was a French aristocrat who fought against the British in the American War of Independence. A strong believer in science and progress, he criticised contemporary French society for being in the grip of feudalism. Saint-Simon suggested that scientists take the place of priests in the social order. He expressed the view that property owners who held political power could hope to maintain themselves against the propertyless only by subsidising the advance of knowledge. In his book called *New Christianity* he advocated the adoption of the Christian principle of concern for the poor.

Charles Fourier (1772–1837)



Charles Fourier

Fourier was an early Utopian Socialist. He believed that social conditions were the primary cause of human misery. Social and economic inequality could be overcome if everybody had the basic minimum. Fourier believed in the goodness of human nature and rejected the dogma of "original sin". He saw harmony as the law of the cosmos and held that what is true for nature must be true for society. He envisaged a harmonious self-contained co-operative society called *phalansteres*. It was a community where there would be equal distribution of profit and loss.

Robert Owen (1771–1858)

Among the factory owners of Manchester there was a humanitarian by name Robert Owen. Shocked by the condition of the factory workers, he introduced many reforms in his own factories and improved the condition of the workers. He did not employ children below the age of 10 in his industries. Later he criticised private property and profit. He began to advocate the establishment of new cooperative communities that would combine industrial and agricultural production. In his book *A New View of Society* (1818), he advocated a national education system, public works for the unemployed and reform of the Poor Laws. Thanks to his efforts, the British Parliament passed the Factory Act of 1819. By the mid-1820s Owen had developed a theory of Utopian Socialism based on social equality and cooperation. His other initiatives included formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union (1834) and the Cooperative Congresses (1831-1835).



Robert Owen

Poor Laws: In Britain the Poor Laws, as codified (1597–98) during Elizabethan period, provided relief for the aged, sick, and infant poor, as well as work for the able-bodied unemployed in workhouses.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865)



Proudhon

Proudhon was a French anarchist who contributed significantly to the development of socialism. Unlike the earlier Utopian socialists who were drawn from the middle class, he belonged to the working class. Drawing inspiration from the cooperative communities, he and other anarchists were opposed to the state and believed in revolution. In his pamphlet titled "What is Property?" he wrote that "All property is theft." Proudhon believed that labour should be the basis for social organisation and that all systems of government

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were oppressive. He wanted to replace nation-state with federations of autonomous communes. In 1848-49, he was a member of the National Assembly but was disillusioned by his experience. His ideas became popular among the working class of France by the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1864, some of the followers of Proudhon issued the Manifesto of the Sixty. The manifesto declared that the French Revolution of 1789 only brought about political equality and not economic equality. They wanted the working class to be represented by themselves. In the 1863 elections, they unsuccessfully sponsored three working class candidates in the parliamentary elections of France. His views, which influenced the Russian anarchist thinker Michael Alexandrovich Bakunin, sought to overthrow the state by a general strike and replace it with democratically-run cooperative groups.

Anarchism: Belief in the abolition of state and organisation of society on a voluntary, cooperative basis without recourse to force or compulsion

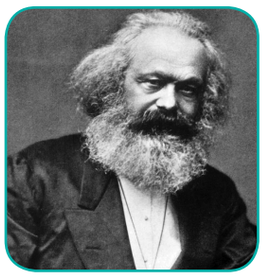
Louis Jean Joseph Charles Blanc (1811-1882)



Louis Blanc

An influential French socialist, Louis Blanc, in 1839, started the *Revue du Progres*, a journal of advanced social thought. His most important essay "Organisation of Labour" serially appeared in 1839. In his writings, he proposed a scheme of state-financed but worker-controlled "social workshops" that would guarantee work for everyone and lead gradually to a socialist society. Louis Blanc argued that socialism cannot be achieved without state power. In 1848, he became a member of the French provisional government and was able to influence it to set up workshops for the unemployed and provide employment to all who needed it.

Karl Marx and Scientific Socialism



Karl Marx



Friedrich Engels

Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) made the most profound contribution to socialism. Eventually their ideas came to be known as Marxism or Communism. They called their views on socialism as scientific socialism. On the eve of the 1848 Revolution, Marx and Engels published *The Communist Manifesto*. The most famous rallying cry in this famous work is: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Marx believed that in just the same way as capitalism replaced feudalism, so socialism would eventually replace capitalism. Marx built his theory on a belief that there is a conflict of interests in the social order between the prosperous employing classes of people and the employed mass. With the advance in education, this great employed mass will become more and more class-conscious and more and more firm in their antagonism to the class-conscious ruling minority. In some way the class-conscious workers would seize power, he prophesied, and inaugurate a new social state.

In 1867 Marx published the first volume of *Das Kapital*, a critique of capitalism. In this work, he highlighted the exploitation of the proletariat (the working class) by the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class).

The International Working Men's Association, founded in 1864, was influenced by his ideas. Its purpose was to form an international working class alliance. Marx worked hard to exclude the moderates from the International and denounced other socialists such as Ferdinand Lassalle and Bakunin. Despite his efforts to consolidate the International it declined by 1876. However, many socialist

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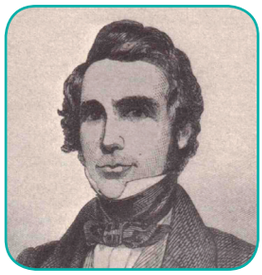
parties emerged in Europe: the German Social Democratic Party in 1875, the Belgian Socialist Party in 1879, the Paris Commune, 1871 and the establishment of a socialist party in 1905. The Second International was founded in Paris in 1889 which influenced the socialist movement till the outbreak of the First World War.

Chartism in England



Chartist Movement

In England the working class lined up behind the Chartist movement. The Chartist movement was not a riot or revolt. It was an organised movement. The impact of 1830 French Revolution in England was the outbreak of militant labour agitation. Different streams of agitation converged to give rise to the Chartist movement. The chartists propagated their ideas through newspapers such as *The Poor Man's Guardian, The Charter, The Northern Star* and *The Chartist Circular*. Its principal paper, the *Northern Star*, founded in 1837, soon equalled the circulation of the *Times*. Articles published in the *Northern Star* were read out for the illiterates in workshops and pubs in every industrial area.



William Lovett

Hundreds of thousands of workers attended mass meetings held during 1838–39. The People's Charter, prepared by William Lovett of the London Working Men's Association, detailing the six key points that the Chartists believed were necessary to reform the electoral system, was presented and deliberated in these meetings. The six key points were:

1. Universal suffrage.
2. Voting by ballot, to prevent intimidation.
3. No property qualification for candidates.
4. Payment of members elected to the House of Commons, as it would enable the poor people to contend for office and contest elections.
5. Equal electoral districts and equal representation.
6. Annual parliaments.

Panicked by rumours that there would be a popular uprising, the government sent the army to the industrial areas. In 1842 the workers struck work in Lancashire and marched from factory to factory stopping the work, and extending and intensifying their action. In 1848, in the wake of a wave of revolutions that swept Europe, subsequent to the February Revolution of that year in France, masses of workers prepared again for confrontation. The state stood firm with the backing of the lower middle class. The Chartist leaders also vacillated, when the 50,000 strong crowd at Kennington, south London, began to melt away. In the meantime the government arrested most of them and turned half of London into an armed camp.

Chartism comprised a mixture of different groups holding different ideas. Its leaders were divided between those who believed in winning over the existing rulers, and those who believed in overthrowing them. Though Chartism was not successful, its main demands, which were not conceded in the 1832 Reform Act, were later incorporated in the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884.

July Revolution (1830)

On 26 July 1830, the Bourbon king Charles X issued four ordinances dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, suspending freedom of the press, modifying the electoral laws so that three-fourths of the electorate lost their votes, and calling for new

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July Revolution

elections to the Chamber. In protest, the Parisian masses took to the streets for the first time since 1795. The royal forces were unable to contain the insurrection. Charles X was advised to go into exile and put in his place, a relative, Louis Philip of Orleans who had the backing of the middle class. The tactics worked in France. But in other parts of Europe there arose a number of risings. The revolution was successful in the Netherlands, where Belgium was separated to form an independent state. The Greeks, who had been fighting for independence from Turkish rule, attained independence in 1832, with the support of the Great Powers. But the revolt of Poles against the Russian Tsar was suppressed.



Charles X

February Revolution (1848)



February Revolution

The French King, Louis Philippe, had to abdicate and flee the country in February, 1848, when there was a spontaneous rising in Paris. Crowds chanting "Vive de la reforme," an expression in French to show patriotism, stormed into the lines of troops and swarmed through the palaces and the assembly buildings. The opposition rallied behind the French revolutionary poet Lamartine. Louis Blanc also joined. In the elections held in April 1848, on the basis of universal manhood suffrage, the moderates were elected in large numbers. Only a few socialists were elected. The newly elected Assembly decided to shut down the workshops that had been started at the initiative of Louis Blanc, as the workshops were seen as a threat to social order. The workers retaliated and braved the government repression. Between June 24 and 26, thousands of people were killed and eleven thousand revolutionaries were imprisoned or deported. The period came to be known as the *bloody June days.* The Constituent Assembly drafted a new constitution based on which elections were held. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected President in December 1848. Before long, in January 1852, he crowned himself as the Emperor by holding a plebiscite. He assumed the title Napoleon III.



Louis Philippe

The year 1848 was one of the distinct triumphs for nationalism. Metternich, the arbiter of Europe and enemy of nationality, was forced to leave Vienna in disguise. Hungary and Bohemia both claimed national independence. Milan expelled the Austrians. Venice became an independent republic. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, declared war against Austria. Absolutism seemed dead for a while. But it was not to be. By the summer, the monarchs had begun their attacks on the revolutionaries and succeeded in crushing the democratic movements in important centres like Berlin, Vienna and Milan. In the space of a year counter-revolution was victorious throughout the continent.

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Nationalism in southern and eastern Europe

In Europe the countries that first achieved national unity were France, Spain and England. Italy which had made rich contributions to art and letters was not part of this political change. Cities in Italy like Rome, Florence, Venice, Naples and Milan were the capitals of small states. Hence she became the prey of powerful kingdoms. Besides, the age of Renaissance was an age of intellectual liberty and certainly not an age of political liberty. The petty states of Italy, though enlightened in many ways, were mostly governed by tyrants, such as the Medici in Florence, the cruel Visconti in Milan and Caesar Borgia in central Italy. What was true of Italy was true of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire was an empire only in name. In practice, Germany contained three of four hundred separate States. It was their kings who saved these countries from feudal anarchy and made them into nations. Conditions suitable for the rise of Italy and Germany as nation states developed only in the nineteenth century with the spread of nationalism.

Unification of Italy

Italy before Napoleon's time was a patchwork of little states and petty princes. Under Napoleon Italy had been reduced to three political divisions. This step towards unity was destroyed by the Congress of Vienna. Eight states were set up and the whole of Northern Italy was handed over to the German-speaking Austrians. Italy in the nineteenth century was a 'patchwork of about a dozen large states and a number of smaller ones.' Metternich described Italy as "a mere geographical expression." The empire of Piedmont-Sardinia, in the northwest, bordering



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France, played a central role in unifying Italy. To its east Lombardy and Venetia were under the control of the Austrian Empire. It also controlled a few smaller states such as Tuscany, Parma and Modena. The Papal States were located in the middle under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. In the south was the Kingdom of the two Sicilies or Naples and Sicily was under the control of a family of Bourbon dynasty.

The Napoleonic rule, for the first time, provided Italy with a sense of unity through uniform administration. The nationalistic aspirations of the Italians were dashed when the Congress of Vienna restored the old monarchies in the various Italian principalities. The 1820s witnessed the mushrooming of several secret societies such as the *Carbonari*, advocating liberal and patriotic ideas. They kept alive the ideas of liberalism and nationalism. Revolts broke out in Naples, Piedmont and Lombardy. However, they were crushed by Austria.

In the wake of the 1830 Revolution in France, similar rebellions broke out in Modena, Parma and Papal States which were again crushed by Austria. In 1848, following the February Revolution in France, the people again rose in revolt in several Italian states including Piedmont-Sardinia, Sicily, Papal States, Milan and Lombardy and Venetia. As a result liberal constitutions were granted in Sicily, Piedmont Sardinia and the Papal States. King Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia, under the influence of the Revolution, invaded Lombardy and Venetia. However, the Austrians defeated him with the help of Russian troops. Charles Albert saved Piedmont-Sardinia from Austrian occupation by taking the blame upon himself for the war and abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. However, despite the defeat of Pidemont-Sardinia and the suppression of revolution in various Italian principalities, liberal and nationalistic ideas survived.

Mazzini, Count Camillo di Cavour, and Giuseppe Garibaldi were the three central figures of the unification of Italy. Cavour was considered the brain, Mazzini the soul and Garibaldi the sword-arm of Italian Unification.

Mazzini (1805–1872)



Mazzini

Giuseppe Mazzini laid the foundations of the Italian unification. Born in Genoa in a well-to-do family, he graduated in law. Attracted to politics at a young age, he advocated the freedom of the Italian nation. He involved himself in the insurrectionary activities of the Carbonari for which he was arrested. He soon gave up the idea of secret plotting and began to believe in open propaganda against monarchy. He believed that Italy was a great civilisation that could provide leadership to the rest of the world. He started the Young Italy movement in 1831 with the aim of an Italian Republic. Exiled for working for the cause of unification of Italy in 1848, when revolts were breaking out all over North Italy, Mazzini returned to Rome. The Pope was driven away and a republic declared under a committee of three, of which Mazzini was a member. But with the failure of 1848 Revolution and the restoration of Rome to Pope with the support of the French, Mazzini carried on his work by propaganda and preparing for the next programme of action.

Count Cavour (1810–1861)



Count Cavour

Count Cavour was one of those inspired by the idea of Italian nationalism. In 1847 he started a newspaper. The Italian unification movement came to be known after the name of the newspaper as *Il Risorgimento*. The *Risorgimento* (the resurrection of Italian spirit) was an ideological and literary movement that helped to arouse the national consciousness

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of the Italian people. Cavour rose to become the Prime Minister of Sardinia and played a crucial role in the unification of Italy. He used a combination of diplomacy and war to achieve the unification under the leadership of Sardinia. Cavour realised that Italian unification could not be achieved without international support. He needed the support of other Great powers to expel Austria from Lombardy and Venetia. Therefore, he involved Piedmont-Sardinia in the Crimean War to draw international attention and get the support of England and France. In July 1858, he struck an agreement with Napoleon III of France who offered to support Piedmont-Sardinia in its conflict with Austria.

War with Austria, 1859

Cavour then provoked war with Austria by mobilising troops near the Austrian border. When Austria issued an ultimatum to disband the troops he allowed it to expire. As a result Austria attacked Piedmont-Sardinia in April 1859. The combined armies of Piedmont-Sardinia and France defeated the Austrian armies. They won a major victory at the Battle of Solferino. Instead of continuing the war, Napoleon III of France concluded a peace agreement with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph II at Villa Franca on 11 July 1859. Cavour was disappointed at French withdrawal and resigned. In November 1859, Piedmont-Sardinia and Austria concluded the Treaty of Zurich. Austria ceded Lombardy but retained control over Venetia.

Cavour was reappointed as Prime Minister in 1860. Parma, Modena and Tuscany were merged with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia through plebiscites. Similarly, Savoy and Nice were annexed to France on the basis of plebiscites.

Garibaldi and the Conquest of Southern Italy

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882) played a key role in the unification of Italy by waging guerilla warfare. He joined Mazzini's Young Italy and was influenced by his ideas. Participating in Mazzini's rebellion in Piedmont, he then fled to South America as an exile. He took up the cause of revolutionaries there and fought for the cause of Rio Grande and Uruguay against Argentinian occupation. Therefore, he was called the 'Hero of Two Worlds'. In 1843, he started the Italian Legion. This force of volunteers came to be known as the Red Shirts.



Garibaldi

Garibaldi accepted the invitation of the people of Sicily in their revolt against their monarch. He left the port of Genoa with 1000 volunteers to Sicily. Landing unnoticed on the coast of Sicily he and his volunteers defeated the 20000 strong Neapolitan (Naples) troops without any loss of life. He then crossed into Naples and defeated the royal troops with the help of the locals. However, Cavour, suspicious of Garibaldi's triumphant march, sent the Piedmontese force to stop him from invading Rome. Garibaldi submitted his conquest to King Victor Emmanuel II and retreated to lead the rest of his life in his home at the island of Caprera.

Plebiscites held in Sicily, Naples and Papal States led to their merger with Piedmont-Sardinia. At the end of the war, Austria retained control over Venetia and Pope held Rome. The rest of Italy was unified under Piedmont. In May 1861, King Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed by the Parliament as the ruler of Italy. During the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, Italy had allied itself with Prussia and was rewarded with Venetia. In 1871, Italy took advantage of the Franco-Prussian War to annex Rome as the French forces withdrew. Thus, the Italian Unification was completed.



King Victor Emmanuel II

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Unification of Germany



J.G. Fichte

In spite of a common language and many other common features the German people continued to be split up into a large number of States. Intellectuals such as Johann von Herder (1744–1803) and Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) promoted the idea of German nation by glorifying its past. Herder believed that civilisation was a product of the culture of the common people, the *Volk* (folk) and promoted the idea of a unique German spirit, the *Volkgeist*. J.G. Fichte (1762–1814) delivered a series of *Addresses to the German Nation*. He claimed the German spirit was not just one among the many spirits but was superior to the rest. This inspired and promoted the idea of nationalism among the Germans.

Before Napoleon Germany consisted of about 360 principalities. Napoleon unconsciously gave an impetus to the spirit of nationalism by forming a Confederation of the Rhine. For the first time, it gave a sense of unity to Germany. However, the Congress of Vienna, which transformed it into the German Confederation consisting of 39 states, placed it under the control of Austria.

At the time of Fichte's addresses Austria was occupying the territories of Prussia, the largest and the most powerful of the Confederation of German States. It kindled in Prussia the spirit to achieve its past glory. It rebuilt and strengthened its army. Recruitment was based on merit and not on old aristocratic standing. The zeal for liberalism and modernisation combined with nationalism in Prussia.

In 1834, Prussia was successful in establishing the *Zollverein* (customs union). By the 1840s it included most of the Germanic states except those under the control of Austria and provided economic unity to the Germanic states. In 1848, popular pressure led to the introduction of an elected legislative assembly.

In the same year the Frankfurt Assembly was convened. Most of the elected members were liberals who believed that a liberal national-German state could be created. They were divided on the question of what constituted the German nation. The delegates who demanded 'Great Germany' believed that the German nation should include as many Germans as possible including Austria except Hungary and the crown should be offered to the Austrian Emperor. Some delegates put forward the idea of 'Little Germany' which argued that Austria should be excluded from the German nation and the crown be offered to King of Prussia. Eventually Austria withdrew from the Assembly. A constitution was framed by the Assembly and the Little Germans offered the constitutional monarchy to King Frederick William of Prussia. However, the latter declined it as he did not want to accept the revolutionary notion of the Assembly offering the crown to him.



Bismarck

Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor Prussia, transformed it into a powerful state with the objective of uniting the Germanic states under its leadership. He adopted a 'blood and iron' policy to achieve the unification. He realised that the unification of Germany was not possible without an armed conflict with Austria and France. He sparked conflict with Austria and France through diplomatic moves. Bismarck opened negotiations with Russia and ensured Russian neutrality in the event of a conflict between Prussia and Austria. Bismarck had to fight three wars to achieve the unification of Germany.

Bismarck remarked: Not through speeches and resolutions of majorities will the mighty problems of the age be solved, but by blood and iron.

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Schleswig–Holstein Question

Schleswig and Holstein were Germanic States under the control of Denmark. In 1863, the King of Denmark merged these two duchies into his kingdom. Bismarck proposed to Austria a joint action against Denmark. In 1864, the joint forces of Prussia and Austria defeated Denmark. By the Treaty of Vienna, Denmark surrendered the duchies to Prussia and Austria. Differences arose on the fate of the Schleswig and Holstein. While Austria wanted them to be made part of the German Confederation, Bismarck wanted to administer them separately. By the Convention of Gastein in 1865 it was agreed that Holstein would be under the control of Austria and Schleswig under the control of Prussia. Holstein had a large German population and was located within Prussian territory making it difficult for Austria to administer it. When Austria decided to refer the matter to the Diet of the German Confederation, it violated the Convention of Gastein. Bismarck ordered the Prussian troops to occupy Holstein.

Austro–Prussian War of 1866



Austro–Prussian War

By his diplomacy Bismarck had ensured the neutrality of Russia and France. He also got the support of Piedmont-Sardinia which wanted to drive Austria out of Venetia. Thus ensuring that Austria would not receive support from any major power, he forced Austria to attack Prussia. The Austro-Prussian war is also known as the Seven Weeks' War. Prussia defeated Austria at the Battle of Sadowa or Konnniggratz in Bohemia. While the Prussian army wanted to march into Austria and capture Vienna, Bismarck opposed it. The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Prague. Austria withdrew from the German confederation. The northern states were formed into a North German Confederation under Prussia. Though defeated, Italy was rewarded with Venetia for its support to Prussia. The North German Confederation consisted of 22 states north of river Maine. A new constitution came into effect on 1 July 1867. Bismarck followed a friendly policy towards the southern states in an attempt to win them over.

Franco–Prussian War of 1870–71



Franco–Prussian War

Bismarck next turned his attention to create a rift between Prussia and France to unite the southern German states. The opportunity came over the issue of succession to the Spanish throne. After a revolution in Spain which drove Queen Isabella out of the country, the throne was offered to Prince Leopold, a relative of the King of Prussia. France was agitated over the issue. A threat of war was averted when Prince Leopold declined the offer. Bismarck was disappointed.

However, a new opportunity arose when Gramont, the French Foreign Minister met the King of Prussia in Ems. He demanded that Prussia promise that it would not claim the throne of Spain in the future. The Prussian King sent a telegram about the discussion to Bismarck. He edited it in such a manner that the French thought their ambassador had been insulted while the Prussians thought that their king had been humiliated. The Ems telegram triggered the Franco-Prussian War.

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King Napoleon III

France declared war on Prussia. In the Battle of Sedan (2 September 1870) France was defeated. French King Napoleon III surrendered. Bismarck however continued his march to Paris and captured it. The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871. Bismarck imposed harsh terms on France. France ceded Alsace-Lorraine and agreed to pay a huge war indemnity. At the Versailles Palace, King William I of Prussia was declared the Emperor of Germany which combined both the North German Confederation and the southern states. Thus, the Unification of Germany was achieved by a combination of diplomacy and warfare.

The Founding of the Third Republic in France

After the Battle of Sedan Napoleon III was taken prisoner, and later his government was overthrown by a group of republicans in Paris. A provisional government was set up to rule the country until a new constitution could be drafted. Elections were held in February 1871 for a National Constituent Assembly. A majority of the members were monarchists. It is not that the French people preferred a monarchy, but rather that they longed for peace. The monarchists were hopelessly divided and hence for almost four years a definite decision as to the form of government could not be taken. Finally, in January 1875, the National Assembly decided on a republican form of government. This signaled the establishment of the Third Republic in France.

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Paris Commune, 1871

In its bid to exact huge financial payment and to possess French Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia, the Prussian army besieged Paris. Paris held out through five months of siege in conditions of incredible hardship with people starving and without fuel to warm their homes in winter. Workers, artisans and their families bore the full brunt of the suffering as prices soared. The Parisians grew bitter when bigger numbers of monarchists were returned to the National Assembly. Then came the betrayal of the republic – the appointment of 71-year-old Thiers. Paris was once again armed. As the regular army had been disbanded under the terms of agreement with Prussia, the Parisian masses kept their arms. Along with National Guards, now overwhelmingly a working class body, they surrounded the soldiers. One of the generals, Lecomte, gave orders to shoot at the crowd three times. But the soldiers stood still. The crowd fraternised with the soldiers and arrested Lecomte and his officers. That day Thiers and his government fled the capital. One of the world's great cities was in the hands of armed workers.



Paris Commune

The Commune set about implementing measures in their interests – banning night work in bakeries and handing over to associations of workers any workshops or factories shut down by their owners, providing pensions for widows and free education for every child, and stopping the collection of debts incurred during the siege. In the meantime, the republican government was organising armed forces to suppress the commune. It succeeded in persuading Bismarck to release French prisoners of war. It gathered them in Versailles, together with new recruits from the countryside. Both the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Commune were composed of Blanquists and Proudhanists. Marx could not influence events in Paris. Soon the defeat of Commune was achieved by Thiers. Thereafter there was an orgy of violence. Anyone who had fought for the Commune was summarily shot. Troops patrolled the streets picking up poorer people at will and condemning them death. It is estimated that between 20,000 and 30,000 were killed. Of the 40,000 communards (members of the commune) arrested, 5000 of them were sentenced to be deported and another 5,000 to imprisonment.

Karl Marx had this to say on the Commune: "It represented the greatest challenge the new world of capital had yet faced and the greatest inspiration to the new class created by capital in opposition to it."

The Long Depression (1873–1896)

The world witnessed an unprecedented economic boom during 1865–1873. The unification led to a phenomenal boom in Germany between 1870 and 1873. During this period 857 new companies were established. It was unparalleled in the history of Germany. The railway system almost doubled in size between 1865 and 1875. Tens of thousands of Germans invested in stock for the first time to demonstrate both their patriotism and their faith in the future of the new German Empire.

After the end of Civil War, the United States too underwent an economic transformation, marked by the proliferation of big business houses, and the massive development of agriculture attended with the rise of national labour unions. The period from the 1870s to 1900 in the USA came to be called the Gilded Age. The rapid expansion of industrialisation led to a real wage growth of 60% between 1860 and 1890. The average annual wage per industrial worker (including men, women,

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and children) rose from $380 in 1880 to $564 in 1890. However, the Gilded Age was also an era of abject poverty and inequality, as millions of immigrants – many from impoverished regions – poured into the United States. The high concentration of wealth in a few hands was becoming more visible.

Then came the Depression. It was signalled by the collapse of the Vienna Stock Market in May 1873. The Depression was world-wide and lasted till 1896, and is referred to as the Long Depression. It affected Europe and the US very much. American railroads became bankrupt. German shares fell by 60 percent. Agriculture was most affected, as there was a fall in prices. Many countries responded by imposing protective tariffs to prevent competition.



Panic of 1873

The Gilded age was also an era of intense mass mobilisation of working classes. Socialist and labour movements emerged in many countries as a mass phenomenon. When industrial capitalism was at its peak in the US, nearly 100,000 workers went on strike each year. In 1892, for example, 1,298 strikes involving some 164,000 workers took place across the nation. Trade Unions, aiming at protecting workers' wages, hours of labour, and working conditions, were on the rise.

Capitalists who could not reconcile to the rise of trade unions launched a counter offensive. The socialists suffered persecution.The strike at the Carnegie Steel Company's Homestead Steel Works in 1892 culminated in a gun battle between unionised workers and men hired by the company to break the strike. The state supported the company management and as a result the steelworkers ultimately lost the strike. The Pullman Strike of 1894, a national railroad strike, involving the American Railway Union, was smashed by armed police and Pinkerton private detectives were hired by the employers to shoot down strikers.



Pullman Strike

In Germany, the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP) emerged as a popular party. However, Bismarck introduced anti-socialist legislations to check the growth of socialism. Despite this support for the party grew. With the repeal of the anti-socialist laws after 1890, socialist trade unions were able to function openly. SDP's share of Reichstag seats increased from 3 percent in 1887 to 20 percent in 1903.

In Britain, in the 1880s, the famous Match Girls Strike by the women and teenage girls working in Bryant and May Match Factory ended in the victory of strikers. There was also a dock strike (1889) in the port of London. Cardinal Manning intervened and mediated on behalf of the strikers with the dock owners. But, in the 1890s,



Match Girls Strike

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British employers, following the examples of their counterparts in the US, also destroyed many of the new unions through professional strike breakers, starving people back to work, lockouts and the like.

Summary

- Liberalism and nationalism joining hands to fight for democracy and Industrial Revolution leading to the rise of working class movements and the coming of socialism are explained.
- The early socialists and Marx and their contribution are discussed.
- The Chartist Movement in England and its tragic end without achieving its objectives are analysed.
- The 1830 and the 1848 revolutions and the growing aggressive nature of nationalism leaving its liberal thrust in western Europe are highlighted.
- Ascendency of nationalism in Italy and Germany that emerged as nation states are detailed.
- The built-in weakness of the capitalist system during the long depression of 1873-1896, and the growing militancy of the labour that was unscrupulously dealt with by the capitalists in collusion with the state are analysed.

EXERCISE

A7QTL

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Napoleon was exiled first time to _____

   (a) Elba (b) St. Helena

   (c) Corsica (d) Waterloo

2. Napoleon was defeated by the allied forces of British, Belgians and Prussians at Waterloo in _____

   (a) France (b) Germany

   (c) Belgium (d) Italy

3. **Assertion (A):** Utopian Socialists recommended model communities, where the means of production would be collectively owned.

   Reason (R): They promoted a visionary idea of a socialistic society, devoid of poverty and unemployment.

   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct but R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong but R is correct

4. Labour Unions were legalised in England in _____

   (a) 1815 (b) 1822 (c) 1824 (d) 1827

5. Match the following and select the answer from the code given below.

(A) New Christianity	1. William Lovett
(B) A New View of Society	2. Louis Blanc
(C) Revue du Progres	3. Saint Simon
(D) The People's Charter	4. Robert Owen

   (a) 2, 3, 4, 1 (b) 3, 4, 2, 1

   (c) 1, 4, 3, 2 (d) 3, 1, 2, 4

6. Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto in _____

   (a) 1842 (b) 1848 (c) 1867 (d) 1871

7. **Assertion (A):** The Chartist movement was not a riot or revolt.

   Reason (R): It was an organised movement of the working class.

   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct but R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong but R is correct

8. The Chartist's principal newspaper was _____

   (a) *The Poor Man's Guardian*

   (b) *The Charter*

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(c) *The Northern Star*

(d) *Il Risorgimento*

9. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, assumed the title _____

(a) Napoleon II (b) Napoleon III

(c) Duke of Orleans (d) Napoleon IV

10. The author of *Code de la Nature* is _____

(a) Charles Fourier

(b) Étienne-Gabriel Morally

(c) Saint Simon

(d) Bakunin

11. **Assertion (A):** The year 1848 was one of the distinct triumphs for nationalism.

Reason (R): Absolutism seemed dead for a while.

(a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

d) A is wrong but R is correct

12. The Second International was founded in _____

(a) Paris (b) Berlin (c) London (d) Rome

13. The Young Italy Movement was started in the year_____

(a) 1822 (b) 1827 (c) 1831 (d) 1846

14. Parma, Modena and Tuscany were merged with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia after_____

(a) plebiscite

(b) invasion of Charles Albert

(c) Treaty of Solferina

(d) Treaty of Villa Franca

15. _____ was called the "Hero of Two Worlds".

(a) Charles Albert (b) Bismarck

(c) Napoleon III (d) Garibaldi

16. The Seven Weeks' War was fought between_____

(a) Denmark and Prussia

(b) Piedmont-Sardinia and Austria

(c) France and Prussia

(d) Austria and Prussia

17. The Franco-Prussian War was triggered by _____

(a) Convention of Gastein

(b) Ems telegram

(c) The treaty of Prague

(d) Dispute over the control of Alsace-Lorraine

18. _____ delivered a series of Addresses to the German Nation.

(a) Johann von Herder

(b) Friedrich Schliegel

(c) J.G. Fichte

(d) Otto von Bismarck

19. **Assertion (A):** J.G. Fichte promoted the idea of nationalism among the Germans.

Reason (R): Fichte was the leader of Young Italy Movement.

(a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong but R is correct

20. Match and choose the correct answer from the code given below.

(A) Metternich	1. Ruler of Piedmont-Sardinia
(B) Charles X	2. French Foreign Minister
(C) Gramont	3. French King
(D) Charles Albert	4. Chancellor of Austria-Hungary

(a) 1, 3, 4, 2 (b) 4, 2, 1, 3

(c) 4, 1, 2, 3 (d) 4, 3, 2, 1

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II. Write brief answers

1. Why is the period between June 24 and 26, 1848 considered the bloody June days?
2. What role did Concert of Europe play in Metternich Era?
3. Why was Italy described as "a mere geographical expression" by Metternich?
4. Explain Poor Laws.
5. Attempt an account of the first International Working Men's Association of 1864.
6. Highlight the contribution of Carbonari to the unification of Italy.
7. Who was Francois Babeuf?
8. What was the importance of Zollverein?
9. What do you know of the Gilded Age?
10. What is the importance of the year 1873 in the economic history of America?

III. Write short answers

1. When France sneezes, Europe catches a cold – Elucidate.
2. "The Industrial Revolution was the basis for emerging the ideas of Socialism" – Substantiate.
3. Estimate the pioneering work done by Robert Owen in improving the condition of workers in his factories.
4. How did the 1830 July Revolution in France impact other parts of Europe?
5. Trace the events that led to the formation of Paris Commune.
6. Discuss the measures adopted by Paris Commune in the interests of the poor and the working class.
7. Attempt an account of Working class struggles during the period of Long Depression in Britain and America.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Identify the important collectivist thinkers of nineteenth century and highlight their contributions to Socialism.
2. Discuss the political fallout of French Revolutions of 1848 in other parts of Europe.
3. How was the unification of Italy achieved?
4. Why is Bismarck considered the true architect of a unified Germany?

V. Activity

1. Students may collect information on Napoleon Bonaparte's major wars in Europe.
2. Compare the 1830 July Revolution with the February Revolution of 1848.
3. Explore how Metternich despite his anti-national and anti-revolutionary ideology could dominate the whole of Europe for more than three decades.
4. Find out as to why lots of people were living in poverty when the United States was experiencing an economic boom, during the Gilded Age.

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GLOSSARY

turmoil	confusion, disorder, unrest	குழப்பம், கலவரம்
fraternity	brotherhood	சகோதரத்துவம்
foster	nurture, grow, bring up	வளர்த்தல்
exile	deport or expel from a country	நாடு கடத்து; நாடு கடத்தல்
despotically	in a harsh and oppressive manner	எதேச்சதிகாரமாக, சர்வாதிகாரமாக
tenement	dwelling, residence	வசிப்பிடம்
abominably	in an offensive and hateful manner	மிகவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க
unbridled	not controlled	அடக்கி வைக்கப்படாத, தடையற்ற
unscrupulous	without principles	கொள்கையில்லாத, பழிபாவங்களுக்கு அஞ்சாத
physiocrat	one who believes that the inherent natural order governing society is based on land.	இயற்கைமுறை அரசாட்சி வேண்டுமென்பவர்
denounce	reject, condemn	கண்டனம் தெரிவி, நிராகரி
utopia	ideally perfect state, an imaginary place considered to be perfect	கற்பனையுலகு
dogma	a belief especially political or religious one.	சமயக்கொள்கை, அரசியல் கோட்பாடு
envisage	predict or foresee	எதிர்நோக்கு
recourse	choice, alternative	மாற்று, விருப்பேற்பு
antagonism	hostility	முரண்பாடு, குரோதம்
prophesy	prediction, forecast	முன்னறிவித்தல், தீர்க்கதரிசனம்
suffrage	right to vote, franchise	வாக்குரிமை
intimidation	frightening, terrorising	அச்சுறுத்தல், மிரட்டல்
insurrection	revolt, uprising	கிளர்ச்சி, கலகம்
abdicate	resign from one's office or step down from the throne; fail to fulfill responsibility	பதவி, அரியணை போன்றவற்றைத் துற
swarmed	moved in	திரளாக நுழை
retaliate	make an attack in return for a similar attack	பதிலடி கொடு
plebiscite	referendum poll	பொது வாக்கெடுப்பு
brunt	full force of a blow or an attack	தாக்குதலின் முழுவலிமை
proliferation	rapid increase in the number	பெருக்கம், பல்கிப் பெருகுதல்

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UNIT 13

Imperialism and its Onslaught

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Rise of Imperialism in the context of alliance between monopoly industry and finance to conquer markets
- Race for colonies and the resultant conflict among nations, culminating in the outbreak of World War I
- Causes, course and consequences of World War I
- The Russian Revolution and its Significance
- The Great Depression of 1930s
- Fascist Counter-Revolution in Italy and Germany

Introduction

Throughout the eighteenth century there was steady industrial development and intense commercial activity. As a result, in the following century, Europe emerged as the dominant power, while Asia and Africa were colonised and exploited. Within Europe England held a pre-eminent position as the world leader of capitalism. With the revolution in transport and communication, between 1870 and 1914, a global economy developed. Steamship and telegraph lines linked continents, while railways linked the interiors to ports. Finance flowed from Europe and the USA fuelling world-wide economic activity. An ever-growing demand for markets and raw materials made the capitalist powers race round the world for expanding their empire for exploitation. The search for markets, the fierce competition for trade, the fight for more colonies, all these plunged the rival nations into conflict.

The feeling that Germany had not been given its rightful place among the comity of nations accounted for its uncompromising approach to other nations, particularly to Britain. At last mutual suspicion and a strained situation led to the First World War. With the defeat of Germany and its allies in the war, a conference met at Versailles (1919) to draw up conditions for peace. One of the striking features of the settlement was the formation of League of Nations for the guarantee of future world peace. Inflation and food shortages during the War contributed to a revolution in Russia. On the other hand, the discontentment over the peace settlement, political instability, impact of Great Depression all contributed to the rise of fascist governments in Italy and Germany.

13.1 Rise of Imperialism

(a) Dominance of Industrial Capital and Advocacy of Free Trade

It was believed in the seventeenth century that a state's greatness was dependent on commerce. It was natural, therefore, that the interests of the state and of the merchant class

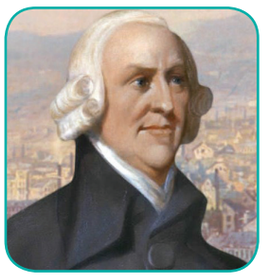
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became identical. The Mercantilist period (1600–1700) was a period of accumulation of capital that facilitated the industrial revolution in Europe. The leading powers of the time, Holland, France and England, became major colonial powers with access to overseas markets. Yet it was England, accomplishing industrial revolution first, that emerged as the most powerful country. The export markets for England existed initially in Europe. But as other countries began to industrialise, the market for export of surplus manufactures had to be found elsewhere.



The Mercantilist period

Right from its inception Mercantilism had come under attack. Excessive control of industry in France led to a demand for no control of industry. Physiocrats in France strongly advocated free trade. Laissez-faire, a word coined by a French businessman named de Gournay, became the cry everywhere. Adam Smith, Scottish philosopher and economist, in his influential book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), criticised the colonial policy of the mercantilists and argued for free trade and free market. His *Wealth of Nations* deeply influenced the politicians of the time and paved the way for the great nineteenth-century era of free trade.



Adam Smith

Having earned huge profits out of its monopoly trade, England decided on a free trade policy in 1833. Among the nations that followed England in this respect were Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Piedmont, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. As a consequence, trade barriers were reduced and the economies of western European nations boomed. The capitalism of free competition (based on the principle of free trade without any control or regulation by the state) later became the capitalism of monopolies. In the battle of competition, as Marx observed, little business was either crushed by big business or merged with it to make still larger big business. By the middle of the nineteenth century partnerships and joint-stock companies were giving way to trusts, followed by cartels. These powerful trusts and cartels influenced governments.

Trusts are combinations of all or nearly all of the producers of certain goods in order to control their price and production. In the USA, heavy industry was organised through trusts-association of companies which controlled production from the extraction of raw materials to the disposal of finished products. Cartels are associations of independent companies for the primary purpose of restricting competition in the sale of their products. Cartels flourished because they enabled German producers to gain great leverage in world trade.

13.2 Scramble for Colonies and Road to War

(a) Markets for Raw Materials and Manufactured Goods leading to Colonisation

In the second half of the nineteenth century many nations faced a problem of surplus of manufactured goods for which they had to find outside markets. The answer to the problem, as evidenced from the experience of England, was possession of colonies. Besides being a market for surplus goods, colonies could serve another useful purpose. Mass production needed large scale supply of raw materials such as grains, cotton, rubber, crude oil, minerals, etc. Industrialists did not want to be dependent on other countries for the supply of raw materials. They wanted direct control of the sources of

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these raw materials. The desire for markets and control of the sources of raw materials was a major factor in the making of imperialism.

After the 1870s, England, along with major powers such as France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany joined in the scramble for colonies as a market for surplus goods. America's turn came in 1898 when it defeated Spain and seized the Philippines. It is interesting to note that in every case, whether in India or China or Africa, the first step towards integration of explored territories was taken by imperial agents or missionaries or monopolistic trading companies. In less than twenty years the whole of Central Africa was partitioned and incorporated in the empires of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal and Italy.

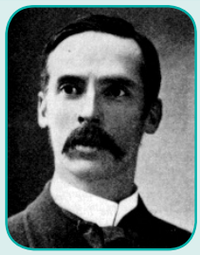
In 1876 barely 10 percent of Africa was under European rule. By 1900 practically the whole of Africa was colonised. Britain, France and Belgium had divided the continent between them, leaving a few areas to Germany and Italy. Britain, France, Russia and Germany also established "spheres of influence" in China. Japan took over Korea and Taiwan. France conquered Indo-China; the US the Philippines from Spain, while Britain and Russia agreed to partition Iran.

The attempts to carve out colonies in Africa, as happened elsewhere, involved them in bloody battles in which the indigenous people lost. New weapons such as breech-loading rifles and Gatling machine guns gave European armies the decisive edge in most of the battles.

Partition of Africa: In 1876 King Leopold II of Belgium took the lead in exploring and seizing through his International African Association, a great rubber producing region, what is now known as Belgian Congo. In 1881 a French expedition occupied Tunis, to the great displeasure of the Italians who had been longing to annex it. In 1891 they occupied the Ivory Coast, Dahomey in 1892 and Madagascar in 1895. Great Britain, apart from conquering Natal and the Transvaal in south Africa, annexed many parts of Africa. In 1883 Great Britain succeeded in securing control over Egypt. The Gold Coast colonies, Uganda, Zanzibar, part of East Africa, and Rhodesia became part of the British Empire. Between 1884 and 1890 Germany acquired Togoland, the Cameroons, German South-West Africa and German East Africa. The scramble for territory among the great European powers resulted in the completion of partition of "The Dark Continent of Africa" by the end of the century. Only countries such as Liberia, Morocco and Abyssinia remained un-annexed.

(b) Monopoly Capitalism leading to full-fledged Imperialism

Monopoly industry brought huge profits to its owners. The result was accumulation of surplus money. The captains of industry found out that by exporting capital abroad they could earn increased profits. They began to invest the surplus money in colonies where there was a pressing need for railways, electricity, roads, etc. Apart from direct investment, loans were also arranged from the "mother country". When England made loans to India for the constructions of railways, the rails, engines and other required accessories were purchased in England again at a profit to English manufacturers. Thus both investors and manufacturers found it in their interests to support colonialism. This alliance of industry and finance seeking profits in markets of goods and capital was the essential characteristic of imperialism.


John A. Hobson

English economist John A. Hobson defined Imperialism as follows: Imperialism is the endeavour of the great controllers of industry to broaden the channel for the flow of their surplus wealth by seeking foreign markets and foreign investments to take off the goods and capital they cannot sell or use at home.

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(c) Protectionism and Consequent Political Friction

Two major financial crashes, one in Vienna and the other in New York, led to a full blown economic depression in Europe and America in the mid-1870s. The depression severely affected production, prices and wages. Cheap grain flooded the markets of western European nations affecting the domestic producers who suffered due to fall in prices. People began to question the wisdom of free trade policies. Germany precipitated a crisis by its protectionist policy. Its Tariff Act of 1879 imposed tariffs on industrial and agricultural imports into Imperial Germany. Soon other nations followed suit. As Britain could fall back on its policy of colonial trade preferences, it revoked trade treaties in 1898 with France and Germany. Tariff actions and counter-actions by the various European powers escalated protectionism and political friction. The leaders who administered the empires realised that the outcome of such conflict would depend on the strength of their armed forces. So they vied with each other in building their arsenal, thereby creating the conditions for war.

13.3 World War I

(a) Pre-War Power Politics

Europe

By the turn of the century Germany had emerged as the most powerful industrial state in the Continent. By then the world was largely occupied by the other imperialist powers. Under Kaiser William II, Germany sought colonies. Its ambition was to gain control over north Africa. German capitalists and imperialists also desired eastward expansion and the government obliged them by constructing a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad to facilitate economic control of the Ottoman Empire.



Kaiser William II



Franco-Prussian War

The objective of France was to recover Alsace and Lorraine that it had lost after the Franco-Prussian War (1871). The French also had an ambition of adding mineral-rich Morocco to their African empire. Russia entertained the hope of gaining control of the Bosporus and the Dardenelles (under Turkey's control then), as they were expected to give access to the Mediterranean and to take possession of Istanbul. Russia's plan was to lay claim to the Balkans once Turkey was eliminated from Europe. Italian foreign policy was based on hopes at the expense of Austria and Turkey. Austria's hold on Trieste and other parts of Adriatic coast was precarious since much of this territory was inhabited by Italians. Turkey blocked Italy's acquisition of Tripoli and other territories in North Africa. As for Britain, despite the lead in industrial growth and control of a vast empire, it had to compete with Germany and the United States, which were producing cheaper manufactured goods and thus capturing England's markets.

Asia

In Asia, during the Meiji era (1867–1912), as Japan became a great industrial power and the Japanese people more educated, there developed an aggressive nationalism and a wish to become a world power. Japan joined in the scramble for China. Japan invaded Korea, then an independent kingdom and drove out the Chinese army. In the ensuing Sino-Japanese War, according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed at the end, Japan got Formosa, Port Arthur and Liaotung peninsula. The crushing defeat of China by Japan in (1894–95) surprised the world. Fearing this sudden increase in Japan's power, the European powers forced Japan to give

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up the Liaotung peninsula. Japan resented this "Triple Intervention" (intervention of France, England and Russia in 1895) and embarked on a big armaments programme.

Japan in "Charmed Circle of Great Powers"

Even more significant than the Sino–Japanese War was the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1904–05. Following the "Triple Intervention," Russia had occupied southern Manchuria. Japan entered into an alliance with England in 1902 and demanded that Russia withdraw its troops. Russia underestimated Japan. In 1904 a war broke out. In this Russo-Japanese War, Japan was victorious and by the treaty of Portsmouth signed at the mediation of the USA, Japan got back Port Arthur. With this war Japan had entered the "charmed circle of the great Powers".

Strong-arm Diplomacy of Japan after 1905

The assassination of a prominent Japanese diplomat by a Korean provided the excuse in 1910 for Japan's annexation of Korea. The confusion in China following the downfall of Manchu dynasty in 1912 provided Japan with an opportunity for further expansion. In 1915 Japan presented Twenty-One Demands to the President of the newly established Chinese Republic, Yuan Shih-kai. These demands included transfer of German rights in the Chinese coastal province of Shantung to Japan and the recognition of Japanese hold over Manchuria, and the appointment of Japanese advisers to the Chinese government. The Chinese had to concede most of the Japanese demands.

(b) Causes of the War

(i) The Evolution of the System of Alliances

The evolution of the system of alliances goes back to the 1870s. Its original architect was Bismarck. Bismarck feared that the French, on losing Alsace and Lorraine, might launch a war of revenge. Therefore he was determined to isolate France. His Three Emperors League (1873), an alliance involving Germany, Austria and Russia, however failed. But he succeeded in cementing a strong relationship with Austria, which, expecting troubles from the Slavs inside and outside its borders, wanted to have an understanding with Germany. In 1882 this alliance was expanded into the Triple Alliance with the inclusion of Italy.



Bismarck

As a counter-move to Germany, France started negotiations with Russia which ended in a secret military pact signed in 1894. Accordingly, it was decided that each should come to the aid of the other in case of an attack by Germany, or Austria or Italy supported by Germany. In the meantime, Britain abandoned its isolation and struck an alliance with Japan. Since France was Russia's ally, Japan preferred to ally with Britain (1902). The Anglo–Japanese Alliance prompted France to seek an alliance with Britain to resolve disputes over Morocco and Egypt. This resulted in the Entente Cordiale (1904). In return for letting the French have a free hand in Morocco, France agreed to recognize the British occupation of Egypt. Britain subsequently reached an agreement with Russia in 1907 for the division of Persia into spheres of influence. Thus was formed the Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia

Thus, by 1907, the great powers of Europe had come to be arrayed in two opposing camps: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France and Russia).

(ii) International Crises between 1905 and 1913

Morocco

Relying on their understanding with England (Entente Cordiale, 1904) the French decided to go ahead with their plan in Morocco. Early in 1905, a French mission arrived at Fez, a city in Morocco, treating it as a part of French

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protectorate. Germany protested. French agreed to refer the dispute to a European conference. Nothing came of this conference held at Algiers. Yet it was clear that Britain had ranged itself on the side of France against Germany.

Agadir, 1911

Within a year, the French were again active in Morocco. This time the Germans sent their gunboat *Panther* to Agadir, a sea port on the Moroccan coast claiming German interests there. The Germans took notice of British threats and decided not to precipitate the matter further. However, France had to make considerable concessions to Germany in West Africa to balance the French gains in Morocco.

Bosnian Crisis

A serious crisis occurred in 1908 when Austria–Hungary suddenly announced the annexation of Bosnia (peopled by Serbians) and Herzegovina, which until then had remained an Austrian protectorate. This was a strategic move on the part of Russia that gave freedom to move its warships, through the Dardanelles and the Bosporus, to the Mediterranean. The Turks were angry but could do nothing. Serbia was furious and appealed to Russia for help. But Russia had not fully recovered from the war with Japan and did not therefore intervene, as it would have to face an aggressive Germany in support of Austria-Hungary. So Russia and Serbia had to wait until a more favourable time.

The Balkan Wars

Turkey was a powerful country in the south-west of Europe in the first half of eighteenth century. Its empire extended over the Balkans and across Hungary to Poland. (Balkans is a region in south-eastern Europe between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.) Taking advantage of the political and economic instability of the Turkish Empire from the second half of the eighteenth century, Greece, followed by others, began to secede, one after another, from Turkish control.

Balkan War I

With encouragement from Russia, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Montenegro the Balkan League was formed in March 1912 to take over Macedonia. Macedonia had a mixed population.The war started in October 1912 and in less than two months the resistance of the Turks was broken. The Turks were driven from their European provinces. But the problem started while dividing the conquered territories. According to the Treaty of London signed in May 1913 the new state of Albania was created and Macedonia was divided.

Balkan War II

The victors quarrelled over the division of Macedonia. Bulgarians attacked their allies Serbia and Greece, but were easily defeated. The Turks took the opportunity to retake Adrianople, which they had lost. The second Balkan War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913.

Two things emerged out of the Balkan crisis. First, the Bulgarians felt injured and awaited an opportunity to take revenge on Serbia. Secondly, the passions of the Serbians were inflamed by victory. From this time on, anti-Austrian struggle in Serbia and in the neighbouring province of Bosnia became ever more militant.

Immediate Cause

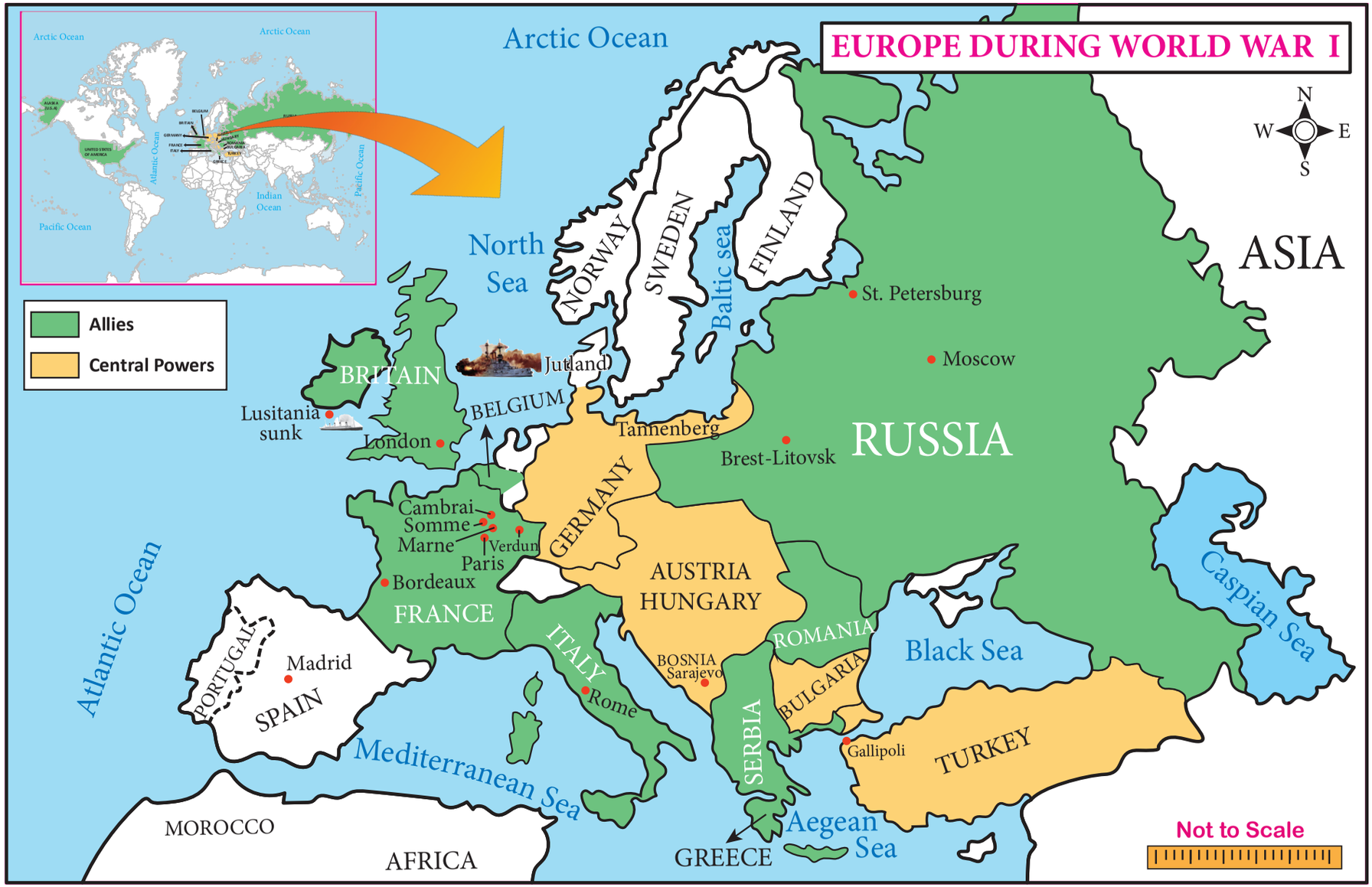


Franz Ferdinand

The climax to these events in the Balkans occurred in Sarajevo in Bosnia. On 28 June 1914 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, was assassinated by a Bosnian student Princip, a Serb. Austria asserted that the assassin had acted at the instigation of Serbia. After a month, an ultimatum was served to Belgrade, demanding unconditional surrender. The Serbian explanation and Germany's effort at mediation

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were turned down by Austria. Britain tried to localise the war. On 28 July Austria declared war on Serbia and bombarded Belgrade. Even as Russia was mobilising forces to intervene in support of Serbia, Germany struck first. It declared war on Russia and its ally France on 1 August.

Britain was against involving itself in the War. But on 3 August, an appeal came from the King of Belgium asking for British help. Belgium was not on the side of the Allies. Yet it was invaded by Germany. The German violation of Belgian neutrality was viewed seriously. It had been the age-long policy of Britain that the Belgian coast should not be in the hands of any adjacent Great Powers, which might use those shores as a basis for invasion. So in pursuance of this principle of national security Britain now decided to fight Germany. On 3 August an ultimatum was served on Germany demanding its immediate withdrawal from Belgian soil. On 4 August Britain and Germany were at war.

(c) Course of the War

War Spreads

Following Britain's plunge into the war other nations were quickly drawn into the conflict. Montenegro joined with the Serbia on 7 August in fighting Austria. Two weeks later the Japanese declared war on Germany, with the intention of conquering German possessions in the Far East. In October Turkey began the bombardment of Russian ports in the Black Sea. Italy maintained neutrality until May 1915, but was dragged into the war on the side of Triple Entente powers, with the promise of Austrian and Turkish territories.

Central Powers and Allies

The warring nations were grouped into two, namely the Central Powers and the Axis. The Central Powers consisted of Germany, Austria–Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. The nine states that opposed the Central powers were: Russia, France, Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, Serbia, Romania and Greece. Most Americans wanted their country to remain neutral and therefore in the first three years the United States gave only moral support and (valuable) material aid to Britain and France.

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Battle of the Frontiers Western Front, 1914

Belgians could do little in the face of German invasion except to make a formal protest against the violation of their neutrality. So the burden of breaking the advancing German army fell on the French. The French could not stop the overwhelming force of invasion. The first German advance was within twenty miles of Paris. The panicked French government had to move to Bordeaux.

Eastern Front, 1914

On the Eastern Front, the Russian forces penetrated far into East Prussia, In the battle of Tannenberg Russia suffered heavy losses on account of the decisive role played by Von Hindenburg. The German general Hindenburg later began the invasion of Russian Poland. But trapped in a two-front war, Germany never had sufficient resources to consolidate its victories in the east.

Though the wars fought in the Eastern Front turned out to be a disaster for Allies, this caused distraction and helped to relieve the pressure on France. In the Battle of the Marne (6–13 September 1914), the French succeeded in stopping the German advance. By 13 September the Germans had been thrust back about fifty miles. Paris was thus saved.

Conquest of German Colonies

One important result of the British command of the seas was that the Germans were unable to send aid to their colonies. So, all of them, except German East Africa, were captured during the first few months of the war.

Western Front, 1915

After the first German effort to annihilate France had failed, the opposing armies on the Western Front settled down to trench warfare, digging in along a 650 km front from the English Channel to Switzerland. Behind a barbed wire, machine-guns and artillery on each side confronted the other for almost four years in a war of attrition.

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Trench Warfare: The bullets and shells flying through the air in the battle conditions of First World War compelled soldiers to burrow into the soil to obtain shelter and survive. Trenches or ditches dug by troops enabled them to protect themselves from the effects of shell-fire. The Germans supplied their infantry with deep, well-constructed dug-outs, lit by electric light, and furnished with beds. The typical trench system in World War consisted of two to four trench lines running parallel to each other. Each trench was dug in a zigzag manner so that no enemy, standing at one end, could fire for more than a few yards down its length. The main lines of trenches were connected to each other and to the rear by a series of linking trenches through which food, ammunition, fresh troops, mail, and orders were delivered.

Battles of Somme and Verdun, 1916

Germans thought a protracted battle on a large scale would wear down the French morale. So they attacked Verdun, the famous fortress in the French line, between February and July 1916. The losses on both sides were terrible. The main burden of taking a principal part in the campaign in France, however, fell on Great Britain. The British offensive against Germans occurred near the River Somme. The battle of Verdun, in which two million people took part, along with Battle of Somme, however, decided the fortunes of the War in favour of the Allies.

Jutland, 1916

At sea, the main battle was fought in May 1916 off the Jutland peninsula, Denmark. The battle was inconclusive. The Battle of Jutland is remembered as the largest naval battle of the First World War. Naval battles ended when (1916) the German government authorised unrestricted submarine warfare to combat the Allied naval blockade.

Q Ships and U Boats: During the First World War Germany's most fearsome weapon was the submarine or U-Boat. The Germans adopted a strategy to starve Britain by sinking every ship it could. 880,000 tons of shipping went to the bottom of the seas in one month alone. The Q-ships were Britain's answer to the Germany. The British sent more than 200 steamers, trawlers, and cargo vessels in a disguised form of a cargo ship and pressed into action against the U-boat menace. The idea was to lure the U-boats into attacking these decoy ships which would unleash its hidden armed force and weaponry.

War in Eastern front, 1917

The breakthrough in the east for the Central Powers came with the overthrow of Russia's Tsarist regime in the February 1917 revolution, allowing Germany to concentrate its efforts in the west. Soviet Russia wanted peace and consequently it signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) with Germany.

The Gallipoli Campaign of 1915–16: Also known as the Dardanelles Campaign, it was an unsuccessful attempt by the Allied Powers to control the sea route from Europe to Russia. Lack of sufficient intelligence and knowledge of the terrain, along with fierce Turkish resistance, hampered the success of the invasion. By mid-October, Allied forces had suffered heavy casualties and had made little headway from their initial landing sites.

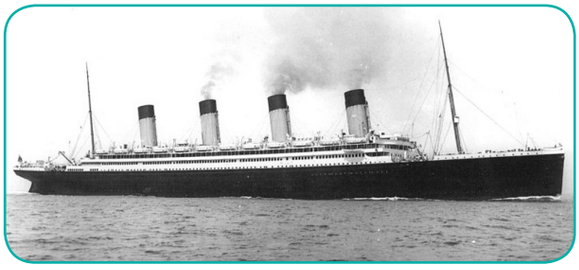
The Battle of Cambrai: (November–December 1917) This battle in Cambrai, France, was significant for the first use of tanks by the British on a large scale. Germans were taken completely by surprise when 340 tanks appeared suddenly.

America's Entry into the War

The intensified submarine campaign brought America into the war. The British liner, *Lusitania*,

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was sunk in May 1915 by a German submarine with the loss of 128 American lives. President Woodrow Wilson who managed to maintain American neutrality for nearly two years finally yielded to the pressure from the people of America and declared war against Germany in April 1917. America's entry with its enormous resources made Allied victory a foregone conclusion.



Lusitania

Allies Deserting Germany

On 3 November 1918 Emperor Charles, who succeeded Francis Joseph, signed an armistice which took Austria out of power. But in the last few weeks of the war, Germany was deserted by all its allies. The first to surrender was Bulgaria. The Turks opted for an armistice. Germany was now left with the impossible task of carrying on the struggle alone. The morale of German troops was low. The blockade of the Allies was causing enormous distress to the people of Germany. Kaiser abdicated the throne and fled to Holland. In the meantime a provisional government headed by Friedrich Ebert, leader of the socialists in the Reichstag, took steps to conclude negotiations for an armistice. On 11 November Germany signed the surrender.

(d)Peace Conference in Paris



Paris Peace Conference

The Peace Conference opened in Paris in January 1919. Woodrow Wilson (USA), Lloyd George (Prime Minister of England), and Georges Clemenceau (Prime Minister of France) played an important part in the deliberations. The peace was based on the Woodrow Wilson's 14-point programme.

President Wilson's peace proposals included: 1. Open covenants openly arrived at. 2. Freedom of the seas. 3. Removal of economic barriers between nations. 4. Reduction of armaments. 5. Impartial settlement of colonial claims, with consideration for the interests of the peoples involved, 6. Russia should be allowed to operate whatever government it wanted and that government should be accepted, supported and welcomed. 7. Restoration of the independence of Belgium. 8. Restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France. 9. readjustment of Italian frontiers on lines of nationality. 10. National Self-Determination. 11. Restoration of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, with outlet to sea for Serbia. 12. Autonomous development for the peoples of Turkey, with the Straits from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean "permanently opened." 13. An independent Poland, inhabited by indisputably Polish populations and with access to the sea. 14. A League of Nations.

Faced with a threat of a renewed war, the German government was forced to agree to the terms. On 28 June 1919 the peace treaty was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Separate treaties were drawn up and signed by the Allies with Austria (Treaty of St. Germain), Hungary (Trianon), Bulgaria (Neuilly) and Turkey (Sevres). The Treaty with Turkey (Treaty of Sevres), though accepted by the Sultan, failed because of the resistance of Kemal Pasha and his followers.

(e) Provisions of the Versailles Treaty

The provisions of the Treaty of Versailles can be summarised as follows: Germany

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was required to surrender Alsace–Lorraine to France.The coal mines in the Saar Valley were to be ceded to France. The Saar was to be administered by the League of Nations until 1935, when a plebiscite would be held to determine whether it should remain under the League, be returned to Germany, or be awarded to France. Poland was pieced together by the joining of Polish provinces of Russia, Austria and Germany, with a corridor to the Baltic containing the German port of Danzig which was to be under the political control of League of Nations. Germany was forced to give up all the rights and titles over its overseas possessions to the allies. All German colonies became mandated territories under the League of Nations.

To prevent any new attack upon France or Belgium, Germany was forbidden to keep soldiers or maintain fortifications in the Rhine valley. The Rhineland was to be occupied by the Allies. The area on the east bank of the Rhine was to be demilitarised. In Eastern Europe the provinces of Russia ceded to Germany according to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk were made into the independent republics of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. After being non-existent for a century, Poland was pieced together by the joining of Polish provinces.

Germany was disarmed and was forced to give up practically all of its submarines and battleships. Germany was forbidden to have any airplanes, either military or naval and its army was to be limited to 100,000 officers and men. The union of Austria and Germany was forbidden and Germany was to acknowledge and respect the Independence of Austria.

Germany and its allies were held responsible for the loss and damage suffered during the war. The exact amount of war reparations was decided in 1921 as 33 billion dollars.

William II, the German emperor was charged with the supreme offence against the International morality and the sanctity of treaties. He was to be tried by a Tribunal. However, this provision could not be enforced as the Government of Netherlands refused to hand over the German Emperor to the Allies.

13.4 Russian Revolution and its Impact

Introduction

The most significant outcome of the First World War was the Russian revolution. The Tsarist government in Russia was faced with unbearable strains in the First World War. People went hungry. Cities and towns were filled with workers who could not be adequately fed and housed. In March 1917, there erupted the first revolution (February Revolution) with strikes and demonstrations in Petrograd. The first revolution did not solve any of Russia's problems. Though the Russian monarchy was overthrown, the interim government carried on the war. Therefore there was a second great uprising in November (October revolution) in which the Bolsheviks under the guidance of Lenin, seized power and established a communist government in Russia.



February Revolution

(a) Causes of the Revolution

Autocratic Rule of Tsars

In the nineteenth century, Russia was a backward country ruled by a series of autocratic Tsars. They kept Russia economically and socially backward. Serfs were persecuted and lived miserable lives. Anti-Semitism was rife with the persecution and massacre of Jews. There was no space for democratic dissent. Intellectuals, university professors, students,

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Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924): Lenin was born near the Middle Volga. In 1887 his eldest brother was hanged for taking part in an attempt on the Tsar's life. Influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx, Lenin believed that the way for freedom was through mass action. He spent his time taking classes for study groups of factory workers in St Petersburg on Marxism. Arrested in 1895 he was kept in Siberia. After his release in 1900, he moved from one boarding house to another in the big cities of Europe. In 1903 a congress of forty-three delegates of the Social Democratic Party, the chief party of the left, moved to London. Here the congress split on the issue of organisation and strategy. Lenin gained the support of a small majority (*bolshinstvo*), known as Bolsheviks, which became the Bolshevik Party. His opponents, in a minority (*menshinstvo*), were called Mensheviks.



Lenin

scientists and writers suffered imprisonment and exile for expressing opinions. The Tsars were universally hated and everyone looked forward to their downfall.

Conditions of Peasantry

Russia was basically a peasant society. Nearly one-half of the population were serfs tied to the land. Russian peasants were forced to labour on their lords' lands for a few days every week without any payment, and were not allowed to marry without the consent of the lords. Serfs were punished severely even for minor faults.During the reign of Nicholas I, there were more than five hundred serf riots in various parts of Russia, but they were all crushed ruthlessly. Alexander II issued an edict of emancipation in 1861 and freed the serfs. But they were not provided with land to eke out their livelihood. So the peasants became the combustible material for the revolution.

Industrial backwardness and abominable living condition of working class

Russia began to industrialise late. Russia lagged behind all great European powers. Russian workers laboured under oppressive conditions. Trade unions and strikes were completely banned. The Russian working class was looking for an opportunity to protest.

Role of Nihilists

The young, radical and non-gentry intellectuals who waged a merciless war against the Russian state were called Nihilists by their enemies. The first unsuccessful attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander II and innumerable trials that followed dubbing the suspected intellectuals as nihilists and sending them, both men and women, to Siberia did not stop their revolutionary activities in Russia. Revolutionary forces swelled, as many minority groups such as the Jews and Poles joined them.

Nihilism represented a revolt against the established social order. It rejected all authority exercised by the state, by the church and by the family. It based its belief on nothing but scientific truth.

Marxism and Its Influence

Marx and Engels held the firm view that the existence of the *bourgeoisie* was as necessary a condition for the Socialist revolution as the proletariat. They never envisaged the possibility of a successful Socialist revolution in backward Russia. However, Marxist ideas, apart from other radical ideas such as anarchism and various forms of socialism, gained ground in a situation were living conditions were oppressive. But Marxist groups were in the lead, and in Lenin they found a charismatic leader with great organisational skills.

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Autocracy of the Tsar Nicholas II



Tsar Nicholas II

Tsar Nicholas II of the Romanov dynasty had little experience of government. His wife Alexandra was a dominant personality and Nicholas was under her strong influence. Determined that Russia should not be left out in the scramble for colonial possessions, Nicholas encouraged Russian expansion in Manchuria, provoking a war with Japan in 1904. The resulting Russian defeat led to strikes and riots. Opposition to the Tsar grew.

On 23 January 1905 Father Gapon, organised a march of men, women and children. The processions were peaceful and unarmed, with demands for a representative national assembly, and agrarian and industrial reforms. But police and soldiers fired on the procession. Hundreds were killed and many thousands wounded. The events of this day (known as Bloody Sunday) led to riots, strikes and violence in which the governor-general of Moscow, was killed by a bomb.

Nicholas was forced to grant a constitution and establish a parliament, the Duma. This was no longer satisfactory to the left-wing parties that formed a soviet (council) of workers' delegates in St Petersburg. Similar soviets were set up in other cities. The Duma gave the middle classes, a voice in government. So the moderates were supportive of the government's policy, while the left wing continued their opposition. But whenever the Duma opposed any initiative of the Tsar, it was dissolved and fresh elections were held. Without change of government policy, the fourth Duma ended with the revolution of 1917.

Opposition to the Tsar and Dissolution of Duma

The outbreak of the First World War had temporarily strengthened the monarchy, as Russia was allied to France and Britain. As there was a rumour of a palace revolution, Nicholas made himself the Commander-in-Chief of his army and was making a mess of everything. Towards the end of 1916, Rasputin, a domineering influence over the Tsar and the Tsarina, was murdered creating a crisis in the palace. Members of the St. Petersburg Soviet were arrested.

Popular Uprisings

As late as on 23 February 1917, when the socialists celebrated International Working Women's Day, the Tsar seemed unchallengeable. But he had to abdicate on the morning of 2 March. Though none called for strikes, the bread shortages among women textile workers, with their husbands in the army, forced them to go on strike anyway and march through the factory areas of Petrograd. Masses of women workers in a militant frame of mind demanding "Bread for workers" waved their arms towards factory workers and shouted "Come out!" "Stop work!" The city's 400,000 workers joined the movement the next day (24 February).

Abdication of Tsar

The government used the military to break the strike. But on the fourth day of strikes and demonstrations mutinies broke out even in the barracks. The Tsar declared martial law. But his order was not broadcast in the city, as there was no one to do this job. The Tsar then tried to return to Petrograd. The railway workers stopped his train on the way. Frightened by these developments, the generals at the front and some leaders in Petrograd, pleaded with the Tsar to abdicate. On 15 March, a week after the popular uprisings, Nicholas II abdicated.

Provisional Government

There were two parallel bodies to take on government functions. One consisted of bourgeois politicians of the old state Duma, representing the propertied classes. On the other were the workers' delegates drawn together in a workers' council, or Soviet. The soviets were influenced by the underground left-wingers. Those in the Duma were able to form a provincial government with the consent

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of the soviets. The soviets were dominated by Mensheviks and the minority Bolsheviks were undecided. The situation changed with the arrival of Lenin.

Failure of the Provisional Government

Lenin was in Switzerland when the revolution broke out. Lenin wanted continued revolution. His slogan of 'All power to the Soviets' soon won over the workers' leaders. Devastated by war time shortages, the people were attracted by the slogan of 'Bread, Peace and Land.'

The Provisional government made two grave mistakes. It postponed a decision on the demand for the redistribution of land apart from deciding to continue with the war. Frustrated peasant soldiers deserted their posts and joined those who had resorted to land grabbing. This intensified the rising in Petrograd led by the Bolsheviks. The government banned the newspaper *Pravda* and arrested all Bolsheviks except Lenin who was in hiding in Finland. Leon Trotsky was also arrested. Kerensky became prime minister, leading a new coalition of liberals and moderate Socialists. Faced with an attempted coup Kerensky tried to dismiss both the government and the Soviet. His attempts were frustrated by the Soviet and particularly by the Bolsheviks who had by then attained popularity.

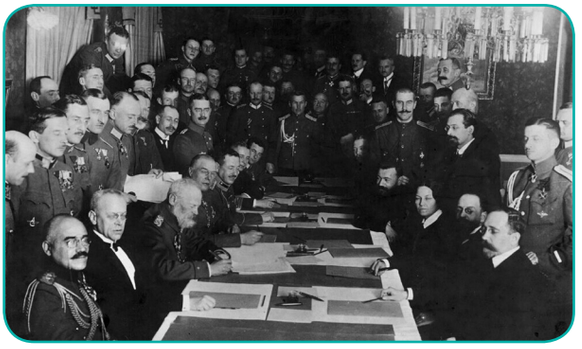
Pravda is a Russian word meaning "Truth". It was the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1918 to 1991.

Takeover by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership

In October Lenin persuaded the Bolshevik Central Committee to decide on an immediate revolution. Trotsky prepared a detailed plan. On 7 November key government buildings, including the Winter Palace and the Prime Minister's headquarters, were seized by armed factory workers and revolutionary troops. On 8 November 1917 a new Communist government was in office. Its head was Lenin. The Bolshevik Party was renamed the Russian Communist Party.

Outcome of the Revolution

Lenin thought the most important factor for the fall of the Provisional government was its failure to withdraw from the War. So Lenin immediately appealed for peace. Unmindful of the harsh terms dictated by the Central Powers, Lenin opted for withdrawing from the War to concentrate on the formation of a new government. In March 1918 the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk was signed.



Treaty of Brest–Litovsk

Influence of the Russian Revolution

The revolution fired people's imagination across the world. In many countries, communist parties were formed. Soviet Union encouraged the colonies to fight for their freedom and gave all out support to them. Debates over key issues, land reforms, social welfare, workers' rights, gender equality started taking place in a global context.

The rapid progress made by the Soviet Union in the decades after the revolution inspired backward countries across the world, and provided an alternative to capitalism. Illiteracy and poverty were eliminated in record time. Industry and agriculture developed remarkably, and the Great Depression which affected the entire world made no impact on the USSR. Women were given equal rights. Industries and banks were nationalised. Land was declared as social property and distributed among poor peasants.

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13.5 League of Nations

League of Nations was the brainchild of American president Woodrow Wilson. It was Wilson's desire that a League in which the states of the world would join and cooperate for the preservation of peace be established. The Covenant of the League was worked out at the Paris Peace Conference, and included every treaty signed after the First World War. He believed that the defeat of Germany would mean the rejection of militarism and therefore the organisation of a comity of nations to control international relations was necessary rather than the ineffective balance of power. Wilson took personal interest to see that this task was accomplished.



League of Nations

Structure and Composition

In drawing up the constitution of this organisation, the ideas of Britain and America prevailed. The League consisted of five bodies: the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat, the Permanent Court of Justice, and the International Labour Organisation. Each member-country was represented in the Assembly. It discussed general policy and any decision taken in the Assembly had to be unanimous. The Council was the executive of the League. Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States were originally declared permanent members of the Council. Each member had one vote and since all decisions had to be unanimous, even the small nations, in effect, possessed the right of veto.

Secretariat

The Secretariat of the League of Nations was located at Geneva and the first Secretary General was Sir Eric Drummond from Britain. The International Court of Justice was set up in The Hague. The International Labour Organisation comprised a secretariat and a general conference which included four representatives from each country.

Objectives of the League

The two-fold objective of the League of Nations was to avoid war and maintain peace in the world and to promote international cooperation in economic and social affairs. The League intended to act as conciliator and arbitrator, and thereby resolve a dispute in its early stages. If wars should break out despite arbitration, the members were to apply sanctions to the aggressor - first economic and then military. The difficulty in achieving the objectives was increased from the beginning by the absence of three Great Powers namely USA (did not become a member), Germany (a defeated nation) and Russia. The latter two joined in 1926 and 1934. While Germany resigned in 1933, Russia was expelled in 1939.

Activities of the League

Between 1920 and 1925, the League was called in to settle a number of disputes and was successful in three issues. In 1920 a dispute arose between Sweden and Finland over the sovereignty of the Aaland Islands. The League ruled that the islands should go to Finland. In the following year the League was asked to settle the frontier between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia, which was successfully resolved. The third dispute was between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Greece invaded Bulgaria, and the League ordered a ceasefire. After investigation it decided that Greece was to pay reparations.

The League justified its existence through reduction of international opium traffic and in the control of spread of disease by aiding poor and backward countries. Its agencies collected huge data on labour and business conditions throughout the world. It conducted plebiscites in disputed areas and helped in finding homes for refugees. It made a beginning in codifying international law.

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Incidents of Violations

One of the major problems confronting the European powers was how to achieve disarmament. In 1925 the Council of the League set up a commission to hold a Disarmament Conference. But the proposed conference materialised only in 1932. In this Conference, Germany's demand of equality of arms with France was rejected. Hitler withdrew Germany from the Conference and the League.

The League could do nothing about the seizure of Vilna by Poland in 1920. In 1923, when war threatened to break out between Italy and Greece, Italians refused to submit to the mediation of the League. Japan attacked Manchuria in September 1931 and the League condemned Japan. Japan followed the example of Germany and resigned. In the context of Italy's attack on Ethiopia, the League applied sanctions. As the sanctions came into effect, Italy in protest resigned from the League in 1937.

Thereafter the League was a passive witness to events, taking no part in the crises over the Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The last decisive action it took was in December 1939 when Russia was expelled for attacking Finland. The Assembly did not meet again and the League of Nations was finally dissolved in 1946.

Causes of Failure

The League appeared to be an organisation of the victors in the First World War. Though it had a world-wide membership, it was very much the centre of European diplomacy.

Unanimity of members was required for all its decisions on political issues. Since it lacked military power of its own, it could not enforce its decisions.

The founders of this peace organisation underestimated the potential of nationalism. The principle of "collective security' could not be applied in actual practice.

The League of Nations was shown to have no teeth. It depended wholly on the good will and positive approach of all nations. When Italy, Japan and Germany, headed by dictators, refused to be bound by the orders of the League, Britain and France were the only major powers who had the power to act. But they were not enthusiastic supporters of the League, as it was the brainchild of Wilson.

13.6 The Great Depression

The economic depression that began in the aftermath of the US stock market crash was international in character and devastated the world economy. During the First World War, while the states of Europe were fighting on the battlefield, Americans were capturing their markets and extending their fields of investment and thereby expanding their own industry and agriculture. By the end of the war America had emerged as the richest nation in the word.

The war placed a heavy burden of debt on every European country. America had lent enormously to war-ravaged European countries. The capital outflow from America had found its outlet in new investments. But these investments would yield desired results only after a period. In the meantime, because of the slump, the US was forced to withdraw its capital exported. The withdrawal of American capital caused decline in the volume and value of exports all over. The effects of this development were accentuated by the US market crash.

Stock Market Crash in the US



Stock Market Crash

The first huge stock market crash occurred on 24 October 1929. This resulted in more and more people selling their shares and disposing of their stocks. But there were no buyers. This was followed by the failure of American banks. American financiers were forced to recall their own funds invested abroad. The stoppage of loans to Germany by America led to the failure

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of two large German banks. Having lent liberally to banks abroad, the Bank of England too found itself in bankruptcy.

Results of the Depression

Despite emergency measures such as cutbacks in expenditure and increased taxation, the situation did not improve in England. In order to counteract this and to protect domestic markets, each nation adopted a policy of protectionism and devaluation of currency. Devaluation forced creditors to stop lending. This led to a world-wide credit contraction. Thus the defensive measures adopted by various nations led to an unprecedented decline in world economic activity. As its effect was deep and prolonged economists and historians call it the Great Depression.

Reflection in Politics

The Depression changed the political conditions in several countries. In England, the Labour Party was defeated in the general elections of 1931. In the USA, the Republican Party, which had taken credit for the boom preceding the Depression, was rejected by the people in successive elections for about twenty years after the Depression. As we will see below, the Fascist Parties seized government in Italy and Germany. In South America, Argentina, Brazil and Chile saw a change of government.

13.7 Rise of Fascism and Nazism

In the aftermath of the First World War, the issue in most parts of continental Europe was whether the government and the economic system should continue under the control of feudal aristocracies, industrialists and financiers, or a combination of all of them. But none of these elite classes had won over the masses, especially the peasantry and the labour. The masses in the emerging situation saw an opportunity to overthrow their oppressors. In Russia the bourgeoisie overturned the autocracy in 1917 and were themselves overturned by the Bolsheviks. In Britain the Labour Party handled the situation by opting for a welfare state. The vanquished nations like Italy and Germany switched to fascism though movements which initially had many of the characteristics of mass organisations.

(a) Fascism in Italy

The first of the nations of Western Europe to turn against the old ruling regime was Italy. During World War I Italy mobilised more than five and a half million men, of whom nearly 700,000 were killed. The financial cost of the participation in the War was huge. The country had suffered heavy losses in a war that was unpopular with both socialists and pro-Austrian Catholics. The nationalists were equally unhappy with the marginal gain in territory from the Treaty of Versailles. The War resulted in inflation with consequent rise in prices, speculation and profiteering. There were frequent protests and strikes. People held the rulers of Italy responsible for the humiliation at Versailles.

Rise of Socialist Organisations

As hardship increased, socialist ideas began to spread. In 1918 Italian socialists voted to join the Communist International. In the election of November 1919 they won about a third of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Radicalism spread even in rural areas. Red Leagues were organised to break up large estates and to force landlords to reduce their rents. To the landowning class fascism was a less dangerous form of radicalism that could save their property from confiscation.

The Rise of Mussolini



Mussolini

Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), was a son of a blacksmith. He qualified as an elementary school master and left for further study in Switzerland but ended up as a journalist with socialist views. He became the editor of *Avanti*, the leading socialist daily. When the Fascist Party was founded in 1919 Mussolini joined

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it immediately. As Fascists stood for authority, strength and discipline, support came from industrialists, nationalists, ex-soldiers, the middle classes and discontented youth. Fascists resorted to violence freely and their opponents were attacked with knives, cudgels and guns.

The Fascist dictatorship arose out of the breakdown of the parliamentary government which had proved unable to cope with the disorders following the end of the War. The inability of the Democratic Party leaders to combine and act decisively facilitated Mussolini's triumph. What threatened to become a civil war between the communists and their opponents was ended by the march of the black-shirted Fascists on Rome (October 1922). Impressed by the show of force, the King Immanuel III invited Mussolini to form a government.

Fascism: The word Fascism derives its origin from the Latin *fasces*, the ax surrounded by a bundle of rods representing the authority of the Roman state.

'Fascism is a form of radical authoritarian ultra-nationalism, characterised by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition and strong regimentation of society and of the economy, which came to prominence in early 20th-century Europe'.

Fascists under Mussolini

In the 1924 elections, after intimidation of the electors, the Fascists won 65 per cent of the votes. Matteotti, a socialist leader, who questioned the fairness of the elections was murdered. The opposition parties boycotted the Parliament in protest. Mussolini reacted by banning opposition parties and censoring the press. Opposition leaders were killed or imprisoned.

Assuming the title of Il Duce (the leader), in 1926 Mussolini became a dictator with power to legislate. He passed a law forbidding strikes and lockouts. Unions and employers were organised into corporations which would settle wages and working conditions. The greater part of the rest of the population was grouped into corporations, according to occupation. These were then organised into national federations and supervised by the Minister of Corporations.

In 1938 Parliament was abolished and was replaced by a body representing the Fascist Party and the corporations. This new arrangement bolstered Mussolini's dictatorial control of the economy, as well as enabling him to wield untrammelled power as head of the administration and the armed forces. Thus Mussolini destroyed parliamentary government, trade unions and all democratic institutions.

Mussolini's Pact with Pope

In order to give respectability to the Fascist Party, Mussolini won over the Roman Catholic Church by recognising the Vatican City as an independent state. In return the Church recognised the Kingdom of Italy. The Roman Catholic faith was made the religion of Italy and compulsory religious teaching in school was ordered. The Lateran Treaty incorporating the above provisions was signed in 1929.



The Lateran Treaty

Great Depression Years

In 1929 the United States plunged into a great financial and commercial slump. The effect on the rest of the world was grave. By 1931 European trade and finance was totally paralysed. Though the Fascist government in Italy could boast of achievements during this period in the much publicised public works – new bridges, roads and canals, hospitals and schools – it could not solve the unemployment problem. By 1935, when the collapse of the League of Nations had become complete, Mussolini in order to have an economic empire for Italy invaded Ethiopia. This was useful to divert attention away from the economic troubles. Mussolini's success drew admiration from ruling classes elsewhere in Europe. Among them was a rising figure among nationalist, anti-Semitic circles in Munich: Adolf Hitler.

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(b) Germany in the post-War

The factors which led to the eventual triumph of Fascism in Germany were many. First was the sense of humiliation arising from the defeat in War. Between 1871 and 1914 Germany had risen to dizzy heights of economic, political and cultural accomplishments. Germany's universities, its science, philosophy and music were known all over the world. Germany had surpassed even Britain and the US in several fields of industrial production. Then came the crushing defeat in the First World War. The German people were demoralised. The reparations and other clauses in the Treaty of Versailles caused acute discontent and hardship. This was utilised by reactionary forces to spread the idea that Socialists and Jews in the government had let down the nation, and had even caused the Germany's defeat.

Germany had always been a military state. The army was the symbol not merely of security but of national greatness. Therefore Germany's defeat and humiliation at the end of World War I caused a deep shock to Germans. The Great Depression further deepened their frustration and prompted them to turn against the Republican government.

Germany in the 1920s

Germany after the First World War formed democratic governments through coalition of political parties. Socialist Ebert led the government from 1919-1925 and later. Stresemann as one associated with liberal democrats conducted the governance of the country until 1929. This period, until the rise of the Nazis in 1933, is called the Weimar Republic.



Hitler

The ordinary German citizen in these years was concerned himself only with the problems of everyday life in an impoverished country under the burden of reparations. The occupation of the Ruhr by the French in 1923 infuriated the workers to organise strikes in protest. It provided an opportunity to certain underground movements to thrive. There was already one in Berlin under Ludendorff, who had organised the former soldiers against the Republican government. There was another in Munich, a former corporal. He was Adolf Hitler, the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Evolution of German Fascism

During World War I, Hitler served in the Bavarian army. Hitler had developed an innate hatred against Jews and Marxists. A gifted speaker, he could whip up the passion of the audience. In 1923 Hitler abortively attempted to capture power in Bavaria. His premature launch of the National Revolution on the outskirts of Munich landed him in prison. During his time in prison he worked on *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), an autobiographical book containing his political ideas.

In 1929 two things occurred which exposed the weakness of the German government. Stresemann died and there was a political vacuum. The failure of the New York Stock Market triggering economic depression prompted the US to foreclose its German loans. By 1931 the world economic depression had gripped an already feeble Germany. In the Presidential election of 1932 the Communist Party polled about 60,00,000 votes. Alarmed capitalists and property owners tilted towards supporting fascism. Hitler exploited this opportunity to usurp powers.

The Third Reich

Republican government in Germany fell, as the Communists refused to collaborate with the Social Democrats. Thereupon industrialists, bankers and Junkers prevailed upon President Von Hindenburg to designate Hitler as Chancellor in 1933 in the hope that they could control him. The Nazi state of Hitler, known as the Third Reich, brought an end to the parliamentary democracy established in Germany after the First World War.

Hitler replaced the flag of the Weimar republic by the swastika banners of National Socialism. Germany was converted into a highly centralised state. All political parties except the

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Nazi party were declared illegal. The army of brown-shirted and jack-booted storm-troopers was expanded. The Hitler Youth was created, and the Labour Front set up. Trade unions were abolished, their leaders were arrested and all workers were compelled to join the German Labour Front. Strikes were made illegal, wages were fixed by the government, and the Labour Front was used by the Nazis to control industry. Total state control was extended over the press, the theatre, the cinema, radio and over education.

The Nazi Party's propaganda was led by Joseph Goebbels, who manipulated public opinion through planned propaganda. He once said, 'any lie frequently repeated will ultimately gain belief.' The Gestapo or Secret State Police was formed and run by Himmler, who controlled the select bodyguard of Hitler.

Nazi Policy towards Jews

Along with the repressive measures, Hitler's government followed a policy of repressing Jewish people. The Jews were removed from government positions, excluded from the universities and deprived of citizenship. Jewish businesses were closed down, and their establishments were attacked. After the outbreak of World War II concentration camps, barracks surrounded by electrified fences and watch towers, were built where Jews were interred and used as forced labour with less than subsistence nourishment. Later they were turned into extermination camps where industrial means of murder such as gas chambers were used to kill Jews. It is estimated that about 6 million Jews in Europe were killed in what the Nazis termed 'The Final Solution'. Apart from Jews, the Nazi state also exterminated gypsies, and other itinerant communities, homosexuals and lunatics. Apart from these, several hundreds of thousands of Germans who dissented with Hitler too were killed.

Defiance of the Treaty of Versailles

In August 1934 Hindenburg died and Hitler, apart from being Chancellor, became both President and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. By 1938 the Nazi Party had tightened its control over the army. Hitler's foreign policy aimed at restoring the armed strength of Germany and annulling provisions of Versailles Treaty which undermined Germany. His deliberate attempts to breach the Treaty of Versailles (discussed in the next lesson) led to the outbreak of Second World War.

Summary

- Transition from Mercantilism to Industrial capitalism and then to financial capitalism culminating in Imperialism is explained.
- Markets for selling surplus manufactured goods and for obtaining raw materials leading to search for colonies and the resultant conflict amongst great powers in Europe are discussed.
- Rise of Japan as an imperial power in Asia and its expansionist policy are highlighted.
- Europe organising into two warring camps resulting in the formation of alliances and counter-alliances are detailed.
- Important factors responsible for the outbreak of World War I, aggressive attitude of Germany, France's hostility towards Germany for the loss of its territories, Alsace and Lorraine, Japan's expansionist policy, power politics in Balkans are explained.
- Conduct of War in frontiers and important battles in other theatres of war are described.
- Causes, course and results of Russian Revolution are analysed.
- America's entry into the War in the context of launching of submarines by Germany and the decisive outcome of the War in favour of the Allies are outlined.
- Paris Peace Conference and the results of the War are elaborated.
- The League of Nations and its role in promoting peace are critically examined.
- Rise of Fascist governments and their fallout are described.

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EXERCISE

I. Choose the correct answer

1. What was the battle in which the French succeeded in pushing back the advancing army of Germans?
   (a) Battle of Marne
   (b) Battle of Tannenberg
   (c) Battle of Verdun
   (d) Battle of Somme
2. Laissez Faire is a word coined by _____.
   (a) John A. Hobson (b) Karl Marx
   (c) Fischer (d) Gournay
3. '*An inquiry into the Nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*' was authored by _____
   (a) Adam smith (b) Thomas Paine
   (c) Quesnay (d) Karl Marx
4. England decided on free trade policy in _____
   (a) 1833 (b) 1836 (c) 1843 (d) 1858
5. **Assertion (A)**: In the second half of the nineteenth century many nations were faced with the problem of surplus manufactures.
   Reason (R): Surplus manufactures forced nations to find new markets.
   (a) A and R are correct. R explains A
   (b) A and R are correct. R does not explain A
   (c) A is true but R is wrong
   (d) A is wrong and R is true
6. Tariff Act, 1879 was enacted by _____
   (a) Germany (b) France
   (c) Britain (d) USA
7. Shimonoseki Treaty was signed after the _____
   (a) Russio-Japanese war
   (b) Second Opium War
   (c) Second Anglo-Chinese War
   (d) Sino-Japanese war
8. The treaty of Portsmouth was signed at the mediation of _____
   (a) Spain (b) Britain (c) USA (d) France
9. Which country presented 21 demands to the President of the newly established Chinese Republic?
   (a) France (b) Russia (c) Japan (d) Britain
10. The new state of Albania was created based on the _____
    (a) Treaty of Bucharest, 1913
    (b) Treaty of Versailles, 1919
    (c) Treaty of London, 1913
    (d) Treaty of St. Germaine
11. Which one of the following was not part of the Central Powers?
    (a) Bulgaria (b) Austria-Hungary
    (c) Turkey (d) Montenegro
12. With imminent attack on Paris, the French Government moved to _____
    (a) Marseilles (b) Bordeaux
    (c) Lyons (d) Versailles
13. Which one of the following was not a part of the Treaty of Versailles?
    (a) Germany was required to surrender Alsace - Lorraine to France
    (b) Saar valley to be given to France
    (c) The Rhineland was to be occupied by the Allies
    (d) Danzig was to be under the control of Poland
14. Which one of the following is not correctly matched?
    (a) Edict of Emancipation – Alexander II
    (b) Bloody Sunday - Nicholas II
    (c) 500 Serf riots in Russia - Nicholas I
    (d) Treaty of Brest-Litovsk - Alexander III
15. **Assertion (A)**: The League of Nations was shown to have no teeth.
    Reason (R): The principle of "collective security' could not be applied in actual practice.
    (a) A and R are correct. R explains A
    (b) A and R are correct but R does not explain A
    (c) A is correct but R is wrong
    (d) A is wrong and R is correct

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16. **Assertion (A)**: The Great Depression which affected the entire world had made no impact on USSR.

    Reason (R): Land was declared as social property and distributed among poor Peasants.

    (a) A and R are correct. R explains A.

    (b) A and R are correct but R does not explain A.

    (c) A is correct but R is wrong.

    (d) A is wrong. R is correct.

17. The first Secretary General of the League of Nations Eric Drummond belonged to _____

    (a) France (b) South Africa

    (c) Britain (d) USA

18. The League of Nations was dissolved in _____

    (a) 1939 (b) 1941 (c) 1945 (d) 1946

19. Who designated Hitler as the Chancellor of Germany?

    (a) General Ludendorff

    (b) Von Hindenburg

    (c) General Smuts

    (d) Alfred von Bethmann

20. What was the name of journal Mussolini edited?

    (a) *Avanti* (b) *Pravda*

    (c) *Marxist* (d) *Mein Kampf*

II. Write brief answers

1. Why did Germany want to isolate France?
2. What was the significance of Entente Cordiale signed between Britain and France in 1904?
3. Highlight the outcome of the Balkan crisis.
4. What was "Triple Intervention"?
5. Write about the role played by Von Hindenburg in the Eastern Front of the First World War.
6. Point out the importance of Battle of Jutland.
7. What is Nihilism?
8. How did the League of Nations resolve the dispute between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925?
9. How did the Lateran Treaty help Mussolini in legitimising his authority?
10. What was the Third Reich?

III. Write short answers

1. How did the first Moroccan crisis happen?
2. How was Trench Warfare fought?
3. What do you know of the fearsome U-boats and Q-ships?
4. Highlight the sequence of events after America's entry into the War.
5. Analyse the impact of Russian Revolution on the world outside Russia.
6. Highlight the successful accomplishments of League of Nations.
7. How did the impact of Great Depression reflect in politics?

IV. Answers the following in detail

1. Enumerate the causes and the consequences of the First World War.
2. "Marx supplied sparks and Lenin lit the fire"- Elucidate.
3. The Treaty of Versailles was harsh and humiliating for Germany. Substantiate the statement.
4. Describe the circumstances that favoured Mussolini and Hitler to establish fascist governments in Italy and Germany respectively.

V. Activity

1. Students may be exposed to several videos on World War I in You Tube.
2. Teachers to guide the students to locate the war fronts and to make a comparison of the map of pre-World War I and the redrawn post-War map.
3. Students to debate on successes and failures of the League of Nations.
4. Students and teachers are to make use of videos of Khan Academy in Google on Fascism.

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GLOSSARY

onslaught	a sudden and severe onset of trouble	கடுமையான திடீர் தாக்குதல்
Mercantilism	the theory that trade generates wealth and a government should encourage it by protecting domestic trade from foreign competition.	வணிகவாதம்
ammunition	any nuclear, chemical or biological material that can be used as a weapon of destruction	பேரழிவை ஏற்படுத்தும் வெடிபொருட்கள்
trawler	a fishing boat	மீன்பிடிப் படகு
armistice	a formal agreement to stop fighting for a particular time.	தற்காலிகப் போர் நிறுத்தம்
covenant	agreement by legal deed	சட்டஒப்பந்தம்
serf	a person who is tied to the land and to its holder, the land lord.	பண்ணையாள்
abominable	detestable, hateful	வெறுக்கத்தக்க
proletariat	working class	பாட்டாளி வர்க்கம்
anarchism	belief in the abolition of state and organisation of society on a voluntary, cooperative basis without recourse to force or compulsion	அரசு இல்லாத கூட்டு முயற்சியில் உருவாக்கப்படும் சமுதாயத்தில் நம்பிக்கை
abdication	a formal resignation and renunciation of power, stepping down	பதவி துறத்தல்
confiscation	seizure of property	பறிமுதல் செய்தல்
cudgel	a short, thick stick used as a weapon	குண்டாந்தடி
jackboot	a heavy military boot extending above the knee	முழங்கால் வரையிருக்கும் காலணி
lunatic	a person who is mentally ill	பித்துப்பிடித்த
annulling	abolishing, invalidating	ரத்து செய்தல், ஒழித்தல்

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ICT CORNER

Imperialism and its Onslaught

Through this activity you will learn about an interactive Timeline events of World War I.



Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Click on '**map**' to see the events happened in the location and select any year from the bottom timeline **(Ex.1914)**

Step - 3 Select the '**box**' on the map to learn more about the World War I events.



Step1



Step2



Step3

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UNIT 14

Outbreak of World War II and its Impact in Colonies

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The causes, course and results of World War II
- The Chinese Revolution
- Nationalist Movements and Struggles for Independence in Indonesia and Philippines

Introduction

The international order that emerged after the First World War, based on the concept of collective security, collapsed. In September 1939 Europe plunged into a terrible war again. The war of 1939–45 was much more of a world war than that of even 1914–18. This was partly because of the part played by Japan. In consequence the loss of life, the damage to property and the cost of the war was much greater. Following the end of the Second World War, a wave of unrest swept colonies and nationalist agitation gained greater force. This set in motion a process of decolonisation in Asia and Africa. In Southeast Asia, the Dutch fought a losing war but finally conceded independence to Indonesia, the former Dutch East Indies, in 1949. The developments in Indonesia, a Dutch colony and Philippines, an American colony are explored as case studies in this lesson. In China, people turned away from the corrupt and incompetent nationalists. A civil war in China resulted in the establishment of People's Republic of China under Mao Tse Tung.

14.1 Second World War: Causes

In the beginning of the war, with Great Britain and France opposing Germany and with Italy remaining temporarily neutral and later joining Germany, the line-up of the two sides in both world wars was similar. The notable difference was that Japan aligned with Germany instead of with the Western powers. Russia and the USA did not enter the conflict until two years after it began. The methods of warfare had changed during the Second World War. Trench warfare gave way to aerial bombing. No distinction was made between combatants and civilians in the Second World War. Casualties in the Second World War were therefore heavy.

Let us first trace the circumstances that led to the outbreak of the War.

(a) The Unjust Nature of the Peace Treaty

The terms imposed upon Germany at the end of First World War were harsh. Stripped off its colonies, the size of the German army was drastically reduced. Germany was forced to cede

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Alsace and Lorraine to France and to agree to the temporary occupation by French troops of the Saar valley. Germany was also compelled to hand over to Poland large parts of the industrial area of Silesia. Further Germany was to pay an impossible sum (6600 million pounds) in reparation. These terms gave rise to a strong feeling of injustice in Germany and had much do with the subsequent success of the Nazi Politics. Italy felt aggrieved as Dalmatia, claimed to be predominantly Italian, was incorporated in the new state of Yugoslavia. Reduced to the status of a small republic, Austria was not allowed to unite with Germany as the combination would be a threat to France.

(b) Failure of the League of Nations

The League of Nations, envisaged as an international body to avert another world war, turned out to be an alliance of the victors against the vanquished. The seeds for another war were sowed ever since the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

From 1918 to 1933 a series of conferences were held to eliminate threats of war. In 1925, representatives of the chief European powers met at Locarno, a Swiss town, where Germany and France agreed to respect the Rhine frontiers, as established in the Versailles treaty. The next agreement widely appreciated was the Kellogg–Briand Pact of 1928. Though the US did not become a member of the League of Nations, it participated in this meet. The outcome of this pact was the pledge of all nations of the world to renounce war as "an instrument of national policy". But the League of Nations was not strong enough to enforce these agreements when some countries defied them.



Kellogg–Briand Pact

When Hitler came to power in 1933, a Disarmament Conference was organised by the League of Nations at Geneva. The issue was the German rearmament plan on a par with France. The French refused to agree to this proposal, while Britain was willing to concede Germany's demand. Hitler's response to French refusal was withdrawal of Germany from the conference and from the League of Nations. A plebiscite in Germany showed enormous support in favour of Hitler's step. Encouraged, in March 1935, Hitler announced Germany's intention of building up an army by conscription to over half a million men. This was the first breach of the Treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations attended by Britain, France and Italy condemned Germany's action but took no further steps. Britain even went to the extent of negotiating a naval agreement. According to this agreement, Germany could build up to 35 per cent of Britain's naval strength.



Disarmament Conference, Geneva

Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations, but received no help.

(c) Economic Depression of 1930s

The most important economic cause of World War II was the Great Depression. The Depression intensified economic nationalism. Hit by the problems of unemployment and business stagnation, governments resorted to high tariffs to preserve the home market for consumption of their home products. This resulted in an expansionist policy leading to

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the conquest of neighboring territories as a means of solving economic problems. Japan took the lead. In 1931 it reacted to the global economic crisis by seizing the Chinese northern region of Manchuria. In the face of decline of Japanese exports of raw silk and cotton cloth, Japanese militarists came up with this idea so that Manchuria could be a market.

(d) Aspirations of German Big Business and Grievances of German Patriots

Britain, France, the US and the USSR each controlled vast areas as colonies across the world. Germany, the most powerful industrial country in continental Europe, had no colonies. This prompted German big business to campaign vigorously to break the restraints imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. It wanted to recover German territory lost to Poland, absorb the German-speaking Austrian state and Czech border land, the Sudetenland. Under Nazi rule there was convergence between the requirements of big business and Nazi ideology.

Powers like Great Britain, the United States, France and Russia had their empire extending over one fourth of land area of the earth. Germany, Italy and Japan seemed poor by comparison. German patriots openly articulated their grievance by stating that the average German citizen had only .004 of square mile of living space at his disposal, whereas the average Briton could draw upon the wealth and economic opportunities of almost three square miles of imperial territory.

(e) Mussolini's Expansionist Policy

Mussolini's Italy sought to expand its colonial empire by grabbing Ethiopia to add to its colonial possessions such as Somaliland, Eritrea and Libya. It looked for an opportunity to seize Albania from Yugoslavia.The establishment of an economy based on military state capitalism encouraged the drive to armed expansion. The arms industries needed raw materials and the only way to obtain the resources required was to grab extra territory.



Mussolini and Hitler

Britain and France condemned Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and this helped Hitler to establish close relationship with Italy. This was the beginning of Rome–Berlin Axis

(f) Japan's Imperial Policy

The German approach was emulated in East Asia by Japan. It had already taken Taiwan and Korea as colonies, and controlled Manchuria. The government that came up after a military coup in Japan (1936) began to cast its covetous eye over Dutch East Indies, the British colonies in Malaya and Singapore, the French colonies in Indochina and the US-controlled Philippines.

(g) Responsibility of Hitler for the War

(i) Incorporation of Saar into Germany

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, a plebiscite was to be held in the Saar in January 1935. The people were to decide whether they wished to join Germany or France, or remain under League of Nations' control. Ninety per cent voted for a return to Germany. In March 1935 the Saar was incorporated into Germany. This was a morale booster for Hitler.

(ii) Annexation of Rhineland

In 1936 Hitler flouted the peace settlement by sending troops to occupy Rhineland, the area of Germany demilitarised by the Treaty of Versailles. If the French had resisted, the Germans would have withdrawn. The French army at that time was stronger than the German, but economic distress caused by

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the Great Depression and political instability leading to the resignation of Prime Minister Edouard Daladier rendered France incapable of resisting the breach of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany.



Rhineland in German occupation

(iii) Forcible Merger of Austria with Germany

Hitler, an Austrian by birth, had always wanted Austria to be part of Germany. In February 1938, Hitler summoned the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg to Berchtesgaden, a mountain town in the Bavarian Alps, for a discussion. The Austrian Chancellor was given a Hobson's choice – either to legalise Nazi Party in Austria and integrate Austria's economy with that of Germany or face a German invasion. Austria has lost the support of Italy with the formation of the Rome–Berlin Axis. Schuschnigg was therefore left with no choice but to choose the first option. At the instance of Hitler, the Austrian Chancellor cancelled the proposed plebiscite in Austria and formed a Nazi government there. Thereupon the German army entered Vienna to take control of the country.

(iv) Occupation of Sudetenland

Encouraged by the lack of resistance from major European powers, Hitler turned his attention towards Czechoslovakia. In June 1938, Hitler sent directions to his army about his intention of invading Sudetenland. A systematic Nazi propaganda that their German subjects were being subjected to harsh treatment in Sudetenland was launched. The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, after consulting the French and the Czechs, eventually agreed to cede to Germany all territories where more than half the inhabitants were German. But to the warmonger Hitler, this proposition was unacceptable. He was keen to avoid any plebiscite in this matter. So he wanted his army to occupy Sudetenland before such a plebiscite could take place.

Munich Agreement

The mood in London was in favour of a war against Hitler. But Chamberlain and his counterpart in France were bent on buying peace at any cost – a policy called 'appeasement'. A conference was held at Munich where the British, French, German and Italian premiers agreed that the German army should occupy the Sudetenland, as demanded by Hitler, on 1 October and that parts of Czechoslovakia should go to Poland and Hungary.



Munich Agreement

(v) Aggression against Czechoslovakia

The Czechs felt betrayed. The new frontiers of Czechoslovakia had been guaranteed by the four powers at the Munich Conference. Chamberlain claimed that the deal had averted another massive European war. But using the conflict between the Slovaks and the Czechs as an excuse, Hitler sent German forces to occupy the conflict zone.

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Nazi–Soviet Pact

The guarantees that Britain and France had given Poland were considered weak without Russia's help. During the early summer of 1939, Britain and France negotiated with Russia. But partly because of mutual distrust and partly because Russia was not prepared for a war against Germany, no progress could be made. Russians preferred peace and guarantee for their territories. As Germany offered both, in August 1939 the Nazi–Soviet (Non-aggression) Pact was signed in the Kremlin. The secret clauses in the pact were: Eastern Europe was to be demarcated into German and Russian spheres of influence and Poland was to be divided.



Nazi–Soviet Pact

(vi) Invasion of Poland and Outbreak of War



Hitler

In order to carry out Hitler's larger plan of conquering the whole of Europe, Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939 on the ground that Poland had been planning with its allies, Great Britain and France, to encircle and dismember Germany and that Poles were persecuting ethnic Germans. In two days Britain gave the ultimatum: unless German troops were withdrawn from Poland, Britain and Germany would be at war. The ultimatum was ignored and the Second World War began.

Stages of War

War in Europe

In the first few years of the War the German army seemed unstoppable. Poland was easily defeated within two weeks and divided between Germany and the Soviet Union in a second agreement signed in Moscow in September 1939. In April 1940 Germany occupied Norway. With this annexation, Hitler ensured the protection of Germany's supply of iron ore from Sweden apart from obtaining naval and air bases with which to strike at Britain. On 10 May 1940 Germany invaded the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium and France, launching its *blitzkrieg* (the lightning strike).

In six weeks all were defeated and British forces were expelled from continental Europe. About 198,000 British troops as well as 140,000 Allied troops, mainly French, had to be taken to the beaches in Dunkirk and evacuated in boats and small ships under heavy fire (May-June 1940). The French soldiers evacuated from Dunkirk formed the nucleus of the Free French army under General de Gaulle, who ran the French government in exile to fight the Fascists. But for the Dunkirk evacuation, Britain would have found it difficult to regroup.

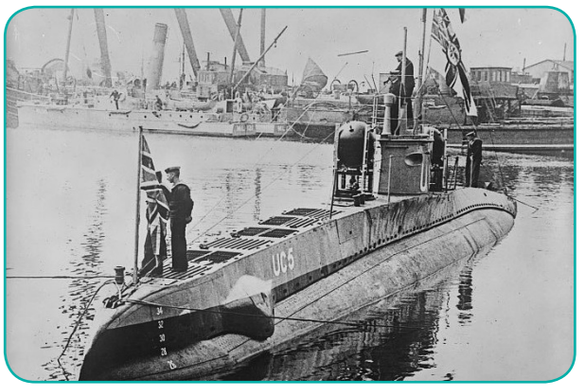


Dunkirk Evacuation

Emboldened by Hitler's success, Italy joined Germany and invaded France in June and Egypt in September 1940. Around this time Japan also joined the Axis powers. Hitler expected Britain to sue for peace. But Prime Minister Churchill, who replaced Chamberlain, refused to compromise. The German air force, in an attempt to force a surrender, began to attack

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specific targets, especially the ports, airfields and industrial installations. In September 1940, London was bombed – an operation known as the *Blitz*. By October 1940, night bombing raids on London and other industrial cities became routine. However, the German strategy failed because with the aid of the newly developed device 'radar' for detecting aircraft while still at a distance, the fighter planes of the Royal Air Force (Spitfires and Hurricanes) inflicted severe losses on the German bombers. In the Battle of Britain (in the air between July and October 1940), Hitler suffered his first defeat. But the U-Boat [a German Submarine] war in the Atlantic was disrupting British trade.



German U - Boat

In November 1940, a decision taken by Germany to invade Russia was deferred due to the campaign in the Balkans (April) against Yugoslavia and Greece. On 22 June 1941 the invasion of Soviet Union commenced. After a series of victories, German forces approached Leningrad and Moscow. By 1941 Hitler's empire in Europe had reached its zenith.

German rule everywhere was repressive, brutal and exploitative. More than seven million Europeans, from France to Russia, were taken as forced labour to Germany. One third of Germanys' war costs was met by tribute extracted from occupied Europe. Nazi racism was directed against the Jews, communists and gypsies. Jews were imprisoned in concentration camps, and about six million Jews were murdered in a state-sponsored genocide using industrial methods of extermination (called the Holocaust).

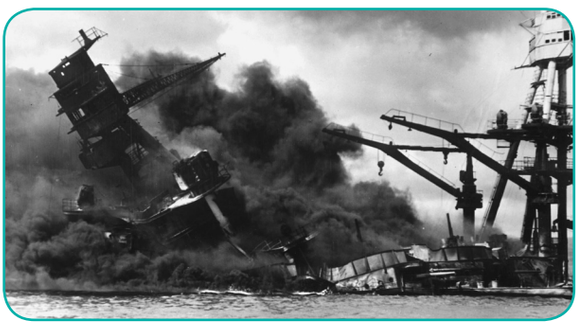
The War in Asia and the Pacific

German victories in the Soviet Union prompted Japanese leaders to go on an offensive in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The decision for war with the US was taken in November 1941. On 7 December Japanese aircraft attacked the Pearl Harbour naval base in the Hawaiian islands, inflicting severe damages to the US Pacific Fleet. Japan then occupied English colonial territories in Burma, Malaya, Singapore (where the British beat a shameful retreat, leaving the population under the mercy of the Japanese) and the Dutch possession of East Indies.

Pearl Harbour Incident and its Fallout

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, instead of crushing the morale of the American people, galvanised them into action. Until then kept out of the war due to American public opinion, the United States declared war on Japan, thus making it an absolute world war. Britain and China joined the US. Under the Lend-Lease system, President Roosevelt had already committed the US government to aid the opponents of Fascism, in the context of Italy and Japan joining Germany. The direct involvement of the US greatly expanded the resources of the Allies as America brought more vehicles, ships and aircrafts than all the other fighting countries put together. In August 1942, US forces commanded by MacArthur began to play a prominent role in the Pacific. The naval battle planned by Admiral Yamamoto resulted in a major Japanese defeat.

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Pearl Harbour Attack

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The US navy defeated the Japanese navy in the Battle of Midway (4–7 June 1942), which turned the tide in favour of the Allies. The Battle of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands was a combined offensive of the army and the navy, and lasted for several months (7 August 1942–9 February 1943). This battle too ended in a crushing defeat for the Japanese. After this, the American forces were able to re-take the Philippines and gradually the Japanese were pushed out of most of their conquered territories. In 1944, the combined British and Indian armies were able to repulse the Japanese who attempted to invade the north-east of India. Then, along with the Chinese, they pushed the Japanese out of Burma, and took over Malaya and Singapore.

The Battle of Stalingrad, 1942

The German strategy of lightning strikes was initially successful in Soviet Russia. But the German army did not succeed in reaching Moscow. It faced the bloodiest battles in world history at Stalingrad. Hitler thought Stalingrad would be a prize catch, as it was a large industrial city producing armaments and tractors. He was also aiming for the rich oil fields of the Caucasus. In addition, seizing the city that bore the name of the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin would add further glory to the image of Hitler. But even after it became clear that the German Army could not hold Stalingrad, Hitler refused to allow a strategic withdrawal. He was scared that the strategic withdrawal from Stalingrad would greatly dent Nazi prestige. Thus, Hitler condemned his best army to cold, starvation and death even as the Soviet army fired by a nationalist spirit fought without respite. The great Soviet counter-offensive in the summer (1942) turned the tide in favour of Soviet Union. Many military historians have argued that the fate of the war was decided in Stalingrad.

The victory at this "Great Patriotic War" set the Red Army on course to storm Berlin. Along with the Allied forces of Britain, France and America, Soviets defeated the German army, effectively ending World War II in Europe.



Battle of Stalingrad

According to one estimate, the total number of Russians dead touched 20 million (13 million soldiers and seven million civilians).

Fall of Mussolini

At the end of 1942, the Allied cause was saved when German forces suffered their first reverses at El Alamein in north Africa. The Battle of El Alamein, fought between the German–Italian army commanded in the field by Erwin Rommel and the British forces, in the deserts of North Africa, led to a German Surrender in May 1943. The Allied forces then invaded Sicily. The same king, Victor Immanuel III, who had handed power to Mussolini in 1922 replaced him with General Badoglio and sued for peace. Mussolini was kept under house arrest. The General Badoglio government of Italy formally signed a surrender in Sicily on 3 September 1943.

During 1943 there were two high level conferences among the Allies. In January Churchill and Roosevelt met at Casablanca. Here they decided to postpone the invasion of France, which for over four years (1940–44) was literally a German province, until the next year. (The Germans who had occupied France possessed sixty army divisions.) The second conference was at Teheran in Persia in which Stalin was also present. Based on the strategy planned, the Anglo–American invasion of France was fixed for 6 June 1944. The supreme commander of the Allied forces was the American General Eisenhower.

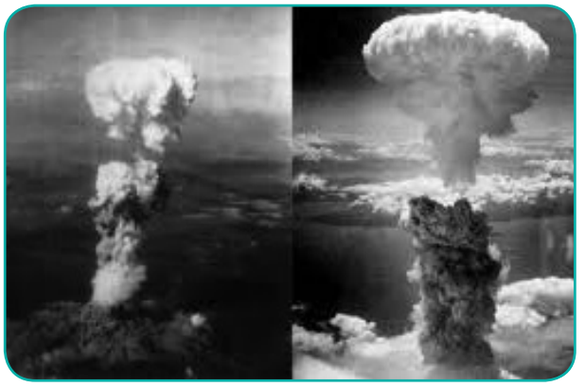
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Invasion of Anglo–American Forces and Bombing of Dresden

The Allied forces under the command of Eisenhower invaded Normandy in France. Normandy was cleared of German forces and on 25 August 1944 Paris was liberated. By the beginning of September the Allies had gained control of the whole of the country, and also occupied Belgium. The Allied bombing of Germany (February 13–15, 1945) almost completely destroyed the German city of Dresden. The raids became a symbol of the "terror bombing" campaign against Germany. During this period, altogether 600,000 German citizens were killed. Slowly, the German army was forced back. But the Germans resisted and the war continued for another year.

In 1945 a final assault on Germany brought Western and Soviet forces face to face across central Germany. On April 30, 1945 Soviet forces neared Hitler's command bunker in central Berlin. Hitler committed suicide. Berlin fell into the hands of Soviets on 2 May. The Soviet army had already captured much of Eastern Europe and Poland.

Dropping of Atomic Bombs and the End of World War II



Atomic Bomb attack on Japan

Despite the defeat of Germany, the Japanese generals refused to surrender. Finally, the US on 6 August 1945 dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and three days later (9 August) on Nagasaki. In the race to develop the atomic bomb, the US had overtaken Germany. Japan surrendered immediately, thereby bringing an end to World War II. Between 60,000–80,000 people were killed instantly when the bomb was dropped over Hiroshima, and an estimated 140,000 died from its effects before the end of the year. The death toll increased to over 200,000 in subsequent decades, as people died of cancer (leukemia) and other diseases linked to dangerous radiation.

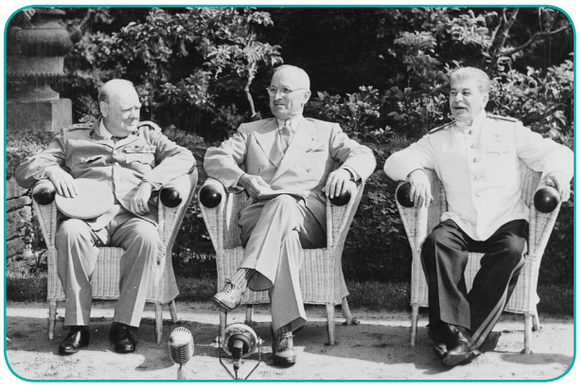
Historians differ in their interpretations of the causes of the war. Some attribute it to the Treaty of Versailles which was harsh and vindictive. So they justify Germany's desire to change the terms of the treaty. There are others who blame the policy of appeasement followed by Britain and France. A few point out the failure of Britain and France to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union. They not only distrusted the Soviet Union but did not respond to proposals for collective security put forward from 1934 onward. But most historians hold Germany and Hitler responsible. They assert that it was the unscrupulous, ruthless and aggressive policies based on a belligerent nationalism and an ideology of racial (Aryan) purity, plunged the world into six years of devastating warfare. 'The Second World War was Hitler's war. He planned it, began it and ultimately lost it.'

Peace Making

The Atlantic Charter, a statement issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, formed the basis of the settlement of peace. Its essential principles were as follows:

1. No territorial changes without the consent of the people concerned.
2. The right of the people to choose the form of their government.
3. All states to enjoy on equal terms access to the trade and raw materials of the world.
4. Freedom to travel across the sea without hindrance
5. Disarmament of all nations that threaten aggression.

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Churchill - Truman - Stalin

Otherwise there was no peace conference. Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the US, represented by Churchill, Stalin and Truman, agreed at the Potsdam meet to create a council of foreign ministers of five Powers – the Big three plus China and France – to continue the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements. This council became the principal agency for peace-making in Europe. It was agreed upon that peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Belgium, and Rumania be finalised before dealing treaties with Italy and Germany. Great Britain, USA, USSR and France would draft the Italian treaty, the Big three would draft the three Balkan treaties, Great Britain and Soviet Union would draft for Finland. Then the draft treaties would be considered at a general conference.

Peace Conference, 1946

1500 delegates from 21 nations met at Luxemburg Palace, Paris, from July 26 to 15 October 1946. After a great deal of deliberations the recommendations of the conference were reviewed by the Council of Foreign Ministers and adopted after slight modifications.

Italian Peace treaty: The issue of Trieste dragged for several years. Italy demanded Trieste. Soviet Union had promised it to Yugoslavia. Finally, in 1954, Trieste was divided into Zone A and Zone B. Zone A went to Italy, while Zone B was awarded to Yugoslavia. The Italian reparation was fixed at $ 260,000,000 (most of it to go to Greece and Yugoslavia).

Reparation to Russia: Hungary, Belgium and Finland were to give $100,000,000 to Russia. Bulgaria was to pay $25,000,000 to Yugoslavia and $4,000,000 to Greece. Rumania agreed to give back Bessarabia, acquired in 1919, and Bukovina to Russia. The Belgium treaties guaranteed the free navigation of the Danube. But it was blocked by Russia. The treaties came into effect from 15 September 1947. But the provisions were either violated or ignored.

Austria: Disputes arose over the claim of Yugoslavia to a portion of Austrian territory in southern Carinthia. Yugoslavia also demanded $150,000,000 as reparation. The problematic issue of defining German assets could not be resolved even though the commission set up for this purpose met in 85 sessions. The issue of reparation with Russia was settled with the Soviet extension of rights to the oil and shipping facilities in Austria and a cash payment of $150,000,000 over a six year period in lieu of the German assets. Austria was reestablished as a sovereign, independent and democratic state with the same frontiers it had before the forced union with Germany in 1938. Austria agreed not to enter into political or economic union with Germany in any form.

Germany: The conference held at Potsdam, near Berlin, issued the following formal declarations: 1. East Prussia to be divided into two parts: northern part going to the Soviet Union, and the southern part to Poland. 2. Poland to receive the former free city of Danzig. The military power of Germany was to be totally destroyed, and Germany was to be divided into four occupation zones to be governed by the USSR, Great Britain, the United States and France. Thus substantial portions of pre-war Germany were transferred to the USSR and to Poland. Berlin in the heart of Russian sphere and the rest of the country was divided into four zones. In April 1949 the German Democratic Republic was proclaimed in the Soviet zone. NATO decided to approve the Federal Republic of Germany. In September the newly elected parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany was established.

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Poland

Poland moved some 200 miles to the west, losing about 69,000 sq.miles to the Soviet Union and gaining slightly less from Germany in the west. Poland would surrender its eastern provinces to Russia and the existing government of Poland, setup under Soviet aegis, was to be reorganised with the inclusion of democratic leaders from among the Poles.

Japan

Roosevelt, Churchill and Nationalist China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek met in Cairo as early as in November 1943 and decided the fate of the Japanese empire. All the territories taken by Japan from China, with the exception of Korea, were to be restored to the Chinese Republic. Korea was to become free and independent. Japan lost all conquests it had made since 1931. It was also obliged to give up Formosa (now Taiwan) and the Pacific islands that it had gained decades earlier.



Churchill - Roosevelt - Stalin

After meeting in a conference at Yalta, in the Crimea (February 1945), Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin declared their plans for the unconditional surrender of Germany, upon methods of controlling Germany and her allies after the war, and upon the establishment of United Nations Organisation to preserve the peace, the economic organisations, known collectively as the Bretton Woods system, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs to achieve post-War reconstruction of the economies which had been devastated by the War. Unlike after the First World War, this time, Roosevelt was determined that the United States should join the world peace organisation.

Results of the Second World War

The Second World War caused unprecedented hardship. As many as 60 million died, and great cities such as Warsaw, Kiev, Tokyo and Berlin were reduced to rubble. The majority of ports in Europe and many in Asia were destroyed or badly damaged; bridges were blown up; railway locomotives and rolling stock vanished. Millions of people lost their homes. Germany ceased to be a great power. Europe lost its status and prestige. The economy was in a shambles. It was clear that the two dominating powers in the world were the United States and Soviet Russia. The ideological divisions between the two made the post-war cooperation impossible, as we shall see in the next lesson.

Great Britain emerged with enormous prestige, but her position as a world power diminished on account of reduced wealth, and the shrinking of its empire. The Second World War was fatal to many European monarchies. Kingship was abolished in Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Italy. Apart from Britain, it survived only in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland and Belgium and that too only as constitutional monarchies.

The world had been one in its effort to defeat fascism which had threatened world peace. The Allied victory had been underpinned by the popular support for the war effort. The struggle against fascism also empowered the common people. The shared suffering and sacrifice of the war years strengthened the belief in most democracies that governments had an obligation to provide basic care for all citizens. When it was elected in the summer of 1945, for example, the Labour government in Britain moved rapidly to establish a welfare state. It became the government's obligation in Britain to provide insurance against accident, sickness,

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old age and unemployment. The rights of women also took a huge step forward as their contribution to the war effort, and their share in the suffering, were recognised. In France and Italy, women finally got the vote.

The most significant outcome of the War was the transformation that had taken place in colonies. The fight for democracy encouraged the nationalist forces to intensify their liberations struggles. The defeat of armed forces of the Western countries by Japan in Southeast Asia and also the initial setback suffered by Britain and France in the War at the hands of Germans sent a clear signal that white men and their states could be defeated. The old empires also realised that the Age of Empire was definitely at the end. The Dutch, for instance, found it difficult to maintain adequate military forces in the huge Indonesia archipelago. In Indo-China the French, supported by the British and later by the USA, made a desperate attempt to hold back its independence. But the French were defeated and forced to withdraw in 1954. The attempt by Britain and France to reassert themselves as global imperial powers in the Suez Crisis of 1956 was doomed. Later the US war against Vietnam turned out to be a shameful failure.

14.2 Chinese Revolution, 1949

China had a long history and through most of historical times was more advanced than Europe. But by 1900, China had lagged behind on most fronts. A particular reason for its downfall was the long corrupt and inept rule of Manchu dynasty since 1650. The landed gentry produced scholar officials called mandarins, who defended the established order with privileged status. The mass of the population, the peasants, suffered from high rents, high taxes and shortage of land. Agricultural production was stagnant. Cultivated areas were densely populated, with the average size of a farm remaining less than an acre. Although China possessed coal and iron ore in abundance, industrial development was slow.



Taiping Rebellion

The oppressive political and economic system triggered a number of risings during the nineteenth century. The most serious was the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864). That it took fourteen years for the government to crush was an indication of the weakness of the government. Growing European pressure, first the British, and then the French, Germans, Russians and Americans, forced China to cede trading rights at ports to foreigners. The British were twice at war against China (Opium Wars). It was a favourable time for the foreigners as China was preoccupied with the Taiping Rebellion and could offer no resistance. The European-controlled area stretched from Hong Kong to Port Arthur. Shanghai especially became a flourishing port.

The Taiping (meaning great peace) **Rebellion** started as a peasant uprising. But soon it developed into a revolutionary movement under the leadership of Hung Hsiu-chuan, a school teacher from a peasant family. He preached equality between people, stressing on equal division of the land, and an end to old social distinctions. In 1853, the movement's membership soared to two million and succeeded in taking over Nanking and administering 40 per cent of the country as a state of its own. But the Taiping leadership did nothing to improve the status of peasants. A reorganised imperial army, with modern weapons supplied by Britain and France, under the British army officer Major Gordon quelled the rebellion. Nanking was retrieved in 1864.

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First Opium War

Opium Wars: The first Opium War was the result of China's attempt to suppress the illegal opium trade, as the human cost of the Chinese addiction was deadly. British traders were the primary source of opium supply in China. The treaty of Nanking signed at the end of first Opium War (1842) opened the doors to Britain. China ceded Hong Kong and paid an indemnity.

The first war broke out when Chinese officials boarded a British-registered ship, the *Arrow*, docked in Canton and arrested crew members for piracy. The ship belonged to the Chinese, the crew were Chinese. But the ship flew the British flag because of a permit from the Hong Kong government. The permit had actually expired. Nonetheless the British government, which was looking for a pretext to go to war so that it could force China into granting more trading concessions, responded by sending a warship. Fighting broke out and France, using the excuse of the murder of a French missionary (February 1856), joined Great Britain. This time a British and French force destroyed the Summer Palace in Peking. Finally, in 1860, China succumbed to the superior British military strength and the Beijing Agreement was reached. It opened Chinese ports to trade, allowed foreign ships down the Yangtze, and permitted the free movement of foreign missionaries within China. Most importantly, it allowed the legal trade of British opium within China.

The weakness of China became very clear when the newly modernised Japan began its acts of aggression in 1894. By the peace treaty of 1895, Formosa went to Japan and Korea became independent. Thereupon thousands of European businessmen began to exploit Chinese trade. Christian missionaries landed in China and began to spread their faith inland. European activities and their interference in local administration produced hatred of foreigners among the Chinese. In 1900, on top of the discontent resulting from infiltration of foreigners, there came two successive harvest failures, and devastating floods caused by the Yellow River. The Boxer Rebellion broke out.



Boxer Rebellion

Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901): Boxer was a name that foreigners gave to a Chinese secret society known as the *Yihequan* ("Righteous and Harmonious Fists"). Although the Boxers came from all sections of society, many were peasants, particularly from Shandong province, which had been struck by natural disasters. The original aim of the Boxers was the destruction of the Manchu dynasty and also of the Westerners who enjoyed a privileged position in China. The Boxers burned churches and foreign residences and killed suspected Chinese Christians on sight. A multi-national force, seized Peking, as the Empress and her court fled. Nearly 100,000 people died. The great majority of those killed were civilians, including thousands of Chinese Christians and 200 to 250 foreign nationals (mostly Christian missionaries).

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The Boxer Rebellion formally ended with the signing of the Boxer Protocol on 7 September 1901. By the terms of the agreement, forts protecting Beijing were to be destroyed. Boxers and Chinese government officials involved in the uprising were to be punished. Foreign consulates were permitted to station troops in Beijing for their defence. China was prohibited from importing arms for two years and it was agreed to pay more than $330 million in reparations to the foreign nations concerned.

In October 1911 a mutiny broke out among the troops in Wuchang. This is regarded as the formal beginning of the revolution. The mutineers soon captured the Wuchang mint and arsenal, and city after city declared war against the Manchus. Revolution broke out in the valley of the Yangtze and soon spread to the greater part of central and south China. On New Year's Day 1912 the provinces involved in the revolt proclaimed a republic with its capital at Nanking. On hearing the news of the uprising, Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai and was immediately elected provisional President of the new Chinese Republic. Yuan Shih-kai, who had earlier served as a minister in the Manchu administration, was recalled by the Regent who was acting for his infant son to handle the revolt. But gauging the mood of the people Yuan advised the abdication of the Emperor.

On February 12, 1912 an Edict of Abdication was issued and the Manchu dynasty (Qing government) vanished from the Chinese political stage. In the following month, Sun Yat-sen, in the interests of unity, resigned in favour of Yuan, since the latter had total control over the army.

Yuan Shih-kai's Unpopularity

In the four years of his administration, Yuan Shih-kai proved that he was opposed to both democracy and republicanism. Yuan went on to ban the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party, and seize the provinces under its control. On 10 October 1913, Yuan was installed as the full-fledged president of the republic. Exactly three months later, he dissolved the National Assembly and replaced it with a "political council," which drafted a "constitutional compact" granting dictatorial powers to the president. Yuan was made president for life. Yuan became unpopular when he agreed to the Japanese demand to have economic control of Manchuria and Shantung. On the death of Yuan in 1916, a new president was appointed. For the next twelve years the government was central only in name. It was a period of disorder. Around this time Marxist ideas were gaining support in the north of China, parallel to Sun-Yat-sen's activities in the coastal cities between Shanghai and Canton.

Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925)



Dr. Sun Yat- sen, born in a poor family, was educated in a mission school and became a medical doctor. His interest in politics prompted him to participate in a rising against the Qing government in 1895. The rising failed and Sun Yat-sen had to spend the next sixteen years in exile. He spent his time in spreading his revolutionary ideas amongst Chinese students and others living overseas. In 1905, he founded a political party in Tokyo, which became the Kuomintang or National People's Party.

Sun-Yat-sen championed three principles: Nationalism, Democracy, and Socialism. In 1894 Sun Yat-sen had founded the China Revival Society that took exception to the "unequal treaties," as the Chinese called the two treaties forced on China by foreign powers. The society grew and attracted the youth. By 1912, it had changed its name to the Kuo-Min-Tang. Sun Yat-sen, the inspirer of the organisation, wanted a republic, not a constitutional monarchy.

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The Communist Party of China

With the death of Yuan Shih-kai during the First World War, the country came to be divided by rival Chinese generals backed by different powers. Many of the intelligentsia had faith in US liberalism to end this state of affairs. But they felt let down as the expected did not happen. The frustration was unleashed by millions of people through rallies and demonstration in which students took prominent part. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the writings and speeches of Marx and Lenin became popular amongst the intellectuals. Interest in Marxism grew as China's emerging industrial working class gained in strength and demonstrated it through strikes and boycotts. In 1918 a Society for the Study of Marxism was formed in Peking University. Among the students who attended was a young assistant librarian by the name of Mao Tse-tung.

A series of strikes rocked China in 1922. About 2,000 seamen in Hong Kong, braving the proclamation of marital law, struck work. It soon developed into a general strike of 120,000 workers forcing the employers to opt for peace. Clashes between British police and workers in British-owned factories in Hankou culminated in a warlord shooting down 35 striking rail workers and executing a union unit secretary. Such repressive measures halted the onward march of the working class movement, but did not destroy the spirit of resistance. Instead it led to an increasing level of class consciousness.

Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976)

Mao was born in Hunan in south-east China. His father was a wealthy peasant, and a firm supporter of the Manchu dynasty. Mao entered the junior college at Changsha in the year of the revolution (1911). Mao joined the revolutionary army but soon left and enrolled in the Teachers' Training College in Changsha. He remained there until 1918, spending long hours in the library. He then moved to Peking and served as an assistant librarian in Peking University. In the following year Mao began his full-fledged political activities as an organiser of Hunan and emerged as a staunch Communist.

By now Sun Yat-sen had established a constitutional government. But its position was weak. So he sought USSR's help to reorganise his Kuomintang. USSR sent Michael Borodin to China. As an experienced Communist Borodin reorganised the Kuomintang as a centralised mass party and helped to build up a revolutionary army. The Whampoa Military Academy was founded near Canton, with the assistance of Soviet officers. Its first director was Chiang Kai-shek. On the staff in charge of political activities was Chou En Lai, as an alliance had been formed between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-Shek



Chiang Kai-shek

After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the Kuomintang was organised on Communist lines, but it did not adopt Communist policies. While the Kuomintang was led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the Communist Party was under Mao Tse tung and Chou En Lai. The Communists increased their influence among the workers and peasants, and won recruits for their army. The Kuomintang represented the interests of the landlords and capitalists.

Chiang Kai-Shek began his march known as 'the Northern Expedition' from Canton, and by the end of 1925, he had captured Hanko. By March 1927, when the Expedition was approaching Shanghai, a general strike involving 600,000 workers erupted and the unions had taken over the control of the city. Chiang Kai-shek had already cracked down on the workers' movement in Canton by arresting a number of communist activists and harassing the unions. In Shanghai, after allowing the victorious rebel forces to hand him the city, he treacherously arranged for the criminal gangs in collusion with wealthy Chinese merchants

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and the representatives of the foreign powers to launch a pre-dawn attack on the offices of the main left wing unions. The workers' sentries were disarmed and their leaders arrested. Demonstrations were fired on with machine-guns, and thousands of activists died while fighting. At the instance of wealthy merchants and financiers, Chiang Kai-Shek purged all Communists from the Kuomintang Party. In 1928 he was successful in capturing Peking. Once again there was a central government in China. But over the next 18 years his government became notorious for its corruption and gangsterism.

Mao knew that the Kuomintang grip on the towns was too strong. So concentrated his energies on organizing the peasantry. He retreated into the wild mountains on the border between the provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan. Here Mao and his comrades stayed for the next seven years. As the army of Mao was gradually growing, despite five extermination campaigns, the Kuomintang was never able to penetrate the mountains successfully. In the new base of the communists, they had protection from the attacks of Chiang Kai-Shek, and an advantage in dealing with constant threat from Japan and also the attacks from war lords.

The Long March 1934



The Long March

As Chiang Kai-Shek had built a circle of fortified posts around the Communist positions, Mao wanted to move out of Hunan for safer territory. Therefore, the Communist army set out on what came to be known as the Long March in 1934. The marchers were continually harassed by Kuomintang forces, by local war lords and by unfriendly tribesmen. The machine gun fire of Kuomintang contingents and the deafening roar of the river caused horror to the marchers. Of the 100,000 who set out, only 20,000 finally arrived in northern Sheni late in 1935, after crossing nearly 6000 miles. They were soon joined by other communist armies, and by 1937 Mao Tse-tung was the ruler of over 10 million people. Mao organised Workers and Peasants' Councils in the villages of Shensi and Kansu and the base for the eventual Communist conquest of China was established.

Japanese Aggression and its Fallout

The Japanese continued to occupy north Chinese provinces while developing Manchuria as a military base. Mao believed that Chiang Kai-shek was necessary for some time to hold together Kuomintang to fight the Japanese. As a consequence of this pragmatic policy, the attacks on the Communists gradually petered out. However, a stronger line was adopted towards Japanese expansion. Yet the Japanese had occupied the whole of the eastern half of China during the Second World War, as the Kuomintang armies fell easily. Chiang Kai-shek's capital had to be shifted to Chungking.

Victory to Communists

With the announcement of the Japanese surrender in 1945 after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, both the groups in China took immediate steps to occupy the Japanese areas. In the course of this race, the USA advised both sides to negotiate. During 1946 General George Marshall twice negotiated ceasefires, but both were unsuccessful. The Kuomintang government controlled the administration, ports and communication system in view of the massive support provided by the USA. But the Kuomintang soldiers, mainly drawn from the peasants, were



Mao

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disillusioned and discontented. Mao, on the other hand, had an army with higher morale and better discipline. When civil war broke out, Chiang Kai-Sehik's army began to disintegrate, with generals changing sides. Cities fell one by one. By the end of 1949 Chiang Kai-Shek had fled the mainland for Taiwan. The People's Republic of China was established in 1949.

14.3 Liberation Struggles in Indonesia and Philippines

Mao's victory, following the independence of India, sent a message that imperialism could be defeated in the colonies. But in Southeast Asia, especially in the Philippines and Indonesia, nationalism was in its nascent stage and no substantial progress could be made towards achieving self-government until the dawn of the 20th century. Three and a half years of Japanese occupation resulted in the loss of prestige to the European colonial powers, with the national movements emerging strong and powerful. But after the defeat of Japan in 1945, Western powers sought to return to their territories. At first they tried to return as colonial rulers, but a brief period of rule proved that this to be unrealistic. This resulted in the Dutch and American attempts to hand over power to friendly, moderate nationalist regimes that could block the rise of communism which was ascendant after the end of the World War.

The East Indies (Indonesia)

The Dutch had occupied Java and Sumatra since about 1640. In the second half of the nineteenth century they conquered the outer islands of the East Indies. During the nineteenth century the Dutch were mainly interested in economic, not political control. Most of the population relied on fishing and agriculture. Many worked on European sugar, tobacco, tea and coffee plantations. Heavy investment in these plantations and other concerns with the discovery of oil (1900) and the resultant growth of exports and import all made this area a valuable colony for the Dutch.



Dutch Colonial Rule

The nationalist movement in East Indies took shape much later than in the Philippines. This is because the Dutch were slow in introducing Western education. In the Philippines the Eurasians identified themselves with the native cause and became the leaders of the nationalist movement. The Dutch, in contrast, largely free of racial prejudice, intermarried with the natives and accepted the Eurasians in their society. The Eurasians considered their interests as those of the Dutch.

Rise of Nationalism

The first clear manifestation of nationalism in the East Indies was in 1908, when the first native political society *Boedi Oetomo* (High Endeavour) was organised. The society was founded by students of the first Dutch medical school at the instance of their senior Wahidin Sudirohusodo. The idea was that the native intellectuals should take the lead in working for the educational advancement of the country. It turned out to be a cultural body, consisting mainly of civil servants and students from Java. *Boedi Oetomo* soon became defunct and a more popular political society *Sarekat Islam* (Muslim Union) emerged.

Sarekat Islam was formed mainly to fight against the economic power of the Chinese. But it gradually became a socialist and nationalist body. In 1916 it passed a resolution demanding self-government. In two years its membership increased from 350,000 to two and a half million. Encouraged by the Russian Revolution of 1917 the communists within Sarekat Islam

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attempted to gain control of the movement. As they failed, they left and formed the Indonesian Communist Party in 1919.

Party Politics

Efforts at delegating powers to the local governments had already been initiated with the passage of a Decentralisation Law in 1903. Provincial councils were established in the following year. But the Indonesians played no part in the government. In view of the growing nationalist agitation the Dutch government created a People's Parliament, *Volksraad* (1918) in Weltevreden, Batavia (Jakarta), Java, and this continued to function until 1942.

During the 1920s, the Communists and Sarekat Islam vied with each other in dominating the nationalist movement. In this rivalry for leadership the communists were successful. They organised strikes which culminated in a big uprising in 1926–27 in western Java and Sumatra. This was immediately crushed. Thousands were imprisoned and this caused a temporary setback to the Communist Party.

Around this time a young engineer named Sukarno organised the Indonesian Nationalist Party. This third party in the country was supported by the westernised secular middle class. But in 1931 the police raided the headquarters of this party. Sukarno was imprisoned and the party he founded was dissolved.



Sukarno

Dutch Repression and Japanese Aggression

During the 1930s, in the wake of the economic depression that resulted in unemployment, wage cuts and increased protests, the government resorted to repression and press censorship to check nationalism. Sukarno and other nationalist leaders were languishing in jail until 1942. The Dutch surrendered to the Japanese in the East Indies in March 1942. Some opposed the Japanese and organised secret resistance. Some led by Sukarno and Hatta believed that the best method of achieving independence would be to support the Japanese. In the last phase of the war the Japanese decided to negotiate the terms of independence with the Indonesian leaders.

Coming of Independence

But after Japanese evacuation, in accordance with the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, British forces landed in the East Indies in September 1945. They released about 200,000 prisoners of war, mainly Dutch. The Dutch had reoccupied nearly all the East Indian islands except Java and Sumatra, ruled by Sukarno. The Dutch refused to recognise the rule of Sukarno. Yet he refused to relinquish his office as President. So the British-occupying force arranged negotiations which led to Dutch-Indonesian Agreement. This resulted in Dutch recognition of Java and Sumatra as an independent republic, leading to the merger of the rest of the islands to form a federation known as the United States of Indonesia. Subsequently, the Dutch attempted to disrupt the peace in Indonesia twice, but the pressure of world opinion, led by Jawaharlal Nehru as well as the UN Security Council, led to a settlement favourable to Indonesia at the end of 1949. A round table conference held at The Hague adopted a constitution for the independent state of Indonesia. In December 1949 Indonesia became an independent state.



Signing of the Peace Treaty

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The Philippines

About 7000 islands named after the Spanish prince Philip, son of King Charles V, came to form the Philippines. Like the East Indies, the Philippines had experienced European rule since the sixteenth century. Spanish colonisation began with the expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in February 1565. Following this, Spain ruled the Philippines for over 300 years, imposing its language, culture and religion on the local population. Nationalism developed among the Filipinos earlier than elsewhere. The brutal way by which the Cavite uprising (20 January 1872), involving 200 Filipino troops and workers at the Cavite arsenal, was crushed served to promote the nationalist cause. A number of Filipino intellectuals were arrested and after a brief trial, three priests (Jose Burgos, Jacinto Zamora, and Mariano Gomez) were publicly executed and became martyrs.



Spanish–American war

The dispute between America and Spain arising out of America's interest in Cuba snowballed into the Spanish–American war. In view of the mounting pressure building up internally, Spain had already decided to grant Cuba limited powers of self-government. But the U.S. Congress demanded the withdrawal of Spain's armed forces forthwith from the island. The Congress authorised the use of force to secure that withdrawal. As Spain dodged, the U.S. declared war on 25 April 1898. Spain had readied neither its army nor its navy for a distant war with the formidable power of the United States. So it was an easy victory for the US. By the Treaty of Paris (signed on 10 December 1898), Spain renounced all claim to Cuba, ceded Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States, and transferred sovereignty over the Philippines to the United States.



Emilio Aguinaldo

Aguinaldo and other Cavite rebels, while fighting the Spanish army, won major victories in many battles, driving the Spanish out. On May 28, 1898, Aguinaldo gathered a force of about 18,000 troops and fought against a small Spanish garrison in Alapan, Imus, Cavite. After the victory at Alapan, Aguinaldo unfurled the Philippine flag for the first time, and hoisted it at the Teatro Caviteño in Cavite Nuevo (present-day Cavite City) in front of Filipino revolutionaries and more than 300 captured Spanish troops. Emilio Aguinaldo was elected the first president of the new republic with the proclamation of Malolos Constitution. The Philippine Republic endured until the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo by the American forces on March 23, 1901 that resulted in the dissolution of the First Republic.

The nationalists of Philippines thought the issue for America was Cuba. But soon found out that they had only exchanged one master for another. Frustrated by the outcome of Spanish-American War they resorted to guerrilla warfare. The nationalist opposition to the American government was encouraged by a lobby in the US and so the government felt obliged to create representative institutions at an early date. In the wake of American rule (1902), most of the primary colonial institutions were firmly established: an English language education system; an examination-based civil service; a judicial system with provincial courts; a system of municipal and provincial governments based on election, and finally an elected national legislature. In the election held for the 80-member Assembly, the Nationalist Party won a majority.

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The Nationalist Party, however, continued to demand self-government. The leader of the party, Quezon, said, 'We should prefer to rule ourselves in Hell to being ruled by others in Heaven.' In the 1930s, during the Depression years, there were serious left-wing risings. The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) founded in 1930 was declared illegal by the U.S. colonial authorities. Yet the communist pressure persuaded the United States government to agree to internal self-government.

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (The Communist Party of the Philippines) and the Huk Rebellion: Though outlawed by the American government, the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* regained its legality later and was at the helm of the Hukbalahap, the People's Army against the Japanese Aggression. Hukbalahap was a strong guerrilla organisation and with the re-conquest of the Philippines by the returning American forces, the PKP and the communist peasants (known as Huks) found themselves under attack by their presumed wartime allies. Huk areas were bombarded by government forces and, as a result, the PKP resorted to guerrilla warfare. At first they adopted it as a defensive posture. But in 1950 the party adopted a strategy for the seizure of power. By the mid-1950s, however, the "Huk rebellion" had been crushed by the Philippine government, assisted by the U.S.

In 1934, the Tydings–McDuffie Act (The Philippines Independence Act) provided a ten year period for transferring power to Filipinos. During this period the United States could maintain military bases in the Philippines, and control foreign policy. This Act was ratified by a plebiscite in 1935. From 1935 to 1941 Quezon was President of the Philippines. Immediately after the Pearl Harbour attack, Japan attacked the Philippines. The conquest of the Philippines by Japan is often considered the worst military defeat in United States history. About 23,000 American military personnel were killed or captured, while Filipino soldiers killed or captured totalled around 100,000.



Philippines Independence

After ending the aggression of Japan, the US honoured its promise given in the Act. In April 1946 elections were held, and on 4 July the Philippines became independent. USA left the Philippines but provided military training and financial support against Huks between 1946 and 1954. Throughout the period the country was one of the USA's most loyal allies. The country was one of only three Asian states to join the US-dominated South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954.



Quezon

Summary

- The unjust nature of Versailles Peace Treaty, failure of League of Nations, economic depression of the 1930s, expansionist policies of Fascist powers like Italy, Germany and Japan, all contributing to the outbreak of World War II are discussed.
- The importance of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour, the Battle of Stalingrad and bombing of Dresden, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are highlighted.

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- Peace settlement with Axis powers and their allies, the establishment of UNO and the total outcome of the War are analysed.
- The woes of Chinese peasants and the open door policy pursued by the Manchu rulers, resulting in China being carved out as spheres of influence by the foreign powers like Britain and France are detailed.
- Spread of Christianity and interference of foreigners in Chinese administration and Japanese aggression of Chinese territories whipped up nationalist sentiments of the Chinese and prodding them to revolt are explained.
- Role played by Sun-Yat-sen and Mao-Tse Tung in mobilising the Chinese against Manchu dynasty and in establishing People's government are described.
- The Long March of Mao and the subsequent developments leading finally to the establishment of communist rule in China are elaborated.
- The history of liberation struggles, with particular reference to Indonesia and the Philippines, is traced.
- Japanese occupation of these two regions for more than three years and eventual emergence of nationalist movements leading to the overthrow of the colonial regimes in Indonesia and the Philippines are explored.

EXERCISE

QXW0E

I. Choose the correct answer

1. Which one of the following was not the cause for the outbreak of Second World War?
   (a) The unjust nature of the terms of Peace with Germany
   (b) Failure of the League of Nations
   (c) Economic Depression of 1930s
   (d) National Liberation Movements in Colonies
2. The Kellogg–Briand Pact was signed in the year _____
   (a) 1927 (b) 1928 (c) 1929 (d) 1930
3. **Assertion (A):** A Disarmament Conference was organised by the League of Nations at Geneva.
   Reason (R): The matter came up for deliberation was Germany's rearmament plan on a par with France.
   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A
   (b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A
   (c) A is correct but R is wrong
   (d) A is wrong but R is correct
4. In which year did Japan invade and seize Manchuria from China?
   (a) 1931 (b) 1932 (c) 1933 (d) 1934
5. _____ emerged as the most powerful Industrial country in continental Europe towards the close of nineteenth century.
   (a) France (b) Spain
   (c) Germany (d) Austria
6. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, a plebiscite was to be held in _____ in January 1935.
   (a) Sudetenland (b) Rhineland
   (c) Saar (d) Alsace
7. **Assertion (A):** The methods of warfare changed during the Second World War.
   Reason (R): Trench warfare had given way to aerial bombing.
   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A
   (b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A
   (c) A is correct but R is wrong
   (d) A is wrong but R is correct
8. In 1939 Germany signed Non-aggression pact with _____
   (a) Austria (b) Italy
   (c) Russia (d) Britain

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9. Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour was planned by _____
   (a) Yamamoto (b) Schuschnigg
   (c) Kaiser William II (d) Hirohito
10. Lend-Lease system introduced by President Roosevelt was helpful in _____
   (a) providing additional soldiers to countries fighting the fascist forces
   (b) safeguarding the Jews from the murderous attacks of Hitler's army
   (c) expanding the resources of the allies, supplying arms and ammunition
   (d) providing medical services to those wounded in the Second World War.
11. In August 1942, US forces in the Pacific was commanded by _____
   (a) MacArthur
   (b) Eisenhower
   (c) General de Gaulle
   (d) George Marshall
12. The US navy defeated the Japanese navy in the Battle of _____
   (a) Britain (b) Guadalcanal
   (c) El Alamein (d) Midway
13. German forces suffered their first reverses at _____
   (a) Potsdam (b) El Alamein
   (c) Stalingrad (d) Midway
14. Which one of the following was not a declaration of the Potsdam conference?
   (a) East Prussia to be divided into two parts: northern part going to the Soviet Union, and the southern part to Poland.
   (b) Poland to receive the former free city of Danzig.
   (c) Germany to be divided into four occupation zones to be governed by the USSR, Great Britain, the United States and France
   (d) Trieste was to be divided into Zone A and Zone B. Zone A went to Italy, while zone B was awarded to Yugoslavia.
15. Which one of the following was not the result of the Second World War?
   (a) Second World War was fatal to many European monarchies.
   (b) The Labour Party government in Britain established a welfare state.
   (c) The struggle against Fascism ended in the triumph of Imperialism
   (d) The United States and Soviet Russia emerged as two super powers in the world.
16. Which of the following pairs is correct?
   1) General de Gaulle - France
   2) Haile Selassie - Ethiopia
   3) General Badoglio - Japan
   4) Admiral Yamamoto - Italy
   (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
   (c) 3 and 4 (d) All are correct
17. France joined the Second Opium War
   (a) to help Britain in the war
   (b) to carve out a separate sphere of influence to France
   (c) to obtain permission for religious activities
   (d) to establish the French rights to engage in opium trade.
18. The end of Manchu dynasty came in the year _____
   (a) 1908 (b) 1911 (c) 1912 (d) 1916
19. The dispute that led to the Spanish-American War in 1898 was on _____
   (a) Cuba (b) the Philippines
   (c) Puerto Rico (d) Batavia
20. **Assertion (A):** On 4 July 1946 the Philippines became independent.
   Reason (R): Philippines joined the US-dominated South East Asian Treaty Organisation.
   (a) Both A and R are correct. R explains A
   (b) Both A and R are correct. R does not explain A
   (c) A is correct but R is wrong
   (d) A is wrong but R is correct

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II. Write brief answers

1. Bring out the importance of Kellogg-Briand Pact.
2. Why did Germany withdraw from the League of Nations in 1933?
3. What was the background for the formation of Rome-Berlin Axis?
4. What was the essence of the Munich agreement?
5. What do you know of Dunkirk Evacuation?
6. Highlight the importance of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour.
7. Enumerate the essential principles of Atlantic Charter.
8. Examine the importance of the Treaty of Nanking.
9. Explain the immediate outcome of American rule established in the Philippines in 1902.
10. Assess the significance of the Cavite uprising.

III. Write Short answers

1. Why was Hitler keen on capturing Stalingrad? Point out how his plan turned out to be his "Waterloo".
2. Allied bombing of Germany became a symbol of terror bombing campaign. Elucidate.
3. Bring out the significance of Huk Rebellion.
4. Highlight the important results of the Second World War.
5. Attempt an account of Boxer Rebellion in China.
6. Discuss the role of Kuomintang Party in China's nationalist politics.
7. Estimate the contribution of Sukarno to the independence of Indonesia.

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. The seeds for the Second World War were sowed in the treaty of Versailles. Discuss with reasons.
2. Examine to what extent Germany and Hitler were responsible for the outbreak of Second World War.
3. Describe Mao Tse Tung's contribution to the establishment of Communist government in China.
4. Make a comparative analysis of common and varying features in the liberation struggles of Indonesia and Philippines.

V. Activity

1. Teachers to arrange to screen the Pearl Harbour movie titled *From Here to Eternity*.
2. "Was the US justified in dropping of Atomic bombs on Japan during the Second World War? Students to debate.
3. Teachers guide the students to mark the important nations and places of battles of the Second World War in an outline world map.
4. Students to attempt a biographical account of important Generals like Yuan Shi kai, MacArthur, George Marshall, General Badoglio as well as rebel/ nationalist leaders like Hung Hsiu-chuan, and Aguinaldo.

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GLOSSARY

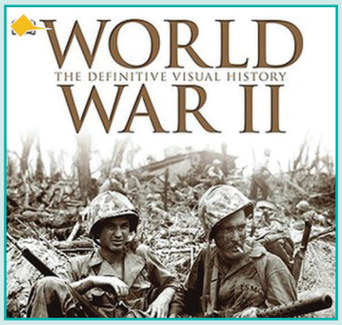
reparation	payments made by a defeated nation after a war to pay for damages it caused to another nation	போரில் தோற்ற நாடு மற்றொரு நாட்டிற்கு அது ஏற்படுத்திய சேதத்திற்காக வழங்கும் இழப்பீட்டுத் தொகை
disarmament	reduction of military forces and weapons	இராணுவ ஆட்கள் மற்றும் ஆயுதக் குறைப்பு
breach	go against the treaty, violate	உடன்படிக்கையை மீறு
appeasement	conciliation	சமாதானப்படுத்துதல்
evacuation	removing a person or persons from a place.	ஓரிடத்திலிருந்து வெளியேற்றுதல்
embolden	give the courage to do something	ஊக்கம் கொள்ளச் செய்தல், துணிவூட்டல்
concentration camp	a place where large numbers of people are kept as prisoners in extremely bad condition	சித்திரவதை முகாம்
vindictive	revengeful	பழிவாங்கும் இயல்புடைய
belligerent	one eager to fight; aggressive	போரிடுகிற, மூர்க்கத்தனமான
unprecedented	never done, never known before	முன்னெப்போதுமில்லாத, முன் சம்பவிக்காத
quell	crush, suppress	அடக்கு, ஒடுக்கு
indemnity	obligation of an individual or a nation to bear the losses of another incurred in a war.	போரில் தோற்றவர் மீது கோரப்படும் இழப்பீட்டுத் தொகை
crew	staff who work on board a ship or aircraft	கப்பல்/ விமானப் பணியாளர் குழு
treacherously	in a disloyal and faithless manner	நம்பிக்கைத் துரோகமாய்
manifestation	appearance or demonstration	வெளிப்பாடு
languish	to exist in an unpleasant condition	தளர்வடை, செயல் இழ
dodge	to trick to evade	தவிர்க்க, தட்டிக்கழிக்கத் தந்திரம் செய்தல்.
persuade	convince someone to do something through reasoning or argument.	விவாதத்தின்மூலம் இணங்கச் செய்
seizure	capture, takeover, annexation	பறிமுதல் செய்தல், கைப்பற்றுதல்

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ICT CORNER

Outbreak of World War II and its Impact in Colonies

Through this activity you will learn about pictorial Timeline events of World War II.



Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Click on '**map**' to see the events happened in the location and select any year from the bottom timeline (**Ex.1939**)

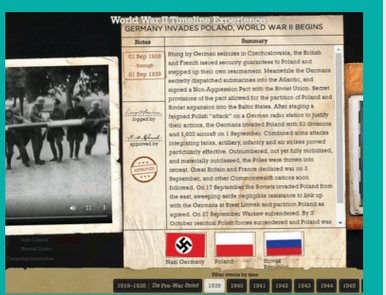
Step - 3 Select the '**box**' on the map to learn more about the World War II events.



Step1



Step2



Step3

Web URL: https://www.abmc.gov/sites/default/files/interactive/interactive_files/WW2/index.html

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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UNIT 15

The World after World War II

Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The emergence of a bi-Polar world in the post-World War II period
- Beginning of Cold War with US funded post-War reconstruction of Europe
- Military Pacts leading to the formation of two ideologically different camps: NATO, led by the USA and the USSR-led Warsaw Pact countries.
- Non-Alignment movement and Third World countries
- UNO and its role in resolving global disputes
- Formation and consolidation of the European Union
- Collapse of Soviet Union and the end of Cold War

Introduction

World War II (1939–1945) was fought between the Allied and the Axis powers. Britain, France and Russia formed the allied camp; the United States joined it later in 1941 after the attack on Pearl Harbour. Germany, Italy and Japan were the Axis powers. Despite the ideological differences amongst Allies, it was Germany's fascist and war-mongering attitude that compelled them to work together. United States and Britain were not comfortable with the Soviet Union given its communist form of government.

At the end of the Second World, USSR and USA emerged as super powers. In their bid to gain ideological supremacy they entertained mutual suspicion and distrust. Both countries tried to spread their ideology either by force or by enticement. In the newly emerged bi-polar world, most of the countries had to either ally with the US or with USSR. Many Afro-Asian countries, India included, decided to remain un-aligned. This group of countries came together and formed the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

The destruction and displacement caused by the Second World War was much greater than during the First World War and so the world leaders realised the need for a world organisation to prevent a war in the future. As a result, United Nations Organisation (UNO) was established in 1945. UNO played its role in resolving the disputes among the member states. But the cold war situation prevented the UN from functioning independently and effectively. The War had ruined European economy and devastated several cities in Western Europe. European states had to come together initially for the purpose of reconstruction of the shattered economy, paving the way for its evolution as a strong collective in course of time.

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In this chapter we will be discussing the emergence of the two power blocs, strategies used by them to enlarge their spheres of influence, emergence of NAM, the role of UNO in resolving disputes, the post-war reconstruction in Europe and the establishment of European Union, and finally the end of cold war with the collapse of Soviet Union.

15.1 Post-War Conditions in Europe

The Second World War was more catastrophic than the First World War. As many as 60 million civilians were killed. In a planned genocide the Nazis killed 6 million European Jews. Millions became homeless and refugees. The War had destroyed factories and farm lands. Great cities such as Warsaw, Kiev, Tokyo and Berlin were totally devastated. Britain and France, which enjoyed prestige in international politics prior to the War, were badly undermined. The condition of post-war Europe appeared grave with shortages of food and raw materials. There was by high rates of unemployment.

The post-War material conditions challenged the laissez-faire attitude of capitalist countries. Many European countries turned into social welfare states committed to enhancing the conditions of its citizens. Not satisfied with the measures of the ruling governments the distressed masses tended to support socialist movements. This was especially so in Greece and Turkey where the communist movement was active. The USSR supported parties and movements which were left-leaning. By 1948 the Soviets had established left wing governments in the countries of eastern Europe notably in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Elections held in Yugoslavia had already resulted in the formation of a communist state under Tito. As communism strengthened its grip on eastern Europe, the Americans and the British began to worry about the threat of Soviet-influenced parties coming to power in western Europe.

Emergence of a Bi-Polar World

Following the defeat of Germany, Stalin, Truman and Churchill, later replaced by Clement Attlee, met at Potsdam near Berlin in July 1945 to discuss the future of Germany. During the course of the meeting Truman informed Churchill about the invention of an atomic bomb. A few days after the conference, USA dropped atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With the bombardment of Japanese cities, Japanese Emperor Hirohito announced his country's unconditional surrender. This act of bombing Japan without informing USSR created a diplomatic void between two countries. USSR produced an atomic bomb in 1949.



George Kennan

Meanwhile, difference of opinion had arisen on the creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund between the US and the USSR. On 22 February 1946 George Kennan, the American charge d'affaires in Moscow, in an 8,000-word telegram to the Department of State, known as 'Long Telegram,' emphasised that the Soviet Union did not see the possibility for long-term peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world and suggested that the best strategy was to "contain" communist expansion around the globe.

In March 1946 Churchill, who was invited to speak at Fulton in Missouri, condemned the Soviet action of installing communist governments in Eastern European region. He declared "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." He called for a western alliance which would stand firm against communism. Churchill's speech is considered to signal the beginning of the Cold War. Stalin criticised Churchill as a warmonger. After the Iron Curtain Speech of Churchill, USSR continued to tighten its

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hold over Eastern Europe. By the end of 1947 except Czechoslovakia the rest of the area was brought under Communist rule.



Churchill at Fulton

The Berlin Blockade and Formation of East Germany and West Germany

By the Yalta and Potsdam Conference agreements, Germany, with its capital city Berlin, was divided into four zones, viz., U.S zone, U.K. zone, French zone and USSR zone. By early 1948 all the three western zones were merged together and with the Marshall Plan these zones registered rapid growth and development. USSR's response was to put pressure on communications between West Berlin and West Germany. In June 1948 the Russians stopped all road and rail traffic between West Berlin and West Germany. The western powers decided to maintain contact with Berlin by air. For nearly eleven months West Berlin was supplied by air, and vast quantities of supplies were flown in at immense cost. In May 1949 USSR ended its ban on land traffic and the crisis ended. The western powers now went ahead and set up the Federal Republic of Germany in August 1949 (FRG, popularly known as West Germany) and USSR set up the German Democratic Republic (GDR, popularly known as East Germany) in October 1949. If the division of Germany marked the real beginnings of the Cold War, the reunification of Germany in 1990 signalled the end of Cold War.



Berlin Blockade and Airlift

15.2 Cold War

On 16 April 1947 Bernard Baruch, the US Presidential adviser, in a speech at the State House in Columbia, used the term "Cold War," (earlier coined by George Orwell, the great English writer and author of *Animal Farm*), to describe the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union after the Second World War. A war without weapons, the Cold War was a war of ideologies.

Between 1945 and 1991, the Cold War defined the foreign policy of the super powers. During this period both the powers were in a constant state of military preparedness. The US wanted to promote open market for its goods and wanted to stop the spread of communism. On the other hand USSR wanted to spread communism and desired to have friendly governments on its borders who shared the same value systems. The powers adopted six major strategies to achieve their ends: Economic Aid, Military Pacts, Propaganda, Espionage, Brinkmanship, and Surrogate Wars.

Cold War Strategies

(a) Economic Aid

Truman Plan

In 1945 a civil war broke out in Greece. Britain which had supported Greece for years, now decided to withdraw given its own economic problems. Sometime later trouble started in Turkey also, with the communists trying to take control. In 1947, Britain told the

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United States that it could no longer afford to fight communist insurgencies in Greece and Turkey and decided to leave it as of March 31. United States chose to act. President Harry S. Truman decided to intervene in support of Greece and Turkey. He committed to provide financial and military assistance to those countries where communism was ascendant. This laid the framework for US policy towards containing communism, known popularly as the Truman Doctrine which dominated until the end of the Cold War.



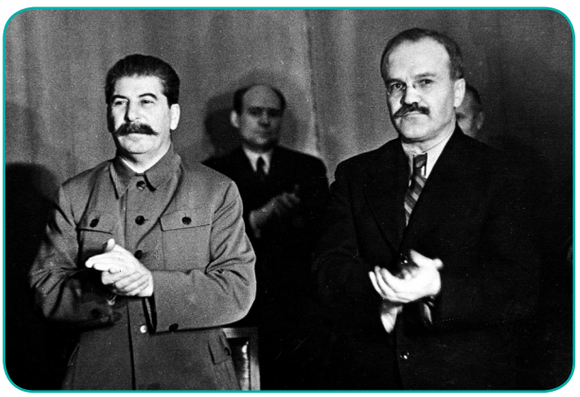
Truman and Marshall

Marshall Plan

With its experience in Greece and Turkey, USA understood the value of American dollars in containing Communism. So it decided to move further in the same direction. In June 1947, George C. Marshall, the Secretary of State under President Truman, came out with an economic plan for all those European countries which were affected by war. He called it a European Recovery Programme. Marshall declared, "Our Policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos". European states were provided with financial assistance. Over the next four years 13,000 million dollars were pumped into western Europe in the name of Marshall plan. By 1948 sixteen European states and the three Western zones of Germany set up the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). Marshall Aid lasted for four years (1948–52). Molotov, the soviet foreign minister dubbed the Marshall Plan as "dollar imperialism". In the Soviet view, Marshall Plan was little more than a ploy to spread American influence.

Molotov Plan

In response to Marshall Plan, USSR set up *The Cominform* (the Communist Information Bureau) in September 1947. This was an organisation in which all European communist parties were represented. It discouraged trade contact between the non-communist countries and tried to forge ideological and material linkages with its member countries. In 1949, USSR came out with its economic package known as Molotov Plan. Another organisation, known as *Comecon* (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance), was set up to co-ordinate the economic policies of USSR and its satellite states.



Joseph Stalin and Molotov

(b) Military Pacts

Forging strategic alliances by signing military pacts was another notable strategy used by both the powers to enlarge their camps. In 1948 Czechoslovakia was the only democratic state in Eastern Europe and was a buffer between the capitalist bloc and the Soviet Union. In the elections of May 1948 the Communist party swept the polls. This further alarmed the western powers.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

Despite the friendship of the United States, Western European countries felt insecure. Communist victory in Czechoslovakia added to their fears.

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On 1 November 1952, the United States successfully detonated "Mike," the world's first hydrogen bomb, on the Elugelab Atoll in the Pacific Marshall Islands. Three years later, on 22 November 1955, the Soviet Union detonated its first hydrogen bomb.

The Western European countries were now willing to consider a collective security solution. The representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg met in Brussels and signed a treaty in March 1948 which provided for military, political, economic and cultural collaboration. After sometime USA, Italy, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Ireland and Portugal joined the five Brussels Treaty Powers resulting in the formation of NATO. Under NATO, all the member states agreed to regard an attack on any one of them as an attack on all of them and placed their defence forces under a joint NATO Command Organisation. This collective defence arrangement applied only to attacks that occurred in Europe or North America and did not include conflicts in colonial territories. In 1952, Greece and Turkey were admitted to NATO and West Germany joined in 1955.



NATO Meet in 1950

Warsaw Treaty Organisation

When West Germany became a member of NATO, USSR saw it as a direct threat and decided to make a counter arrangement. In May 1955, a "treaty of mutual friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance" was signed by Soviet Union and seven of its European allies. It was named as The Warsaw Pact, as the treaty was signed in Warsaw, the capital of Poland. The members were Soviet Union, Albania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. The treaty called upon member states to come to the defence of any member if it was attacked by an outside force. A unified military command under Marshall Ivan S. Konev of the Soviet Union was set up. The Warsaw Pact remained valid till 1991, the year of collapse of Soviet Union.



Central and Eastern European Countries Meet

South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO)

In 1949 China turned into a Communist state under the leadership of Mao. Communism was spreading from China to Korea. Alarmed by the spread of communism in the Asian region, in September 1951, a tripartite military alliance was signed between the US, Australia and New Zealand (known as the ANZUS treaty). In 1954 the US signed a Mutual Defence Treaty with Nationalist China (Taiwan), providing the latter with American support in the event of an attack or invasion by Communist China.

In September of 1954, USA, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). SEATO is seen as an Asian-Pacific version of NATO. Interestingly only two south-east Asian countries, the Philippines and Thailand, had taken up membership and the rest of the countries refused to be part of it. The alliance was headquartered at Bangkok.

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SEATO existed only for consultation, leaving each individual nation to react individually to internal threats. SEATO was not as popular as NATO. With the end of Vietnam War, SEATO was disbanded in 1977.



SEATO Conference in Manila

Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO)

In February 1955, Iraq and Turkey signed a "pact of mutual cooperation" at Baghdad. The membership was open to all countries in the region. In April, Great Britain joined the Pact, followed by Pakistan and Iran. The aim was to check communist influence. A series of events took place in Middle East in 1958 which threatened regional stability: the Egypt–Syria union, revolution in Iraq and civil unrest in Lebanon. In response to these developments, the United States intervened in Lebanon. The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the US intervention. Iraq left the pact. As a result, the other signatories of the Baghdad Pact formed the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO), moving its headquarters to Ankara, Turkey. United States continued to support the organisation as an associate, but not as a member. In 1979, the Iranian revolution led to the overthrow of the Shah and Iran withdrew from CENTO. Pakistan also withdrew that year after the organisation ceased to play an active role. CENTO was formally disbanded in 1979.

(c) Propaganda

During the Cold War both the US and the USSR used propaganda as effective tools to glorify their ideology, while criticising the opponents values and ideals. Pro-American values were promoted in film, television, music, literature and art. While the ideology of capitalism was promoted, communism was condemned both as a political ideology and a social and economic system by the United States. In USSR propaganda was designed in such a way that collective work and collective leadership within the socialist frame were encouraged. Democracy and market economy was dubbed as a façade to mask an exploitative capitalism.

(d) Espionage



CIA Headquarters

Espionage or spying was a key ploy used by the both super powers to get information on military secrets and access government records. During the Cold War both superpowers maintained strong intelligence-gathering agencies. In the United States the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was established in 1947 and the Soviet Union's Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (KGB), or 'Committee for National Security' was formed in 1954. The espionage wars fuelled a great amount of suspicion and hatred, and a huge amount of popular films and novels with spies as heroes and villains added to it (e.g. James Bond films).



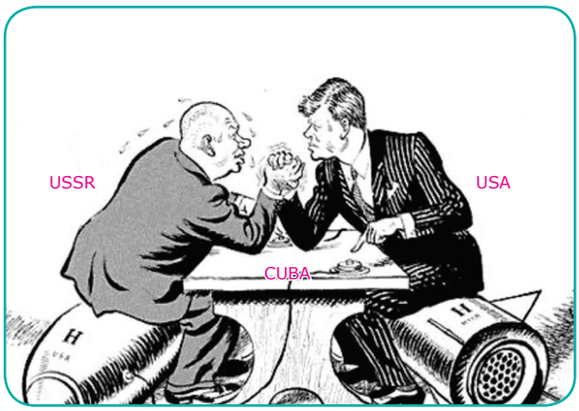
KGB Office

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(e) Brinkmanship

Brinkmanship was a term that was constantly used during the Cold War. The word comes from U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In an interview to *Life* in 1956, he claimed that, in diplomacy, "if you are scared to go to the brink [of war], you are lost." An example of this policy was in 1962 when the Soviet Union placed nuclear missiles in Cuba. This nearly brought about a nuclear war. The United States responded by putting a naval blockade around Cuba. Finally, after much negotiations, the missiles were removed from Cuba.

Brinkmanship is the practice of trying to achieve an advantageous outcome by pushing dangerous events to the brink of active conflict. It occurs in international politics, foreign policy, and military strategy and could involve even the threat of nuclear weapons.



Cuban Missile Crisis

(f) Surrogate Wars

US and USSR engaged in surrogate or proxy wars as part of Cold War strategy. The Korean War of 1950–53 and the Vietnam Wars of 1955–75 were classic examples of the Cold War period. In both cases Soviet Union supported the communist government in North Korea and in North Vietnam and the United States supported South Korea and South Vietnam. These wars resulted in huge casualties and losses, and turned out to be civil wars as well. International opinion was mobilised in these wars, and anti-Vietnam protests made a profound impact on the politics, society and culture of the US and western Europe.

15.3 Third World Countries and Non-Alignment

In the aftermath of Second World War many colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America got their independence from imperial rule. The newly independent countries were upset by the Cold War strategy of USA and USSR. They viewed power blocs as another form of imperialism and so decided to keep away from such politics. Calling themselves countries of Third World, a term coined by French demographer and historian Alfred Sauvy in 1952, they decided to follow an independent and neutral policy in their foreign affairs.

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)



Bandung Conference

In 1955 the first Afro-Asian Conference was held at Bandung in Indonesia where 29 states, mostly new independent states, including Egypt, Indonesia, India, Iraq and the People's Republic of China, gathered to condemn colonialism, apartheid and growing tensions due to Cold War. The conference adopted a 'Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation' which included Nehru's Panchsheel and a collective pledge to remain neutral in the Cold War. The ten principles of Bandung later became

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the guiding principles of NAM. The term "non-alignment" was coined by V. K. Krishna Menon in 1953 at the United Nations.

Based on the Ten Principles of Bandung, the First Summit of NAM was held at Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia in 1961. Five members played a prominent role in the foundation of NAM: Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. The objective of NAM was to "create an independent path in world politics. The most important objectives included ending of imperialism and colonialism, promotion of international peace and security and disarmament, ending of racism and racial discrimination." The statement issued at the end of the Belgrade conference also deprecated military pacts with any great power or the permission for any super power to build a military base in its territories.



First Non-Aligned Conference, Belgrade

The following goals and objectives were set by the proponents of the Non-Aligned Movement at the 1955 Bandung Conference:

- Respect of fundamental human rights and of the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- Recognition of the equality among all races and of the equality among all nations, both large and small.
- Non-intervention or non-interference in the internal affairs of another country.
- Respect for the right of every nation to defend itself, either individually or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Non-use of collective defence pacts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers.
- Refraining from acts or threats of aggression and use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country. Non-use of pressures by any country against other countries.
- Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Promotion of mutual interest and cooperation.
- Respect for justice and international obligations.

During the Cold War period, NAM acted as an alternative for the power bloc politics. With the disintegration of Soviet Union, NAM became irrelevant.

The Panchsheel (five principles), policy of Nehru, included 1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, 2. Mutual non-aggression, 3. Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, 4. Equality and mutual benefit, 5. Peaceful co-existence.

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15.4 UNO and Global Disputes

The Second World War proved that the League of Nation was a failure. World leaders realised the need for the creation of an effective organisation to prevent another war. At Dumbarton Oaks, a mansion in Georgetown, Washington, representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom met (August 21–October 7, 1944) and formulated proposals for a world organisation. The Moscow declaration of 1943 recognised the need for an international organisation to replace the League of Nations. Subsequently, at the Yalta Conference held in February 1945, decisions on the voting system in security council and a few other issues were raised. After holding deliberations and negotiations at the San Francisco Conference, held in April, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations was finalised.



Yalta Conference

On 24 October 1945 the UNO came into existence with 51 members. The main organs of the UN are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygve Lie, was elected the first UN Secretary-General. In addition to its main organs UNO has currently 15 specialised agencies. Some of the prominent agencies are International Labour Organisation (ILO - Geneva), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO - Rome), International Monetary Fund (IMF - Washington (D.C)), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO - Paris), World Health Organisation (WHO - Geneva), and World Bank (Washington (D.C)).



Trygve Lie

Role of UNO in resolving Global disputes

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". (Preamble to the Constitution of UNO).

UNO Headquarters



UNO Headquarters, Newyork

The birth of UNO coincided with the beginning of the Cold War. During this period the UNO played an important role in preventing wars. But in disputes involving the permanent members of the Security Council the UNO was a mute spectator. UN has an army known as the UN Peace-keeping Force. Member states contribute soldiers to this force. The UN soldiers are referred to as Blue Helmets, because of their light blue helmets.

Problem of Palestine

After the Second World War the Jews demanded a homeland in Palestine. Arabs opposed the demand and the matter was

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Arab Refugees

referred to the UN. In May 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution of establishing the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to investigate and make recommendations. According to the UNSCOP report, Arabs were in possession of about 85 percent of the land and only about 5.8 percent was owned by Jews. Despite these facts, the recommendation of the UNSCOP was that Palestine should be partitioned into two states, with the majority Arabs surrendering land to the Jews for their new state. Under the proposal, 45 percent of the land would be for the Arab state, compared to 55 percent for the Jewish state. On 14 May 1948 a new state called Israel was formed.

Recognition to Nationalist China



Chiang Kai-shek with
Roosevelt and Churchill

In 1949, in the context of Mao Tse Tung forming a Communist government in mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek fled to the island of Formosa where he headed the Nationalist government. USSR then proposed that a representative of Communist China should replace the representative of Nationalist China on the Security Council. Since this was not accepted USSR decided to boycott the Security Council and all other UN organs. The People's Republic of China became a permanent member in the Security Council only from 1971.

The Korean War (1950-53)

Korea, ruled by Japan since 1910, was divided by the 38th parallel into two zones in 1945. The northern zone, with a third of the population and most of the industry, was occupied by the USSR. The southern zone with two-thirds of the population and most of the farming areas, was controlled by the United States. In the elections held under the supervision of UNO, in South Korea Syngman Rhee became president. In North Korea, USSR set up the People's Democratic Republic, a Communist government, headed by Kim Il Sung. Soon after, the Russians and Americans withdrew their forces. The South Korean president openly proclaimed his ambition to unite the whole country by force. Open warfare began on 25 June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea.



Korean War

The Security Council met immediately. In the absence of the USSR, it passed a resolution calling for an end to the fighting. The members of the UN were asked to help in the matter. Sixteen members contributed forces, and forty-five countries gave aid in some form. The American General MacArthur commanded the United Nations forces. In August 1950, with the

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USSR returning to the Security Council, the General Assembly at the initiative of US passed the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution. This clearly set the precedent that if the Security Council could not reach an agreement to intervene in a crisis, then the General Assembly should meet in emergency session and recommend the use of armed force if necessary. USSR regarded this resolution as illegal. The fighting ended with the signing of an armistice in July 1953. The war had increased the importance of the General Assembly.

Suez Crisis, 1956



Suez Canal

Suez Canal connects the Red sea with the Mediterranean Sea. It was constructed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman, after obtaining permission from the Egyptian Pasha. Soon the ownership passed on to the British. It was the main link between Asia and Europe. In July 1956, the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, which was until then privately owned by the Anglo-French Suez Canal Corporation. On 29 October, the Israeli army invaded the Sinai Peninsula. The following day, French and British aircrafts bombed Egyptian air bases. On 5 November 1956, British and French troops landed at the Egyptian town of Port Said. The issue was taken up by the Security Council but Britain and France vetoed the resolution. The General Assembly, at the initiative of the US, which became apprehensive of Soviet invasion, called for an emergency session and condemned the invasion. Israel, Great Britain and France stopped fighting and decided to withdraw their forces from Egypt. The General Assembly voted to create a United Nations Emergency Force, called UNEF. The force would not be a fighting force, but a peace force sent with the consent of both sides. On December 22 the UN evacuated British and French troops and Israeli forces withdrew in March 1957. Nasser emerged a victor and a hero for the cause of pan-Arab and Egyptian nationalism.

Hungarian Crisis, 1956



Hungarian Revolution

The Hungarian leader Rakosi, appointed as premier during the regime of Stalin was dismissed in 1953. It resulted in the election of Imre Nagy as premier. But Nagy enjoyed support neither from his government nor from the Russians. Rakosi continued to control the Communist Party. Writers and intellectuals led the protest, demanding the resignation of Rakosi. Though Rakosi was removed from power in July 1956, the opposition continued. A rebellion organised by a few intellectuals broke out in Budapest on 23 October. Though it began as a peaceful demonstration it soon developed into a national rising against Soviet Russia and its puppet regime in Hungary. On 26 October the Russians agreed to Nagy becoming premier again. On his assumption of office he started introducing a multiparty system and set up a coalition government. Enraged by the development, Soviet Russia sent its army into Hungary on 4 November and crushed the rebellion.

The Hungarian Uprising occurred simultaneously with the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in the Suez affair. The matter was taken up at the Security Council which decided to demand the immediate withdrawal of

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Russian forces from Hungary. Russians vetoed the Security Council resolution and so the same resolution was passed by the Assembly. But nothing came out of the resolution. The failure of the United Nations to influence USSR's actions in Hungary showed that if a Great Power was determined to defy the UNO and had the power to do it, the UN was helpless.

Along with the leak of Khrushchev's secret speech, this had a major impact on the international communist movement, with large numbers (especially of writers and intellectuals) resigning from communist parties across the world.

Arab–Israeli War

As the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state in November 1947, conflict broke out almost immediately between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. On the eve of the British forces' withdrawal (May 15, 1948), Israel declared independence. The war came to an end with the intervention of the UN General Assembly passing a resolution affirming the right of Palestinian refugees from the 1947–48 war to return to their homes and to receive compensation for their losses. Israel joined the UN the following year. From the start, when Israel was created, there was little involvement of the UN in making political decisions. UN peacekeepers were stationed on the Israeli–Egyptian border, and the UN Refugee Works Agency (UNRWA) was established to provide help for the refugees until such time as they returned home.

By 1966 the U.S. providing began to Israel with advanced planes and missiles. The Cold War had come to the Middle East, and the UN was out of the scene. Over the next few months, tensions increased between Israel and the surrounding Arab states. In April 1967 there were artillery exchanges between Israel and Syria. The U.S. Sixth Fleet remained off the Syrian coast. Egyptian President Nasser symbolically asked the UN to move its troops and observers, then inside Egyptian territory, to the Israeli border. The UN told Nasser that he could not ask for UN troop movement. So his choice was to demand the complete withdrawal of the UN troop. On May 23 Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping. In early June Israel attacked Egypt, destroying virtually all of Cairo's air force on the ground.

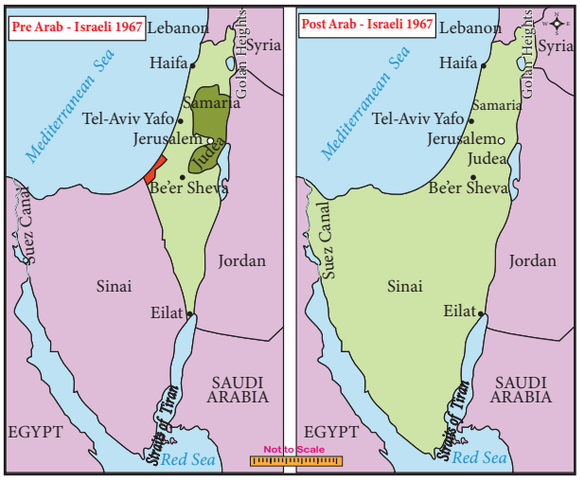


Arab-Israeli War

At the end of the Six Day War Israel occupied the remaining parts of Palestine, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, plus the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai. Two hundred fifty thousand more Palestinians were forced into exile, and a million more remain under Israeli military occupation even now. While referring to the Palestinians only in the context of refugees, rather than reaffirming their national rights, the resolution of the UN unequivocally called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories. The resolution was drafted largely by the four powers of the Security Council – the limited reference to Palestinian rights was a reflection of US influence on the proceedings.

For years following the 1967 war, the UN voted repeatedly in favour of an international peace conference, under its own auspices, with all parties to the conflict (including the Palestine Liberation Organisation led by Yasser Arafat) to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict once and for all. But the U.S. always vetoed it. In the Cold War context, Moscow and Washington played an increasingly larger role either in escalating or containing tension in the region.

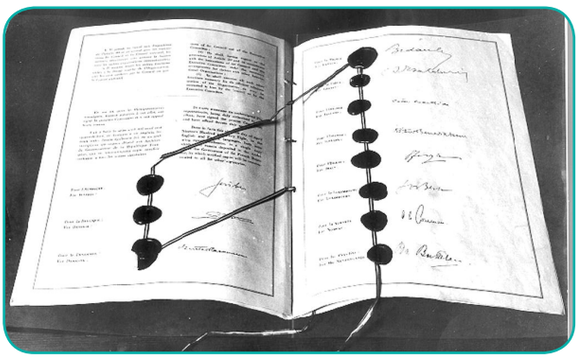
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Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was formed in 1964 to federate various Palestinian groups that previously had operated as clandestine resistance movements. It came into prominence after the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967. The PLO was engaged in a protracted guerrilla wars against Israel until the 1980s, before entering into peace negotiations in the 1990s. Yasser Arafat was its outstanding leader.

15.5 Consolidation and Expansion of European Community

In pursuance of its policy of containment of communism, as we have seen, the USA came out with the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan to support the war-torn European countries to reconstruct their economy. An organisation, OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Cooperation) was formed in April 1948 to overseer the disbursement of Marshall Aid under the auspices of the European Recovery Programme (ERP). The OEEC disbursed aid to its sixteen member countries. The US wanted the OEEC to remove tariff barriers between themselves so that it was easier for American companies to do business. OEEC obliged and followed free trade in 1949 for obtaining further financial aid. With the US aid, by 1950, the western European countries had returned to their pre-war production levels. The success made them to move forward and OEEC transformed itself into the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) in 1961, adding the USA and Canada to the original membership of West European countries. Japan joined in 1964.



OEEC Charter

Today there are thirty-seven member countries in OECD from all around the world. Most of them are developed countries. They are all committed to the concept of free market economy and democracy. It has its headquarters in Paris.

Towards European Union

Council of Europe

One of the momentous decisions taken in the post-World War II era was to integrate the states of western Europe. In May 1949 ten countries met in London and signed to form a Council of Europe. The Council of Europe with headquarters at Strasbourg was established with a committee of foreign ministers of member countries and a Consultative Assembly, drawn from the parliaments of foreign countries.

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)



Schuman



Konrad

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Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister, realised that a reconciliation between France and Germany was good for both and for reconstruction of post-War Europe. He presented a plan known as Schuman Plan on 9 May 1950. Accordingly, he proposed that the joint output of coal and steel in the two countries be placed within the framework of a strong, supranational structure, the High Authority. This plan for sectoral economic integration created mutual interests and automatically linked the two countries. West Germany's Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, welcomed the plan to come close to the Western world.



ECSC members

On 18 April 1951 France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg signed a treaty at Paris to establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). All duties and restrictions on trade in coal, iron and steel between the six were removed. ECSC was the first step towards European Integration. Britain refused to join ECSC since it would mean handing over control of their industries to an outside authority. Steel production rose by almost 50 per cent during the first five years of ECSC. The success made them to include the production of all goods. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium wanted gradual removal of all customs duties and quotas so that there would be free competition and a common market. Six countries belonging to ECSC signed the treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC) or the European Common Market, with headquarters at Brussels. Britain did not join the EEC.

European Economic Community (EEC)



EEC in Session

The EEC facilitated the elimination of barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and labour. It also prohibited public policies or private agreements that restricted market competition. A Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and a common external trade policy were evolved. In 1960, Britain organised a rival organ known as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) with Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal as members. But EFTA was weak since there were no common economic policies and no authority to intervene in the internal affairs of states.

In 1961 Britain decided to join EEC but the French President Charles de Gaulle opposed the entry because the economy of Britain was weak. After his resignation, British Prime Minister Edward Heath, with his skilful diplomacy, made way for Britain's entry. Britain was finally admitted on 1 January 1973 along with Ireland and Denmark.

Single European Act (SEA)

The Single European Act that came into force on July 1, 1987 expanded the EEC's scope further. It called for more intensive coordination of foreign policy among member countries. According to the SEA, each member was given multiple votes, depending on the country's population. Approval of legislation required roughly two-thirds of the votes of all

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members. The new procedure increased the power of European Parliament, which had been functioning since 1952. Specifically, legislative proposals that were rejected by the Parliament could be adopted by the Council of Ministers by a unanimous vote.

European Union (EU)



European Union Flag - Euro Currency

In December 1991 the members of EC came together and signed the Treaty of Maastricht by which the European Union was established in 1993 with a single market. With the establishment of European Union, the members worked on other areas such as foreign policy and internal security. This treaty paved the way for the creation of a single European currency – the euro. In 2017, Britain voted to exit the EU (British Exit known as "Brexit"). Today the European Union has 27 member states, and functions from its headquarters at Brussels, Belgium.

End of Cold War

The US and the Soviet Union had created a bi-polar international structure. Initially the Soviet military capabilities were weak. But by 1969 USSR had equalled US in terms of nuclear capability. The threat of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) created fear in both powers. Moreover, the nuclear race was expensive and cost them heavily. The earmarking of larger portions of their budgets for defence caused a resource crunch. Strong disarmament movements in Europe also put pressure on the ruling governments. This pushed the superpowers to the negotiating table.

The period from the late 1960s to the late 1970s is known as period of détente (temporary stoppage of hostility). The period witnessed increased trade and cooperation between the US and the Soviet Union. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT 1972 & 1979) and later the Strategic Arms Reduction (START, 1991) treaties heralded an era of coexistence and cooperation.



Gorbachev with Ronald Reagan in American Summit

With the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as the President of USSR in March 1985, there were phenomenal political and social changes in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev committed himself to reforms. In February 1986 he spoke in the Communist Party Congress, explaining the need for political and economic restructuring, or *perestroika*, and called for a new era of transparency and openness, or *glasnost*. By *Perestroika* Gorbachev loosened centralised control of many institutions, allowing businesses, farmers and manufacturers to decide for themselves which products to make, how much to produce, and what to charge for them.

Glasnost was instituted as a part of an effort by Gorbachev to democratise the governing structure of Soviet Union. Fundamental changes occurred in the political structure of the Soviet Union: reduction of the power of the Communist Party, and multicandidate elections for assembly membership. Glasnost also permitted criticism of government officials and

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allowed the media freer dissemination of news and people free expression of their opinions. With glasnost, Soviet citizens no longer had to worry about arrest and exile for articulating negative opinions against the State. These ideas created a revolutionary wave of liberalism in Soviet Union. At the same time, it eventually led to the disintegration of Soviet Union.



Boris Yeltsin



Jimmy Carter

1989 was a watershed year in the Cold War era. Free elections were conducted in Poland. The Polish Solidarity movement won the election, routing the Communists. In July Gorbachev, speaking at the Council of Europe, remarked that he rejected the Brezhnev Doctrine: "Any interference in domestic affairs and any attempts to restrict the sovereignty of states, both friends and allies or any others, are inadmissible." In November 1989, one of the most famous symbols of the Cold War, the Berlin Wall came down. In late November 1989 West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, without consulting any allies, suddenly announced a ten-point programme calling for free elections in East Germany and the eventual "German reunification". By the end of the 1989 a popular uprising took place in Eastern Europe and most of the leaders were ousted except in Bulgaria. Slowly Eastern Europe severed its affiliation with communism. This was taken as a clue by many Soviet Republics and by mid-1990 many of them declared themselves as independent states. On December 8, 1991, the Soviet Union disintegrated. On 25th December Gorbachev resigned, Boris Yeltsin became the President of the Russian Republic. With the disintegration of USSR the Cold War came to an end.

Boris Yeltsin (1931–2007): Joining the Communist Party in 1961, Yeltsin became a full-time worker in the party in 1968. In the seventies he emerged as a popular figure and began to occupy in key positions in the Party. After Gorbachev came to power, he chose Yeltsin (1985) to eliminate corruption in the Moscow party organisation. In 1986 Yeltsin was elevated to the Politburo (the highest policy making body of the Soviet Union). Soon he was made the mayor of Moscow. Yeltsin antagonised Gorbachev when he began criticising the slow pace of reform at party meetings. His popularity with the people grew as he advocated democratisation of governance and economic reform. He succeeded in winning a seat in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies (the new Soviet Parliament) in March 1989. A year later, on May 29, 1990, the Soviet parliament elected him president of the Russian republic against Gorbachev's wishes. He became the first popularly elected leader in 1991, after the collapse of Soviet Union.

Summary

- The devastated economy of Western Europe in the aftermath of Second World War and the emergence of bi-polar world with US and USSR emerging as super powers are explained.
- Strategies of the competing super powers to establish hegemony through measures of economic aid and military pacts are discussed.
- Marshall Plan of the US and the USSR's Moltov Plan as a response, the formation of NATO and signing of Warsaw Pact by Soviet Union with its satellite countries to counteract the former's offensive are highlighted.

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- The Third World countries and their non-alignment movement are detailed.
- UNO and its role in resolving global disputes with focus on Korean War, Suez Crisis, Arab-Israeli Wars are dealt with.
- Evolution of European unity culminating in the establishment of European Economic Community that transformed into European Union is traced.
- The end of the Cold War with the collapse of Soviet Union is analysed.

EXERCISE

JNW91

I. Choose the correct answer

1. By the end of 1947 the only country left out of the Soviet influence in eastern Europe was _____

   (a) East Germany (b) Czechoslovakia

   (c) Greece (d) Turkey

2. **Assertion (A):** Stalin criticised Churchill as a warmonger.

   Reason (R): Churchill had earlier called for a western alliance against communism.

   (a) Both A and R are correct; R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct; R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct and R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong and R is correct

3. The term "Cold War" was coined by _____

   (a) Bernard Baruch (b) George Orwell

   (c) George Kennan (d) Churchill

4. **Assertion (A):** The soviet foreign minister dubbed the Marshall Plan as "dollar imperialism".

   Reason (R): In the Soviet view, Marshall Plan was little more than a ploy to spread American influence.

   (a) Both A and R are correct; R explains A

   (b) Both A and R are correct; R does not explain A

   (c) A is correct and R is wrong

   (d) A is wrong and R is correct

5. Marshall aid was for the purpose of _____

   (a) Economic reconstruction of Europe

   (b) Protection of capitalistic enterprises.

   (c) Establishment of American hegemony in Europe

   (d) forming a military alliance against Soviet Russia

6. Truman doctrine advocated _____

   (a) financial aid to stop the spread of communism

   (b) supply of weapons to the insurgents in colonies

   (c) interference in internal affairs of east European countries

   (d) permanent army to UN under US Commander

7. Arrange the following in chronological order

   1) Warsaw Pact 2) CENTO

   3) SEATO 4) NATO

   (a) 4, 2, 3, 1 (b) 1, 3, 2, 4

   (c) 4, 3, 2, 1 (d) 1, 2, 3, 4

8. The aim of the Baghdad Pact was to _____

   (a) protect England's leadership in the Middle East

   (b) exploit the oil resources in the region

   (c) prevent communist influence

   (d) destabilise the government in Iraq

9. US intervention in Lebanon was opposed by _____

   (a) Turkey (b) Iraq

   (c) India (d) Pakistan

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10. The term "Third World" was coined by _____

(a) Alfred Sauvy (b) Marshall

(c) Molotov (d) Harry Truman

11. Match and choose the correct answer from the code given below

(A) Indonesia	1. Jawaharlal Nehru
(B) Egypt	2. Tito
(C) Ghana	3. Kwame Nkrumah
(D) Yugoslavia	4. Gamal Abdel Nasser
(E) India	5. Sukarno

	A	B	C	D	E
(a)	5	3	4	2	1
(b)	1	3	2	4	5
(c)	5	4	3	2	1
(d)	1	2	3	4	5

12. The first Summit of NAM was held at _____

(a) Belgrade (b) Beijing

(c) Bandung (d) Pali

13. **Assertion (A):** The Second World War proved that the League of Nation was a failure.

Reason (R): World leaders realised the need for the creation of an effective organisation to prevent another war.

(a) Both A and R are correct; R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct; but R does not explain A

(c) A is correct but R is wrong

(d) A is wrong and R is correct

14. On 24 October 1945, the UNO came into existence with _____

(a) 100 members (b) 72 members

(c) 51 members (d) 126 members

15. Which of the following statement/s is/are correct?

Statement I: The Birth of UNO coincided with the beginning of Cold War.

Statement II: During the Cold War period, the UNO played an important role in preventing wars.

Statement III: But in disputes involving the permanent members of the Security Council, the UNO was a mute spectator.

(a) I, II (b) II, III

(c) I, III (d) All the above

16. Suez Canal connects the Red Sea with the _____

(a) Gulf of Aden (b) Gulf of Khambat

(c) Mediterranean Sea (d) Arabian Sea

17. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary General of the UNO, belonged to _____

(a) Burma (b) Japan

(c) Singapore (d) Norway

18. **Assertion (A):** In 2017, Britain voted to exit the European Union.

Reason (R): Britain's exit is known as Brexit.

(a) Both A and R are correct; R explains A

(b) Both A and R are correct; R does not explain A

(c) A is correct and R is wrong

(d) A is wrong and R is correct

19. Glasnost denotes _____

(a) transparency and openness

(b) democratisation of Communist Party of Soviet Union

(c) restructuring of the Soviet Federal Assembly

(d) reinventing communism

20. Soviet Union disintegrated on _____

(a) November 17, 1991

(b) December 8, 1991

(c) May 1, 1991

(d) October 17, 1991

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II. Write brief answers

1. Identify the espionage agencies of USA and USSR.
2. Explain the concept of containment of communism.
3. Point out the significance of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution passed by the UN General Assembly.
4. What do you know about Cominform?
5. Provide examples of Surrogate Wars in the cold war era.
6. What was the background to the Hungarian Crisis?
7. What was Schuman Plan?
8. Outline the concept of Perestroika.

III. Write short answers

1. Warsaw Pact was a response of the Soviet Union to the US controlled NATO-Explain.
2. Write about the different stages in the final adoption of UN Charter.
3. Trace the background of the formation of NATO.
4. Give a brief account of Suez Canal Crisis.
5. Why SEATO was not so popular as NATO?

IV. Answer the following in detail

1. Highlight the goals and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement.
2. Discuss the origin of Arab-Israeli conflict and show how subsequent developments caused a major war between the two in 1967.
3. In disputes involving the permanent members of the Security Council, the UNO was a mute spectator. Elucidate this statement from the cold war period experiences.
4. Sketch the political career of Boris Yetlsin, focusing on his role in the collapse of Soviet Union.

V. Activity

1. On the UNO Day (October 24) students may be asked to simulate a session of General Assembly and debate any of the disputes detailed in this lesson.
2. Students may be organised into two groups arguing for and against Capitalism.
3. Teachers and students shall explore the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter adopted by the UN on 10 December 1948.

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GLOSSARY

warmonger	a person who advocates war or aggression towards other countries	போரை ஆதரிப்பவர் அல்லது மற்ற நாடுகள் மீது ஆதிக்கத்தை விரும்புபவர்
enticement	attraction, temptation	வசீகரம், வசப்படுதல், ஈர்த்தல்
devastated	destroyed, ruined	அழித்தது, சூறையாடியது
shattered	exhausted, smashed	தகர்த்தது
catastrophic	disastrous, terrible, dreadful	பேரழிவுமிக்க, பெருங்கேடு விளைவிக்கின்ற
genocide	mass slaughter, indiscriminate killing	இனப்படுகொலை
bombardment	a continuous attack with bombs, shells or other missiles	சரமாரிக் குண்டுவீச்சுத் தாக்குதல்
espionage	surveillance; the practice of using spies for close observation of an enemy or enemy country.	ஒற்றறிதல், வேவுபார்த்தல், ஒற்றர்களைக் கொண்டு எதிரியையோ அல்லது எதிரி நாட்டையோ நெருக்கமாய் கண்காணித்தல்
brinkmanship	the practice of trying to achieve an advantageous outcome by pushing a dangerous event to the brink of active conflict.	போரில் ஈடுபடா ராஜதந்திரம்
surrogate	substitute; represent on behalf of others	மாற்றாக, பதிலாள்
insurgency	violent struggle of a group of people who refuse to accept their government's power	கிளர்ச்சி, ஆட்சியை எதிர்த்து கிளர்ந்தெழுதல்
chaos	complete disorder and confusion	பெருங்குழப்பம், ஒழுங்கற்ற நிலை
detonate	explode	வெடி
tripartite	involving three parties or consisting of three parts	முத்தரப்பு
ploy	tactic or trick, action intended for turning a situation to one's own advantage	சூழ்ச்சி, நிலைமையைச் சாதகமாக்கிக் கொள்ள எடுக்கும் நடவடிக்கை
demographer	a person who engages in population studies.	மக்கள்தொகை ஆய்வாளர்
reconciliation	the process of making two opposite sides agree	சமரச முயற்சி
earmark	keep for a particular purpose	குறிப்பிட்ட நோக்கத்திற்காக ஒதுக்கிவை
hegemony	dominance, supremacy	மேலாதிக்கம்

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ICT CORNER

The World after World War II

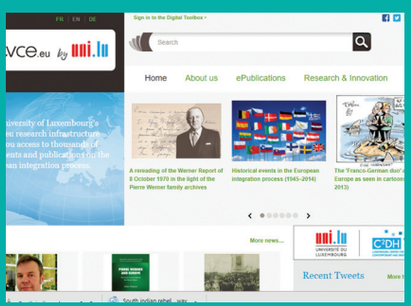
Through this activity you will know about an interactive timeline on the history of the Cold War.



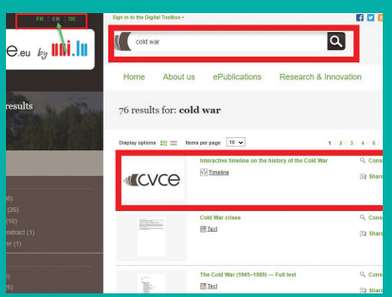
Step - 1 Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.

Step - 2 Change language in top side menu and enter “cold war” into search box

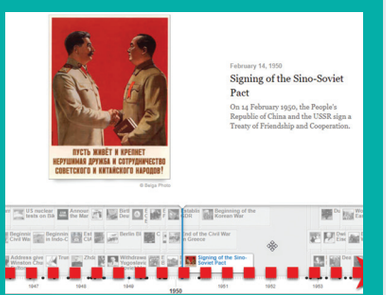
Step - 3 Track the timeline scale in bottom side to see the historical events of Cold war



Step1



Step2



Step3

Web URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en

*Pictures are indicative only

*If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page

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TIME LINE

1 unit = 10 years

Important Events of Indian National Movement (1900-1950)

1900

1905 - Partition of Bengal / Swadeshi Movement
1906 - Muslim League
1907 - Surat Split

1909 - Minto-Morely Reforms

1910

1911 - Ashe Murder

1915 - The First Hindu Mahasabha conference held at Haridwar
1916 - Home Rule League / Lucknow Pact
1917 - Champaran Movement

1919 - Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms / Rowlatt Act / Jalianwalah Bagh Massacre

1920

1920 - Non-Cooperation Movement
1921 - Malabar Rebellion
1922 - Chauri Chaura incident

1930

1930 - Dandi March
1931 - Gandhi-Irwin Pact
1932 - Communal Award / Poona Pact

1937 - First Congress Ministry in Provinces

1940

1940 - August Offer / Lahore Resolution

1942 - Cripps Mission / Quit India Movement

1945 -Wavell Plan / Simla Conference
1946 - Cabinet Mission / Direct Action / Interim Government / RIN Revolt
1947 - India becomes Independence

1950

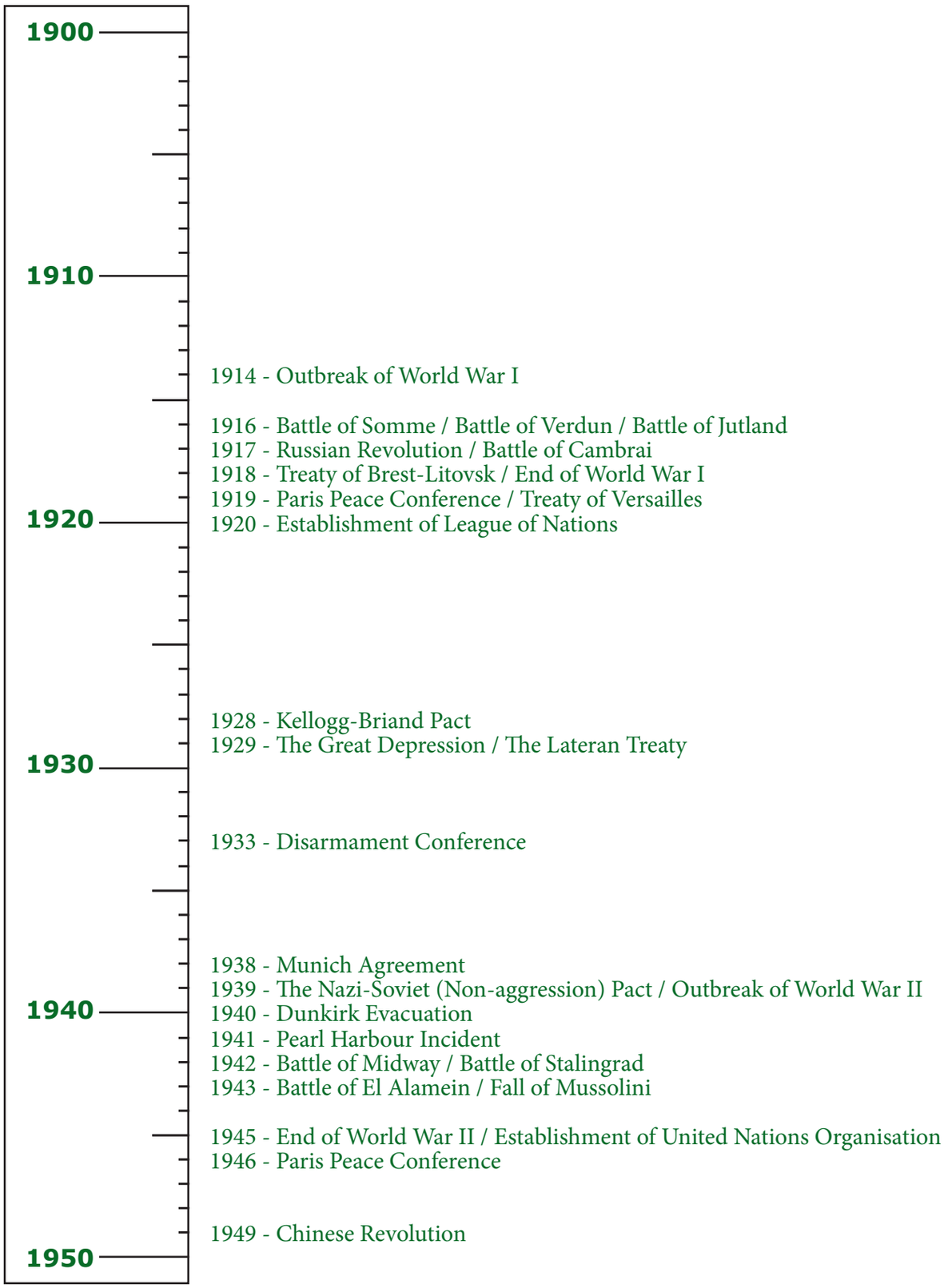
1950 - India becomes Republic

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1 unit = 10 years

Important Events of World History (1900-1950)



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