



GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

HIGHER SECONDARY SECOND YEAR

HISTORY VOLUME - II

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Untouchability is Inhuman and a Crime





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(ii)



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



Infographics

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

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Activities for 'learning by doing' individually or in groups

Summary

Describes the main points briefly in bullets for recapitulation

Exercise

For self-study and self evaluation

Glossary

Keywords 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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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



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.



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.



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 ceiling 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.



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 across the country. This is generally referred to



Green Revolution in India

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 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. Many studies were conducted about the end result of this programme.

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.

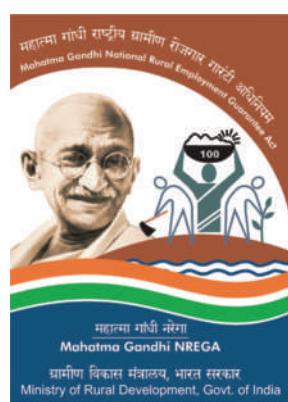
Considering the limited success achieved by the programme it was restructured in 1999 as a programme to promote self-employment of the rural poor.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (MGNREGA)

Over the years, due to concerted efforts, the percentage of households below the poverty 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 were conducted regarding the proper 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.



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, 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, Rourkela, Durgapur and Bokaro, 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.



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 performance of public sector enterprises. Difference of opinions were expressed regarding the decision on location of those enterprises. 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. Recognising all these



Steel Plant, Bokaro



problems, 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. Some economists expressed their concern regarding abdication of state responsibility of ensuring and promoting social justice and welfare by allowing free play to private sector.

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

**P.C. Mahalanobis**

industry, and the share of agriculture in total outlay hovered between 20 and 24%. 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.

DO YOU KNOW? 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.



(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 23 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.



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.



EXERCISE



I. Choosethecorrect 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) Sunder 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



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?
 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 Bhoojan 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. Land reforms failed in their intended objectives. Explain why.
 3. Assess the educational progress made in independent India.
 4. Assess the achievements of the first two Five-Year plans.
 5. 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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A-Z 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 நில வருவாய் 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



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



T6T2T8

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 Bologna (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



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 Chrysoloras, arrived in Venice on a mission from the Byzantine emperor to seek the help of the West in the war against the Turks. Chrysoloras 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 Nicholas V, Pius II, Julius II and Leo X bestowed their patronage upon the most brilliant artists of the Italian Renaissance.



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.

'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.'



Machiavelli

Renaissance in Art

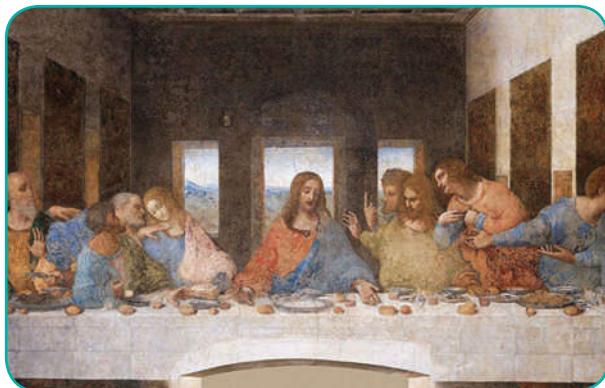
Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

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

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



Last Supper

Baptist to the Christ Child. He painted *Last Supper* (Jesus's final meal with the apostles before his crucifixion) 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



Michelangelo

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.

Raphael (1483–1520)

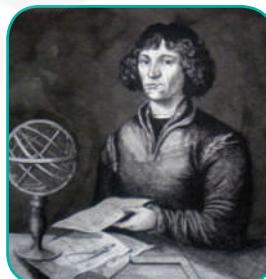
Raphael's famous work is *Madonna and Child*, where Virgin Mary and child Jesus are portrayed. Raphael painted the library walls of Pope Julius II with various religious themes. One such theme was School of Athens that highlighted the classical influence on the renaissance art. He painted himself along 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

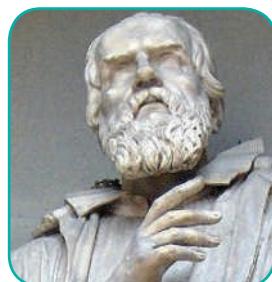
Nicolas Copernicus (1473–1543), a Polish scientist, propounded the theory that the Sun was at the centre of the solar system and all the planets including the earth revolved around the sun (heliocentric). This was the opposite view of the Church which propagated the earth-centric (geocentric) view. Any 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 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



made the professor of Medicine and Maths by the Medici family at the University of Padua (University of 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.

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.



Galileo Galilei



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*.

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,



Elizabeth I

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.



E5B2V3

Multiple factors lead to the exploration of sea

- 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 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

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

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)

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*).



Columbus



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

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.



Vasco da Gama

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

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.



Pedro Cabral

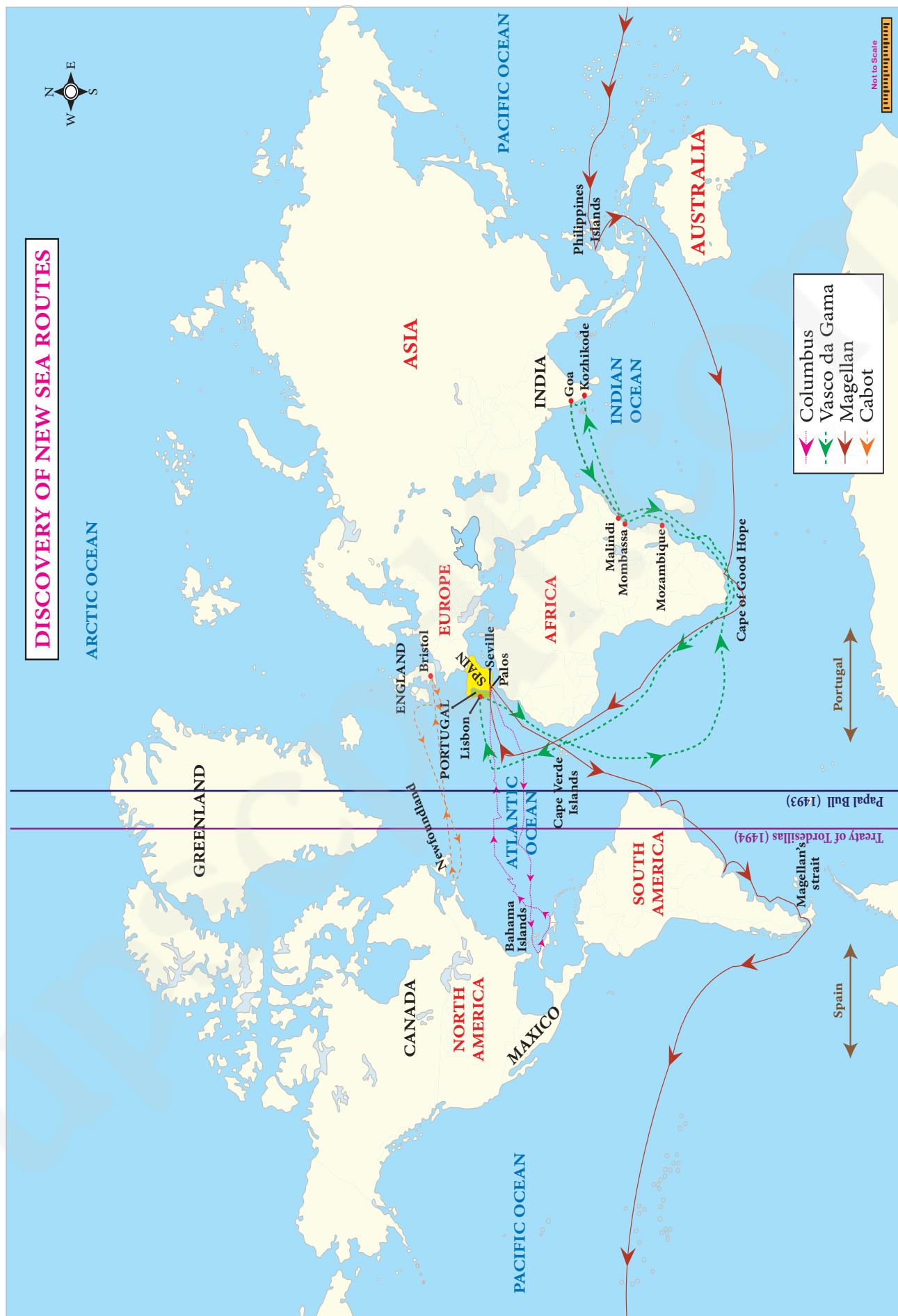
Cabral sailed to India, following the route of Vasco da Gama, and reached Kozhikode. Initially the zamorin ruler was well disposed towards the Portuguese and allowed Cabral to build a fort and carry on trade. However, disputes soon arose with the Arab traders and a large Arab force attacked the trading post and killed many Portuguese soldiers. Cabral retaliated with reinforcements from Portugal. He captured 10 Aran 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

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



Magellan





ship, the *Vittoria* (or 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.



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 transatlantic 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

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



Pope Leo X



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

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.



John Wycliffe

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.



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



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

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



Ignatius of Loyola



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.



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.) 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.)

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.



Louis XI

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.



- 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



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?

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?

9. Who came to Italy seeking the help of the West in the war against the Turks?

- (a) Giovanni Aurispa
 - (b) Manuel Chrysoloras
 - (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



9. What did the Inquisition do in Spain?
10. Why was the conflict between families of York and Lancastrian called War of Roses? How did the war come to an end?
11. Highlight the work of the Council of Trent.
12. 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. Assess the part played by John Calvin in organising the Protestant movement in Genoa.
6. Discuss the contribution of Society of Jesus to the counter-reformation movement in Europe.
7. Write about the voyage of Columbus in 1492.
8. 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.
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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
- <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>

**GLOSSARY**

scepticism	doubt about the truth of something, disbelief	சமய நுழைக்கையின்மை, எதிலும் அவநுழைக்கையாக 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 பெறப்படுவதையே 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



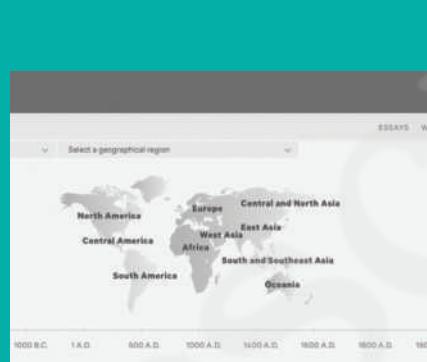
ICT CORNER

Modern World: The Age of Reason

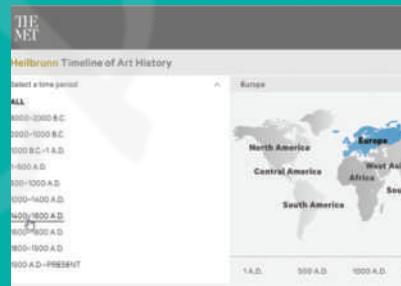
Through this activity you will know about the thematic, chronological, and geographical exploration of world art history.



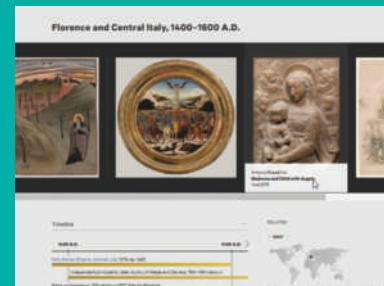
- Step - 1** Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Step - 2** Select any geographical region (ex. Europe) and select a time period (ex.1400-1600 A.D)
- Step - 3** Scroll down and click to see the gallery of Renaissance art



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



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.



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

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.

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.



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.



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.



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



Exchequer in Britain, brought this act into force and hence came to be called Townshend Act.

Boston Massacre

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

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.



Thomas Jefferson



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

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.



George Washington



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

The political and social system of France prior to the French Revolution was called *ancien régime*, 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.



Louis XVI and
Marie Antoinette

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.



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 settle 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



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.



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

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.

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'.

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.



A song for French troops from Marseilles composed (1792) by Roget de Lisle came to be called *La Marseillaise*. By a decree 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 breeches’ (*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.



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.



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

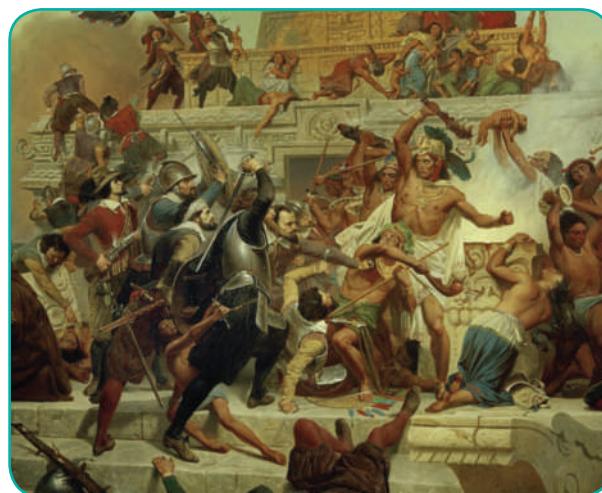
- The French revolution created a deep impact, not only in France but also all over Europe, and even inspired anti-colonial intellectuals and movements across the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- The French revolution brought to an end the rule of Louis XVI in France.
- It reduced 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 its 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.



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.

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.



Vincent Ogé



Toussaint L'Ouverture



Venezuela and New Granada (now Colombia)

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.

In Venezuela the patriots led by Simon Bolívar 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 Bolívar 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. Bolívar 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 Bolívar 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.



Simon Bolívar



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.



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.

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

Independence of Brazil

Brazil was a colony of Portugal. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1808, the Portuguese emperor Dom 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.



Dom Pedro

The reliance of the Brazilian upper classes on African slavery favoured their continued ties with Portugal. Plantation owners depended



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.



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.

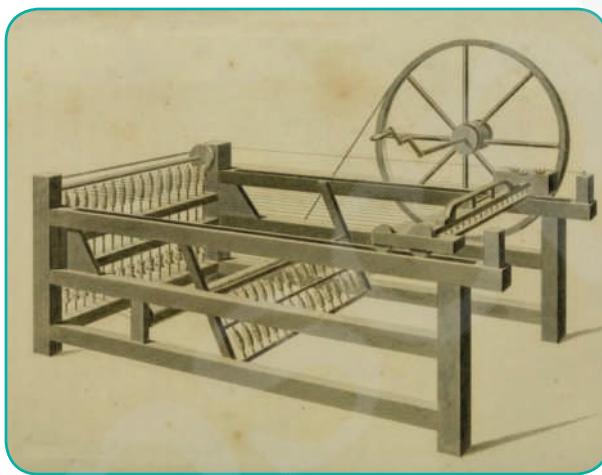
- (a) The impact of Commercial Revolution. Revolution in trade and commerce brought into existence a class of capitalists who were constantly seeking new opportunities to invest their surplus wealth. As a result, more and more capital was made available for the development of manufacturing.
- (b) Though 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. Pauperised 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.



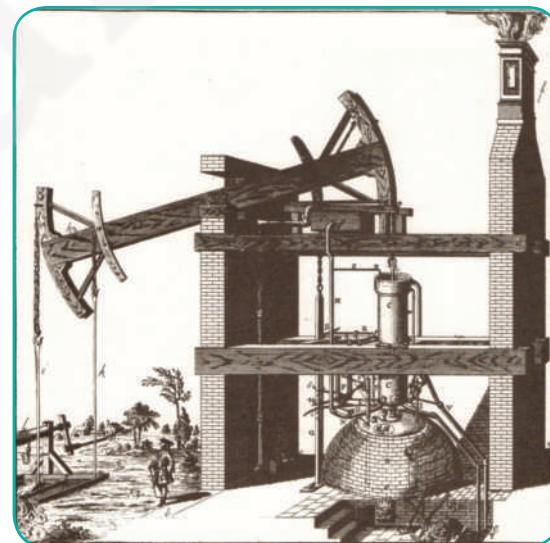
Cotton Industries: The first factories were established in the cotton industry. This became possible due to the invention of spinning jenny, flying shuttle, water frame and Crompton's Mule. Flying shuttle was invented by John Kay in 1733. Before this invention the thread in the shuttle in the weaver's 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.



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 steamships, 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 MacAdam invented an effective and economical method of constructing roads.

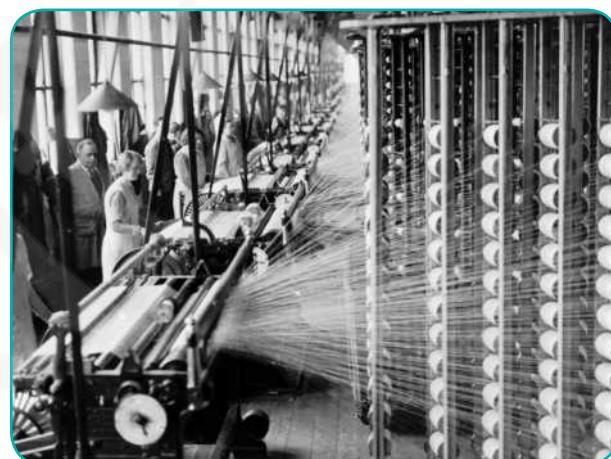
Macadamisation means to pave the road by laying and compacting successive layers of broken stone, often with hot tar.

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.



John McAdam



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



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



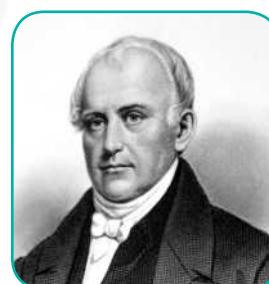
Rudolf Diesel

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.

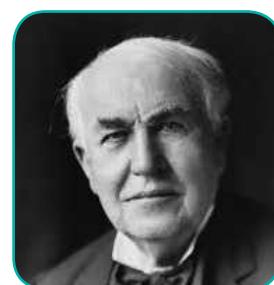
By the end of the nineteenth century Germany emerged as the most industrialised country. It surpassed the home of the Industrial Revolution, Britain, and proved to be a competitor of the United States. In electrics, German companies like Siemens outshone its counterparts in other countries. In chemicals, 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

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."



Samuel Slater



Thomas
Alva Edison



Alexander
Graham Bell



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 electricity 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.

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

- Colonisation of North America and the beginning of British Imperialism in thirteen American colonies are traced.
- 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 structure of state and nature of its governance in France are explored.
- 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.
- Reign of Terror let loose by Robespierre and his radical policies and programmes ending his own execution and the takeover of the government by a five-member Directory ending the Revolution are explained.
- 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



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.
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
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) Tuilleries
16. _____ was earlier known as Saint-Dominique
(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

- What impact did the European settlement in North America make on the indigenous population?
- What do you know about the Boston Tea Party?
- What was the intellectual contribution of Thomas Paine to the American Revolution?
- Point out the importance of the battle of Saratoga.
- Discuss the three Estates of the *ancien régime*.
- Highlight the essence of The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.
- Outline the contribution of Simon Bolivar to Latin American independence.
- Highlight the essential features of Industrial Revolution.
- Why is Samuel Slater considered the father of American Industrial Revolution?
- 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.
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 புராட்டஸ்டன்றுகள்; 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



UNIT 12

Europe in Turmoil

Learning Objectives

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.

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.



Napoleon
Bonaparte

**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,





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

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.



Étienne-Gabriel Morally

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.



Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760 1825)

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.



Saint Simon

Charles Fourier (1772 1837)

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 cooperative society called *phalansteres*. It was a community where there would be equal distribution of profit and loss.



Charles Fourier

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 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



Proudhon



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

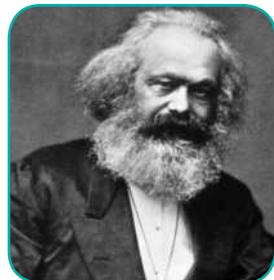
Louis Jean Joseph Charles Blanc (1811-1882)

An influential French socialist, Louis Blanc, in 1839, started the *Revue du Progrès*, 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.



Louis Blanc

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



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.

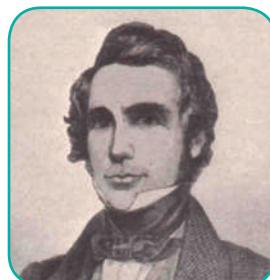
Chartism in England



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.

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



William Lovett

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



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.

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.

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.



Louis Philippe



Charles X



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 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)

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.



Mazzini

Count Cavour (1810 1861)

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



Count Cavour



helped to arouse the national consciousness 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 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.



Garibaldi



King Victor Emmanuel II



Unification of Germany

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



J.G. Fichte

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.

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

Bismarck remarked: Not through speeches and resolutions of majorities will the mighty problems of the age be solved, but by blood and iron.



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 Konniggratz 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.



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.



King Napoleon III

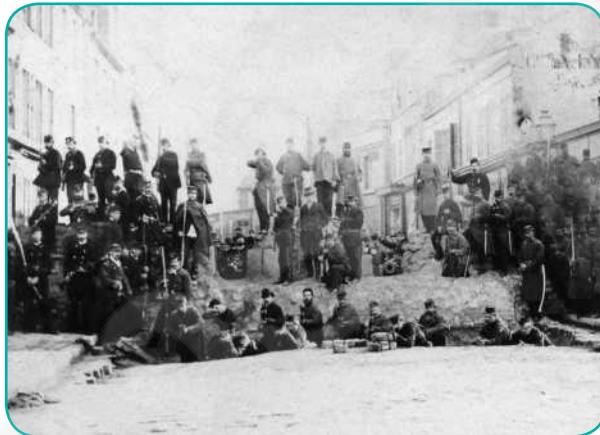
The Founding of the Third Republic in France

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.



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 Proudhonists. 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)

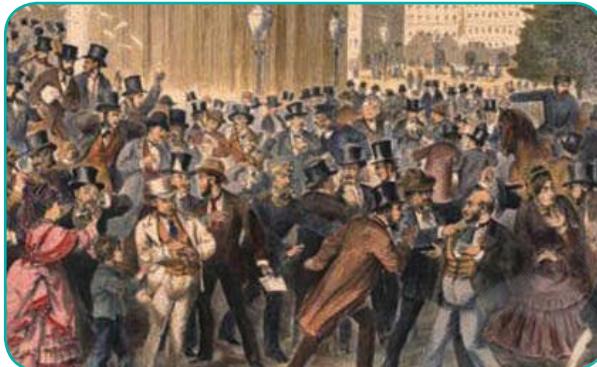
The world witnessed an unprecedented economic boom during 1865–1873. The unification led to a phenomenal boom in Germany between 1870 and 1873. During this period 857 new companies were established. It was unparalleled in the history of Germany. The railway system almost doubled in size between 1865 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,



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



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.
 - Ascendancy 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

I. Choose the correct answer



- 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*



- (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 |



II. Write brief answers

1. Write about the six-point People's Charter of 1838.
2. What do you know about the Manifesto of Sixty?
3. Why is the period between June 24 and 26, 1848 considered the bloody June days?
4. What role did Concert of Europe play in Metternich Era?
5. Why was Italy described as "a mere geographical expression" by Metternich?
6. Explain Poor Laws.
7. Attempt an account of the first International Working Men's Association of 1864.
8. Highlight the contribution of Carbonari to the unification of Italy.
9. Who was Francois Babeuf?
10. What was the importance of Zollverein?
11. What do you know of the Gilded Age?
12. 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. Enumerate the reasons for not Italy and Germany emerging as nation states along with England and France.
6. Trace the events that led to the formation of Paris Commune.
7. Discuss the measures adopted by Paris Commune in the interests of the poor and the working class.
8. 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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A-Z 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	கற்பணையுலகு
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	முன்னாறிவித்தல், தீர்க்கதறிசனம்
suffrage	right to vote, franchise	வாக்குறிமை
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, அரியனை 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



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

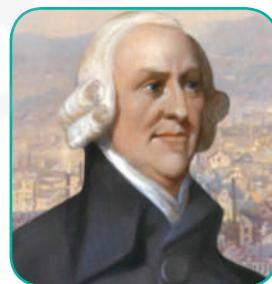


became identical. The Mercantilist period (1600–1700) was a period of accumulation of capital that facilitated the industrial revolution in Europe. The leading powers of the time, Holland, France and England, became major colonial powers with access to overseas markets. Yet it was England, accomplishing 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



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

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.

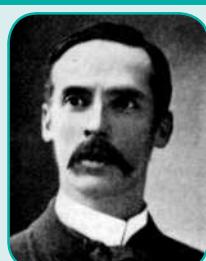
them, leaving a few areas to Germany and Italy. Britain, France, Russia and Germany also established "spheres of influence" in China. Japan took over Korea and Taiwan. France conquered Indo-China; the US the Philippines from Spain, while Britain and Russia agreed to partition Iran.

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.

(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.

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.



John A. Hobson



(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.



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 Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (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.

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



Kaiser William II

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.

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



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

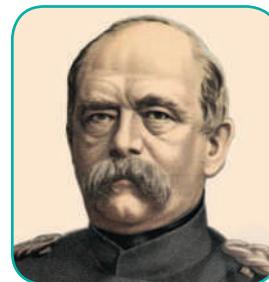
The assassination of a prominent Japanese diplomat by a Korean provided the excuse in 1910 for Japan’s annexation of Korea. The confusion in China following the downfall of Manchu dynasty in 1912 provided Japan with an opportunity for further expansion. In 1915 Japan presented Twenty-One Demands to the 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



protectorate. Germany protested. France 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 Bosphorus, 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

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



Franz Ferdinand





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.

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.



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.

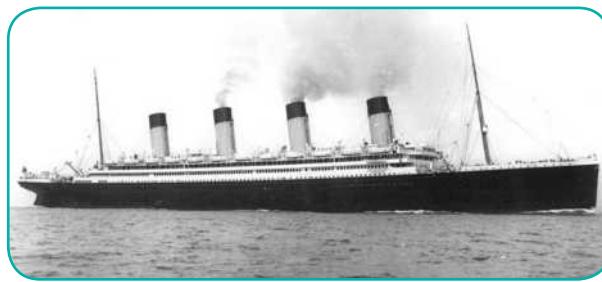
The Battle of Cambrai: (November–December 1917) This battle in Cambrai, France, was significant for the first use of tanks by the British on a large scale. Germans were taken completely by surprise when 340 tanks appeared suddenly.

America's Entry into the War

The intensified submarine campaign brought America into the war. The British liner, *Lusitania*,



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



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,



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

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.

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 where living conditions were oppressive. But Marxist groups were in the lead, and in Lenin they found a charismatic leader with great organisational skills.



Autocracy of the 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



Tsar Nicholas II

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



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.



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.



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



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 (a) 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

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



Mussolini



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.



13.7 (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.

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



Hitler

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 6,000,000 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



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.



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) Russo-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



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. Explain the concept of Imperialism as defined by John A. Hobson.
2. Why did Germany want to isolate France?
3. What was the significance of Entente Cordiale signed between Britain and France in 1904?
4. Highlight the outcome of the Balkan crisis.
5. What was "Triple Intervention"?
6. Write about the role played by Von Hindenburg in the Eastern Front of the First World War.
7. Point out the importance of Battle of Jutland.
8. What is Nihilism?

9. How did the League of Nations resolve the dispute between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925?

10. How did the Lateran Treaty help Mussolini in legitimising his authority?

11. What was the Third Reich?

12. What were the two underground movements which thrived in Germany after the French occupation of Ruhr?

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. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1905 Revolution in Russia.
7. Highlight the successful accomplishments of League of Nations.
8. 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

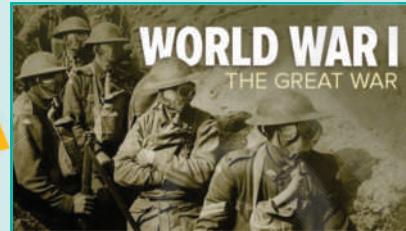
onslaught	a sudden and severe onset of trouble	கடுமையான திடீர் தாக்குதல்
Mercantilism	the theory that trade generates wealth and a government should encourage it by protecting domestic trade from foreign competition.	வணிகவாதம்
ammunition	any nuclear, chemical or biological material that can be used as 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	சட்டூப்பந்தம்
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 காலனி
lunatic	a person who is mentally ill	பித்துப்பிடித்த
annulling	abolishing, invalidating	ரத்து செய்தல், ஒழித்தல்



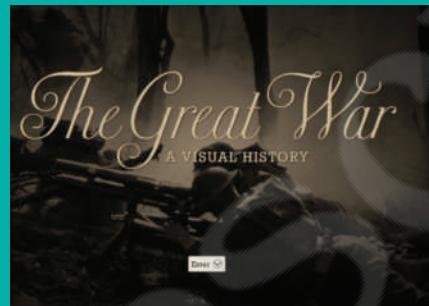
ICT CORNER

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

Web URL: https://www.abmc.gov/sites/default/files/interactive/interactive_files/WW1/index.html

*Pictures are indicative only

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



B268_12_HISTORY_EM



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



D5E7J2

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



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 sown 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



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



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

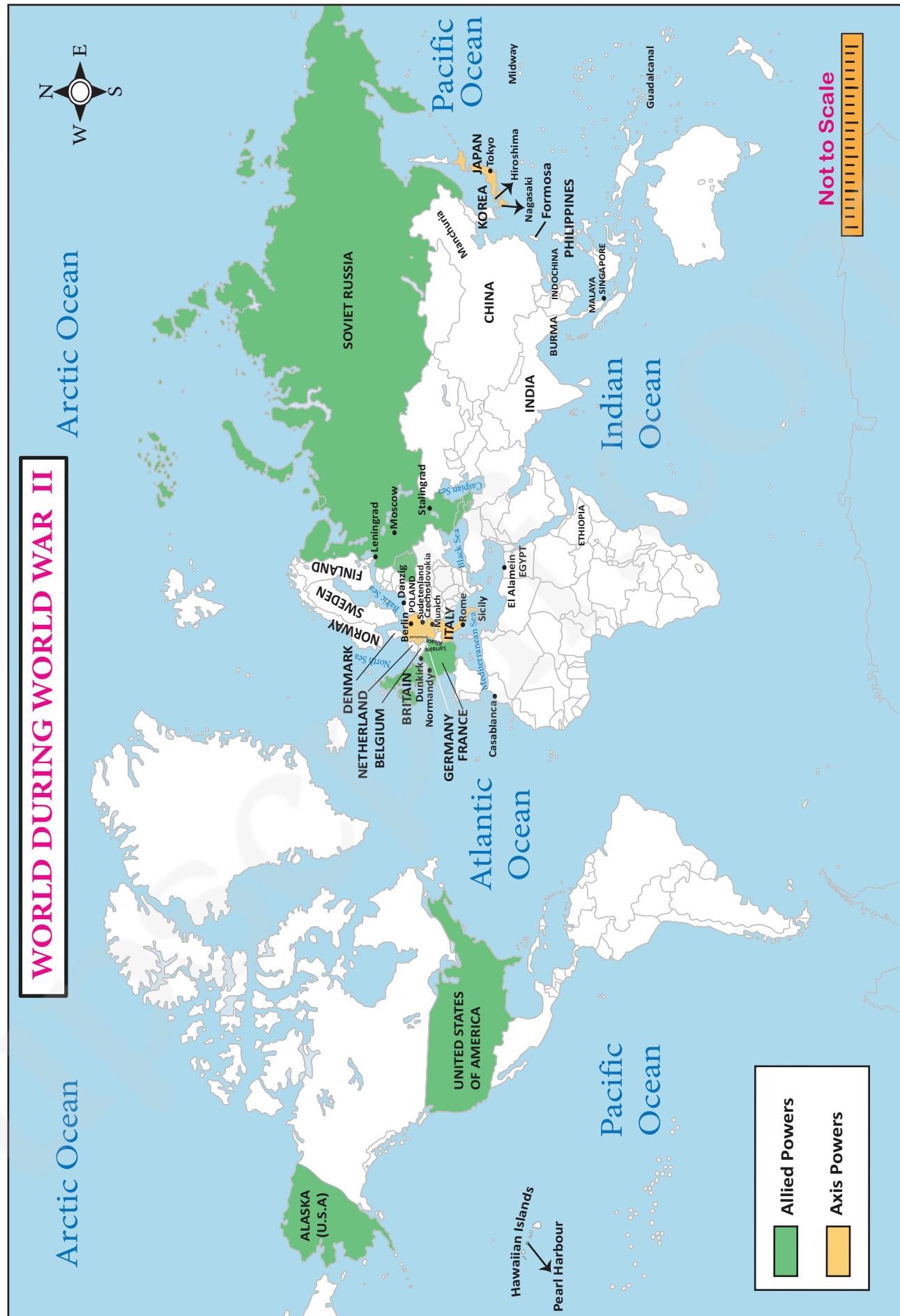
The Czechs felt betrayed. The new frontiers of Czechoslovakia had been guaranteed by the four powers at the Munich Conference. Chamberlain claimed that the deal had averted another massive European war. But using the conflict between the Slovaks and the Czechs as an excuse, Hitler sent German forces to occupy the conflict zone.



WORLD DURING WORLD WAR II

Arctic Ocean

Arctic Ocean





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

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.



Hitler

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



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 Germany’s 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.



Pearl Harbour Attack



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.



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.



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.



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,



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 an 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.



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).



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

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.

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.



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 martial 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

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.

not destroy the spirit of resistance. Instead it led to an increasing level of class consciousness.

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

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

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



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 Shensi 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



disillusioned and discontented. Mao, on the other hand, had an army with higher morale and better discipline. When civil war broke out, Chiang Kai-Shek'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*



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



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.

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.



Emilio Aguinaldo

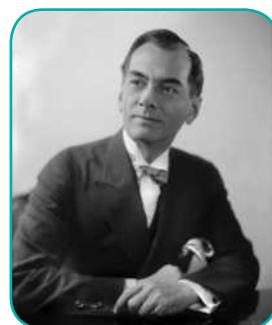
The nationalists of Philippines thought the issue for America was Cuba. But soon found out that they had only exchanged one master for another. Frustrated by the outcome of Spanish-American War they resorted to guerrilla warfare. The nationalist opposition to the American government was encouraged by 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.



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



Quezon

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.

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.



- 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



EXERCISE



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

- 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.

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





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 Write about the Boedi Oetomo and point out the reason for its failure.
- 10 Explain the immediate outcome of American rule established in the Philippines in 1902.
- 11 Discuss the developments that followed Dutch-Indonesian Agreement.
- 12 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 What were the ambitions of Japan as an imperial power?
- 4 Bring out the significance of Huk Rebellion.
- 5 Highlight the important results of the Second World War.
- 6 Attempt an account of Boxer Rebellion in China.
- 7 Discuss the role of Kuomintang Party in China's nationalist politics.
- 8 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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A-Z GLOSSARY

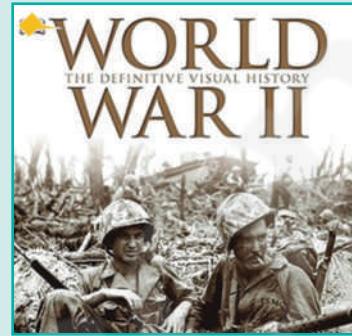
reparation	payments made by a defeated nation after a war to pay for damages it caused to another nation	போரில் தோற்ற நாடு மற்றொரு நாட்டிற்கு அது ஏற்படுத்திய சேதத்திற்காக வழங்கும் இழப்பீட்டுத் தொகை
disarmament	reduction of military forces and weapons	இராணுவ ஆட்கள் மற்றும் ஆயுதக் குறைப்பு
breach	go against 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, ஓடுக்கு
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 இழு
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



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



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



V7I3A5

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.



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 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.

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.



George Kennan

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



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* and *1984*), 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



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

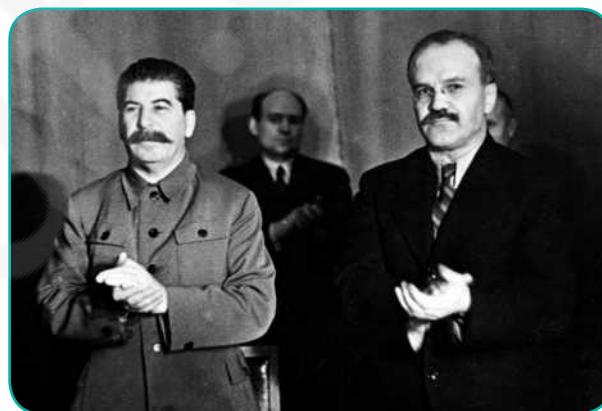
Marshall Plan

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.



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. 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).



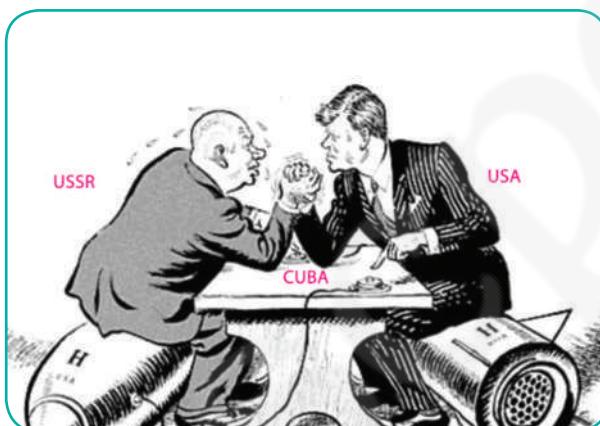
KGB Office



(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



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.



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



Trygve Lie

Secretary-General. In addition to its main organs UNO has currently 15 specialised agencies. Some of the prominent agencies are International Labour Organisation (ILO), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), World Health Organisation (WHO), and World Bank.

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

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



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



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



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

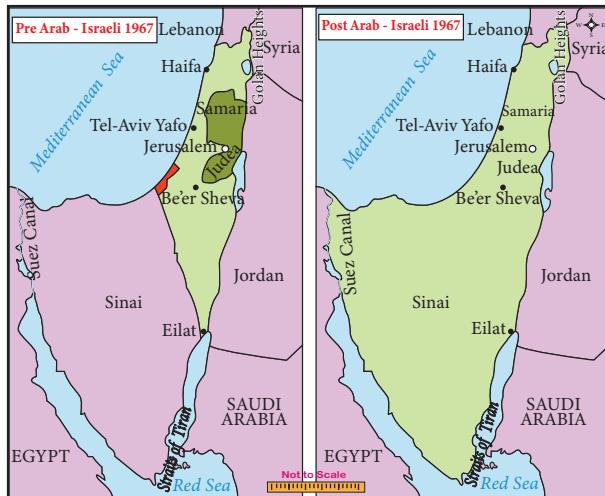
the Israeli border. The UN told Nasser that he could not ask for UN troop movement. So his choice was to demand the complete withdrawal of the UN troop. On May 23 Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping. In early June Israel attacked Egypt, destroying virtually all of Cairo's air force 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.

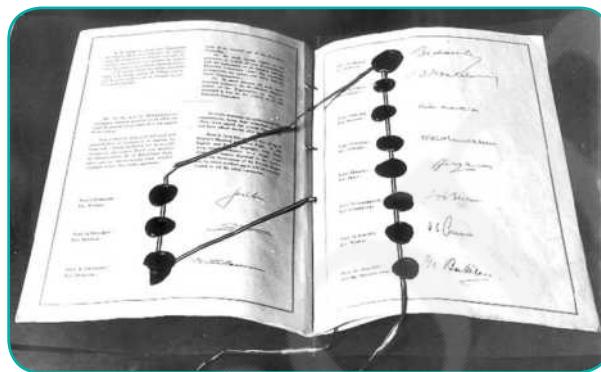


Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was formed in 1964 to federate various Palestinian groups that previously had operated as clandestine resistance movements. It came into prominence after the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967. The PLO was engaged in a protracted guerrilla wars against Israel until 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 oversee 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



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



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 28 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



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 cue 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 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 Molotov 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.



- 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

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



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



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 Yeltsin, 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 விரும்புவர்
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	இனப்படுகாலை
bombardment	a continuous attack with bombs, shells or other missiles	சுரமாரிக் குண்டுவீச்சுத் தாக்குதல்
espionage	surveillance; the practice of using spies for close observation of an enemy or enemy country.	ஒற்றறிதல், வேவுபார்த்தல், ஒற்றற்களைக் 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



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: Shows the CVCE.eu homepage with various news items and a search bar at the top.

Step2: Shows the search results for "cold war" on the CVCE website. The search term is highlighted in the search bar.

Step3: Shows the "Interactive timeline on the history of the Cold War" page. It features a timeline from 1945 to 1991 with several historical events marked, such as "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation".

Web URL: <https://www.cvce.eu/en>

*Pictures are indicative only

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



B268_12_HISTORY_EM



Higher Secondary - Class XII - History - Volume II

List of Authors and Reviewers

Chairperson

Dr. A.R.Venkatachalapathy
Professor
Madras Institute of Development Studies
Chennai.

Academic Adviser & Expert

Dr. P. Kumar
Joint Director (Syllabus)
SCERT, Chennai.

ICT

D. Nagaraj
B.T. Asst. in History
GHSS, Rappusal
Pudukkottai District.

Co-chairperson

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Professor (Rtd), Dept. of History
Manonmaniam Sundaranar University
Tirunelveli.

Academic Co-ordinator

P. Suresh
P.G. Asst. in History
GGHSS, Attur
Salem District.

QR Code Team

R. Jaganathan, SGT,
PUMS - Ganesapuram,
Polur, Thiruvannamalai.

S. Albert Valavan Babu, B.T,
G.H.S, Perumal Kovil,
Paramakudi, Ramanathapuram.

Authors

Prof. Kanakalatha Mukund
Former Professor
Centre for Economic and Social Studies
Hyderabad.

Dr. S. B. Darsana
Asst. Professor
Central University of Tamil Nadu
Tiruvarur.

Dr. Venkat Ramanujam
Dept. of History
Madras Christian College, Tambaram,
Madras.

Prof. K.A. Manikumar
Dept. of History
Manonmaniam Sundaranar University
Tirunelveli.

Dr. K. Ashok
Asst. Professor, Dept. of History
Madras Christian College, Tambaram,
Chennai.

Content Readers

Dr. T.S. Saravanan
Deputy Director
TNTBESC
Chennai.

S. Gomathi Manickam
B.T. Asst. in History
GHSS, Old Perungalathur
Kanchipuram District.

P. Balamurugan
P.G. Asst. in History
GBHSS, Thammampatti
Salem District.

V. Velmurugan
B.T. Asst. in History
GHSS, Vellalagundam
Salem District.

Dr. K. Suresh
B.T. Asst in History
Kumara Rajah Muthiah HSS
Chennai.

M. Murugesan, B.T,
PUMS. Pethavelankottagam,
Muttupettai, Thiruvarur.

Layout

Kamatchi Balan Arumugam
Ashok Kumar
Selvakumar Manickam

Artist

Mathan Raj R
Arun Kamaraj Palanisamy

Wrapper Design

Kathir Arumugam

In-House QC
Kamatchi Balan Arumugam
Rajesh Thangappan

Co-ordinator

Ramesh Munisamy

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