

## Module I

# BEGINNING OF MODERN AGE

## A Renaissance And New Learning

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. To introduce the students to the modern world and modern ideas.
2. To explain the causes and significance of Renaissance and Humanism.
3. To illustrate the works of artists, writers and scientists.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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This paper is called Land marks in World History. We have to study the major events in modern world, that affected mankind. These events have left a mark on the evolution of modern politics, society, economy, religion and culture.

The first significant landmark is the Renaissance. With the beginning of Renaissance we enter the modern age of European history. The earlier period was marred by chaos, conflict and confusion. After that life became more comfortable. This was possible due to political stability, education, trade and prosperity. This is where modern age begins. Though the period changes from country to country, the common bond between European states is the emergence of Renaissance. It is the rise of intellectualism and humanism. In the following lesson we shall examine the causes of Renaissance and its effect on art, architecture science and literature.

**Renaissance :**

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## 1.2 Its Meaning

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Renaissance is the cultural movement that started in Italy in late 15<sup>th</sup> Century. It then spread to **United Kingdom, France, Germany** etc. It is one of the most important events in history because it affected every aspect of human life.

The literary meaning of the term renaissance is rebirth. The period brought about the revival of interest in Greek and Roman literature and art. The people of the times wanted to revive the culture by adding their own ideas. They felt that ancient Greek and Roman traditions were rich in cultural heritage. The medieval ideas which dominated the society were considered backward and were rejected by the leaders of renaissance e.g. church. It controlled the society. Man was a slave in the hands of religion. The renaissance put in a sense of inquiry. Thus there arose rationalism instead of dogmatism.

The main theme of the movement was the ideal of Humanism. It means the development of human personality, regarding man as the centre of activity. Earlier God was the centre of all activities and man was just a creature waiting for salvation. Artists turned attention to draw and sketch human beings.

The movement produced a spirit of curiosity. Man was told not to accept philosophy and theology simply because he was told to. He was told to be curious about all things. He was encouraged to study more about himself and his surroundings. The period encouraged original thinking and study of texts including the Bible. However the emphasis was on revival of secular literature.

It was known that many ancient classics of Greece and Rome were lost in the dark period. The leaders set themselves the task to rediscover, decipher and translate the texts. Thus literature and art was wanted for the sake of art and not for religion.

There is no doubt that the movement was an urban phenomenon. It was the movement of classes and not masses. The leaders were intellectuals. Most of them were from the bourgeoisie class, who had some time to spend on literature and art. Though it's a fact that the renaissance brought in a new era and changed the entire culture, the changes were not sudden. It was a gradual process. In the height of the movement too, few accepted the changes. However, gradually as the ideas spread to newer lands, they engulfed the entire human kind. Scholars agree that the modern era began with the renaissance.

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### **1.3 CAUSES OF THE RENAISSANCE**

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The renaissance originated in Italy and spread to other parts of Europe. The movement did not begin overnight. The causes of it lay in the middle ages. Many believe that it started in 1453, when Turks captured Constantinople, The Greek scholars of the city ran away, carrying their texts. They went to Italy and enlightened the people with a sense of inquiry. This was the immediate cause of the renaissance,

but ideas were already gaining root. The event hastened the movement. The chief causes are as follows.

### **1.3.1 Rise of Intellectuals:**

An important feature of the middle ages was the rise of literacy. People learnt to read and write Latin and also vernacular languages. Encouragement was provided by a large number of clergy, bureaucrats, lawyers and merchants. They needed some sort of education to carry government activities. Therefore the 14th Century saw the rise of schools. In Italy even commoners got interested in reading classics. They sent children to higher education. The period saw the emergence of universities at Paris, Naples, Oxford, Cambridge etc. This spread of knowledge created a new approach to thinking and learning.

### **1.3.2 The discovery of the Printing Press:**

The earliest printed paper in Europe was in 1454, printed on movable type. We are not sure as to how and when Europeans learnt printing. In 12<sup>th</sup> century designs were printed on textiles, but books were written by hand. Therefore the spread of knowledge was slow and costly. Gradually people developed the art of printing in Mainz in Germany. Soon, there was a demand for printed books. Within years, presses were introduced all over Europe. Books were produced quickly and cheaply and in greater quantity. This was a revolution of the time. Printing made the spread of literacy easier. This was welcomed by the renaissance leaders as it greatly contributed to the movement.

### **1.3.3 Patronage of Rulers, Popes and Nobles:**

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century Italian city states came under the rule of influential families. In other states there was republican form, where ruling classes controlled government e.g. Florence and Venice. They spent a lot in construction and sponsoring artistic and intellectual activities. The Medici family dominated the city state of Florence. They controlled European finances and made the state prosperous. Lorenzo patronised arts. Venice was also a centre of renaissance art, supported by its rulers. King Francis of France, Henry VIII of England patronised scholars and invited them to the court. Popes encouraged the revival of Greek and Roman classics. Pope Nicholas V, asked for classics, for whatever price. He gathered a band of writers, for the job, of translating and composing texts. He collected about 5000 classics. All books were to be copied, according to him. He even encouraged religious literature. Pope Leo X was a lover of classical art and literature and donated funds to patronise activities.

### 1.3.4 The Crusades:

The Crusades were expeditions of Christians, to reconquer the lost areas from infidels. The first crusade was launched in 1088 by Pope Urban. There were 7 more major and some minor crusades. The purpose was to take back Palestine from the Muslims. It was the land where Christ lived and died. The Crusades failed in their religious purpose, but brought in great effects in culture and economic life of Europe. They encouraged trade and commerce, which made Italian state prosperous. There was contact with the Arab world. Scholars could bring back many texts which were lost, since the Roman Kingdom ended. They translated Greek and Arab writings. People discovered Aristotle's classics and discussed his views. This encouraged a new era in learning. This contact with the new world brought in new ideas and gave an impetus to Renaissance. Similarly, geographical discoveries brought in a change in the outlook of Europeans. They developed a spirit of adventure spirit which encouraged the rise of Renaissance.

### 1.3.5 Trade and Prosperity:

Since the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, there developed trade and commercial relations with other areas. Thus there was a changed of economy from agriculture to commerce. Secondly due to commerce man shifted to towns from rural areas. As is said, for any change the basic feature is economic. As long as economic life remained static, there was no Renaissance. As economic life became better there was an upsurge of art and literature. Prosperity was the cause. Trade and prosperity brought leisure. In agricultural economy man is throughout busy. He has no time and energy to appreciate art. But with the change of economy people got more money, which they could spend on patronising renaissance art and literature.

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## 1.4 UPSURGE OF HUMANISM

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The most consistent ideal of renaissance was humanism, which meant the development of human personality. Humanists were those people who believed in the idea. They cultivated the use of classical Latin and Greek and searched ancient manuscripts of it. **They felt that ancient Greek were humanists.** This was against the prevailing system. Greeks had made man as the centre. There was hardly any emphasis on God. As against this the middle ages were called Age of Faith, where God was glorified.

Humanism in the Renaissance period, was an intellectual movement. Humanists were scholars who studied subjects which would

develop man's personality e.g. literature, philosophy. Old classics contained the subjects, but they were in ancient languages. So the humanists first studied Latin. They studied history to understand more. They then tried to search for more material. They went to various libraries to search manuscripts. They collected ancient coins, statues. They were either teachers, or clergymen or tutors of princes.

Already since late 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian humanists had visited Constantinople to learn Greek language manuscripts. Verona, a humanist returned with 50 manuscripts. There were others who brought many classics. In fact the Popes encouraged the import of Greek literature. Humanists even tried to apply humanist methods to the study of Christianity, by editing texts on which Christianity, was based - Bible, Letters of St. Paul, Augustine and other saints.

The most important humanist of the Renaissance was Francesco Petrarch. He wrote in Latin and Italian. He wrote some of the best love lyrics, but is more known for his epics. He had searched from manuscripts and found one of Homer, but could not read as it was in Greek.

Petrarch came from a middle class family. He was criticised for his interest in classics. His parents forced him to study law. But after his parents died he was free to search for lost knowledge. His Sonnets on his lady love Laura are famous. He expressed his feelings in the poems. He appreciated her physical beauty. This would be a sin in middle ages. Even in those times he sometimes worried about his own salvation for his so called sinful poems.

Boccaccio studied classical literature. He wrote a collection of stories called Decameron. He tried to describe human feelings and situations which could happen to common people.

Humanism was evident in the works of painters and sculptors also. While earlier artists concentrated on religious theories, renaissance artists wanted to portray people. Erasmus and Thomas More were Christian humanists. Erasmus was aware of evils in the church. He criticised those in his "The Praise of Folly". He questioned the morality of priests. He also said that Christianity of the day was full of rituals and not of true spirit. Thomas More was beheaded for objecting to Henry VIII's divorce and not saying that Pope was above the king. In his 'Utopia', he attacked church evils.

Thus the renaissance left an intellectual and artistic heritage. Since the times scholars have used renaissance methods of humanism.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. What were the major causes responsible for the renaissance in Europe?

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## 1.5 RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

Renaissance literature reflected the spirit of humanism and secularism. It was written in local languages. While Italy was the home of famous writers, typical renaissance literature was produced in France, UK, Spain and Germany. Interest in scientific study of languages emerged. Scientific dictionaries were prepared. There was a comparative study of philology. As said earlier literature revolved around human activities.

The main writers of the period were :-

### 1.5.1 Dante:

Dante was born in Florence. He was a renaissance poet. His collection of 31 poems, 'The New Life', described his love to Beatrice. He is known for his epic poem 'The Divine Comedy'. It focuses on the theme of life after death. It can also be a summary of medieval thought. He had a tremendous influence on later writers. Besides, these he has composed a number of other works.

### 1.5.2 Petrarch:

Petrarch was also from Italy. He had written sonnets of love. He was deeply in awe of ancient writer Cicero. To spread interest in classical literature he toured widely. Petrarch wrote about 400 poems on Lady Laura. One is not sure whether she was an imaginary figure or really lived. Poems describe the beauty of Laura. Petrarch goes on admiring the physical prettiness of Laura. His poems describe human hopes and aspirations.

### 1.5.3 Machiavelli:

Machiavelli was an Italian diplomat. He is called the father of modern political science and is the most famous political thinker of

renaissance. He was a government official. In his duty he came across various crucial situations. He gave a framework of an ideal state - that which is united, strong and peaceful. Machiavelli is famous for his book 'The Prince' written in 1513. The book describes how an ideal ruler should behave in various circumstances. He describes the things a king should possess. He gives ideas, about an ideal army, bureaucracy and state government. Machiavelli gives a perfect understanding of diplomacy.

#### **1.5.4 Geoffrey Chaucer:**

Geoffrey Chaucer was a great English poet. His 'Canterbury Tales' is a group of stories, which made him popular. In this he criticised church abuses, in a satirical manner. In his tales he discusses social issues like marriage, domestic harmony etc. Due to his excessive travel, Chaucer was influenced by French and Italian writers. He read Latin classics and theology. His famous romantic poem is 'Troilus and Criseyde'. Here he explored the beauty of love and the mystery of fortune.

#### **1.5.5 William Shakespeare:**

William Shakespeare was an English poet and playwright - considered to be the best dramatist. He wrote 37 plays - comedies, tragedies and histories. In these he wrote about social issues, including people of all walks of life. Antony and Cleopatra, Othello, Julius Caesar, Hamlet, As you like it, Twelfth Night, Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet etc. are his popular plays. He has written 2 long poems. He had composed a sequence of 154 sonnets.

#### **1.5.6 Erasmus:**

Erasmus was a Dutch priest. He realised the drawbacks in religion and sought to reform the church. Earlier he supported Martin Luther in his criticism. But later, when he realised that Luther wanted a separate church, he did not support Luther. He wanted, a united Christian population. He wrote philosophy of Christ, where he stressed piety, morality and dedication to truth. He wrote New Testament in Greek which was not available earlier.

#### **1.5.7 Montaigne:**

Montaigne was a France essayist; a typical renaissance writer. For him everything that concerned man was important. He wrote 107 essays, which show his independent mind and judgment.



### 1.5.8 Sir Thomas More:

Sir Thomas More was an English author and statesman. He served as Lord Chancellor, the highest judicial officer. But he resigned since he objected to King Henry VIII's plan to divorce the queen. He was beheaded in 1535 for refusing to accept the King as the head of the church. He was a patron of arts. He wrote Utopia, about his dream of ideal society where justice and equality would prevail.

The renaissance has produced many writers of great fame like Edmund Spenser, Boccaccio, Juan Boscan, Cervantes, Rabelais, Martin Luther, Francis Bacon, Milton etc.

The renaissance produced literature in all areas - drama, essays, stories, politics, religion, ethics, history and fantasy. There is no doubt that it had revived interest in classical literature. But literary activity was not limited to classical style. There was a tendency to break away from Greek and Latin and seek expression in vernacular languages. This brought about development of national literature, and national politics. Religious literature tried to reach the masses with propaganda.

### Check Your Progress:

Give an account of the renaissance literature?

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## 1.6 RENAISSANCE ART

In the renaissance period specific progress was made in art and architecture. Art was an aspect of renaissance and it was a reflection of the period in which it was produced. In the middle ages, art was dominated by the church. Since there was a dogmatic approach, artists had little freedom. Therefore art tended to be hard, conventional and grotesque. It was the spirit of humanism that brought a simpler and restrained form, which was an adoption of classical art form.

Artistic revival in Italy began with Giotto. He had a sense of humour and love for realism. He combined secular and religious themes in his paintings. Since paintings of classical days were few, renaissance

painters had an opportunity to be original. The renaissance produced the following great painters.

### **1.6.1 Leonardo da Vinci:**

Leonardo da Vinci was one of the greatest painters. Besides he was a poet, artist, musician and engineer. He also studied anatomy, botany, geology and astronomy. Leonardo studied painting under Verrochio. He then built his studio in Florence. Of the many paintings he finished, 4 are recognised as masterpieces. *Monalisa*, has a mysterious smile. The painting has no rival in its beauty of posture, grace and background. The 'Last Supper' is extremely beautiful. Christ surrounded by 12 apostles, announced that one of them would betray Him. His face is serene, but the psychological effect on other faces is noteworthy. The *Virgin of the Rocks* and the *Virgin and child with St. Anne* are also masterpieces of the world.

In 16<sup>th</sup> century - Rome became the centre of Italian painting. The Popes spent large sums to make Rome glorious. Raphael and Michelangelo worked in Rome. Their style is called High Renaissance, combining earlier art with Roman realism.

### **1.6.2 Michelangelo:**

Michelangelo was also a genius - a painter, an architect, sculptor, poet and engineer. He studied anatomy and physiology. His pictures have strong emotions, a sense of grandeur and power. The Popes invited him to decorate Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. The frescoes show 9 scenes from Old Testament, 3 of God creating the world, 3 of Adam and Eve and 3 of Noah and the Flood. These are surrounded by 12 huge, prophets. Most well known of these is *The Creation of Adam* - God moving on a cloud and raising his arm to Adam to receive the spark of life. Michelangelo also painted *The Last Judgment* on the entire ceiling. Others include *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and *Conversion of St. Paul*.

### **1.6.3 Raphael:**

Raphael was an influential Italian painter. His grace and skill are remembered till today. He painted frescoes of historical and mythological scenes and portraits. He was invited by Pope Julius II to work in Rome. He painted *Marriage of the Virgin*, *Sistine Madonna*, *School of Athens* and others.

### **1.6.4 Other Painters:**

Venice was the second centre for art in 16th century. Venice

was a commercial centre and had contact with East. So we find influence of Eastern art, special fascination for colour. Venetian painters mastered in oil painting Giorgione, and Titian were famous oil painting artists.

Jar Van Eyck was a Flemish style painter. Renbrandt was Dutch artist. He has 600 painting works, 300 etching and 1400 drawing. The range includes landscapes, nudes, portraits, animals, birds as his subjects. El Grecco, Holbies and Durer were other renaissance painters.

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## 1.7 SCULPTURE

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Sculpture is associated with architecture. Effect of renaissance could be seen on sculpture. It was due to ancient monuments in Italy. Archaeological discoveries, of 15<sup>th</sup> century encouraged sculpture. Medici family promoted it.

Humanism in sculpture began with Nicola Pisano and his San Giovanni in 13<sup>th</sup> century. But in 15<sup>th</sup> century there arose a great sculptor called Lorenzo Chiberti. He carved doors for the Baptistery of Florence. They were grand and beautiful.

### Donatello:

Donatello of 14<sup>th</sup> century was a great Renaissance sculptor. He produced statue of David, which was a theological subject, but the approach was renaissance. With it he revived nude figures. It was first nude after Roman art. He also decorated churches in Florence. Michelangelo was a well known sculptor too. The Medici family patronised him. He sculptured tomb of Lorenzo Medici. He is known for the emotional feelings on his statues. His statue of David is a masterpiece. Michelangelo carved 3 statues in Sistine ceiling. The 16<sup>th</sup> century sculptor copied Roman styles. Renaissance sculptor was found outside Italy. Sculptors were called to UK and France.

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## 1.8 ARCHITECTURE

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Architecture of renaissance style originated in Florence in 15<sup>th</sup> century. There was a trend towards classical style. The Gothic style which was Christian was discarded. Instead the arches domes and columns of Greek and Rome models were adopted. In Italy Gothic was not very popular. Rome became centre for the new style.

Brunellschi aroused interest in remains of structures in 14<sup>th</sup> century. He pointed the virtues of classical art. He did his project of the dome

of cathedral of Florence. Besides he designed many other structures. Alberti wrote a book on renaissance architecture. He designed church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. However the greatest project of renaissance was the St. Peter's church in Rome. The work began in 1506 and was completed in late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The huge dome was designed by Michelangelo. Nine other architect worked till it ended. The renaissance architecture spread to France, UK and Spain by 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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## **1.9 RENAISSANCE IN SCIENCE**

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Science had made some progress in Middle Ages but the spirit of modern science was born with the renaissance. In middle ages there were restriction on every aspect. Church opposed scientists, Superstitions were common and to masses they were more acceptable than scientific explanations. Physicians were looked down upon as atheists. Renaissance brought interest in things pertaining to man.

The main cause for the beginning of progress in science was the loss of religious monopoly on man's intellect. The Protestant Reformation challenged the authority of the church and encouraged personal expression. The rise of national state with stable society aided the progress of science. The discovery of new lands brought new ideas from unknown people.

Science of the 16<sup>th</sup> century made effective protest against existing scientific method. Francis said that classical conclusions did not represent mature nature. Descartes questioned the knowledge of ancient world. We give the idea of doubt and doubt is the fore runner of new age.

### **1.9.1 Geography and Astronomy:**

Discovery of new lands proved that some ideas were wrong. It was proved that theologians spread incorrect ideas Voyages of discovery revealed a new earth. There was hardly any progress done since the theory of Ptolemy in 2nd century. The theory was challenged by Copernicus in 15th Century. He said that the sun was the centre of universe and the earth revolved round and the sun. Copernicus' theory was revolutionary because it challenged the church. He was afraid of the Pope, due to religious hold on the people.

### **1.9.2 Kepler:**

Kepler gave mathematical laws to support Copernicus. He said that planets revolve in ellipthical paths. Both Catholics and Protestants condemned the theory. It was put on Papal Index and Luther called it as contradictory to Holy Scriptures.

### **1.9.3 Galileo:**

Galileo brought fresh evidence by inventing the telescope. Through experimentation he discovered principles of mechanics. He saw mountains on the moon and rings round Saturn. He said that world was controlled by mechanical order. He was punished to death for saying heretic things.

### **1.9.4 Newton:**

Newton concluded that movements of all things are controlled by gravitation. This he wrote in his book 'Principia'. His studies in lenses and prisms laid the foundation for the study of optics.

### **1.9.5 Halley:**

Halley predicted the appearance of the Comet that now bears his name. He shattered the old belief that comets brought disaster. With the new astronomical knowledge the Julian calendar was reformed in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII. The calendar was moved back 10 days and extra leap year day was omitted from centenary years, except those which were multiples of 400. This calendar is adopted by most countries.

### **1.9.6 Chemistry and Medicine:**

Halley brought interest in these subjects. Works of Hippocrates and Galen were revived. Vesalius wrote his work on anatomy. He corrected mistakes of earlier scholars. He gave details of skeleton, veins and arteries, digestive and reproduction systems, lungs and brain.

Harvey discovered that blood circulates from heart to arteries and then to veins and back to heart. Helmont discovered carbon dioxide and explained about various gases.

### **1.9.7 Maths:**

In the field of maths, west got rich heritage from east. Arabs contributed the elements of algebra and Arabic numerals. Arithmetic and geometry came from Greece. In 16th century proofs were needed for knowledge. Maths provided simple numerical data. Physics and mechanics developed due to maths. Gilbert and Galileo were prominent physicists. Galileo made the telescope. He also invented air thermometer and astronomical clock. Other important machines of the period are balance for knowing weight, compass needle, the barometer, printing press, gun powder etc.

All new knowledge led to the foundation of the Royal Society in London in 1660 and the Academy of Sciences in Paris in 1666. These societies aimed at promoting science.

**Check Your Progress:**

Trace the development of renaissance art and architecture?

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## 1.10 SUMMARY

It is difficult to determine the exact date of modern age. This is because different nations experienced the new phase at different times. Certain societies became modernised earlier than others. Still we can say that in general, the modern age begins with the Renaissance. The main feature of the Renaissance was humanism. We have already examined the meaning of Renaissance. During the period, all beliefs were based on reason. If it did not appeal the mind, the idea was not accepted. As a result every idea was re-examined. Earlier society had believed in superstitions and blind beliefs. People were told to obey, the elders and their thoughts. Man was not supposed to question existing knowledge. He had to accept it as it was. There were some scholars who refused to accept some ideas but they were punished for their behaviour.

The Renaissance meant that old ideas had to be doubted. If proved right, then they had to be accepted. Man was given the opportunity to test the existing knowledge. This made man alert. It led to the discovery of new knowledge. No longer, was man convinced with what was told to him. This feature, in human beings, led to progress. Men even questioned God and religion. In the beginning, the church declared such people as heretics. Church could not tolerate any criticism against religion. Average man was god-fearing and was afraid to raise questions about priests and their activities. But soon, it became a regular feature, which led to Reformation.

The effect of Renaissance was felt on every aspect of human life. This was because humanism made man superior. Human emotions, which were earlier hidden, were now in open. Poems on love were

written, and a whole lot of new literature on human behaviour sprang up. Dramatists and novelists, poets, etc. wrote on human actions. William Shakespeare, Petrarch, Machiavelli etc. were some of the well known men. During the Renaissance, subjects like political science, history, geography were studied with great interest.

Renaissance enlightenment influenced arts and crafts. Earlier all painting and sculpture, was limited to theology. Artists had to depict God only. But with the emphasis on humanism, painters took interest in picturing men and women. Leonardo-da-Vinci created several masterpieces of which Mona Lisa is world famous. It was no longer a sin to draw pictures of women. Secondly, the period also witnessed nude portraits and sculptures.

The period also saw the emergence of scientific knowledge. Astronomy, mathematics, anatomy became popular. Several scientists worked in their laboratories to discover new ideas. This led to new inventions of machines. All this improved human life. Discovery of medicines and progress in medical science made man healthier. Renaissance in the true sense ushered in the new era in history.

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### 1.11 QUESTION

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1. Discuss the factors that caused the renaissance in Europe.
2. What do you mean by humanism?
3. What was the contribution of Dante, Petrarch and Shakespeare to renaissance literature?
4. Write in detail about architecture during renaissance period.
5. Write short notes on :
  - (a) Leonardo da Vinci
  - (b) Michelangelo's Paintings
  - (c) Renaissance in Science

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**Module I**  
**BEGINNING OF MODERN AGE**  
**A) Geogtaphical Discoveries**  
**B) Reformation**

**Unit Structure**

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Causes of geographical discoveries
  - 2.2.1 Wealth of East
  - 2.2.2 Fall of Constantinople 1453
  - 2.2.3 European knowledge of the outside World
  - 2.2.4 Advancement in Science
  - 2.2.5 Religious cause
  - 2.2.6 Royal Patronage
- 2.3 Various geographical discoveries
  - 2.3.1 Christopher Columbus
  - 2.3.2 Vasco-da-gama
  - 2.3.3 Ferdinand Magellan
  - 2.3.4 Amerigo Vespucci
  - 2.3.5 Other explorers
- 2.4 Consequences of geographical discoveries
  - 2.4.1 Colonisation
  - 2.4.2 Commercial revolution
  - 2.4.4 Growth of monarchy
  - 2.4.5 Spread of Christianity
  - 2.4.6 Cultural effects
- 2.5 Causes of the Reformation
  - 2.5.1 Political Causes
  - 2.5.2 Economic Causes
  - 2.5.3 Spirit of Renaissance
  - 2.5.4 Religious Causes
  - 2.5.5 Attack by Priests



- 2.6 Role of Martin Luther in Reformation
  - 2.6.1 Luther and the issue of Indulgences
  - 2.6.2 95 Thesis
  - 2.6.3 Luther's excommunication
  - 2.6.4 Peasants' revolt
- 2.7 Rise and Spread of Protestant Church
  - 2.7.1 Zwingli
  - 2.7.2 Calvin
- 2.8 Counter Reformation
  - 2.8.1 Early phase
  - 2.8.2 The second stage
  - 2.8.3 The third stage
    - 2.8.3.1 The Inquisition
    - 2.8.3.2 The Society of Jesus
- 2.9 Results of the Reformation
  - 2.9.1 Division in the Christian world
  - 2.9.2 Religious wars
  - 2.9.3 Religious intolerance
  - 2.9.4 Rise of nationalism
  - 2.9.5 Rise of Absolutism
  - 2.9.6 Rise of Individualism and capitalism
  - 2.9.7 Change in morals and art
- 2.10 Summary
- 2.11 Questions

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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This lesson will enable you

1. To understand the meaning and causes of geographical discoveries.
2. To study about various voyages undertaken by major explorers.
3. To get a knowledge as to how European countries claimed new lands.
4. To analyse the consequences of the discoveries.
5. To understand the religious conditions in Europe in the middle ages.
6. To examine the revolutionary change brought about by the Protestants.
7. To know about the consequences of Reformation in Europe.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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In the last unit of Renaissance, we have studied about new ideas that gripped mankind. There was a spirit of inquiry. Man wanted to know more about the world. People had heard about the Eastern nations. They, however did not have details, due to lack of geographical knowledge. Travellers like Marco Polo had gone to China. They brought stories about the unknown lands. They told about the wealth of the East. There had been some trade and commerce between European countries and Middle East. As time passed there was a need to search new lands for trade and other purposes. European kings were interested in funding voyages to Eastern nations. They sponsored naval expeditions. Some of these failed but some were successful. These discoveries happened due to a number of factors. We shall examine the causes course and effects of these geographical explorations.

Reformation was basically a religious movement which was contemporary to renaissance. It started in 1550's. The leaders of the Reformation were sincere and devoted Christians. They realised that there were several evils in the church and particularly in the Papacy. The clergy followed a corrupt and immoral life. The leaders revolted against the evils in religion. They organised themselves into groups, but collectively they are known as Protestants. They got the name because they protested against the established church. Those who did not protest and remained faithful to the Pope were called Roman Catholics.

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## 2.2 CAUSES OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

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In the renaissance period there was an emphasis on the history of mankind. There was an interest in the outside world. This led to geographical discoveries. The main reasons are: -

### 2.2.1 Wealth of East:

India and China had ancient culture. They were known for their richness. Europeans read accounts of travellers like Marco Polo. Crusaders brought strange stories of new lands. Besides, they brought spices with them. Food became tasty and there was a demand for spices. Secondly other items like fragrant wood attracted Europeans. All these encouraged them to find routes to the East.

### 2.2.2 Fall of Constantinople - 1453:

Europeans brought products from East through Constantinople. In 1453 Turks captured it. It was the capital of Byzantine Empire and

also controlled main land routes. Turks were not as tolerant as Arabs. It became difficult for European merchants to pass through Constantinople. They had to pay high taxes to the Turks. Thus the traders needed another route to the Asian areas. Secondly, with the fall of Constantinople Greek authors fled with their classics. They gave a new outlook and adventurous spirit. So there were geographical discoveries.

### **2.2.3 European Knowledge of the Outside World:**

In middle ages, Europeans acquired knowledge of geography and navigation partly from practical experience and partly from Arabs. They read traveller's accounts. As early as 1307, the Pope had patronised a monk to China and India. Some Italians followed, but the interest was temporary. In 15<sup>th</sup> century with more geographical knowledge scholars understood that earth was round and so Asia could be reached sailing from Europe. Different geography books were written by merchants and travellers. This brought additional interest.

### **2.2.4 Advancement in Science:**

The discovery of printing press, enabled rapid spread of information. European sailors developed the art of navigation. New inventions helped them. The Mariners Compass was the main reason for geographical discovery. The magnetic needle, in the dark, showed the direction towards north. Besides, the Astrolabe-quadrant and accurate maps and chart making were useful. At the same time they learnt to make better ships. The telescope made travel easier.

### **2.2.5 Religious Cause:**

Christianity believed in spreading itself. By 15th Century it had travelled all over Europe. The missionaries were zealous and prepared to risk their lives. Their attention went to Asia and Africa. Kings, nobles and other rich patronised missions, because they felt that conversions could lead to political control. Many times merchants, missionaries and adventurers sailed together to new lands.

### **2.2.6 Patronage from kings:**

Kings had money to support the cause. Spain and Portugal were most interested in discovering new routes. These countries wanted to break the monopoly of Italian City states of trade with East. Prince Henry of Portugal wanted to find a route to India. He established a school for navigators. Prince (The Navigator), encouraged making of new charts, maps, equipments etc. Every year he sent expeditions of brave navigators, merchants and missionaries. They colonised

Madeira and Azores Islands. They moved further into the African continent. He was mainly responsible for the discovery of new routes to Asia and Africa.

**Check Your Progress:**

What were the major causes of geographical discoveries ?

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## **2.3 VARIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES**

Due to the patronage of Henry, Portugal ranked first in the field of naval expedition. The Prince died in 1460, but the spirit of exploration continued. Subsequent kings also took interest in sponsoring seamen. In 1486 a sailor called Bartholomew Diaz sailed to the southern coast of Africa. He named it the Cape of Storms, because he was caught in a storm. However, the king of Portugal gave it the name of Cape of Good Hope. He said that it would bring hope and luck to sailors, who were trying to find a route to India.

### **2.3.1 Christopher Columbus (1451-1506):**

He was one of the greatest explorers. He was from Genoa in Italy. It is said that he discovered America, but in reality, America had been explored earlier. He studied the globe and concluded that Far East could be reached through Atlantic Ocean also. He was financed by queen Isabella of Spain.

He left Spain in August 1492 with 87 men and 3 ships called Nina, Santa Maria and Pinta. It was a long and tedious voyage. For weeks the sailors did not see land. Finally on October 12, 1492, they were happy to see land. Columbus said it was some island of Indies. Actually he was wrong. He had reached West Indies, but continued to call the people Indians. He went further and explored central America. He rounded the islands of Cuba and Haiti. Some men were left at Haiti to form a colony, while Columbus went back.

He was received with honour in Spain. Later he went for three more voyages. He carried merchants, missionaries and colonists with him. He went to North America and northern coast of South America. A regular communication began between Europe and America. Columbus died in 1506, after discovering a new world.

### **2.3.2 Vasco-da-gama (1469-1524):**

He was a Portuguese sailor and explorer. He was the leader of the group of seamen, who were sent to find a route to India. He started his journey with four ships and 170 men in July 1497. He then proceeded to Mozambique and Malindi. They faced some opposition from Arab traders, but they continued their journey.

In May, 1498, Vasco-da-gama reached the port of Calicut. He was given a warm welcome by the king called Zamorin. He stayed for some days and collected precious stones, spices and other items of trade. It was a beneficial trip. The cargo he carried was 60 times the cost of journey. However, the journey was difficult. Many sailors died of disease. Only 55 reached Lisbon. The Portuguese king was happy to greet Vasco-da-gama.

In 1502, Vasco-da-gama made another voyage to India. Soon Portugal became an important trader, in Indian Ocean. In 1524, he went as Portuguese Viceroy to India. Portugal sent Christian missionaries and merchants with voyages. They established themselves on African coast. The Portuguese captured Goa in 1510. Missionaries spread their religion in the west coast. Later the Portuguese occupied naval posts Ceylon, Java etc.

### **2.3.3 Ferdinand Magellan (1480-1521):**

In 1519 he sailed from Spain with five ships. He crossed the Atlantic Ocean and went to Southern tip of South America. He saw a new ocean and named it Pacific. It was peaceful compared to Atlantic. It was a difficult journey. The ocean was large for 98 days, he did not see any land. Many sailors died on the way. Finally he reached the Philippine islands. He stayed there for a number of days. Unfortunately, he developed enmity with the local people and was killed by them.

The other seamen proceeded further. They loaded the ships with spices. However, due to disease, rivalry and other misfortunes only one ship returned to Spain, via the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, Magellan's was successful in proving that the earth is round. He started from Spain and the ship returned to Spain after completing a round of the earth. It is one of the best sea voyages.

This successful exploration inspired other sailors. One of them was an Italian adventurer called Amerigo Vespucci. He travelled to the new world i.e. America. He explored the interior of the land. He supplied geographical and other details. He wrote about the people. This proved that an entire unknown world existed. To honour Vespucci for his work, the new world is called America.

### **2.3.4 Other explorers:**

The English also took interest in geographical explorations. In 1547, John Cabot was financed to discover new islands and provinces, which were unknown to the world. Cabot crossed the Atlantic and went to North East North America. He claimed the land for England. Thus the British were first to capture mainland America. Later they claimed Canada.

The Portuguese explorer Cabral wanted to travel to India. But due to strong winds, he lost his way and reached eastern coast of south America. He landed in Brazil and claimed it for Portugal.

In 1513 a Spanish adventurer Balboa, led an expedition in the hope to find gold from new lands. He went to Panama and from there to eastern coast of America.

The French too sent some expeditions. Verazeno explored bays, rivers and other areas of eastern coast of North America. Cartier went to Canada.

These explorations continued in the 16th century. The countries which found new lands claimed those. Regular trade began. Secondly missionaries spread religious faith in the new lands. Thus explorations proved to be profitable politically, economically and for religion also.

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## **2.4 CONSEQUENCES OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES**

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### **2.4.1 Colonisation:**

Geographical discoveries led to colonialism, imperialism and exploitation. In 15<sup>th</sup> century Spanish and Portuguese were involved in colonisation. There was rivalry between the two, so Pope Alexander VI divided the world between the two. Roughly Asia, Africa went to Portuguese and North America and south America to Spain. Later they increased their hold. Portugal had a vast overseas empire. It gained great wealth from spice trade and gold. It also traded in slaves. Spanish colonised San Domingo and thereafter captured large area in South America.

### **2.4.2 Commercial Revolution:**

Colonisation led to rising trade between Europe and Eastern nations. Trade was basically in Mediterranean area earlier. For the first time ships of maritime powers sailed in all big seas. Italy lost its

monopoly of trade with East. European traders brought spices and other luxuries from Asia. They traded in potatoes, cocoa, quinine maize etc. from South America. From Africa they got ivory, ostrich feathers and slaves. Slavery had disappeared from Europe, but now it was revived. Colonists acquired huge tracts of land in America. They needed people to cut dense forests, dig mines, and make roads. Besides slaves were needed in plantations. Spanish and Portugese enslaved West Indians and "South Americans and forced them into work. They were even converted to Christianity.

#### **2.4.3 Rise of Imperialistic Rivalries:**

In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, new sea routes were discovered. New lands were found. The country which sponsored the navigation, claimed the land. It could establish commercial relations in the colonies. It was profitable position. Naturally there was a rush to acquire new lands. Most of the American lands were rich in gold and silver. There were colonial wars, for acquiring newer areas.

#### **2.4.4 Growth of Monarchy:**

This was an effect of geographical discovery. There was an increase in trade and communication. A new class of merchants and manufacturers emerged. A new middle class became strong. These classes needed the support of rulers. They were ready to contribute money for the kingdom. Thus strong and stable monarchies were found in Europe. Secondly, we find a decline in the position of landlords and clergy.

#### **2.4.5 Spread of Christianity:**

Missionaries had helped in the discovery of new routes. Popes patronised the movement. Missionaries went with navigators and merchants on voyages. They risked their lives in the process. Therefore, when new lands were found, they started spreading Christianity. Roman Catholics started activities in Spain and Portugese colonies, which was the religion in Spain and Portugal. This was the period of Reformation and Counter Reformation. Catholics were losing people due to Reformation. So the Jesuits tried to be quick in gaining new members in colonies.

#### **2.4.6 Cultural Effects:**

Europeans destroyed ancient civilisation and cultures in Mexico, Peru and Brazil, in the zeal of spreading Catholic culture. However a positive effect was that European culture was thereby enriched. Europeans learnt to use new things of luxury, brought by merchants.



The explorers and navigators helped in bringing knowledge of Mankind. This encouraged study of new subjects, specially Science and Astronomy. European mental outlook broadened.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Bring out the various consequences of geographical discoveries ?

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## **2.5 CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION**

### **2.5.1 Political Causes:**

Before the 16<sup>th</sup> century the church was religious and political body. It had its organisation in all states. Pope, and clergy were independent from the government. They could not be tried in state courts. Clergy had no civil duties, but could enforce spiritual matters on all. In those days, the Holy Roman Emperor was the head of kings other. Kings were below him. But in 16<sup>th</sup> century we find that kings were increasing their power. Monarchs in UK, Spain and France, tried to be free from church interference. They regarded Pope as a foreigner and opposed his authority. It was the rise of national states. Kings dreamt of being autocrats, and increased their wealth and prestige.

In fact, since 13<sup>th</sup> century there were frictions between the church and the states. There was a conflict between UK and France and Pope Boniface VIII, over the right to tax church property, which was exempted. The Pope declared that if a king taxed the church he would be excommunicated. But the Pope lost the battle and kings taxed the church. The Babylonian captivity 1309-1377, is an example when national governments challenged pope's intervention. The Papacy lost its prestige, when three Popes were elected instead of one.

### **2.5.2 Economic Causes:**

Europe had an agricultural economy till the 12<sup>th</sup> century. But since then we find a change. This was due to rise in trade and communication. Urbanisation followed. This led to a rise in capitalism. Germany became the leader of capitalist world. In 16<sup>th</sup> century there was a growth of towns, trades and crafts. With the discovery of new



routes, merchants sent goods to various parts of the world. As a result they accumulated wealth. Besides, trade, Germany also had mining and metal industries. All this led to rise in education and learning. Commercial activities and education made people practical. They questioned about the wealth of the church. They wanted to use church property for noble causes. At the same time, kings also tried to confiscate church property. The new business and learned classes were willing to support politicians, in their struggle with religion.

### **2.5.3 Spirit of Renaissance:**

Renaissance led to a revival of learning. Art and literature contributed in broadening the attitude of people. Before renaissance people never questioned the church. They were afraid of the clergy, because, it had the means and powers to punish people. In 13th century when people criticised the Church, in Albi, the Pope suppressed those. But the renaissance saw as upsurge of the spirit of humanism. People wanted to question everything, that was kept a taboo. Earlier, also, clergy led a corrupt life, but Few asked. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the spirit of rationalism could not suppress the inquiring mind. Many scandals were exposed at that time. Renaissance brought in a study of ancient languages like Greek and Hebrew. People could read Holy Scriptures. They understood that Christianity had changed a lot. Evils, had entered in the middle ages.

### **2.5.4 Religious causes:**

The authority of the church was accepted as the final. It was called sacred, because it was founded by Christ. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century the church became absolute and uncompromising. The clergy, were not educated. They were unaware of true religion.

The head of the Christian world was the Pope. He was regarded as the successor of St. Peter. He was elected for Life by cardinals, from churches in Rome. Besides there were clerks, lawyers and officers. Together they were called papal court or papacy. By renaissance the papacy was regenerating. Many popes indulged in the immorality. Nepotism was another evil of those days. For ages Italians noble families were favoured. Popes showered benefits on these families. Many European kings objected to the luxurious life the Pope led.

Naturally, the Bishops and other people in church also enjoyed life. They neglected their duties. They did not even stay in monasteries. Some involved in politics. They amassed huge wealth, and lived in comfort. To obtain more money, they sold important positions in the church. There were many financial scams in those days.

Except a few priests and nuns, who involved in spiritual guidance, others were not sincere. They were in different to new learning and classical study.

Indulgences, were means to salvation. If a person did a sin and was sorry, he could buy an indulgence, to be free of the sin. The Pope claimed that the right to grant indulgence, was given by Christ to St. Peter, the first Pope. To get an indulgence the person had to say prayers, visit the church or do same good deed. At the time of Luther good work meant paying funds to rebuild St. Peters church at Rome. Besides, the money also was used for increasing the dignity of the church authorities. Luther was specially against the practice of selling indulgences.

#### **2.5.5 Attack by Priests:**

When Alibi genses opposed church practices, they were suppressed. In the 14th century John Wycliff of UK rebelled against the Pope, by calling him antichristian, evil, ineffective. He said that a Christian should consider the Bible as the only guide. He translated it into English. Followers of Wycliff increased in UK. They were called Lollords. Wycliff was excommunicated. He died in 1383.

John Huss followed Wycliff, in his state Bohemia. He became very popular, so the Pope excommunicated him. He burnt the Papal bull or order. He was called to Constance Switzerland and burnt alive.

Erasmus a Dutch priest. In his 'Praise of Folly', he exposed the immoral and corrupt practices of the church and the Pope. This book decreased the hold of papacy on peoples' mind. Erasmus, attacked superstitions. He hated open revolt. He did not want to separate from the church. What he wanted, was a reformed church, without evils. Besides these there were people like Reuchlin, Savonarola, who abused church evils. They were called heretics. Albigenses and Waldeness were societies of people who opposed religious dogmas. They all were persecuted. Luther, Calvin and Zwinglis' is writings were influential. They laid the foundation of the Protestant movement.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

Discuss briefly the major causes of Reformation

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## **2.6 THE ROLE OF MARTIN LUTHER IN REFORMATION**

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Martin Luther was born in 1483, to a German peasant of Saxony. He went to nearby schools. In 1501 he registered to the University of Erfurt. He then studied law, but he was inclined towards the study of theology. He decided to become a priest. He entered the monastery of Augustinian monks at Erfurt. He gave his first mass in 1507. He was sent to Wittenburg for delivering lectures in theology.

He went to Rome in 1510. He was disillusioned to see the level of corruption in the papacy. He developed a dislike to Italian practices. He returned and carried his research and got his doctorate in 1512. He was appointed Chairman of Biblical study at Wittenburg.

### **2.6.1 Luther and the issue of Indulgences:**

It was the first controversy that he got involved in. It was a common practice to grant pardon by taking money. Indulgence had become the major financial income of the Papacy. A management house called Fuggers looked after the system. Luther marked that the Pope was rich enough to rebuild the church. It was wrong to collect public money. Luther was angry, because according to him, redemption was by acts of goodness and clear thoughts and not by buying pardon.

### **2.6.2 95 Thesis - 1518:**

Luther wrote his objection in the form 95 Thesis. On October 31, All Saints Eve, he nailed the thesis to the door of Castle Church at Wittenberg. He challenged the indulgences. Secondly, he wrote that his ideas were to be discussed as it was a public call. 95 Thesis were translated into German. Due to printing press, they were printed, so they reached a large audience. He sent it to his superior, who further sent a copy to Rome.

Initially the Pope did not intervene, but the head of Dominican Order, issued instructions that Luther should not be allowed to preach. However, he got political support from the ruler of Saxony. In 1518, he was called at Augsburg to discuss, with Dominican head. He was told to be silent in future, but Luther argued. In 1519 Luther had a debate with John Eck, a theologian, Luther said that he believed in direct relation with God, without the mediation of the church. He denied the Supremacy of the Pope.

Luther brought out several articles and books, where he challenged the church and the priests. He laid down the basis of a new theology.

He cut down 4 of the 7 sacraments. In the end of the year, he broke church laws and orders.

### **2.6.3 Luther's Excommunication:**

It was too much of a revolt to tolerate. Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther in 1521. Luther publicly burnt the Papal Bull or Order. In April 1521 he was called by Charles V Holy Roman Emperor to a diet or council. It was attended by princes, nobles, clergy. This diet of Worms asked him, if he was sorry and wanted to renounce his writings. He was not ready. He had to flee because the diet accused him as an outlaw. King Fredrick gave him protection and so he stayed in Wittenburg.

Luther translated the New Testament and then the whole Bible, in German. His Bible became as effective weapon, in Reformation and the infallibility of the church. Wittenburg became a centre of the reformation movement. However Luther lacked the force to lead revolutionary tendencies. His friend Carlstadt, helped him by attacking clerical celibacy, and demanding compulsory marriages for secular priests.

### **2.6.4 Peasants' Revolt:**

Peasants in Germany got influenced by his writings. Peasants had suffered due to tax burdens and exploitation by the Kings and Clergy. When he preached the doctrine of equality of all men before God, the peasants interpreted the words for their convenience. In 1524, they rebelled. They demanded abolition of serfdom, free rights of fishings and hunting and abolition of arbitrary punishments. Luther was sympathetic till they were against the church. But soon, the revolt, spread all over Germany. Peasants targeted landlords and nobles. They appealed to Luther. He urged them to be peaceful, but they did not. So he told nobles to suppress the revolt. It was severely put down. Some 50,000 peasants were killed. Luther immediately became unpopular in South Germany.

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## **2.7 RISE AND SPREAD OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH**

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The clash of Luther, with the church began, when he nailed his 95 thesis. He was told to be quiet and not challenge the Papacy. But Luther denied to accept the supremacy of the Pope. He found it difficult to remain a member of the church. Separation from it was the only course left. Secondly the Pope found him too aggressive and excommunicated him. Luther no longer was a Christian.

Thus Luther was the person to lay foundation of a new church - Protestant. He said that papacy had deprived the Christians of a true religion. There were too many unnecessary sacraments, which he cut down. Luther believed that true teachings could be found only in the Bible. The Bible is infallible but not the Pope. He said that every person could get salvation by following the Bible. The clergy had emphasized on sacraments to exploit the people.

Luther was well read. He got the support of his King Fredrick. There was a rise of nationalism in Germany. People felt that the man did something beneficial for Germany. Soon his ideas spread to commoners. Clergy had already known his sayings. He also got support from the educated. In Germany, they put many pictures ridiculing the clergy. The motive was to eradicate the evils, than organising a separate church. The reformation was mainly a bourgeois movement, but the ideas spread rapidly to German towns. In many cities the struggle between old and new faith was indecisive. Councils maintained neutrality. Clergy retained control of churches, so Lutherans preached in open air. German patriots were influenced and wished to put an end to Roman and Italian influence. Princes confiscated church properties. Commoners accepted Luther's ideas. The movement then spread to other countries of Europe and to America. The main reason for its success was the sincere exploitation of evils. It was not only discontent of religious but also social, moral and political condition of the church. Luther's personal energy, courage and intelligence, were major causes for its spread. On the other hand the forces that opposed Luther were weak. Clergy were aware of the weaknesses. Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther and blocked chances of compromise. A reformist Pope could have averted a schism.

By the time Luther died in 1546, he was recognised as a major figure in the Christian world. He was the main force for the split within Christians. His reforms, were carried forward by Zwingly and Calvin.

### **2.7.1 Zwingly:**

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Protestant ideas spread to other parts of Europe. The leaders spread beliefs somewhat different from those of Luther. They were forerunners of Presbyterian church though it was influenced by Luther. As a group it is called Calvinism. Calvin and Knox became exponents of the thought. It was influenced by an earlier reformer called Zwingly.

Zwingly was born in 1484 in Switzerland. He became a priest in 1506. He became a follower of Dutch priest Erasmus and Luther. He studied the writings of renowned theologians and worked out a theology of himself. The civil magistrates called a public meeting to choose

between Catholicism and Zwingly's Protestant faith. People voted for Zwingly. Soon, the country abolished religious images and, closed monasteries. Rural areas remained Catholic. He preached salvation by faith and supremacy of the Bible. He disagreed with Luther on the issue of salvation. For Luther individual salvation was most important. Zwingly was more concerned with Renaissance of christianity, which was rebirth of humanity and society. Zwingly had to lose life, during a war with the Catholics.

### **2.7.2 Calvin:**

Calvin was born in 1509 in France. He did M.A. at University of Paris. He studied law and theology in Latin. In his extensive tours, he met humanists, writers and philosophers. He himself wrote a lot. The most influential was "The principles of Christian tradition".

Will Durant speaks of Calvin as God intoxicated man. For him church and theology were important. God was the centre of the cosmos and man was nothing. In 1529, he experienced conversion. In France there was no revolt against the church, but there were criticisms. Calvin believed that God himself had told him to be an exponent of pure Christianity. He adopted Protestant religion. He went to Basel and wrote Institutes of Christian religion. He became well known and his book is considered a masterpiece of.

In his work, he says that God is ultimate authority. The Bible is infallible. He also encourages prayers. But he was against, mass, priests, communion, images, sculptures, crucifixes etc. He said that nothing should remain in the church, which was not expressed in scriptures. The true church is made up of those who have faith in god, lead a good life, participate in baptism.

All of Calvin's ideas were not original. Most of those were stated before, but he spoke elegantly and put those in practice. From Luther he took the doctrine of faith, and from Zwingly Spiritual interpretation.

In 1536 he was made leader of Geneva's first group of Protestant pastors. He thus entered the arena of politics, by getting a key position of managing the affairs of the town. He thus acted as a political and religious dictator. Church and state were not separate. Theocratic laws were to be respected. He banned begging and encouraged charity. He changed the life of people, fun was reduced but crime too, reduced. A well organised city came into existence. For his stern activities and work, he was called 'Protestant Pope'. He wrote a lot on theology. He translated the Bible in French. He established Protestant schools and the University of Geneva. His ideas spread throughout - France, Scotland, Holland, Germany, U.K. and USA. It

was known by different names in different countries. In Hungary and Poland, Calvin spread among nobles and middle class. Luther had lost support in peasant dominated South Germany where Calvin became popular. The Protestant Reformation in Scotland was led by John Knox.

The cause for rise of Protestants in U.K. was refusal of the Pope Clement VII to allow the divorce of King Henry VIII to his wife Catherine. He wanted to marry Anne Boleyn hoping to get a male heir. In 1534, the Protestants passed the act of Supremacy, which made the Monarch head of the Church. Though Henry remained Catholic, Protestantism became popular under his son Edward VI. His successor Queen Mary restored Catholicism and suppressed Protestants. Elizabeth I established moderate Protestant faith called Anglicanism. Those who followed Calvin were called Puritans. Catholicism declined in England.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on the role of Martin Luther in reformation ?

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## **2.8 COUNTER REFORMATION**

The Protestant Revolution was one phase of the great upheaval called Reformation. Counter Reformation was another. But Counter Reformation should not be viewed only as retaliatory movement or measures to control the rise of Protestants. The church, had already started the reformation movement; before Luther nailed 95 thesis.

The Counter Reformation can be divided into 3 phases.

### **2.8.1 The Early Phase:**

The early phase, dates before Lutheranism, upto 1534. With the accession of Pope Paul III the second phase begins and The Counter Reformation gained momentum. It is rigid and dogmatic. The third phase is from 1559, with the accession of Pope Paul IV upto 1610. In this period counter reformation is offensive and rigid.

Counter Reformation was the movement to reform the Papacy. Cardinal Ximenes and Savonarola had sincerely tried to get rid of



church evils. In Italy also there were attempts to revitalize and purify the church. Priests were instructed to have a pure and moral life. However the task was difficult. Evils continued and Protestantism was established.

By the middle of 16th century Protestantism became popular. Catholics were Shocked by the increase in heresy. In retaliation the church rallied its forces and prepared an offensive called Counter Reformation. So Protestants never got complete success. In all areas there remained a considerable number of Catholics. It was because Luther's ideas were accepted at intellectual level. He raised theological controversies, which were difficult to understand. He discarded, sacrifices, penance, image worship, saints. He said people should interpret the Bible for guidance. For a layman, it was difficult to understand. Those who agreed with Luther that reform was necessary, supported reform from within. There was no need to break away from the existing Church.

### 2.8.2 The Second Stage:

The abuses under Pope Leo V had made Luther protest. The first Pope to initiate reform was Pope Adrian VI (But the movement became vigorous in 1534 with Pope Paul. New monastic orders infused with crusading zeal were organised. He reorganised papal finances made appointment on merit, punished the idle and evil clergy).

Counter Reformation in Germany was launched, to answer Luther. To fight Luther, a man of equal status was needed. John Eck was chosen. He was an eminent theologian He argued with Luther. In U.K. Catholics wrote against Luther. Sir Thomas More was one them.

From 1530s the Leaders realised that they had to be more aggressive, because Lutheranism was becoming popular. In 1534, Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, better known as Jesuit Order which played a vital role in counter reformation. The counter reformation reached a new era in 1534 with the accession of Pope Paul.

On his initiative **The Council of Trent** was called in 1545. By the time the Catholics wanted to control Protestants at local level. But with the new Pope, the counter reformation became centralised. Actually the council was a series of meetings called to discuss reformation in the church. Hundreds of church officials were invited. Many criticisms, and debates were initiated. Even Protestants were called, but they did not attend. The work of the council was both dogmatic and reformation at the same time.



The council did not compromise with Protestants. The dogmas of the church, were reaffirmed. Clear authority of the Pope was recognised. He was recognised as The Supreme interpreter of the Canons. However, the council agreed that reform was necessary. There had to be a check on personal behaviour of the church officials. The sale of church offices was prohibited. The priests, had to abandon worldly pursuits and lead a simple and spiritual life. They had to learn theology in seminaries. Church service books were revised. Priests had to know Latin, but could give sermons in local languages. Favouritism, corruption etc. were to be punished.

All Roman Catholics had to agree to the discussions, accepted at Trent. The Council was ended in 1563, by Pope Pius IV.

### **2.8.3 The 3rd Stage:**

In 1566, with Pope Pius V, the counter reformation reached its final stage. The aim was to win all that was lost to the Protestants. It was an aggressive phase. The Pope took the lead and led a simple and frugal life. On the other hand, he was strict to heretics. No body was forgiven, including Queen Elizabeth I. All Roman Catholics were told to keep no relations with her. Merit and fitness were the criteria to enter papacy.

The next Pope Gregory XIII a was mild man. He was a good administrator. He chalked out an ambitious plan to reform the church. He financed Jesuit schools, but he overspent church money and so was criticised. Pope Sixtus I was effective and dynamic. He was iron willed and determined. He spread terror to a certain extent. Being highly educated he encouraged theological activities. Thus by the end of the 16th century the church had carried various activities of counter reformation, from which some movements are noteworthy.

#### **2.8.3.1 The Inquisition:**

It was an institution of middle ages. It was popular in Spain. Kings used it to suppress heretics and also deal with political enemies. It was an organ, used as a pretext of protecting religious orthodoxy. Since Inquisition were a success in Spain, its exponent Cardinal Caraffa, suggested it to the Pope Paul III. He was alarmed at the rising tide of Protestants. So he established Roman Inquisition. This strict method, checked heresy, but it was not as successful as in Spain.

#### **2.8.3.2 The Society of Jesus:**

In the 16th century, there were a number of new orders, to check Protestants and revive Catholic religion. But the most powerful was

Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola. He was a Spanish soldier, but got interested in theology. He went to Paris University and studied more of Christianity. There he founded the Society, with a few followers. In addition to the vows of chastity, obedience and poverty, the Jesuits took a special vow, of allegiance to the Pope. By means of preaching and educating the Jesuits intended to win back the converts. They were successful in Poland, Belgium and Bavaria. Due to their efforts, Italy, Spain and Portugal remained loyal to Pope. In France, Protestantism was checked. In addition, they did excellent missionary work in North and South America, China and India. The Jesuits became effective educationists. They realised that teaching institutions formed key points in spreading ideas. By their wide learning and purity, they got respect from Catholic clergy.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on Counter Reformation

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## **2.9 RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION**

### **2.9.1 Division in the Christian World:**

Since Protestant church was founded, it meant that there was schism in Christianity. There was no compromise between the new and old faiths. Germany, Denmark, became Lutheran, U.K. had her own form of Protestantism. Scotland, Denmark, Switzerland followed Calvinism. Spain Portugal, Italy were mainly Catholic, but there too, there were a number of Protestants.

### **2.9.2 Religious Wars:**

A lot of bloodshed and battles happened in Europe due to the Reformation. The first was waged by Holy Roman Emperor against German Protestants princes. Though he won the war, he could not force the people back to Catholicism. Peace of Augsburg was signed by which each prince was free to choose his faith. In spite of it 30 years wars took place between Holy Roman emperor and King of Bohemia. Sweden and France supported Bohemia. The war left the Holy Roman Empire weak and exhausted.

### **2.9.3 Religious Intolerance:**

Religious intolerance was an obvious result. Both groups believed that they were correct. While Catholics said they defended traditional Christianity, Protestants said that they removed evils. Monarchs sought to strengthen their political power. They forced the people to accept one faith. Kings of Catholic countries used all means to keep Protestants away. They used inquisition, spies, and police to suppress Protestants. Queen Mary of U.K. massacred Protestants. She was known as Bloody Mary. Similarly Catholics were tortured under Edward VI and Elizabeth I. In France Protestants were called Huguenots. They were in a minority, but were influential in financial field. When a powerful Catholic government came into force, it persecuted Huguenots. Finally in 1598, freedom was granted to people to follow any faith. The birth of a Dutch Republic was a result of religion intolerance. When Spain forced Catholic faith in Netherlands, the people revolted. The war established a new free State of Denmark. Belgium remained Catholic.

### **2.9.4 Rise of Nationalism:**

It was a cause and effect of Reformation Protestants appealed to national thoughts. They objected to foreign influence in their country. So we find national churches being established in England and elsewhere Lutheran church was regarded as national church in Germany. Similarly in Catholic countries the Catholic churches were looked as national churches.

### **2.9.5 Rise of Absolutism:**

Protestants weakened the Papal hold on many areas. Kings took advantage. Already they had an eye on church property. They disobeyed church orders, confiscated church property, and checked the clergy. Even Catholic Kings, enjoyed the difficulties of the Pope and asked for concessions at the expense of the church. Instead of Divine Right of Pope, Divine right of Kingship was asserted. Thus Reformation gave rise to strong monarchies in Europe.

### **2.9.6 Rise of Individualism and Capitalism:**

Protestants liberated man from the clutches of the church. They set an example of challenging exploitation. It led to rise of several isms - socialism, communism, nazism, fascism etc.

Protestants challenged the wealth of the church and demanded confiscation of church property. Bankers, traders etc. who wanted capital supported this view. Thus the monopoly of church in economic matters came to an end. Protestantism became popular in commercial and economically development countries.

### 2.9.7 Change in Morals and Arts:

Protestants had exposed moral degradation of the church. Luther and others emphasized on moral values. Naturally, they had to have higher moral standards. To defend themselves the Catholics too had to be highly moral. Thus there was rise of Puritan thought. They criticised dancing, blasphemy, bull fights, theatre and immoral literature.

In 16<sup>th</sup> century there was Christian art. Popes patronised art and architecture and continued so after reformation. But Protestants did not believe in huge structures and decoration of buildings. They supported simplicity. They denounced painting, sculpture, religion images, glass windows, altars etc. They believed more in secular art.

#### Check Your Progress:

Discuss the main results of the Reformation

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### 2.10 SUMMARY

We have examined in the earlier lesson that since the 13<sup>th</sup> century there was an interest in learning. People were eager to know about the world unknown. Till then knowledge had been limited to ones surroundings only. All literature centered round God. Later in the period of renaissance getting new ideas was encouraged. This resulted in the study of various subjects, besides God.

Man had some idea about faraway lands, especially India, China and others. However, people were not having proper details. There was some commercial contact with the East. Traders and adventurers told stories about the Eastern nations. They described the wealthy lifestyle of Asians. European monarchs were influenced. They wanted to expand their power far and wide. Missionaries wished to spread Christianity. Due to encouragement to learning, scientific and technological progress was achieved. Various new tools and machines were discovered. This made travel easier. The fall of Constantinople, closed land route to European merchants and others. Thus there was a strong need to find sea route to India and the Eastern nations.

Monarchs in Europe were ready to sponsor travellers and explorers. There were a political, economic and religious motives behind. The most well known patronage came from Henry, king of Portugal Due to his active interest in explorations, he was called the Navigator. The rulers of Spain, Italy, France and England also followed. A large amount of money was spent on these geographical adventures.

Columbus discovered the east coast of America. He took a tiring journey, in the hope of finding a route to India. It was Vasco-da-gama who sailed round the southern tip of Africa and safely reached India in 1498. There after a regular trade began, between India and Portugal A few other explorers like Magellan, Amerigo Vespucci and Balboa did noteworthy sailings. As lands were found, they were claimed for the king who sponsored the sailing. Soon missionaries went to the new lands and spread their faith.

Although, these discoveries achieved a lot for the study of geography, Science and other areas, they produced consequences, which disturbed many. There was widespread colonisation, Local people were illiterate and backward. Europeans had better weapons and knowledge. So they suppressed the inhabitants of the newly claimed areas. Secondly, these areas were economically exploited Race for acquiring colonies led to wars among European nations. Last, but not the least, Europeans destroyed the culture of the acquired land. They imposed European culture and religion on the colonies.

**Table of geographical discoveries**

Name of the Explorer	Discoveries
1. Bartholomew Diaz Portugal	Cape of Good Hope Southern coast of Africa.
2. Christopher Colambus	Atlantic route to America Venezueala. Central America
3. Vasco da gama	The Cape route to India.
4. Amerigo Vespucci	Atlantic route to South America.
5. Magellan	Circumnavigation of the earth. Crossed Atlantic and reached North America.
6. Cabot	Parama route to east coast of America.
7. Balboa	Bays and mouths of ricers from North Caroling to New York
8. Verazeno	Brazil.

The Renaissance instigated the people to question ideas. People started inquiring about religion and the church in particular. The church had a strong hold on the people. As a result the church officials had become powerful. Soon evils crept in, in the church. There were learned people who spoke against church evils. These people were severely punished. Still Martin Luther, criticised the evils. He targeted the Pope. He put forward his ideas, opposing the office of the Pope. He got many followers, and this led to the new Protestant faith. They believed in Christ, the Bible and the scriptures. But they were against the Pope and his officials.

Some people were loyal to the Pope and supported him. This led to the division of the Christian Church. Both churches wanted to prove that they were pure. In defense and later offense, the Catholics launched the Counter Reformation. The movement created an ill feeling among the two groups, many times leading to serious clashes. The Reformation brought in revolutionary changes in the religious life of Europe.

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## 2.11 QUESTIONS

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1. Examine the factors that led to geographical discoveries?
2. Why did the Europeans discover the new world?
3. Comment on the voyages of Vasco-da-gama and Christopher Columbus.
4. Critically evaluate the explorations sponsored by Portugal, Spain and England?
5. What were the consequences of geographical discoveries?
6. Write short notes on : (a) Ferdinand Magellan (b) Amerigo Vespucci
7. Discuss the causes of the Reformation.
8. Illustrate the role of Martin Luther in the Protestant movement.
9. What is meant by Counter Reformation ?
10. Explain the consequences of Reformation.
11. Write short notes on:
  - (a) Zwingli
  - (b) Calvin

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**Module II**  
**AGE OF REVOLUTION**  
**A The American and French Revolution**  
**1775-1785**

**Unit Structure**

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Causes
  - 3.2.1 Political
  - 3.2.2 Social
  - 3.2.3 Economic
  - 3.2.4 Influence of Ideas
  - 3.2.5 Conclusion of the seven years war
- 3.3 Immediate Cause and Course of the war
- 3.4 Effects
- 3.5 George Washington
- 3.6 Conclusion
- 3.7 Causes
  - 3.7.1 Political
  - 3.7.2 Economic
  - 3.7.3 Social
  - 3.7.4 The Age of Enlightenment
  - 3.7.5 Other Causes
- 3.8 Beginning and Course of the Revolution
  - 3.8.1 Summoning of the Estates – General
  - 3.8.2 Opening of the Estates—General
  - 3.8.3 Tennis court oath
  - 3.8.4 Fall of Bastille
  - 3.8.5 Work of the Assembly
  - 3.8.6 Reign of Terror
  - 3.8.7 The Directory and the Rise of Napoleon

3.8.8 Domestic Policy of Napoleon

3.8.9 Napoleon's Codes

3.8.10 Foreign Policy

3.9 Results of the French Revolution

3.10 Conclusion

3.11 Summary

3.12 Questions

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## 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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The objectives of this lesson are as follows :

- 1 To understand the factors responsible for the cut-break of the American Revolution.
- 2 To examine the main events that culminated in the revolution.
- 3 To briefly survey the course of the revolution.
- 4 To assess the consequences of the revolution and its impact on the history of the world.
- 5 to introduce to the students the Importance of the French Revolution as a landmark in the history of the world.
- 6 To understand the courses for the outbreak of the Revolution.
- 7 To study the course of the Revolution.
- 8 To evaluate Napoleon Bonaparte role in history.
- 9 To assess the effects of the French Revolution

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## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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The 16<sup>th</sup> century was the great age of conquest and cultural diffusion on the part of the Europeans. The continent of America was discovered by an Italian sailor Christopher Columbus in 1492. From then on great strides were made especially by the French and English in colonizing America.

Of all the Europeans, the English were the most successful. They gained control of all 13 colonies in North America stretching from Massachusetts and New Hampshire to South Carolina and Georgia.

Over the period of time, a new world economy no longer dependant on the mother country and a new social pattern from the integration of many groups emerged. Population grew, and a new American spirit and culture began to emerge. Traditional European values were now questioned in America. This led to a fight for 'freedom' from traditionalism and exploitation from the mother country in England.



For years before the actual outbreak of the revolution, feelings of discontent began manifest themselves. During the year 1759-1796, grievances culminated into the first wave of concerted colonial opposition to the crown.

The American Revolution helped to spark the French Revolution of 1789. Which proved to be the most violent and for reaching of all the liberal upheavals. Not only were liberal ideas ushered in, but also drastic changes in the legal, social and economic order was introduced in France the most populous country in Western history. As Tocqueville later wrote; 'The French Revolution had no territory of its own; indeed, its effect was to efface, in a way all old frontiers. If brought men together, divided them, in spite of laws, traditions, character and language – turning enemies sometimes into compatriots and kinsmen into strangers.....'.

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## **3.2 CAUSES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

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### **3.2.1 Political Causes :**

#### **Dissatisfaction with the System:**

The English colonists had brought political ideas and institutions from England to the colonies. In each colony, the legislative was modelled on the House of Commons. However the colonists went a step further than the mother country. They claimed that no tax could be imposed and no law passed without the consent of the assembly. English leaders argued in vain, that the colonies enjoyed 'Virtual' representation since members of the Parliament, in theory represented not individual constituencies, but national and imperial interests as a whole. However this argument did not impress the colonists. They began to demand self-government and asserted that there can be 'No taxation without Representation'.

#### **Character of King George III and Lord North:**

In the moment when discontent was manifesting itself, there was a need for a sound and sane leadership. However both the monarch king George III and his prime-minister lacked the qualities of sound leadership.

#### **Distance from England:**

The colonies were geographically far away from Britain, and communications were slow. It was a bit easy for Britain to control the colonies. British politicians did not understand the colonists, hence there was ignorance, indifference and at times misunderstanding concerning colonial affairs and sentiments.

### 3.2.2 Social Causes

#### Heterogeneous Character of the Colonies

The Colonies could be divided into 3 categories :

- (1) **The Northern colonies** viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island were fired with a burning desire for political independence and hatred for any kind of external control and interference. They had migrated to the 'America's' to seek their destiny away from restrictions.
- (2) **The Middle Colonies** viz. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware were Catholic and resented control from Protestant England.
- (3) **The Southern Colonies** viz. North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia were mostly loyal to the British government.

### 3.2.3 Economic Causes:

The Colonies were considered valuable chiefly for economic reasons – as a source of raw materials and as a market for exports. But the cost to the mother country for defence and administration probably equaled or exceeded the commercial returns. After 1750, therefore Parliament tightened up the regulation of trade and the collection of duties.

Until this time, the colonists had part with more than the local taxes levied by their colonial legislatures. They had achieved this 'immunity' by means of wholesale smuggling and a flagrant disregard of the British Navigation acts. At the same time they showed little interest to provide for their own military defence.

The English therefore began to impose a number of new taxes, and also to collect existing taxes more strictly. This was resented by the colonists. Some of them are as follows :

#### (a) The Navigation Acts :

These contained 3 main provisions (i) all goods were to be exported only through British Ships (ii) Certain goods and commodities were to be sold only to British merchants (iii) Commodities were first to be shipped to Britain and from there to any part of the world. This made the process of shipping long and increased the prices of goods and commodities.

#### (b) Prohibition of Manufacture of Certain Goods :

The manufacture of certain commodities like cloth was disallowed

in the colonies. This was done to boost industrial production in England. However it was a death blow to industries in the colonies.

**(c) The Sugar act of 1733 :**

This act imposed a prohibitive duty on the import of foreign colonial molasses. The enforcement of this act would cripple if not destroy the extremely important trade of the Northern British colonies with the foreign, colonial possessions in the West Indies and South America

**(d) The stamp act of 1765 :**

Under this act, every document in order to be 'legal' should carry a 'stamp'. The legislatures of the leading North American colonies petitioned against this act, but it was of no use. The colonist realised the only way to halt further encroachments on colonial self-government was to resist this act even at the risk of war.

**(e) The American Act of 1764 :**

This act imposed new restrictions on colonial trade and levying taxes in the colonies to support an enlarged British standing army in America without consulting the colonial governments as to the number or composition and distributors of the troops and without offering commissions to any former colonial officers many of whom had served creditably in the recent French and Indian wars.

This was distasteful to the colonists specially when the army miserably failing to protect the colonial frontiers from the ravages of the western Indian in an uprising caused mainly by the blunders of the British commander in chief in North America, General Sir Jeffery Amherst.

**(f) Writs of Assistance :**

This empowered British officers to search the house for smuggled goods as well as ships for taxable goods. This was viewed by the colonists as violation of their basic human rights.

**(g) English officers to be tried in England :**

English Officers accused of violations of the law were tried in England. This was viewed by the colonists as an act of acquittal of the criminals, because the English courts would naturally favour the accused.

**(h) The Quartering Act :**

This act authorized the stationing of soldiers on American soil to oversee the enforcement of the various laws of parliament.

### **3.2.4 Influence of Ideas :**

The American Revolution was influenced by philosophers and thinkers of the period. John Locke in 1690 published his work 'Two treatises of Government'. The first treatise rejected the 'theory of divine right', while the second defended the 'right of rebellion'. This turned a landmark handbook for liberal revolutionists everywhere.

Thomas Paine did much to advance the cause of rebellion in America. In his work 'Common sense', declared that America's subjection to England was 'contrary to reason'. He therefore advocated his fellowmen to fight for total independence from England.

There were other writers like, Thomas Jefferson, Franklin Benjamin Alexander Hamilton etc whose writings led to the rise of American nationalism

### **3.2.5 Conclusion of the Seven Years War**

By 1763 the seven years war ended with England emerging victorious over France. With French power on the Northern American continent broken, there was no longer a serious foreign threat to the 13 Colonies. Feeling more secure than before, the Americans grew even more defiant towards their absentee rulers.

On the other hand Britain was determined to make the colonies pay a part of the war expenditure by imposing new taxes on them. Empowered by the removal of the French threat, the Americans turned bolder and this enabled them to resist the alarming British innovations.

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## **3.3 IMMEDIATE CAUSE AND COURSE OF THE WAR**

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The colonies by 1765 began to entertain thoughts of complete independence from the 'mother country'. They began to commit acts of violence to resist the unjust laws. It needed only a spark to set the process in motion. This was provided in the form, of what came to be known as the 'BOSTON TEA PARTY'.

The antecedent leading to this event, was the imposition of the Tea Act of 1773, to facilitate the sale of surplus tea that was lying in English warehouses. This was met with resistance. In the year 1773 when a cargo of tea arrived at the Boston port, a group of colonists disguised as 'Red Indians' boarded the ship and threw away the 342 chests of tea into the sea. This event was popularly known as the "Boston Tea Party". The British government instantly closed down the Boston port and brought swift punitive measures in what the Americans

called the 'Intolerable Acts'. The British may have thought that their tough policy would bring the colonists to their senses but it had the opposite effect.

County assemblies were convened in Massachusetts, to protest against these acts. Shortly thereafter, representatives from all the colonies assembled at a continental congress in Philadelphia. There they drew up a statement of grievances and formed an association to cut off all trade with Britain. The conflict of words had given way to 'direct action'.

When the British governor at Massachusetts ordered for the dissolution of the Legislature, the legislators defiantly reconvened and proceeded to raise a defence force. This was illegal and brought into existence a state of 'armed rebellion'. The first clash of arms occurred in April 1775 at Concord where the British lost heavily. The 'War of Independence' had started.

The continental congress reassembled shortly after this. The minutemen among Boston were enlisted as the nucleus of a continental army, and George Washington was named as commander-in-chief of the army.

The congress also appointed a committee of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and others to draw up a 'Declaration of Independence'; which was adopted by the congress on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1776. This document aimed to justify the resort to force against Britain and to win support abroad as well at home.

The ringing paragraph that links the American Revolution with universal truth has been taken from Locke, but Jefferson's version is marked by incomparable simplicity, clarity and power. It is as follows : "We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. – that to secure these rights. Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the people to alter or abolish it .....

With this Jefferson set forth a view of man, government and revolution that remains an inspiration to believers in human dignity. Liberal principles and progressive social change.

The war dragged on for six years. In spite of the skill and heroic self-sacrifice of Washington the Americans lost more battles than they gained. Fortunately for the Americans. Britain though a leading European

power, was hampered by long lines of communication, poor generalship, and troubles in other parts of the empire.

The colonials on their side had many difficulties. They faced internal differences non availability to provide sufficient troops supplies or money. Although they fought bravely and endured severe hardships, the could hardly have won, without the aid of foreign power. The French monarch eager to even the score with the British after their humiliating defeat of 1763 decided to aid the rebels. Spain and Holland followed, swinging the European balance in the American favour.

The surrender of Lord cornwallis in 1781 at Yorktown virtually ended the British military effort. It was forced by a French fleet controlling the waters of Yorktown. Two years latter, by the 'Treaty of Paris', the United States of America won recognition as a sovereign territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Discuss the important causes of American Revolution?

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## **3.4 EFFECTS**

The American emerged from the 'War of Independence' with relatively few scars. However it is one of the greatest landmarks in the history of mankind. The effects are as follows :

- (1) **Birth of a New Nation** : This was acknowledged by England under the 'Treaty of Paris' in 1783. The territory was to extend to the Mississippi River.
- (2) **French and Spanish gains** : France recovered Yobaco in the West Indies and Senegal in west Africa. Spain regained Minarca and Horida. However Holland proved to be a loser.
- (3) **Losses to France and Spain** : French and Spanish fleets were practically smashed by British naval forces. The French tuned virtually bankrupt after the war which in turn set the ball of the French Revolution rolling.

- (4) **Lesson to the English** : Britain realised that she could not rule and exploit the colonies arbitrarily. With the loss of America she began to concentrate all her attention on India.
- (5) **A New Experiment of government** : The American were the first to experiment in a federal type of government. They were also the first to introduce a written constitution. Their example was followed by other countries.
- (6) **Liberty and Democracy** : The Declaration of Independence asserted that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with alienable rights, that among the are life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are constituted among men deriving their powers from the consent of the governed.
- (7) **A Right to Revolt** : If affirmed the birth-right of all people who are oppressed to resold and overthrow tyrannical governments.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

What were the major effects of American Revolution?

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### **3.5 GEORGE WASHINGTON**

Recognition of the true greatness of George Washington, as a man and a general, has somehow been diminished over the years. Born in 1732 in the state of Virginia, Washington was a self-made man, though he came from a background of being a plantation owner. At the age of 27 he married Martha Curtis, a rich widow with children. He was found of socializing and was also a champion for the fights of the colonist.

In recognition of his great patriotism, and his qualities of leadership, the Congress elected him as it's Commander-in-Chief. This he accepted mainly as "a kind of destiny," as he told his wife.

When Washington reached the American camp at Cambridge on July 2, 1775, the problems that he faced were practically impossible to solve. He needed to create an army from a mixture of forces raised



by the four New England states-Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island - and the southern regiment yet to come. These soldiers were volunteers, rugged individuals, resentful of discipline, ignorant of military procedure, lacking clothing, weapons, ammunition and other supplies with which to wage a prolonged war. As Washington wrote to his brother that the officers in general were “the most indifferent kind of people I ever saw”.

Washington also faced a crisis in the form of finance for the army. Yet along with the help of Robert Morris, Washington was able to inspire his men in the field and also to raise money to finance the army.

He spent six years in the field with his troops, without once returning to his beloved Mount Vernon. His labour bore fruit with the triumph of the Colonist armies over the British forces led by Lord Cornwallis. The final victory of Washington at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, vindicated Washington’s fundamental strategy — to harass the enemy at every point, but never to allow them the opportunity of crushing his army.

The British evacuated New York on November 23, 1783. Washington marched in leading his ill-clad, ragged army. It was there he bid farewell to his officers and soldiers.

In recognition of his leadership capabilities, the new Constitutional Government that was formed elected George Washington as the first President of the United States of America.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on role George Washington in American Revolution?

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## **3.6 CONCLUSION**

The American Revolution brought about the first expulsion of a European colonial power replaced monarchical government with a viable republic and established the practice of popular sovereignty (democracy). As a result of those achievements, the American Revolution seed as a hope and a model to latter revolutions round the world.

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## 3.7 CAUSES

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**To understand the main.** Causes, phases and consequences of the movement that began in 1789, a survey of the background of the rebellion is necessary.

### 3.7.1 Political Causes :

#### (1) The Bourbon Monarch and the Old Regime:

The Monarch in France claimed to rule by the will of God, that is by 'Divine Right' and not by the consent of the people. He was an absolute monarch and responsible only to 'God'. French monarchs from Louis XIV continued to sit in the grand manner at Versailles. However the monarchy while clinging to its divine claims proved to be ineffectual during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Louis XV was capable but a pleasure loving ruler. His successor Louis XVI was well meaning but indecisive.

Humiliating military defeats and the loss of the French overseas empire undermined royal prestige, while wars, waste and extravagance brought the monarchy to the edge of bankruptcy.

#### (2) The Government:

The only large administrative units of any significance in France in the century and half preceding the Revolution were the generalities or intendants. Historical provinces which had been independent kingdoms or ducal before their absorption into the French state, still retained their own laws and customs. The intendants were selected from the ranks of the bourgeoisie. But under Louis XIV they were raised them to the rank of nobility.

These intendants enjoyed absolute authority in their intendants. This led all thinking men of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to denounce the '30 tyrants of France'.

#### The Central Administration:

The French administration had no unity in 1789. The chief administrative subordinates of the king were the Chancellor the controller general of finance, the 4 secretaries of state and the members of the royal council.

The chancellor was the chief judicial and legislative officials of the state, presiding when the king was absent. He was also in charge of secondary and higher education, all bookstores, publications and

royal censors whom he appointed to office. Of all the high officials, he alone was not removable.

The controller – general of finance had many responsibilities while each of the 4 secretaries had certain clearly defined specialized functionary, as well as administrative authority over certain. Specified territorial districts. There were four more or less definite sections of the royal council which determined the general internal policy of the administration.

An examination of this system shows only its inefficiency. There was conflict of jurisdiction and rivalries among the administrators, as well as an absence of an executive head in their midst to formulate long term plans and policies. All this taxed the strength of even the most conscientious and determined servant of the state.

### **Administration of Justice:**

According to the absolutist theory all justice in France came from the monarch, whose officials administered it in his name in the many royal courts of justice that were established throughout the entire country.

Below the 13 parliaments of the realm, which were the supreme courts of appeal in civil and criminal case there were a number of courts of primary and appellate jurisdiction. In the country districts there were simple police courts; in the towns and cities, courts of the bailiffs and courts of the presidencies that were rapidly being merged with the tribunals. There were also administrative courts, military courts, admiralty courts, commercial courts, inferior and appellate courts that had jurisdiction over cases involving specified taxes, salt tax etc.

France had no single code of laws either for civil or for criminal cases. There was also no attempt to codify the law. This lack of uniformity caused confusion. The administration of justice was arbitrary as it was slow and costly for litigants.

Also the king could issue 'WRITS' called 'LETTRES DE CACHET' by which he could imprison any subject without inquiry or trial so long as it pleased the royal will.

### **3.7.2 Economic Causes:**

#### **Finance and Taxation:**

The taxation system functioned in confusion and disorder and at a high cost to the treasury and at a cost still greater to the economic activities of France. Taxes fell unequally on his majesty's subjects.

The privileged classes were for the most exempt from taxation. It was the peasantry who mostly bore the brunt of the burden. The methods of collection were financially wasteful and corrupt, socially offensive and economically indefensible. In the case of indirect taxes the methods were brutal as well..

There were two types of taxes in France. The DIRECT TAXES and the INDIRECT TAXES.

### **DIRECT TAXES :**

Among the direct taxes, were the taille, the capitation and the vingtiemes. The taille was a levy for military purposes, and it fell exclusively on the peasantry. It was not assessed uniformly but there was some uniformity in its collection.

The capitation was a poll tax, and the Vingtiemes was an income tax on all revenue whether from the land, commerce, industry or the liberal professions. The payment of these taxes were evaded by the privileged class. Hence the burden fell on the third estate.

In addition to these, there was the 'ROYAL CORVEE' a tax payable in labour. This tax fell exclusively on the peasantry.

### **Indirect Taxes:**

The principal indirect taxes were the salt tax (Gabelle), the excise tax (AIDES), the custom duties (TRAITES and DOUANES), the government tobacco monopoly, and the income from royal domains.

Of these taxes the abuses connected with the administration of the salt tax was the worst. Of all the fiscal agents the salt collector (GABELOUS) were the most detested. They made house to house searches for smuggled salt. Thousands of arrests were made. The victims were sent to the galleys in punishment.

### **3.7.3 Social Causes:**

Society in France was made up of 3 ESTATES

#### **1<sup>st</sup> ESTATE :**

This group consisted of the clergy. It was the most influential corporate body in the kingdom. It exercised an extraordinary influence in government administration. The clergy took charge of the education and the relief of the sick and the poor. They were wealthy and were supposed to have owned one-fifth of all the land in France. They claimed

that their property being dedicated to God, was not subject to taxation. They consented however to help the king from time to time by donating a 'FREE GIFT' as they called it. The church collected tithes from the people. Also their vast possessions made it very independent.

A great part of this enormous income of the church went to the higher clergy – the bishops, archbishops and abbots. Since they were appointed by the king, often from among his courtiers, they tended to neglect their duties as officers of the Church and became like a great 'LORDS' with a hundred thousand Francs income.

While they were spending their time in Versailles the real work was performed by the lower clergy, who often received scarcely enough to keep body and soul together. Hence when the revolution began, the parish priests sided with the people rather than with their superiors.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Estate :**

It was the nobility that made up this group. The privileges and dues enjoyed by the nobility varied greatly in different parts of France. It was quite common for the noble landowner to have a right to a certain portion of the peasants crops. Occasionally he could collect a toll on sheep and cattle driven past his house. Sometimes he maintained the only mill, wine press or oven with in a certain district and would require any one using it to pay him a share of the product.

They also enjoyed the exclusive privilege of hunting. This did a lot of damage to the crops of the peasants. Many manors had great pigeon houses built which were hated by the peasants since the pigeons ate the sown seed.

The rank of nobility was acquired by birth, by military service, by the purchase of patents of nobility or by the possession of certain public offices. However many wealthy commoners were able to purchase vast estates and buy their way into this estate. Once they turned nobles. They claimed all the rights and privileges that went with it. This was even more odious to the people at large than they otherwise would have been.

## **3<sup>rd</sup> ESTATE :**

Everybody who did not belong to either the clergy or the nobility were regarded as being from the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate. The estimated number in 1789 being about 25 million souls. A great part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate lived in the country and tilled the soil. They were oppressed by the burdens of taxation and dues to be paid to the lords. They also suffered from the famines that were increasing frequently.

Only a small percentage of the population lived in cities, and the Cities even the largest were thinly populated. The inborn population was divided into two groups. The bourgeoisie lived on their income or else from the revenue of a trade, "a profession that required little manual labour. All other city dwellers belonged to an urban proletariat.

Many wealthy bourgeoisie were able to buy their way into the nobility, but tradition and royal edicts excluded them, from the highest positions. They wanted a change in the system, but they were disallowed to work for it.

On the other hand, the hardships of the petty craftsmen and workmen increased. They were subjected more closely than ever to the authority of the individual employer in particular and to that of the government in general. Prices of commodities increased, but wages did not. This caused impoverishment. Those thrown out of employment were reduced to anti-social activities. Thus labour of the 18<sup>th</sup> century voiced their protest through revolution.

### **3.7.4 The Age of Enlightenment:**

The age of Reason, that is the period roughly from 1715-1789 has been credited to be the main cause for the outbreak of the revolution. The men who effected this change called themselves 'PHILOSOPHES'. They were not conscious advocates of violent revolution, but were enemies of ancient abuses.

Of all these 'PHILOSOPHES', 3 names stand out MONTESQUIEU, VOLTAIRE AND ROUSSEAU

#### **Montesquieu (1689-1755) :**

He was a polished and an eminent lawyer. He was well versed in history and a Student of human institutions. His writings were the result of systematized and careful thought. He stood for a constitutional form of government and believed in the supremacy of law. He believed that liberty could be achieved only if there was a separation of power. He wrote the 'SPIRIT OF LAWS', which was a product of 20 years of labour. This was a study of political philosophy, an analysis of various forms of governments and their merits and demerits.

#### **VOLTAIRE (1694-1778) :**

He was the foremost champion of reason and tolerance during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. His name is permanently associated with the campaigns whose motto was "CRUSH THE INFAMOUS THING", which was against religious authority. He is famous for his "Essay on the Manners and

spirit of Nations". In his 'Treatise on Tolerance', in thousands of letters he denounced the 'Infamous thing'. He fought intolerance with deeds as well as words.

### **Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778):**

The best guide to this extraordinary individual is his 'CONFESSIONS' which tell the story of his life experiences, upon which his entire program of thought and action was largely built.

Rousseau advocated a "Return to NATURE". In his most famous work. 'THE SOLIAL CONTRACT' he argued that all men had certain natural rights and liberties, which were life, liberty and property and that men no longer owed obedience to any government that failed to protect them, in those rights and liberties.

In this book, he also outlined the tenets of a civil religion which directly inspired the revolutionaries of 1793-94. But his greatest contribution is his doctrine of popular sovereignty, with its attendant corollaries of "LIBERTY EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY".

### **3.7.5 Other Causes:**

The French participation in American Revolution was a major contributing factor to the revolution in France for various reasons :

- The French treasury turned bankrupt in a war which yielded no returns. This precipitated a financial crisis in France.
- The French were inspired by the Americans and 'The Declaration INDEPENDENCE". They received justification to revolt against the corruption and exploitation of their government.
- They gained experience in matters pertaining to Revolution.

### **Failure of Reforms in France:**

The monarch Louis XVI realised that finances in France was at a deplorable level. Something had to be done to save the situation. He therefore attempted to reform the economy by appointing good and sound financial advisers, but no change was able to be effected.

### **Turgot (1774-1776):**

Louis XVI appointed Turgot as controller general of finances. The king also re-established the abolished parliament as an act of reconciliation between the government and its powerful critics. Turgot's views on finances can be summarised in the phrase 'No Bankruptcies, no new taxes and no loans'. By rigid economy Turgot did effect gratifying



savings for the treasury. However his example did not influence the monarch, hence wasteful expenditure continued. Turgot's measures earned him the hostility of the privileged class who along with the Queen Marie Antoinette, prevailed on the king to dismiss him.

### **NECKER (1776-1781):**

After several months, Louis XVI appointed the most famous of bankers Necker to take charge of the finances of France. His administrative reforms were sound, though hardly sufficient as a remedy to the problem. Necker had many friends, but he also had many foes. In order to strengthen his position, he published the 'Compte RENDU Au Roi'. This gave details of his public administration, and well as details of expenditure of the king. This brought him unpopularity, and led to an attack by the king's brothers, courtiers etc.

Necker demanded the title of 'Royal Minister' from the king. When he was refused, he resigned.

### **CALONNE (1781-83):**

The immediate successor was Calonne, an intendant and a highly intelligent and resourceful person. His solution to financial ailments was the restoration of public confidence. The best way of doing this according to him was to give the appearance of prosperity. Therefore he threw the economy to the winds and expanded the credit of the government by borrowing heavily from the capitalist.

However deflation soon set in, and the confidence of the capitalist vanished more rapidly than it had been restored. Necker's publication in 1785, of 3 volumes on the Administration of Finances was a rude revelation to hard headed business men who had imagined that prosperity could be maintained permanently by inflating the purchasing power instead of balancing the government's budget.

Calonne was ultimately dismissed by the king. He fled to England.

### **Check Your Progress:**

What were the major causes of French Revolution?

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## **3.8 BEGINNING AND COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION**

### **3.8.1 Summoning of the Estates General:**

Though a revolutionary situation existed in France in the 1780's, it took a special chain of circumstances to precipitate the revolution. Having failed to raise the revenues, he wanted by means of existing laws, Louis XVI was compelled to at last seek additional taxing authority according to historic precedent, such authority could be granted only by the Estates General. This body represented the 3 major Estates of France, and had not met since 1614. The king's call for the election of delegates in 1788 created a stir of anticipation, for if the king wanted new taxes, he would have to make concessions to the assembled representatives.

Unfortunately right from the beginning, differences between the estates began to appear. The 3<sup>rd</sup> estate demanded more 'Representation', as they formed the bulk of the French population. Also they demanded that votes be taken by count of heads in the total body of representatives. They won satisfaction of the first demand, but failed in the second. Thus even before the opening of the session problems appeared.

### **3.8.2 The Opening of the Estates – General:**

After the session had opened, matters soon came to a head. Unable to persuade the upper two estates to sit and vote with them as one body, the representatives of the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate decided to 'walk out' of the meeting. Stating that they were the only true representatives of the people, they declared themselves to be the 'National Assembly' of France (June 17<sup>th</sup> 1789). This proclamation was the first act of revolution; a crisis was brewing up.

### **3.8.3 TENNIS COURT OATH:**

Louis XVI was forced to take a decision. He sided with the upper two Estates. Thus when the deputies of the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate arrived for the meeting on June 20<sup>th</sup> they found that the doors of the assembly were closed to them. It was a two minutes walk to the nearby indoor tennis court, a bare little building with only a floor space and galleries for spectators. There the determined deputies took the 'TENNIS COURT OATH' which stated never to separate and to reassemble wherever circumstances demanded until the constitution of the realm was established and affirmed upon a solid basis.

Within a few days, the National assembly was joined by many

priests from the first estate, as well as some nobles from the 2<sup>nd</sup> estate. The king tried to intimidate this body by now calling for his troops (20,000 soldiers) to Versailles.

#### **3.8.4 The Fall of Bastille July 14<sup>th</sup> 1789:**

The National assembly was rescued by the people of Paris. As law and order began to break down. Men everywhere began to arm themselves for defence, against the king's forces. The excitement in Paris, fed by Rumours of troop movements rose higher and higher. Crowds began to roam the streets in search of weapons and on July 14<sup>th</sup> they demanded arms from the Bastille.

Bastille was a fort where arms and ammunition was stored. It was also a place where political prisoners were kept. It was hated as it was a sign of despotism. When its commander refused to turn in the arms, the mob attempted to push their way in. After an exchange of gunfire, in which a hundred of the insurgents were killed, the commander agreed to surrender. The mob then rushed in and took over the fort. This was the starting point of the revolution.

#### **3.8.5 Work of the Assembly:**

After the fall of the Bastille, the king had no option but to yield to the demands of the Paris mob and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate. Troops were recalled. The king recognised a self-appointed citizen's committee as the new municipal government of Paris and directed the representatives of the privileged estates to sit in the National Assembly. Thus the revolution was saved for the time being.

Meanwhile violence broke out in the country side as rumours of landlords attacking peasants was spread. This was known as the 'GREAT FEAR'. As a result peasants organised themselves and began to destroy and loot the manors – the assembly had to appease the peasants, so they declared 'feudalism as abolished. The assembly now turned to the task of drafting a 'constitution for France'. The preface to this had 'The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens'. It served as a guide to the new order.

The king, however was not willing to accept these changes. At the same time food was turning scarce. Confusion once again began to manifest itself. On October 5<sup>th</sup> angry mobs consisting mainly of women marched 12 miles from Paris to Versailles demanding 'BREAD'. They forced the king and the queen to return back to Paris.

The constitution was ultimately completed in 1791. It reflected its extremist trend. It provided for a unicameral legislature, and a

suspensive Veto for the king. France was thus declared as a 'Constitutional Monarchy'. Unfortunately Louis XVI sealed his fate by attempting to escape from France. He was however caught and brought back in humiliation. Ultimately the king and his family were put on trial. They were found guilty of conspiracy against the Assembly. They were then guillotined !

### **3.8.6 Reign of terror 1792-95:**

The next phase of the French Revolution was known as 'The Reign of Terror'. During this period, there was a 'counter – Revolution' as war was declared by other European powers against the French. While this was on, in France members of the aristocracy and their sympathizers were guillotined.

Fortunately by 1794, French Forces were able to overcome the coalition forces. Robespierre the chief dictator of the 'Reign of Terror' was put to death. Thus the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of the French Revolution ended.

### **3.8.7 The Directory and the Rise of Napoleon**

The 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of the French Revolution saw the rise of the Directory which took place on October 27, 1795. The French were worn out with all its problems. The revolutionary fervor had exhausted itself. People wanted rest and order since enthusiasm had given way to disillusionment.

The 5 directors worked with zeal and courage to satisfy the demands of the country. Their first concern was with the restoration of political stability. "To wage active war upon royalism, stimulate patriotism, vigorously to crush all factions, extinguish partisan feelings and desire for vengeance, to make concord reign.

Unfortunately the Directory lacked effective leadership. A brilliant young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was quick to grasp the facts of the political situation. He had first defended the government in 1795, against the attacks by the royalist mobs. Two years later his troops were called on to enforce illegal measures that had been taken by the directory. In 1799, he plotted with some of its own leaders to take over the state by a sudden seizure (coup d'état). The conspirators believed that only a strong government headed by a general could fend off royalism, establish internal order, and defeat France's foreign enemies. Napoleon after taking over, proclaimed himself as the 'First Consul' of France. Later on he proclaimed himself as the Emperor of France (1804).

### **5.3.8 Domestic Policy of Napoleon:**

Napoleon was more than a general. Born on the island of Corsica in 1769, he turned a fervent French nationalist. He declared himself as the 'SON OF THE REVOLUTION' since it was the revolution that gave him the opportunity to rise. His first task on assumption of power was to secure domestic peace and order. He arranged to have his opponents silenced by means of selective deportations etc. He removed Catholic disaffection by signing the 'CONCORDAT' with the Pope in 1801.

He re-organised the educational institutions in France, which till today remain the bases of French education. He was responsible for reorganising law and administration. He appointed commissions to cut through centuries old accretion of rules and regulations and brought to completion the 'CODE NAPOLEON'. The Code was to become the basis of law in major portions of Europe and America.

### **3.8.9 Napoleons Codes:**

The Civil Code was profoundly national. It was at once "a summary and a correction of the Revolution". It gave the unity of legislation that France had long desired. The state was made secular. Attempts to restore family life was also made.

A code of civil Procedure was also formulated. The code of Criminal Procedure and the Penal code was also formulated. These codes perpetuated many of the changes that were introduced during the Revolution. 'Equality before law' was recognised by having the same penalties for all citizens. The commercial code also served as a model for many countries in Europe, being in force at the present day in Belgium and Italy.

The totality of these codes represent the most comprehensive effort made in France to achieve legal unity. It has been rightly said that these codes were Napoleons most 'DURABLE ACCOMPLISHMENT'.

### **3.8.10 Foreign Policy:**

His first move in foreign affairs was to break the second coalition of European powers which had come together against France. By swift military strokes and skillful diplomacy, he achieved his goal by 1802. His ambition however drove him to inaugurating what came to be known as the continental system with a view of conquering the continent, as a prelude to conquering the world.

Napoleon therefore set out to conquer Spain, Portugal, Italian State, Prussia and other German states etc. Unfortunately he was unable to gain victory over England. Ultimately a coalition of European powers was formed against him. He was defeated in 1814 and banished to the island of Elba. However he escaped from there. Shortly afterwards he was able to raise an army. However once again a coalition of European powers was formed against him. Napoleon was ultimately defeated at Waterloo in 1815. He was expelled to the island of ST HELENA, where he ultimately died.

Napoleon however planted the seeds of a new order in Europe, and the continent would never again be the same.

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### 3.9 RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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- The French Revolution was not just a local event. It effected the whole of Europe and the world. The Revolution stood for the principles of 'LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY'. Thus these ideal, inspired and dominated European ideals and politics throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also sealed the fate of monarchs in the world
- The Declaration of the Rights of Man by the National assembly emphasized the fact that sovereignty resided in the people and the law is the expression of general will.
- The Revolution asserted that all men are equal before law and absolutely no justification for the maintenance of privileges whether based on birth or wealth. The result was that serfdom, feudal restrictions and limitations were removed. Religious toleration was assured. Freedom of the press was established and the right of the individual to education was maintained.
- The principle of 'Nationality' was also asserted by the revolution.
- Humanitarianism was given a stimulus by the revolution, as efforts to abolish slavery and to improve the conditions of prisons were made. Legislation was passed in many countries to improve the conditions of people in general.
- The French revolution helped in the revival of 'Romanticism' by the assertion of individualism, the defiance of tradition and the establishment of human life on the basis of pure feeling.
- Napoleon's conquests paved the way for the growth of nationalism. This led to the processes of Unification. Italy and Germany. Nationalism also grew in the Balkans and Denmark.

His codes were copied by almost all European countries. Due

to him a general recognition that religion was a personal matter and not the and reduction of the role of the Church in state affairs now turned the order of the day..

**Check Your Progress:**

What were the major causes responsible for the renaissance in Europe?

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**3.10 CONCLUSION**

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The French Revolution was the inspiration for all revolutions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It opened a new epoch in the history of mankind. It paved the way for individualism as it proclaimed equality for mankind.

**3.10.1 Summing up:**

The French Revolution was an important landmark in the history of mankind. The causes for this revolution can be traced to the social, economic and political conditions of the old Regime. Along with these the Influence of the American Revolution failure of reforms also Contributed its share in bringing about revolution in France.

The beginnings of the Revolution can be traced to the summoning of the Estates – general in 1789. The confusion that ensued in the processes of elections to this body and the voting procedures to be adopted led to disturbances and turmoil. This was especially because the king Louis XVI refused to listen to the voice of the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate despite the fact that they represented the bulk of the population in France.

This led to expulsion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate from the proceedings in the estate – general Angered by this the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate took the ‘Tennis Court Oath’ Vowing to establish a ‘Constitution for France’. They, also constituted themselves into a National Assembly.

Fortunately the National Assembly was able to survive due to Paris Mob who were able to capture the ‘Bastille’, thus foiling the attempts of the king to overthrow the National Assembly with the help of his troops.



From here there was no stopping the revolutionaries. A constitution was established for France in 1791 with the king as a constitutional Monarch. Unfortunately, the king along with his family were caught trying to escape France. They were caught and put to the guillotine.

The next phase was the 'Reign of Terror' when Robespierre was the dictator of France. Ultimate by Robespierre was put to death thus ending revolution in France.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> phase was that of the directory. The 5 directors sincerely tried to bring order out of the turmoil but were unsuccessful. They were usurped from power ultimately by Napoleon Bonaparte who established himself as the first consul of France and then the Emperor (1804).

The most enduring of Napoleon's achievement was to make France 'secular' and his 'codes' These were copied by the many countries of Europe. Unfortunately Napoleon's overambition, caused his downfall. He tried conquering the continent. But a coalition of European powers was formed against him. He was defeated in 1814 and expelled to the Island of Elba. He escaped and once again was able to raise an army for war. He was again defeated by the coalition at Waterloo. He was banished to the island of ST. Helena (1815) where he ultimately perished.

The French Revolution had to impact all over the world especially as the words 'Liberty Equality and Fraternity' turned the keywords, engineering the right to revolt against exploitation, and establishing a new world order.

**Check Your Progress:**

Discuss the conditions in the 'Old Regime' that brought about the French Revolution.

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**3.11 SUMMARY**

The American continent was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. It was however named after America Vespucci. Soon after

its discovery. America was colonised by the Europeans who came in search of better prospects of all the Europeans. The British soon got mastery of all the 13 colonies that were established.

Over the period of time the colonists turned hostile to British rule. This was mainly due to the fact that Britain believed in the 'Mercantilist Policy'. According to the policy, Colonies existed only for the benefit of the 'mother country'. As a result rules were framed and taxes imposed which were against the interest of the colonies.

As grievances of the colonies grew, Britain did not to change. As a result one event led to another, and in 1776 the war for Independence started.

The war dragged on for 7 years, till help from the other European powers helped in bringing the war to an end in 1781. By the treaty of Paris' 1783 America was at last recognised as an Independent nation with the right to choose her own destiny.

America established a democracy which was a concept that was to extend not only to Europe but to the rest of the world.

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### **3.12 QUESTIONS**

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1. Give the chief events leading to the revolt of England's colonies in America?
2. Summarize the effects of the American war of Independence?
3. Describe England's navigation and trade laws?
4. What were the causes, and consequences of the French Revolution?
5. From an estimate of Napoleon Bonaparte?

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## **MODULE II**

### **AGE OF REVOLUTION**

#### **The Industrial Revolution and Agricultural Revolution**

##### **Unit Structure**

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Meaning
- 4.3 Main Features
- 4.4 England the centre of the Revolution
  - 4.4.1 Cause
- 4.5 Course of the Revolution
  - 4.5.1 Textile Revolution
  - 4.5.2 The Steam Engine and Transportation
  - 4.5.3 Revolution in Agriculture
- 4.6 Effects
  - 4.4.1 Social
  - 4.4.2 Economic
  - 4.4.3 Political
- 4.7 Summing Up of Industrial Revolution
- 4.8 Summing up.
- 4.9 Question

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#### **4.0 OBJECTIVES**

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- To understand the meaning of the Industrial Revolution.
- To examine the unique features of the Revolution.
- To survey the circumstances of why the Revolution started in England.
- To briefly study the course of the Revolution.

- To critically assess the impact of the Revolution in the live of mankind.

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## **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

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All throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, revolutions aimed at political and social reform engaged the attention of Europe. These were sporadic movements that arose and declined at various time sand various places. Less noticed, but more important was the technological revolution that was taking place. The chief actors in this never stirred anything. On the contrary their attention was concentrated upon the homely operations of everyday life. They made discoveries destined to alter the habits ideas and prospects of the great mass of the people.

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## **4.2 MEANING**

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The term 'Industrial Revolution' refers to a series of invention where by the processes of manufacture, in cotton industry first, then in others were greatly improved and speeded up.

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## **4.3 MAIN FEATURES**

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- The Industrial Revolution was unplanned.
- Machinery replaced manual labour; small output in cottage industries gave place to large scale production in factories.
- With increased production, there was a need to reach a wider market for the finished goods as well as markets to bay the raw materials. This necessitated important changes in the transport and communications systems.
- Wealth and population began to increase. Population began to migrate from the rural areas to urban centres in search of employment. This resulted in a growth of cities and towns and along with it social and economic changes.
- The Industrial Revolution featured on 'capitalism' as a way of life. Those who possessed the means of production emerged in favourable positions and were the new masters of society.
- It led to an increasing application of science to industry.

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## **4.4 ENGLAND THE CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION**

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It was in England that the Industrial Revolution for better or worse began :

#### 4.4.1 Causes:

- (1) Preceding and accompanying the Industrial Revolution were significant changes in agriculture. New farming implements, better fertilizers, scientific breeding etc were tried. The result was a sharp increase in output. However it also created a large pool of displaced workers who desperately sought employment. Some hired themselves out to successful farm operators, others turned to spinning and weaving. They were ready to go wherever they could earn better wages. Hence they were unafraid of hard work, and they provided the economy with abundant labour.
- (2) During this period, British traders were discovering lucrative new markets. By 1750 Britain had built up a globe – circling empire supported by a large Navy and merchant fleet. Rich profits beckoned to traders who could increase their exports.
- (3) Rich deposits of coal and iron close to one another helped the process of Industrial progress in Britain.
- (4) Britain as an island kept herself free from the continental political entanglements. Also her strong central government gave political stability to the country.
- (5) England had strong traditions in encouraging literary and educational activities as well as free enterprise.
- (6) England's fortunes rested partly on her advantageous geographical position, as well as partly on the character of her people.
- (7) There were large scale migrations from other nations to England due to religious persecution. The migrants were skilled artisans. They migrated with their skills and their money. They gave a fresh impetus to English industry.
- (8) Finally, in spite of the existence of all these favourable factors, the Industrial Revolution could not have taken place in England, had there been no inventive genius. End and war fortunate in producing great scientists and inventors like Sir Humphry Davy, George Stephenson etc.

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### 4.5 COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

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#### 4.5.1 Textile Revolution:

The Revolution started in the textile industry. A series of inventions gave the textile merchants what they were looking for and led to the general mechanization of industry in England. The first breakthrough, about 1767 was a hand-powered multi-spindled spinning wheel (JENNY). It was invented by James Hargreaves, an English spinner. It enabled a single workman, by turning a wheel to spin 8-10 threads at

once, and thus do the work of 8-10 spinners. It was named after his wife, and it increased the production of yarn. A year later, a barbar Richard our wright Patented a device for drawing out thread by means of rollers. He made a large fortune for himself by establishing a great factory filled with power driven machines. In 1779, Samuel Crompton made a happy combination of Hargreave's spinning Jenny and Arkwright's roller machine which was called the 'Mule'.

Before the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, machines spinning 200 threads simultaneously had been invented. Such inventions produced the factory system of manufacture.

In 1784, Dr. Cartwright, a clergyman of Kent, patented a new loom, which automatically threw the shuttle and shifted the weft. This machine was steadily improved during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The time required for bleaching was reduced by several months to a few days by the use of acids, instead of relying principally upon the sunlight.

In 1792, Eli Whitney in the United States invented 'POWER GIN', which enabled one man to take the seeds out of over a 1000 pounds of cotton a day, instead of 5 or 6 pounds which had been the limit for the hand worker. The effect of these inventions in increasing the amount of cloth manufactured was astonishing.

#### **4.5.2 The Steam Engine and Transportation:**

The Steam Engine, initially, was a practical response to a problem in coal-mining. For deepshafts to be operated efficiently there had to be some way to pump out water that drained into them. THOMAS NEWCOMEN invented the first working machine for this purpose around 1700. Later in the century, JAMES WATT and others made radical improvement on Newcomen's invention. By 1800, the steam engine had become the chief source of power in the new factories and was being adapted to both water and land transportation.

The heroic 'age of railways' was launched in 1825 when GEORGE STEPHENSON'S framed locomotive the 'ROCKET', made its first run on the Liverpool and Manchester line. Within a generation thousands of miles of tracks, had been laid in Europe and America.

An effort to build better roads was started in England when John Mc Adam (1756-1836) built a type of hard surfaced road called by his name. He used a mud-binder between stones to produce the hard surface. The only change made in this method was the substitution of tar for mud as a binder. France copied the English method, and under the patronage of the government many highways were built.

### 4.5.3 Revolution in Agriculture:

The revolution in the agricultural sector must also be considered as a part of the Industrial Revolution. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, new methods of production and new food plans had been introduced only by a few individuals. The earliest of these reformers was JETHRO TULL (1680-1741). He applied himself mainly to the prevention of waste and to giving the plant a 'free field'. He invented a drill and a machine for sowing clover, which reduced the amount of seed required from 10 lbs to 2 lbs on acre.

His successor Lord Townshend, adopted his method of drilling and hoeing, and made extremely important experiments on the rotation of crops. BAKEWELL (1725-95) introduced scientific breeding of farm animals.

The British government introduced a Board of agriculture to encourage farming. Many new ideas were popularized by ARTHUR YOUNG (1741-1820) through his writings and public activities.

Meanwhile new implements were introduced. Machines for harvesting and threshing grain were invented and improved. The horse drawn rake, multiple ploughs and dairy appliances also revolutionised farming.

#### Check Your Progress:

Explain the major causes and course of the Industrial Revolution?

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## 4.6 EFFECTS

Having briefly reviewed how machinery was introduced into England in the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and how the steam engine came to be utilized as a motive power, we have now to consider the important results of these inventions in changing the conditions under which people lived and worked. They can be viewed as follows :

### 4.6.1 Social Effects:

#### (1) Social Problems of Urbanisation :

Upto the time of the Industrial Revolution the term 'manufacture'



still meant as it did in the original Latin (Manu Facere) 'to make by hand'. Artisans carried on trade with their own tools in their own homes, or in small shops. He was able to give some attention to a small garden plot, from which he derived a part of his support. However the factory system put an end to all this. The workmen now had to live near their workplace. Long rows of houses without gardens or even grassplots were hastily built around the factory buildings. This ultimately led to the development of slums with all its social problems.

## **(2) Change in the lives of women and Children :**

The introduction industrialisation had also a revolutionary effect upon the work and lives of women and children. Employers preferred to employ women and children as they could be exploited by paying them less wages. Working conditions were miserable. Often workers had to work for 18-20 hours a day in unhealthy surroundings. This led to health problems as abuses grew. Homes were neglected as women were out working all day. Prostitution and smoking and drinking among women increased. Children neglected education. Physical and mental deformities turned common, as children worked hard and did not get to enjoy the joys of childhood.

## **(3) Change in class structure :**

For several centuries improvements in military technology and methods of government caused the position of the aristocrat to deteriorate. The Industrial Revolution brought an end to their position. Newly rich capitalist and entrepreneurs demanded a raise in their social status. They also demanded and won power in government which had been partly subservient to the nobility.

### **4.6.2 Economic:**

#### **(1) Rise of a Capitalist Class :**

The revolution in the methods of production produced a sharp distinction between two classes of men involved. There were on one hand, the capitalists who owned the buildings and all the mechanism and on the other hand, the workmen who they hired to operate the machines. The workingmen necessarily became dependent upon the capitalist who exploited him with low wages and long hours of work.

#### **(2) Introduction of Standardisation In Products :**

Under the old system, the entire product was hand crafted by the artisan. But in the factory system different labourers did different

jobs. Action thus turned repetitive and tedious. On the other hand 'creativity' was lost.

### **(3) Imperialism :**

The Industrial Revolution gave rise to Imperialism. European countries who had turned industrialised began to look for markets for raw materials. They also began to look for markets where they could dump their finished products as well as for markets for investment of surplus's capital. This they found in the markets of Asia and Africa. Hence a race for colonies was started by every European power.

### **(4) Increase in Wealth :**

The increase in industrialisation led to greater production of wealth, goods and services, thereby raising the standard of living. At first these benefitted only a small section of society, but latter on more people benefitted from this.

## **4.6.3 Political:**

### **(1) New Political Ideologies :**

European politics and theories of government and industry were given a new direction. The two great classes created by the revolution namely the capitalist and the working class each entered politics on its own accord and each had a theory of government.

Trade Unions were established by the working class to protect their interest. New concepts like socialism, communism were also born out of the need of the working class to put an end to exploitation from the capitalist class. To this end revolutions like the 'Russian Revolution' of 1917 was fought and communism a dictatorship of the working class was established.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Bring out the major effects of the Industrial Revolution?

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## 4.7 SUMMING UP OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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To conclude, it can be said that the Industrial Revolution is one without an end. It has gone side by side with science and technology. While technology is used in industrial development, incentives given by industry have helped in scientific research.

- In this lesson, we have studied the meaning of the Industrial Revolution which was the application of machine power to production.
- We have also seen the features of the Industrial Revolution which make it a unique event in the history of mankind.
- We have also examined critically why the Revolution started in England and not in any other country.
- We have briefly gone through the course of the revolution and changes that were brought in the different fields of man's life.
- Lastly we have seen the impact of the Industrial revolution on humankind.

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## 4.7 QUESTION

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1. What do you understand by the 'Industrial Revolution'? What were the features of this Revolution that made it different from other Revolutions?
2. Why did the Industrial Revolution start in England? What were the effects of it?
3. Briefly review the course of the Industrial Revolution?

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## Module 3

# RISE OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALISM

## A Parliamentary Democracy in Britain A Emergence of Nation States Italy and Germany

### Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Evolution of Parliamentary Democracy in England
  - 5.2.1 The Magna Carta
  - 5.2.2 Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth
  - 5.2.3 Restoration of Kingship
  - 5.2.4 The Glorious revolution 1688
  - 5.2.5 Bill of Rights 1689
  - 5.2.6 Reforms Bill of 1832
  - 5.2.7 The Act of 1867 and the Chartist Movement
  - 5.2.8 Parliament Act of 1911
- 5.3 Unification of Italy
  - 5.3.1 Napoleons Contribution to the unification
  - 5.3.2 Leaders of the unification movement
    - 5.3.2.1 Joseph Mazzini
    - 5.3.2.2 Count Cavour
    - 5.3.2.3 Garibaldi
    - 5.3.2.4 Emmanuel and the unification
- 5.4 Unification of Germany
  - 5.4.1 Effects of Napoleon's conquest on German states
  - 5.4.2 The Zollverein
  - 5.4.3 The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848
  - 5.4.4 Rise of Bismarck
  - 5.4.5 Bismarcks policy of Blood and Iron
  - 5.4.6 War with Denmark

5.4.7 Austro Prussian war 1866

5.4.8 Franco Prussian war 1870

5.5 Summery

5.6 Questions

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## 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. To make readers aware of the evolution of democracy.
2. To analyse the national and unification movement in Italy.
3. To understand the significance of German unification movement.
4. Understand the contribution of Napoleons towards the unification of Italy.
5. Discuss the role of various leaders in the unification of Italy.
6. Describe the contribution of Bismarcks towards the unification of Germany
7. Review the impotance of Denmark, Austria and Franco Prussian wars.

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## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

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In the earlier units we have looked into the rise of consciousness among common people. This led to new ideas. People realised that had certain rights and they could ask for those.

England is known as the pioneer of democratic ideas. It will be interesting to note how Parliamentary democracy evolved in the country. We shall examine the major developments that took place in England since the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The unit further deals with the unification process in Italy. Till 1870 Italy comprised of small states, dominated by Austria. We shall trace as to how these states were brought together as the kingdom of Italy.

The third part of the unit deals with the unification Germany. Earlier to the year 1871, there were petty states, in what is called Germany today. After a long and brave task, Bismarck could achieve the unification. The process in Italy and Germany made people aware of their national interests and the interests of their states.

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## 5.2 EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND

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Since the 9th century onwards Anglo-Saxon tribes ruled in England. They took advice from learned and wise people. Thus the seed of democracy was planted. The kings made laws, with the consent of the people. This continued till the accession of King John in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The king did not want to share power with anybody. He insulted the advisors. He imposed heavy taxes on the people. He harassed the citizens in every way.

### 5.2.1 The Magna Carta 1215:

The nobles, clergy and commoners were unhappy at his rule. Finally they gathered together. They marched to the king in large numbers. The king was all alone. He accepted the charter of reforms given by the protesters. He put his seal on it. This is called the Magna Carta.

This document is significant as a landmark in the evolution of democracy. It is the first example of the people forcing the king to accept their suggestions. This document put restrictions on the autocracy of kings. The charter consists of 63 articles. The most important ones were that the king cannot levy taxes without the consent of the people. Secondly, no one could be imprisoned on suspicion, without trial. The rights of clergy were protected.

Later in 1265 a meeting of nobles, clergy and representatives of towns was called. All people discussed government and administration. The king, (Edward) tried to curb the Parliament. As in other countries, in England also then three estates - clergy, nobles and commoners had representation in the Parliament. But gradually it got divided into two chambers - the House of Lords and House of Commons. Frictions between the king and Parliament continued for next few years.

### 5.2.2 Oliver Cromwell and Commonwealth:

Kings used to ask for more money from the Parliament. If they were not allowed, they would increase custom duties or sell land. The Tudor kings had religious differences also. King Charles I, had so wide frictions that he dissolved the Parliament and ruled the country, without a Parliament for 11 years till 1640 when he was forced to call one. This Parliament worked for 20 years and is therefore called the Long Parliament.

It did commendable work and tried to control the king. He was angry and summoned his army. The Parliament raised its army under Oliver Cromwell. The Anglicans and nobles supported the king. The commoners were with Cromwell. In the civil war that took place in 1645 the king was defeated. He was tried and found guilty of treason, treachery and tyranny. He was beheaded in public in 1649. Monarchy was put to an end. The House of Lords was abolished.

The Commonwealth was established. It was a republic of elected members without a king. Power was given to Cromwell with the title Great Protector. Soon Cromwell also became dictatorial. He taxed the opposition. He made, himself all powerful. However he got support from the army. He brought discipline and order in trade and industry. His foreign policy was liked by the people. Cromwell could manage to keep the people satisfied. When he died in 1658, his son Richard, succeeded him. He was incompetent. The army revolted against him and he had to resign.

### **5.2.3 Restoration of Kingship:**

The people came to the conclusion that monarchy was the only solution to the crisis. The son of the executed king, namely Charles II was invited by the Parliament to be the king in 1660. However it was made clear that he would not try to be despotic. Restoration was brought about because the farmers were not happy with Cromwell's confiscation of estates. The gentlemen were tired of the military rule of the Republican government. The clergy were protesting against the attacks on churches by soldiers.

The new king agreed to obey the Magna Carta and subsequent acts of democratic rule. Thus monarchy became constitutional. In the beginning Charles II abided by the Parliamentary laws. But after being settled, he started getting tough. There were serious conflicts with the Parliament on matters of finance and religion. He started spending money on his own. The Parliament did try to control the king. The clashes continued till his death in 1685.

### **5.2.4 The Glorious Revolution 1688:**

James II succeeded the throne in 1685. Being a Catholic, he tried to build Catholic army and persecute the Protestants. Secondly he harassed the commoners with his arbitrary rule. The members of Parliament chose a new king. He was William, a Protestant ruler of Holland, who had married Mary the daughter of James II. William arrived in England to free the country from the autocratic king. James II could not fight William and the Parliament, so he fled to France. This change occurred without bloodshed and is called the Glorious Revolution.



At the end we find that the Parliament became stronger and monarchy weaker. The king and his cabinet went more under the thumb of the Parliament.

#### **5.2.5 Bill of Rights 1689:**

It was a declaration of rights. The main points were

- a. All laws had to be passed by the Parliament.
- b. Financial matters had to be discussed in the Parliament.
- c. People could petition to the king.
- d. King had no power to maintain army during peace time.
- e. Elections to the Parliament had to be free and fair.
- f. For better administration the Parliament had to be summoned frequently.

The bill is significant because it strengthened democracy. A series of monarchs sat on the throne there after. They were totally under the control of the Parliament. Later another bill was passed which ordered the monarch to be in communion with the church of England. Since 1714 Cabinet meetings were held without the presence of the king. This custom continued. Therefore there was a need of some person to preside the Cabinet. This led to the rise of the office of Prime Minister, who would be the leader of the party having majority seats in the Parliament.

#### **5.2.6 Reforms Bill of 1832:**

The Parliament got many powers but the democratic form was established by bills in 19<sup>th</sup> century. The causes of the bill of 1832 are:

1. Right to vote was restricted only to property holders. The Parliament was dominated by the rich.
2. Many new cities like Manchester and Birmingham had come up due to Industrial Revolution. But the cities had no right to send their members to the Parliament.
3. Seats were not allotted on the basis of population.
4. There was corruption in the system.
5. Voting was not secret. So people could not vote freely.
6. Women did not have voting rights.

These were the defects in the franchise system. It was necessary to introduce reforms. According to the bill of 1832 :

- a. Those places which had a population of 2000 and more only

could send members to the Parliament. 143 seats became vacant by this provision. These seats were distributed among big towns.

- b. People who owned houses or paid annual rent of more than 10 pounds got right to vote.
- c. Farmers who owned some land could vote in the elections.

The Bill is important because it transferred power to the middle class from the big landlords. Secondly power was transferred from House of Lords to House of Commons. It created an atmosphere conducive to reforms. The bill was a significant step towards democracy.

### **5.2.7 The Act of 1867 and the Chartist Movement:**

The first reform bill of 1832 gave voting rights only to middle classes. The workers and labourers were ignored. So they protested. This is called Chartist Movement. In the Prime ministership of Disraeli the Second Bill of Reform was passed.

According to it 11 new electorates were created. Some old ones were scrapped. More people got right to vote, by reducing the amount of annual rent payable. By this act 10 lakh new voters were added. On an average one out of 12 people got the right to vote. Power was transferred from middle classes to workers and labourers. In 1872 there was one more act passed, which introduced Secret Ballot. Thus voters got freedom to vote, their candidates. It was one step towards democracy, as it put an end to the unnecessary influence of landlords and employers. Later seats were reorganised more democratically.

### **5.2.8 Parliament Act 1911:**

There were conflicts between the two houses. To settle the relations, this act was passed. The bill established the supremacy of House of Commons over House of Lords in matters of money bills. As for other bills, if they were passed three times successively by House of Commons, they would go to the king and then would become an act. The term of House of Commons was made 5 (five) years. Thus in 1911 the Lower House became superior to the Upper House. In 1918 the Franchise Act was passed by which all men over 21 and all women over 30 got the right to vote. Later in 1928 age limit was made 21 for all Citizens. Thus there was equality for both sexes. Secondly all could vote irrespective of property or educational qualifications. This is how democracy was established in England.

**Check Your Progress:**

Bringout the Magna Carta 1215, the Bill of Rights 1689 and the Reforms Bill of 1832.

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**5.3 Unification of Italy**

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**Background:**

Italy was known for its ancient greatness. However this was lost in the middle ages. By the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Italy was reduced to a mere geographical expression. She became the cockpit of Europe where foreign powers contended for mastery. The country became divided into small states. Some states were just one town e.g. Florence, Venice. These towns controlled trade and commerce and this led to rivalries. Another problem in the unification was the temporal power of the Pope. He had religious and political power over Rome and neighbouring areas. Popes discouraged unity, so as to maintain their control over the Papal state. Foreign nations like Austria and France had virtual control over some Italian states through their own princes acting as kings of those states. There were some Italian patriots, but either they were not united or they were weak, to bring out the unification process.

**5.3.1 Napoleon's Contribution to the Unification:**

A new epoch began, when Napoleon Bona parte conquered the kingdoms of Austrian and French princes. He even annexed the Papal State. He brought together the city states. Napoleon gave Italy an uniform system of administration. The Italians learnt the French ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. They were introduced to concepts like self government and freedom of press. This intensified their sense of patriotism.

After Napoleon's defeat, the Congress of Vienna was called in 1815, to rearrange the map of Europe. The national sentiments of Italians were ignored and 'status quo' was maintained. Italy was once again divided as she was before the annexation of Napoleon. Austrian and French kings came back to Italian states. The patriots exclaimed

“We have no flag, no political name, no rank among European nations. We have no common centre, no common market, we are dismembered”

The division of Italy was

- 1) Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, under French prince.
- 2) Lombardy and Venetia, which were parts of Austria.
- 3) Parma, Tuscany, Modena, under relatives of Austrian King.
- 4) Papal state under Pope.
- 5) Piedmont, Sardinia and Savoy, under Italian dynasty called House of Savoy.

### **5.3.2. Leaders of the Unification Movement:**

The patriots of Italy formed secret societies, to revolt against despotic kings. Their aim was unity. The most well known of these was the Carbonari or charcoal burners. Its origin was in Naples. All discontented elements joined, it. They wanted to expel foreigners from Italian soil.

The Carbonari led a revolt in Naples in 1820 against the king Ferdinand I. People asked for a liberal constitution. The king agreed, but secretly asked help from Austria. The Austrian army came and suppressed the revolt.

While one revolt was put down, another lit in Piedmont. The king abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Charles Albert. Again Austria intervened and put down the revolt.

The French revolution of 1830 affected Italian states. There were revolts in Modena, Papal state and Parma, but Austria suppressed all the uprisings. This taught the patriots a lesson - that the common enemy in all states was Austria. It was therefore necessary to get rid off Austria.

#### **5.3.2.1 Joseph Mazzini:**

He was born in 1805 in Genoa. His father was a professor at the University of Genoa. In his young days Mazzini had joined the Carbonari. He actively participated in the revolt of 1830, for which he was exiled. After his release in 1831, he founded a Society called “Young Italy”. His aim was to mobilise the youth to the national movement. He had immense faith in youth power. He told the young men to speak to artisans, labour, workers and farmers, and make them aware of their rights. He wanted to make Italy a nation. He lost faith in Carbonari way of action, which led to weak revolts. He aimed at a strong national action. His pioneer propaganda broadened the political horizon of the Italians.

The other schools of thought were - Federalists who believed that Pope should take the leadership and establish an Italian confederation and secondly the Royalists who believed in the leadership of House of Savoy because it was Italian dynasty and the king Was liberal.

### **Impact of the revolution of 1848:**

By the year 1848 the **Risorgimento** movement had stabilised. It meant that all Italian classes believed in resurrection or revival of Italy's glory.

The revolution of 1848, resulted in a liberal constitution in Sicily. In Piedmont, the king granted several rights to the people. He even marched on Lombardy, and challenged the Austrians. However he was defeated in the battle of Custoza. He abdicated in favour of his son.

Italian patriots staged an uprising in Papal state. The Pope fled and a republic was proclaimed under Mazzini's leadership. But the French King sent troops to help the Pope. Mazzini's army was defeated. The Pope came back to power. Thus the revolts failed to achieve the unification.

The process failed because Austria and France were strong. It was impossible to defeat them without foreign help. Secondly, except Piedmont, all states opposed unity, because they would lose their autonomy. The patriots too were disunited. They lost hope in Mazzini's method. This was the condition when Count Cavour entered the next phase of the unification movement.

#### **5.3.2.2 Count Cavour:**

Count Cavour was the chief architect of Italian unification. He was born in 1810 in a noble family of Piedmont. He was student of modern parliamentary government. He believed that westernisation was needed for progress. He was a practical man and studied the Italian question, its problems and possible remedies.

He served Piedmont as a member of the parliament and rose to the position of Prime Minister. He brought liberal reforms. He developed transport and communication. He lowered tariffs and taxes. He developed mining, agriculture and industry. He linked Piedmont to western Europe through commercial treaties.

Thus Piedmont emerged as a model state. People agreed that she should lead the unification movement. Piedmont was the only state

which had a strong army, to accept the challenge of enemy nations. Cleverly, Cavour grasped the condition of his success - isolation of Austria. Piedmont needed strong allies, to match Austria. He decided to seek alliance with France. The French King Napoleon III had been a Carbonari earlier and was supposed to be sympathetic toward Italian states. He took a diplomatic step in 1855 by joining the Crimean war at the side of England and France. He had no enmity with the other belligerent - Russia, but he wanted to take some interest in international politics. When Italian troops complained about the war, he said "out of this mud of Crimea, a new Italy will be made".

After the war, Cavour was called to the Paris Peace Conference. He went there and put forward the problems of Italian states. Napoleon III agreed to help Italy. He met Cavour and discussed the details. He promised to help Piedmont to drive Austria from Lombardy and Venetia. In return France would get Savoy and Nice. France would continue to hold Naples. At this juncture Austria declared war on Sardinia - Piedmont.

To antagonise Austria, Cavour deployed troops along the border of Lombardy. Austria asked Piedmont to retreat but Cavour refused. Austria therefore declared war. According to the agreement Napoleon III personally, commanded French army to the war to help Cavour. Lombardy was occupied by Sardinia. When it appeared that Austria would lose Venetia, Napoleon III halted suddenly and retreated. He signed treaty of Villafranca with Austria.

Cavour was disappointed and resigned. By now Italians took destiny into their hands. They rejected the rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. In this task they got moral support from England. The British Prime Minister said that the people had the right to change their kings. People from the three kingdoms wished to join Piedmont. This was an important step. Sardinia - Piedmont became a large state.

### 5.3.2.3 Garibaldi:

Giuseppe Garibaldi was born in Nice in 1807. He was a true supporter of Mazzini and became a member of Young Italy. He participated in a revolt against Piedmont and ran away to America. There he organised a movement of his followers called **Red Shirts**. He came back and helped Mazzini, to abolish the authority of the Pope. French forces came to Pope's rescue. Garibaldi lost the battle and fled again to America. He returned to Italy and spent a farmer's life in a small island. In 1854 Cavour called him and sought his help to complete the unification under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel, the king of Piedmont. Although Garibaldi supported republicanism, he accepted Emmanuel's leadership, for the sake of his country's

unification. He brought his followers to fight the war against Austria in 1859.

In 1860 the patriots of Sicily rebelled against the French king Francis I. They requested for Garibaldi's help. He immediately sailed to the shores of Marsala with thousand followers. He defeated the king and occupied the whole of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel.

Encouraged by the victory, he entered the main land of Italy, and reached Naples. The king had fled. Without giving a fight, Garibaldi, captured Naples in 1860. He then began to prepare for a march on Rome. To Cavour, the situation seemed full of danger. Rome was under the Pope. It was occupied by a French garrison. Napoleon III was a Catholic and did not want the Pope to be disturbed. Cavour understood that an attack on Rome would mean a war with France. Cavour decided to check Garibaldi's advance. He wanted to keep Garibaldi away. He assured to Napoleon III that Rome would not be attacked, but other areas of Papal state would be captured by Victor . He marched on the Papal areas and captured those. People accepted him as their king. Garibaldi saluted the king, gave him all the areas under him and retired to his home town. He refused the gifts, Victor offered him. He took only a bag of potato seeds with him.

#### **5.3.2.4 Victor Emmanuel completes the unification:**

Victor Emmanuel was the son of Charles Albert the king of Sardinia - Piedmont. He was fortunate to get the services of Count Cavour. He gave full authority to Cavour to direct the course of the unification.

By 1861, all areas except Venetia and Rome were out of the unification. Venetia was held by Austria and Rome by the Pope, with the help of French army, Cavour thought that without Rome, there was no Italy. Over work and extra stress brought his death in 1861. Victor decided to wait for an opportunity to conquer the two areas.

In 1866, a war broke out between Austria and Prussia. Victor made an alliance with Prussia that Italy would fight against Austria and in return Prussia would help Victor to capture Venetia. Prussia won the war and compelled Austria to surrender Venetia to Italy.

Rome alone was out of Italy. In 1870 a war broke between France and Prussia. Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw French troops, from Rome, to be sent for the war. Victor seized the opportunity. Italian troops marched on Rome in September 1870. Pope retreated into the Vatican. The citizens of, Rome voted for joining the unification. Rome was declared the capital of the new and United Italy. Victor Emmanuel was accepted as the king.



Thus the unification of Italy was complete. It was due to long efforts of Italian patriots.

**Check Your Progress:**

Discuss the role of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi in the unification of Italy

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## 5.4 UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

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Germany was in a bad shape at the time of French Revolution of 1789. She was divided into almost 300 petty states, each under a despot. Most of the kings were controlled by Austria. Nominally the kings were under the Holy Roman emperor. Austrian Prime Minister, Metternich ruthlessly crushed all attempts at liberalism and reform. Besides Austria, England and Denmark had some influence on German states.

The Diet was a body which had representatives from all states. The Diet never worked for the interests of the masses. The rulers preferred to maintain status-quo. They did not bother about the unification. The German patriots tried for the unity, but in vain. Prussia was the strongest of the states and patriots hoped that she would take the reins of unification movement.

### 5.4.1 Effects of Napoleon's Conquest on German States:

Napoleon was the creator of modern Germany. He conquered most of the German states. He reorganised the states by abolishing petty principalities and free cities. German states had a common language and culture. Napoleon's administrative unity, encouraged the forces of nationalism and unity. He abolished feudalism and serfdom and taught the Germans equality before law.

However, Napoleon's defeat crushed all hopes of patriots. The Peace Settlement at Vienna, made Germany a loose confederation of 39 states, with the Diet. It was presided over by Austria. All the 39 rulers reintroduced despotism. For a generation, the states remained stagnant. Sacrifices made by patriots were forgotten. The reasons were Lack of Unity among nationalists and superiority of Austria.

A characteristic feature of German history is the influence of scholars and the learned. The University of Jena served as the centre of radical thought. Austria complained that the university encouraged revolutionary tendencies. In spite of it, students formed secret societies. To put down the youth, Austria passed the Carlsbad Decrees in 1819. Committees were appointed to supervise student and teacher activities. The press was censored. Suspicious persons were taken into custody.

#### **5.4.2 The Zollverein or Customs Union:**

Different German states had different regulations for trade. Tax posts were set up at borders and interstate trade was taxable. This arrangement was detrimental to trade. Prussia gave the lead in bringing economic unification of German states. She announced the Zollverein or 12 states. Free trade was established within the 12 states. All internal customs were abolished. On the other hand, those states which did not join the Zollverein had to pay, transport duties on goods passing through the customs union. This policy was fatal to small nations. Therefore, finally, all states joined the union. Austria was also invited, but she did not join the Zollverein. Thus Prussia became the commercial leader. This is supposed to be the first step towards unification.

#### **5.4.3 The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848:**

Encouraged by the French revolutionaries, German patriots raised revolts against their Kings in July 1830. Most of the rulers were forced to accept liberal reforms. The Prussian monarch did not give constitutional reforms. He put down the rebellion. Later, Metternich crushed all revolts in German states. He reintroduced despotism in Germany.

It was a period when people organised a two-fold agitation. One for Unification and other for Liberalism. In 1847 a meeting of various intellectuals and radicals was held. It was decided to unite and oppose despotism. In Berlin the people selected their representatives and formed a Frankfurt Parliament, to discuss about the future government.

Meanwhile the 1848 revolution began in European states., In Austria, people overthrew Metternich. There were revolts in German states also. The Prussian king Fredrick William IV was forced to adopt liberal reforms. He also promised to become the leader of the unification movement.

However, the king did not keep his promise. Soon he resorted back to his autocratic rule. He revived all rules and restrictions. A ban on freedom of press was imposed. People were not allowed to meet and hold discussions. Feudal Laws were restored. It was one

of the most shameful periods in the history of Prussia. Yet, there was economic and intellectual progress. Prussia was linked to foreign countries for trade purposes. These developments brought in prosperity. It gave rise to a new capitalist class, which wanted to widen markets. This could be done by a strong and stable government. This new economic class was ready to strengthen the ruling class. Side by side there was a great intellectual awakening, which aroused a wave of nationalism and patriotism. People realised that a strong army was needed to humiliate Austria. In this task the king got help from Otto Van Bismarck, the foremost leader of the unification.

#### **5.4.4 The Rise of Bismarck:**

He was born in 1815 in a noble family of Prussia. After education he joined the civil service, but was dismissed due to lack of discipline. He had no sympathy for liberals and supported monarchy. Due to this support the king took him into diplomatic service. First he served in the Diet. There he studied the administration of Austria. Later he became Prussian ambassador to Russia and France. He was able to assess the weaknesses and strengths of both countries. He made use of this knowledge in his later career.

A majority of the members of the Parliament were Liberals. They opposed the king, when he tried to increase his military strength. Bismarck supported the king and assured him that he would put the king's plan into action. The king gave Bismarck all reins of the unification.

#### **5.4.5 Bismarck's Policy of Blood and Iron:**

Bismarck had two aims. 1) Prussia should assume the leadership of German unification. 2) Prussia should not merge her identity into Germany. Instead she should conquer Germany and propagate Prussian culture and civilisation. He knew that his aims could not be achieved by peaceful means. Therefore he initiated the policy of blood and iron. The policy demanded that first Prussia should build a strong army. Secondly all danger of foreign intervention in the German question should be eliminated. He did not want France, England or Russia to help Austria. His aim was to isolate Austria. For this purpose he played his cards tactfully. He offered Prussian help to Russia in 1863 at the Polish revolt and earned the Czar's gratitude and assurance of neutrality in case of a conflict between Austria and Prussia, in future.

He then built up the army, ignoring the opposition. He set about to achieve the aim i.e. Unification. It could not be achieved without the elimination of Austria. But before challenging Austria he fought a war with Denmark.

#### **5.4.6 War with Denmark 1864:**

Bismarck fought a war with Denmark for two reasons. He wanted to put Prussian military to test. Secondly, he wanted to find an opportunity to wage war against Austria, in the dutchies of Schelswig and Holstein.

Both dutchies were German, but were governed by the ruler of Denmark. People of Holstein were German, but in Schelswig there were many Danes. According to the treaty signed in 1852, the dutchies could not be annexed by Denmark. In spite of it, the Danish king declared the annexation of Schelswig. At the same time Austria took Holstein. Bismarck declared war on Denmark. The Danes were defeated. Prussia captured Schelswig. In a diplomatic manner, Bismarck came in contact with Austria because of her presence in Holstein. Next Bismarck prepared himself and his army for the war with Austria.

#### **5.4.7 Austro - Prussian War 1866:**

##### **Causes:**

1. The Zollverein proved beneficial. Austria wanted to join it, but Bismarck refused to let Austria in it.
2. The ruler of a German state Hesse gave a new Constitution, but people opposed because it was not liberal. Austria supported the people, while Bismarck sided with the ruler of Hesse.
3. Diplomacy of Bismarck brought the war. He wanted to isolate Austria and, built an opposition against it. England favoured Prussia's free trade and hated Austria's reactionary policies. Bismarck secured the Czar's admiration by helping him in Polish revolt. The Czar was already angry on Austria, because she did not help the Czar during the Crimean war. Napoleon III the king of France wanted a war between Austria and Prussia, so that both countries would become weak and he would get a chance to extend his empire. Bismarck secured his neutrality. Then he made an agreement with Italy and promised to help Italians capture Venetia in return of military aid to Prussia. Thus Bismarck diplomatically isolated Austria.
4. The immediate cause of the war was provided by the dutchy of Holstein which was under Austria. Bismarck alleged that Austria did not administer the area properly. The Germans there had to be protected and so Bismarck declared war on Austria.

The war lasted for seven weeks. Some dutchies helped Austria, but no European state came to her help. The Prussian army which was reorganised, was commanded by Von Moltke. Italian participation divided Austria's forces into two. Within first three days Prussia defeated

the dutchies, and annexed North Germany. Moltke then moved further. The main battle was fought at Sadowa on July 3, 1866. Bismarck and the Prussian king watched it from a hill top. Austria fought bravely, but finally lost the battle. She lost almost 40,000 soldiers in the campaign. In France, Napoleon III was criticised for not helping Austria. A strong Prussia was created after the war.

### **The Treaty of Prague:**

It was the master diplomacy of Bismarck. He kept the terms not harsh, or else France was likely to intervene. The terms of the treaty were -

1. Confederation of German states was abolished; thereby ending Austria's influence in Germany.
2. Austria had to pay war indemnity.
3. Austria had to give Venetia to Italy and Holstein to Prussia.
4. Prussia annexed German dutchies which helped Austria and combined them into a union.
5. Other states were kept independent.

As a result of the treaty the North German Confederation was created. Prussian king became its President. Thus half of the unification process was done. The war was highly beneficial to Prussia. Her international prestige increased. Her military power was acknowledged in Europe.

### **5.4.8 The Franco Prussian War 1870-71**

A war with France was necessary for the unification. The causes of the war are as follows —

1. 16 German states were out of the unification. They had to be persuaded or conquered. In either effort, there was danger of French intervention. Bismarck's diplomacy worked once again. He got English neutrality by creating bitterness between England and France. Bismarck persuaded Russia and Italy to remain neutral. Austria had become weak and would not help France. These developments angered Napoleon III.
2. Napoleon III had failed in his Mexico campaign of 1864. He had lost his prestige and wanted to revive it by a war against Prussia. He was frustrated after the Austria Prussia battle, because Prussia had become strong, against his expectations. This created enmity between the two countries.
3. Napoleon III was ambitious. Bismarck had promised him some

territory during Austro Prussian war. But he did not keep his word. The French decided to settle the dispute by a war.

4. The immediate cause was given by Spain. Both countries interfered in the Spanish succession issue. In both countries there was public hatred against each other. Finally war was declared in July 1870.

During the war the 16 states helped Prussia. The army invaded France. Prussia won many battles and captured large areas in France. The main battle at Sedan was led by Napoleon III. He was defeated and forced to surrender. The people in Paris continued to fight for 4 months. Then they surrendered to Prussia. The treaty of Frankfurt was signed according to which France had to surrender the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. France agreed to pay a huge war indemnity. A part of German army had to occupy France till the money was paid. France was declared a republic.

The Southern States joined Prussia during the war. A compromise was made and the states agreed to join the union. Before the end of the Franco - Prussian war the task of German unification was completed on January 18, 1871. A German empire came into being. The king of Prussia was declared the king of Germany. The federal government was announced. Berlin was made the capital. It was the clever and ruthless diplomacy of Bismarck which brought about the unification of Germany.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Describe the Austro Prussian war of 1866 and The Franco Prussian war of 1870 -71.

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## **5.5 SUMMARY**

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In the above pages, we have examined the evolution of democracy in England. The British first realised the significance of democracy. It was a process which lasted for centuries. Today England boasts of its democracy. Later many countries followed its example and adopted democratic constitutions.

We have also taken an account of the unification of Italy. The efforts of Italian patriots were successful, when the numerous Italian states were brought together under one Italian flag.

Bismarck was the main force of German unification. He followed a ruthless policy to achieve the task. With sheer diplomacy he made things easier. His country Prussia spread its culture in the new Germany. In a way Germany was Prussianised. In all the above mentioned countries the tasks were lengthy and difficult. However the efforts of people made those possible.

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## 5.6 QUESTIONS

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1. What were the various stages in the unification of Italy. ?
2. Discuss the contribution of the four major leaders of the unification process in Italy.
3. How did Bismarck achieve German unification ?
4. Write short notes on:
  - a) Magna Carta
  - b) Oliver Cromwell
  - c) Zollverein
5. Trace the rise and growth of democracy in Britain
6. Discuss the various Acts passed in evolution of Parliamentary democracy in Britain.
7. Assess the role of Glorious Revolution in the development of Parliamentary democracy in Britain.

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## **Module 4**

# **WORLD IN TRANSITION (1870-1919)**

## **A colonial Expansion:- Asia and Africa**

### **Unit Structure**

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Meaning and Nature
- 6.3 Causes for colonial expansion
- 6.4 Forms and Techniques of Colonial Expansion
- 6.5 Colonial Expansion in Africa
- 6.6 Colonial Expansion in Asia
- 6.7 colonial Expansion in the Far East
- 6.8 Impact of Colonial Expansion
- 6.9 Summary
- 6.10 Questions

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### **6.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After study of this module student will be able to

- Understand the meaning and nature of the colonial expansion or Imperialism in the modern world.
- Explain causes / factors that led to nations following this policy.
- Describe the different forms of colonial expansion.
- Tell the colonial expansion in Africa / Partitioning of the Dark Continent.
- Understand the colonial expansion in Asia.
- Assess the colonial expansion in the Far East.
- Tell the Impact / Effects of colonial expansion.

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### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Colonial expansion or Imperialism was a policy followed by European nations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It involved conquest of underdeveloped countries and the use of their natural resources.

By 1815, the world had known for about 400 years continuous European expansion over other continents. Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and British colonial empires had followed one another throughout the world. The early colonial movement had involved migration of population due to religious intolerance, lack of political freedom or economic exploitation. It also involved trading, missionary activities, adventure, national pride, conquests and wars between rival powers. The European Powers maintained “empires” without actual government control.

Modern Imperialism or colonial expansion made a sudden reappearance and was one of the most important policies of the Great Powers. Surprisingly till 1870 public opinion in most European countries was against colonies. Adam Smith had stated that the benefits of colonialism were far less than its burdens. Disraeli of Great Britain had described colonies as “millstones around our necks”. The sudden change of opinion was brought about by both economic and political considerations. The search for raw materials and new markets to sell manufactured goods was as important as the need to find new outlets for the excess capital. It was a matter of pride for a country to have colonies and ambitious politicians were determined to conquer as much land as possible. In their efforts to spread Christianity, the missionaries supported the colonial policies of their countries.

What was strikingly new of this movement was its intense concentration in AFRICA and ASIA. The white man seized every opportunity to conquer and colonise or to at least extend “spheres of interest / influence” over these two continents. It seemed like the history of Europe was lived in Asia and Africa.

The imperialist policy normally involved the use of force against its victims and hence this ruthless policy of European expansion has been condemned by many.

The results of this policy were varied. The economic and social effects had both positive and negative aspects. Though industrialisation was introduced, economic exploitation continued. Western education helped many and it led to the socio-religious reform movement. Finally all the colonised countries fought for and won their freedom.

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## 6.2 MEANING AND NATURE

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Colonial expansion and Imperialism can best be described as the policy of the developed nations of the world to rule over and control the underdeveloped nations of the world. An imperialist nation used military force to establish her control over the new territory and maintained it by use of force. The purpose of this political control was economic concessions.

Science and Industry had undergone amazing development after 1750. The progressive application of science to industry in the development of manufacturing methods and new modes of transport and communication changed the world. The steamship, telegraph shortened space—resulting in trade and commerce expanding to every corner of the world. The more industrialised the European nations became, the more dependent they were on other countries for raw materials. So there came the necessity of controlling those regions which produced the raw materials. Unfortunately, the people of the underdeveloped nations could not oppose the Europeans and they collapsed before European military power.

The nature of European politics during this period was one of intense patriotism and national pride. It became a status symbol to have colonies. The rivalries between European nations led to wars being fought in other continents. There was no international organization, which could exercise any kind of control over the European Powers who were scrambling for territory.

IT WAS THIS COMBINATION OF NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WITH ANARCHIC POLITICAL RELATIONS, WHICH EXPLAINS THE NATURE OF COLONIAL EXPANSION OR NEW IMPERIALISM.

P.T. Moon in his book “Imperialism and World Politics”, explained that western imperialism followed a set pattern. First the European missionary went in search of souls. He was followed by a merchant who went in search of trade. He was followed by a soldier who conquered the land and established a colony.

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## 6.3 CAUSES FOR COLONIAL EXPANSION OR IMPERIALISM

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The extension of European control over the rest of the world was one of the chief features of the late 19th century. The causes were varied.

### **6.3.1 Economic Causes:**

The British economist J.A. Hobson attributed the colonial expansion of these years to new economic forces at work in the industrialised nations.

#### **Need for raw materials:**

The special attractions of Asia and Africa were that they offered many of the raw materials needed by the factories of Europe. Besides the traditional raw materials like cotton European industries now needed silk, rubber, vegetable oil and rare minerals like manganese, zinc etc. There was also a great demand for petroleum. Large scale production needed a steady and huge supply of these raw materials. As the standard of living improved, the Europeans imported food products like coffee, cocoa, tea and meat.

#### **Need for markets :**

The search for markets in which to sell the manufactured goods was equally important. As each European nation industrialised, they produced a surplus. The European markets were saturated and so they all began to look for new markets abroad. Due to competition, political and economic in Europe, the industrialists found their Governments ready to undertake political conquest of underdeveloped territories. Once they established a colony, they could monopolise its markets and did not have to share the benefits with other countries.

#### **Excess capital :**

It was also in these circumstances that the urge to exploit backward territories by investing surplus capital also began. In their own countries the opportunities for capital investment were few. The vast underdeveloped areas of Africa and Asia offered the most opportunities, provided that they could be made safe enough for investment. Again governments proved responsive and provided security by taking over the lands.

David Thomson also points out, “the urge to find new outlets for the glut of capital and fresh markets for industrial output were in general more important than either the quest for raw materials or the factor of overpopulation.”

**Improved means of transport and communication** also contributed to imperial expansion. Land and sea transport was revolutionised with the application of the steam machine. Steam boats made bulk ocean transport possible and those ships, which had

refrigerators, could also carry food articles, which the European world desired. Railways connected the interiors with the ports and raw materials could be taken to the factories faster. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the Panama Canal in 1914 helped to speed up trade considerably. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century this was followed by the growth of the automobile and aviation industry, which in turn encouraged imperialism.

### **Surplus population :**

The expansion of Europe after 1815 involved the export of people also. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the pressure of population on Europe's limited resources was great. Many migrated to United States and Australasia, and some to Africa and East Asia. The migration out of Europe reached its peak in 1914.

### **6.3.2 Political Causes:**

**Ambitious Leaders:** Most often it was ambitious politicians or businessmen who decided whether a nation became an imperialist nation or not. These men wanted their nations to be economically self-sufficient and powerful.

Rulers like William II of Germany and Nicholas II of Russia were keen to expand their empires. King Leopold of Belgium achieved both personal and national glory with his imperialist policy. Some like Cecil Rhodes of Great Britain amassed personal fortune and power. In 1875, Disraeli committed his party to a policy of imperialism and purchased shares in the Suez Canal Company.

**Aggressive nationalism:** The spirit of national pride and prestige was another factor driving European nations. People happily bore the burden of maintaining overseas empires by paying more taxes. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany followed an expansionist policy to promote national glory.

There was no international agency or mechanism to prevent the economically advanced and militarily powerful countries from conquering, dominating and exploiting backward regions in Asia and Africa. Imperialism took the form of 'might is right'.

### **Naval Bases :**

In order to help maintain these empires, the ports of Africa and the Far East were valuable as naval bases. The navy required the ports for repair work, as well as to guard the sea routes. Each nation thought of its own security and grabbed strategic naval bases e.g. Cyprus.

### 6.3.3 Religious Causes :

Christian missionaries too played their part in the spread of colonialism. The most famous was Dr. David Livingstone; sent to Africa by The London Missionary Society. The missionaries tried to solve the problems of poverty, illiteracy and diseases in these regions. While serving these people many were converted to Christianity. In their zeal to spread the Gospel, the missionaries supported the colonial policy of their countries.

Yet another element in the growth of imperialism was the ADMINISTRATOR and SOLDIER, the man with a mission, who was not a missionary but who welcomed an opportunity to bring order and efficient administration out of confusion. Without such men as Karl Peters in German East Africa, the consolidation of European control would have been impossible.

The sources and nature of imperialism were many and differed from country to country. It was not just that trade followed the flag, but the flag followed the adventurer, the Bible and the politician, along with the banker and the businessman. The unexploited regions provided numerous advantages, which the competitive countries seized.

#### Check Your Progress:

1. Bring out the important causes responsible for Colonial expansion in Africa and Asia ?

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## 6.4 FORMS AND TECHNIQUES OF COLONIAL EXPANSION OR NEW IMPERIALISM

The forms of modern the colonial expansion or imperialism were numerous and the Europeans used various techniques to establish their empires.

### 6.4.1 Conquest and colony :

The colonizing country used the force of their military to overpower the native ruler and to annex the conquered land as the British did with India. This method proved to be expensive and burdensome.

#### **6.4.2 Concession and Franchise :**

When a powerful and ambitious agency got the exclusive right to exploit some economic resources in a “backward region”, it was known as a concession or franchise. E.g. A group of German bankers and engineers got a concession to build a railroad, later known as the Berlin-Baghdad Railway in Turkey.

#### **6.4.3 Lease-Hold :**

When an exclusive right to exploit some economic resources is accompanied with the lease of land and the actual political control over it, it is called a lease-hold. E.g. France got the lease of Kwangchow from China.

#### **6.4.4 Sphere of Influence and Sphere of Interest :**

When a country acquires an exclusive right to exploit and develop a backward region economically, and no other country has the right to establish any form of control over it, it is called a ‘sphere of influence’. E.g. Russian sphere of influence in northern Persia.

But, if a country enjoys the right only to economically exploit a backward region, without the right to political control, it is known as a sphere of interest.

#### **6.4.5 Protectorate :**

According to this method, a powerful country exercises political control over a backward region, through a native puppet ruler. The native ruler only has nominal control. E.g. Germany established a protectorate over Cameroon’s, south of the Congo.

#### **6.4.6 Financial or Tariff Control :**

Here a powerful country may take over the complete charge of the finances or the tariff system of a weak country e.g. U.S.A. took control of custom houses in central American countries.

#### **6.4.7 Extra-Territoriality:**

This was a privilege given to the Europeans. They were subject only to Western law or Western law courts, even if they committed crimes in non-European countries.

#### **6.4.8 Mandate System:**

This form came about at the end of World War I, at the Paris Peace Conference’ It was decided that all the German colonies would



be given to the League of Nations, which would delegate its authority to other states as its agents or 'mandatories'. The mandatories had to submit an annual report to the League on the progress of the mandate.

**Check Your Progress:**

1) Describe briefly the various forms and techniques of Colonial expansion?

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## **6.5 COLONIAL EXPANSION OR IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA**

Africa known as the Dark Continent had remained largely unexplored. Before 1840, the Europeans knew only about the outskirts of this vast continent. The mighty rivers, the thick forests, large deserts and the savage people who supposedly inhabited the continent were of no interest to the Europeans. Africa was explored and opened up by missionaries, who in their determination to convert the Africans to Christianity, moved from one end of the continent to the other. Once the commercial prospects and the economic value of the continent was known, every European power advocated imperialism in Africa. They camouflaged their real intentions, and Britain spoke of the "White man's burden to civilize less civilized Asians and Africans." France considered it a "mission to civilize," while Italy called it a "sacred duty." Under pressure from German businessmen and the leadership of Kaiser William I, Germany followed an aggressive imperialist policy.

### **6.5.1 The Early Explorers:**

**DAVID LIVINGSTONE.** He was a Scottish physician, who went to Africa in 1840 as a Protestant missionary. He explored the central African region from the north of the river Congo in the west to the north of the river Zambesi in the east. In spite of many hardships he continued his journey. He discovered the Victoria Falls, the greatest cataract of the world. Livingstone wrote about his explorations and the scope for trade and commerce in Africa. These accounts generated interest among the Europeans. Between 1869 and 1871 Livingstone suddenly disappeared.

**HENRY STANLEY:**

He was a journalist who went to Africa to search for Livingstone. In 1872 Stanley found him on the banks of Lake Tanganyika. But Livingstone refused to return. Henry Stanley wrote extensively on the possibilities of trade and commerce and the availability of raw materials especially rubber, in the Congo. The British government did not accept his suggestions. However, King Leopold II of Belgium, took a keen interest and sent Stanley to acquire trading rights from the rulers of Congo.

**THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN CONGO ASSOCIATION:**

King Leopold II being an astute businessman organised a private commercial company in 1878 called The International African Congo Association, the main purpose being to exploit central Africa. The African native chiefs traded large areas in the Congo for trifles like colourful cloth and whisky, without the slightest sense of private property. At the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885, the company's territory was transformed into the Congo Free State. Leopold II earned great profits. Soon news came of terrible exploitation slavery etc. and public opinion forced the government of Belgium to take charge of the Congo Free State as a colony. Though the Berlin Conference had made it compulsory for the government to look after the moral and material well-being of the natives, the rule was never respected. The Africans were harassed and troubled whenever they failed to provide the goods to the Europeans.

**6.5.2 Partitioning of Africa 1885-1912:**

Once the European nations had publicly agreed and declared their imperialistic intentions, the scramble for Africa became the main focus of European politics. Within a short span of 27 years the entire continent of Africa, excepting Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Liberia was conquered and partitioned by and among European nations, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Italy, France and England.

**Portuguese Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Portugal controlled a wide strip of land on the east coast of Africa from MOZAMBIQUE to UGANDA. On the west coast she established her hold over the province of ANGOLA situated to the south of Belgian Congo. However Portugal lost an important link when the British took control of the territory in between these areas to set up Rhodesia.

**Spanish Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Spain acquired MOROCCO, the CANARY ISLANDS, islands

on the GUINEA COAST, RIO MUNI and RIO DE ORO. These were small Spanish colonies.

### **Italian Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Though a new nation, Italy did not remain out of the race. She acquired ERITREA and SOMALILAND on the east coast of Africa in 1889. In 1911-1912, she defeated TURKEY and took control of TRIPOLI (LIBYA) and CYRENAICA. Their ambition however was to conquer and annexe ETHIOPIA (ABYSSINIA), but they were defeated at ADOWA, in 1889. They succeeded in conquering Ethiopia in 1935-1936, only to lose it in World War II-

### **Dutch Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Two Dutch Republics had been established in South Africa by the Dutch colonists, called BOERS. These colonies-TRANSVAAL and ORANGE FREE STATE— were situated between Cape Colony and Rhodesia. Once gold was discovered in Transvaal, many Britishers rushed in and gradually asked for political rights. Resenting this and fearful of being outnumbered, the Boers started a war against Britain, in 1899. By 1902 they were defeated and lost their territory.

### **German Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

As pointed out earlier, under pressure from German businessmen BISMARCK followed an aggressive imperialist policy. In 1884, KARL PETERS, acquired eastern African lands between Uganda and Rhodesia (both British.) Bismarck soon established PROTECTORATES over SOUTH—WEST AFRICA, CAMEROON and TOGOLAND.

By 1900, the Germans challenged FRENCH authority in North Africa by making a bid for MOROCCO. Thus, Germany came in the way of both England and France. This resulted in the French and the British coming closer to one another and signing the ENTENTE-CORDIALE in 1904.

### **French Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

France was planning to establish a NORTH AFRICAN EMPIRE, since she had occupied ALGERIA in 1930. France was trying to expand along the west coast as well as from ALGERIA to and TUNIS. She also acquired control over the region to the south of Algeria, Libya and Egypt. She already had FRENCH WEST AFRICA, FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA that included SAHARA and was trying to establish control over SUDAN. If France had conquered Ethiopia; she would have established a long stretch of empire from west to

east in North Africa. Her plan was to build a railway from DJIBOUTI on the Gulf of Aden across Ethiopia to the River Nile and from there to French Central Africa.

### **British Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Like every other country, British interest in Africa increased after 1870. In 1875, Prime Minister Disraeli purchased the major shares in the SUEZ CANAL COMPANY. The Suez Canal was considered the highway to India, and by purchasing these shares Britain got control over EGYPT. Earlier Britain had gained control over territory in South Africa and the Lower Nile. Their dream was of connecting CAPETOWN in the south to CAIRO in the north by railway. To realise this plan the British would have to control a continuous strip of territory.

The British pushed forward their plan by establishing PROTECTORATES over NIGERIA in 1886, RHODESIA in 1889, BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA (NYASALAND) 1893 and UGANDA 1896.

CECIL RHODES, after whom RHODESIA is named, became the diamond and gold king of South Africa. His plan to build a railway from Cape Town to Cairo encountered many difficulties. The first country to oppose them was PORTUGAL, which wanted to connect its territory on the east coast (MOZAMBIQUE) with its territory on the west coast (ANGOLA). Cecil Rhodes moved quickly and acquired the territory between the two Portuguese colonies, and called it RHODESIA.

The next country to oppose Britain was GERMANY. In East Africa, Britain was only able to control Uganda. Germany controlled the rest of the land as far as Congo. Thus, the Cape to Cairo railway had to cut across German territory. It was only after World War II ended that German opposition ended.

The third country to oppose Britain was FRANCE. She controlled much of the land in north Africa and had plans of building a railway across the north from east to west. It was in SUDAN that French and British interests clashed, over the region known as EGYPTIAN SUDAN. Egypt had lost their control because of a local revolt. Since Britain controlled Egypt, she felt that Sudan came under her sphere of influence. France did not agree. French troops under the command of CAPTAIN MARCHAND were ordered to occupy Sudan. Marchand reached the town of FASHODA and hoisted the French flag. The British troops under the command of GENERAL KITCHENER came in from Egypt and hoisted the British flag on the other side of the town. This incident led to an international crisis. Fortunately, France used its foresight and did not allow the situation to develop into a war. France recognised British interests in Sudan. In return France got a free hand in Morocco.

In fact this mutual agreement led to the signing of the ANGLOFRENCH ALLIANCE in 1904.

European imperialism produced far-reaching consequences for the natives. The Africans were exploited and the natural resources of the land were used indiscriminately by the Europeans. But there was a brighter side to the picture. Means of transport and communication were introduced and developed, agriculture developed and western education introduced. Ultimately, it led to the rise of nationalism and democracy among most of the African nations.

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## **6.6 COLONIAL EXPANSION OR IMPERIALISM IN ASIA**

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During the era of geographical discoveries and explorations in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans had already begun to conquer territory in Asia. However, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans in a very aggressive manner took control of practically the entire Asian continent. Rivalries in the Far East also involved U.S.A., Russia and Japan. Until 1900 gains were chiefly made in the southern Pacific. While the British moved north into Burma, and the Dutch strengthened their empire in the East Indies, new empires were built up by the French in Indochina, the Germans in New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands, the Americans in the Philippines, and the Japanese in Formosa. After that tensions centered around China, where the Russians and the Japanese fought for control of Manchuria and Korea. All countries wanted economic concessions and trading privileges at the expense of China. These tensions produced the Sino-Japanese War 1895, the Russo-Japanese War 1905, the Boxer revolt 1899 and the Nationalist Revolt in China 1911.

### **British Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

INDIA had attracted all the Europeans, the PORTUGUESE, the DUTCH, the FRENCH, and the BRITISH. Though they came to trade only at first, they soon settled down in different areas. When they finally understood how wealthy India could make them, they fought for supremacy over India. The British defeated the PORTUGUESE at BASSEIN in 1739, and the Portuguese lost all hopes of creating an empire for themselves in India. Once again the British defeated the FRENCH at the BATTLE OF WANDIWASH in 1760. This shattered the French dreams of an Indian Empire.

The foundation of the British Empire in India was laid by LORD CLIVE when he won the BATTLE OF PLASSEY in 1757. The work of annexing the territory of the Native Indian Rulers was completed by LORD WARREN HASTINGS, LORD WELLESLEY, and LORD

DALHOUSIE. In 1858 after the SEPOY MUTINY political control over India passed from the East India Company to the British Crown. India formed a vital source of wealth for Britain. Safeguarding her empire in India became an important basis of British foreign policy.

In 1880's Britain added BURMA and BALUCHISTAN to her Indian Empire.

In south-east Asia, Britain got control over SINGAPORE and MALLACA, as well as a part of the island of BORNEO.

In southwest Asia, Britain acquired a series of PROTECTORATES from ADEN near the RED SEA, to KUWAIT in the PERSIAN GULF. In 1907 she got a sphere of influence in the southern half of PERSIA.

In 1842 Britain secured HONG KONG from China besides other privileges she enjoyed in the rest of China. By the 20 century, considering all this territory, it would be safe to say that Britain ruled over the largest Empire in Asia.

### **French Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, France had acquired a part of ANAM. In 1864 France took over CAMBODIA, in 1861 KOCHIN-CHINA, in 1873 TONKIN and finally the whole of ANAM was annexed by the French. This territory was called FRENCH INDO-CHINA. In 1896, France obtained a sphere of influence over a small part of SIAM. In INDIA France continued to hold on to CHANDRANAGORE, PONDICHERRY, KARIKAL AND MAHE. By 1899, France had secured privileges in CHINA, in the provinces of KWANGSI and HAINAN.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Discuss the Colonial expansion of England in Asia ?

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### **Dutch Colonial Expansion or Imperialism.:**

The Dutch like the British had formed an East India Company and come to Asia as traders. The Empire that they established was mainly in south-east Asia. They conquered the islands of SUMATRA, JAVA and CELEBES, a part of BORNEO, and a part of GUINEA.



### **Portuguese Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

Though the Portuguese had been defeated by the British, they still retained the territories of GOA, DAMAN and DIU in India till 1961.

### **German Colonial Expansion or Imperialism:**

In 1880, Germany had taken the north-eastern part of GUINEA, and in 1898, leased from CHINA the KIOCHOW BAY.

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## **6.7 COLONIAL EXPANSION OR IMPERIALISM IN THE FAIR EAST**

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Imperialism in the Far East took a different shape. The Europeans were more interested in commercial concessions and trading privileges rather than conquest. Both CHINA and JAPAN continued to remain aloof for as long as possible, but when western pressure became too much, they had to respond. However, the response of the two countries was different, with CHINA letting herself be sliced up between the imperialist powers and JAPAN becoming an imperialist power herself.

### **China:**

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, China fell victim to imperialist powers, inspite of being one of the oldest civilisations of the world. Considering herself to be superior, China had very little contact with the outside world. Trade was permitted with great reluctance at one port (CANTON) only. This policy of China only made the Europeans even more eager to extract from the weak MANCHU DYNASTY concessions of port facilities and territories. The general aim was not to annexe land but to establish important centres of trade on the coastline, which would give them, access into the underdeveloped interiors of China.

Britain had been conducting trade in cotton, tea and opium. Soon the Chinese officials were addicted to opium and became more corrupt and inefficient. The Government decided to put an end to the import of opium. When opium was prohibited, it resulted in smuggling, and finally a war.

In the FIRST OPIUM WAR 1839-1842, China was defeated. THE TREATY OF NANKING was signed by which China had to open up FIVE PORTS, —SHANGHAI, CANTON, AMOY. FOO CHOW and NINGPO, for trade. Soon FRANCE, U.S.A. and other powers succeeded the same trading privileges. In 1842, China gave EXTRA-TERRITORIAL RIGHTS to Britain, followed by other countries.

Realizing that China was weak, the Europeans demanded further concessions. When French missionaries were murdered, they seized the opportunity to declare war. THE SECOND OPIUM WAR 1854-1858, ended in the same way, with China being defeated. China was forced to sign the TREATY OF TIENTSIN and open ELEVEN PORTS for trade, legalise the opium trade, welcome Christian missionaries and representatives of foreign governments. The MANCHU DYNASTY was gradually losing powers of administration over its own territory and the foreigners were dictating their terms. The Europeans had secured freedom to trade, extraterritorial rights, control over the Chinese tariff system and had reached the interior of China.

Soon China was being parceled out between the foreigners, or as some historians put it, "China was being raped." In 1860, RUSSIA took the port city of VLADIVOSTOK and from there exercised influence over MANCHURIA.

When Japan defeated China in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1894-1895) she took the ISLAND OF FORMOSA.

When Japan won the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905), she secured a 99 year lease of PORT ARTHUR and the LIAOTUNG PENINSULA (previously Chinese territory).

In 1898, GERMANY secured a 99 year lease over KIOCHOW and economic concessions in SHANTUNG.

FRANCE secured a lease of KWANGCHOW, and economic concessions in HAINAN, KWANGSI and YUNNAN.

BRITAIN acquired a lease of the port of WEI-HAI-WEI, and the KWOLUN PENINSULA. In the YANGTZE region she had economic privileges.

JAPAN secured railway concessions in MANCHURIA.

In 1899, U.S.A. put forward the OPEN DOOR POLICY, by which China was to be kept open for commerce and trade to all foreigners on an equal basis. Thus, China was saved from total dismemberment.

### **Japan:**

Known as the "LAND OF THE RISING SUN", Japan had followed a policy of isolation. Only once a year it traded with foreigners. The opening of Japan was inevitable due to her position. Damaged ships in that area needed a port for repairing their ships, or as coaling stations. In 1852 COMMODORE PERRY of the U.S.A. sailed into TOKYO to



present a memorandum to the Emperor. It was the first time that the Japanese had seen steamers. Being threatened the Japanese agreed to negotiate. They opened three ports for trade, gave the U.S.A. the right of protection for shipwrecked sailors and the right of most "favored nation."

Not wanting to be carved up between the Europeans the Japanese realised that they had to change their attitude. It was clear to the important clans of Japan i.e. SATSUMA and CHOSHU, that they were helpless before the superior military power of the foreigners.

In 1867, the new Emperor MUTSUHITO inaugurated a new era of reforms. Japan quickly westernised and modernised itself. The Japanese armed forces were remodelled on the German pattern; the Naval forces were organised on the advice of the British. A western system of education and a system of law were also introduced. She rapidly industrialised and soon felt the same needs as the European nations. She too turned imperialistic.

Early in the 1890's, Japan began interfering in KOREAN affairs. Korea asked China for help. This resulted in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR 1894. The world was amazed when Japan defeated China. China agreed to hand over FORMOSA and to recognise Korea as an independent state. This victory gave Japan political stability and national unity.

In 1904-1905, Japan fought a war with RUSSIA. Once again Japan surprised the world by defeating Russia. The pigmy of the east had defeated the giant of the west. The U.S.A. President Theodore Roosevelt brought about peace between the two, and the TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH was signed. Accordingly, Japan received the lease of PORT ARTHUR and the LIAOTUNG PENINSULA, the southern half of the ISLAND OF SAKHALIN, and Russia promised to remain away from Korea and Manchuria.

In 1910, Japan invaded KOREA, renamed it CHOSSEN and added it to the Japanese Empire.

Most Asia nations felt that Japan success story was due to her rapid westernisation, and this encouraged nationalist movements in numerous Asian countries.

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## **6.8 IMPACT OF COLONIAL EXPANSION OR IMPERIALISM**

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In their determination to increase their political power and to

develop their economies, the European nations looked towards countries, which were weak, underdeveloped but rich in raw materials. By following an aggressive policy of imperialism, they succeeded in controlling practically the entire continents of Africa and Asia. Whether the colonies developed or were only exploited is a point that is hotly debated. There are some who believe that imperialism was a destructive force and the colonies were thoroughly exploited. On the other hand, there are those who feel that imperialism did have a positive, even though indirect effect on the colonies. They argue that in the long run, the colonies were developed industrially, and benefited from the trade being conducted.

The political and psychological effects are equally difficult to determine. Imperialism has proved to be both destructive and constructive. It destroyed the traditional institutions and attitudes, and replaced them with those of the western world.

### **Political Effects:**

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the whole of Asia and Africa had been turned into colonies of the European nations. Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Holland and Japan had annexed not only millions of square miles of territory but were also ruling over and responsible for millions of people. Great Britain had the largest colonial empire, and between 1871 and 1900, she had added 4.25 million square miles with 66 million people to her empire.

This rapid colonial expansion led to frequent COLONIAL CONFLICTS. There were conflicting claims over SUDAN between FRANCE and BRITAIN, over MOROCCO between FRANCE and GERMANY, over CHINA between RUSSIA and JAPAN.

The root causes of these colonial conflicts were political and strategic, rather than economic. Financial benefits however strong they were, such as British oil interests in Persia, were always subordinated to national prestige and political necessities. This led to the formation of military and political alliances. The sole purpose of these alliances was to protect national security and increase national power. The complicated system of alliances, some of which were secret, in turn led to World War I.

Not really thinking of the long-term effects, the imperial powers introduced western political institutions in all their colonies. Through the working of these institutions and through education, the colonial people were exposed to democracy, nationalism etc. which created a strong political consciousness. The desire to be free of outside control led to freedom movements being started in most of the colonised countries.

### **Economic Effects:**

The imperialist powers ruthlessly exploited their colonies. Raw materials were bought at cheap rates and natural resources were exploited for the benefit of the mother country. Any surplus revenue was transferred home through various means and the wealth of the countries was drained off.

The Asian markets were soon flooded with western factory made goods. Since these goods were cheaper, the local small-scale industries were effected and soon had to close down. Many natives were reduced to utter poverty and bonded labour.

On the other hand, imperialism led to the development of MODERN INDUSTRY in the colonies. There was also the introduction of new means of TRANSPORT and COMMUNICATION and other infrastructure. Jobs were available for the educated.

### **Social and Cultural Effects:**

The westerners introduced radical changes in the social life of the conquered people. With the introduction of WESTERN EDUCATION through western languages, the colonised people adopted a western style of dress, food and mannerisms. Some of the smaller nations lost their culture due to this, and in the process of westernisation lost their identity as a separate nation.

However, in some countries they also developed a rational attitude to religious and social customs and traditions. Many were inspired to change and it led to the SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENT.

In India, RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY started the movement for social reform and in 1829 he was successful in getting the government to ban Sati.

The CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES churches, schools and colleges to spread education. They also worked in the field of health care. But at the same time they carried on their activity of conversion which was resented.

The government was also involved in education and a large amount of money was reserved for this purpose. They encouraged female education and did much to extend technical education. In 1858 they started Universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

Thus we see that Imperialism affected all aspects of life as the Europe an civilisation moved into Asia and Africa. The European Powers

exercised not only political authority in these regions, but also gave the fruits of western civilisation to them. The twin spirits of “Progress” and “Prosperity” were communicated to all colonised people. Imperialism became a catalyst force, which integrated the remote parts of Asia and Africa into a new World order. Like any other movement Imperialism also had a negative Impact. The legacy of poverty and exploitation still continues.

### **Check Your Progress:**

What were the major effects of Colonial expansion in Asia and Africa?

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## **6.9 SUMMARY**

Colonial Expansion or Imperialism was a policy followed by the European nations after 1870. According to this policy, the economically developed nations of the world wanted to rule over and control the underdeveloped countries. In order to do this, they sometimes used force and sometimes trickery. Not always did imperialism involve conquest. It took on different forms, e.g. protectorates, spheres of influence and spheres of interest etc.

The factors that led to this policy were many. The industrialised nations of the west required raw materials and new markets to sell their goods. As trade increased they acquired more capital which they needed to invest. Besides the economic factor, there was the political. With the rise of nationalism and the birth of new nations like Germany and Italy all countries felt that they were more powerful if they had larger colonial empires. Pressurising the politicians were the missionaries, who wished to spread the Christian faith.

The European nations followed this policy very aggressively between 1870 and 1914. In this time the entire continent of Africa was virtually divided between them. The missionaries made the wealth of Africa, known to the West. Soon the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Germans the Italians and the French all carved out empires for themselves. They also planned to build railway lines across the length and breadth of Africa. These plans often brought them very close to war but commonsense prevailed each time and war was avoided.

In Asia too it was the same story. The Manchu dynasty in China was too weak to stop the Europeans from taking control of their territory. However as the 'rape of China' continued, Japan learnt a lesson. She industrialised and westernised herself and in turn became an imperialist power.

The impact of imperialism was both positive and negative. The weaker nations were economically and politically exploited. But with the introduction of western education and western political institutions there was a gradual rise in nationalism. This finally led to freedom movements in all Asian countries. The introduction of better means of transport and communication also helped in the economic development of the colonised nations.

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## 6.10 QUESTIONS

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1. Examine the meaning and nature of colonial expansion or Imperialism. Discuss the factors that led to it.
2. What is meant by colonial expansion or 'New Imperialism'? Critically analyse the causes of this policy.
3. Trace the progress of colonial expansion or Imperial rivalries in Africa. OR Describe the partitioning of Africa by the European Powers.
4. Account for the opening up of China to western colonial expansion or imperialism.
5. What was the impact of colonial expansion or Imperialism on Asia and Africa?
6. Write short notes on the following;
  - (a) Economic causes of colonial expansion or imperialism.
  - (b) Forms of colonial expansion or Imperialism.
  - (c) Colonial expansion or Imperialism in China.
  - (d) Japanese colonial expansion or imperialism in Asia.
  - (e) Effects of colonial expansion or Imperialism.

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## Module 4

# WORLD IN TRANSITION (1870-1919)

## B- World War I

### Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Causes of the First World War
- 7.3 Course of the War
- 7.4 Consequences of the First World War
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Questions

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### 7.0 OBJECTIVES

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This lesson seeks to examine the following aspects:

- The causes / factors which led to the First World War.
- The outbreak and course of the war- the collapse of Russia- the entry of USA-the defeat of Germany and the Central Powers.
- The consequences/impact of the war on the defeated and the victorious countries.

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### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

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The 20<sup>th</sup> century may be called an era of conflict, because two great world wars were fought within a very short space of time. Every part of the globe was involved in these wars. People of all nations felt the disastrous impact. Europe the continent that started the war suffered the most. Both the wars were because of European greed, mutual pride and hatred. Since the Europeans had already established colonial empires for themselves in Asia and Africa, these parts of the world were also involved in the war.

This century also witnessed two revolutions—the Russian

Revolution in 1917 and the Chinese Revolution in 1949 — both Communist in nature.

Another important feature was the rise of dictatorships in Germany, Italy, Spain and Russia.

The spirit of nationalism led to the unification of Italy and Germany on the one hand. On the other hand as it spread in Asia and Africa, it led to conflicts between the colonial powers and the natives.

The fundamental and major reasons of the First World War were; nationalism, the system of alliances, militarism and the race for armaments, imperialism, and a state of international anarchy. As each European nation tried to prove its superiority, in armed forces, colonies etc. it also brought a certain sense of insecurity. Bismarck the master politician created a whole system of secret alliances to gather friends. He succeeded in dividing the world into two camps—the Allies and the Central Powers. There were many instances when France and Germany almost came to war but it was averted at the last moment. Finally when a Serbian assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia in 1914. Germany, Russia, Britain, France and Italy were all drawn into this war because of the complicated system of alliances. Germany's submarine warfare against unarmed merchant ships led U. S.A. to join the Allies.

When the war ended, Germany was defeated as were Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. But the war, had no real victors, as all countries lost in different ways. The economic losses, the destruction, the loss of life and property were suffered by all. At the Paris Peace Conference, five separate treaties were drawn up for the defeated countries. The Treaty of Versailles was very harsh on Germany. She had to pay a huge war indemnity, besides having to pay in the form of coal, gold, livestock, chemicals and building materials. Much of her territory in Europe was taken away and given to France, Poland, Denmark and Belgium. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were two new nations formed. Germany was totally disarmed and what was very humiliating was that the entire war guilt was placed on her. Some attempt to bring about permanent peace was made. The League of Nations was established on the basis of Woodrow Wilson's 14 points. The aim of the League was to prevent war and to promote peace in the world.

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## **7.2 CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

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The Great War of 1914 was the culmination of developments in



Europe for more than two decades. The Great Powers looked at each other with suspicion and the rivalry was intense. This attitude was responsible for dividing Europe into two armed camps. Aggressive nationalist colonial conflicts and a system of military alliances increased the dangers. The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand sparked the outbreak of the First World War. But the causes were much deeper and more fundamental.

### **7.2.1 Forces of Nationalism.**

First among the fundamental causes of the war was the force of nationalism. The victory of nationalism in Italy and Germany in 1870 made it a strong force in politics. People supported their country whether right or wrong.

Excessive nationalism increased the rivalry between countries like Germany and Britain, leading to a competition between them to have larger and better armies and navies.

Aggressive nationalism led to conflicts among the Great Powers over colonial territory in Asia, and Africa.

The French never forgot the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and they remained bitter enemies of Germany.

The cry of "ITALIA IRREDENTA" (unredeemed Italy) was the expression of nationalism of Italy which waited for the opportunity to take back Trieste and Trentino, from Austria and Hungary.

The people of the Balkan region were dissatisfied and the Slavs who were not free looked to Serbia to unite them. In 1908 Austria-Hungary angered Serbia by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rivalry for control of the Balkans added to the tensions, prior to the war.

As a matter of fact, excess of nationalism was at the back of most of the events that led towards the war.

### **7.2.2 System of Alliances:**

The second underlying cause of the war was the system of military alliances. It owed its origin to the diplomacy of Bismarck, who realised that France would never forget the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. To safeguard Germany against a French attack, he started a system of military alliances. This in turn led to counter-alliances, which divided Europe into two hostile camps.

#### DUAL ALLIANCE 1879 (GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY).

The withdrawal of Russia from the League of Three Emperors in 1878, and the fear of a French attack, forced Bismarck to sign a treaty with Austria-Hungary. This defensive alliance provided that (a) if Germany or Hungary were attacked by Russia or a third power supported by Russia, the other signatory would aid; and (b) if either of the signatories were at war with any other power other than Russia, the other signatory would remain neutral. The terms of the alliance were kept secret.

#### TRIPLE ALLIANCE 1882 (GERMANY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND ITALY)

Bismarck exploited the rivalry between France and Italy over Tunis. Afraid of being left alone, Italy was forced to join the dual alliance partners, thus forming the Triple Alliance.

#### THE REINSURANCE TREATY 1887 (GERMANY AND RUSSIA)

Bismarck was determined to isolate France. To avoid Russia and France coming closer to each other, Germany signed the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. It was a defensive alliance, to be renewed after three years and highly secret.

However in 1890, Kaiser William II refused to renew the treaty. Bismarck was dropped as Chancellor, and Germany's foreign policy underwent a change.

#### RUSSO-FRANCO ALLIANCE 1890 (RUSSIA AND FRANCE)

France who had been totally isolated so far, was searching for friends. She entered into a defensive alliance with Russia against the members of the Triple Alliance.

#### ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE 1902.

Both Britain and Japan were worried about Russia's imperialist policy in the Far East. Brought closer together by their mutual rivalries, Britain and Japan signed a friendly agreement. Politically strengthened by this alliance, Japan finally challenged Russia in 1904 and won the war.

#### ENTENTE CORDIALE 1904 (FRANCE AND BRITAIN)

Britain and France settled the problems they had in Asia and Africa, and then entered into a defensive alliance in 1904 called the Entente Cordiale. This strengthened the position of France in Europe and Britain was no longer an isolated power.

### TRIPLE ENTENTE (FRANCE, BRITAIN AND RUSSIA)

Since Russia was an ally of France, it was but natural that she became part of the alliance. It cost Russia and Britain a lot to end their suspicion of each other and to settle their differences over territorial claims. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and Tibet, and both Britain and Russia got spheres of influence in Persia. This resulted in the formation of the Triple Entente.

The Triple Entente was not a military alliance and Britain was not pledged to support either France or Russia in times of war. It simply formed a diplomatic group that was expected to work in harmony in regard to certain problems. Its chief significance lay in the fact that both Britain and Russia moved away from Germany and did not trust German policy. It was now Germany's turn to feel isolated and encircled by a ring of enemies.

Thus Europe was divided into two armed camps. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had signed the Triple Alliance and were called the Central Powers. Britain, France and Russia had signed the Triple Entente and were called the Allies. Later Japan joined the Triple Entente and Turkey joined the Triple Alliance. Gradually during the war all other countries joined the two groups.

The worst feature of the alliance system was that the treaties were secret. So the alliances which were meant to preserve peace instead created fear and suspicion. The secrecy of the entire system only intensified the rivalry and made war inevitable.

#### **7.2.3 Militarism and Race for Armaments.**

The third fundamental cause of the war was the competitive militarism of that time. There was a deep sense of insecurity in the minds of the powers. They felt they had to be prepared for any situation and so concentrated on developing their armed forces. As Prof. Sidney Hays writes, "If one country increased its army, built strategic railways, and constructed new battleships, its fearful neighbours were straightaway frightened into doing likewise."

Germany greatly increased the size of her standing army, and France lengthened the term of compulsory service from two years to three. Russia also expanded her army. Britain added to her already large navy.

Anglo-German naval rivalry was one of the causes of the war. The navy which Germany constructed was led by huge steel submarines called "dreadnoughts", armed with 12inch guns of great power. So

far Britain had always possessed the best navy and now she felt challenged. She tried to build more dreadnoughts and better warships. Other countries not wanting to be left behind also joined the race.

As technology improved, so did the destructive power of the weapons. The Great Powers not only increased the size of the armies but they steadily increased their stockpile of weapons, small arms and artillery. Soon the whole of Europe was one large armed camp waiting to explode.

#### **7.2.4 Imperialism:**

To all Europeans the greatness of their nation depended on its position in Europe and the size of its colonial empire. The more colonies a country possessed, the greater it was. Britain, France and Russia had built up huge empires for themselves. Germany felt left behind and she sought a “place in the sun.” Her unsatisfied imperialist ambitions were the chief source of international conflicts.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Africa was in a short space of time divided among the European Powers. Asia too was colonised and economically exploited. In China the Europeans carved out spheres of influence for themselves. As an industrialised nation, Japan joined the race for colonies in Asia.

These colonial expansions added to the tension in Europe. The British plan to construct a Cape-Cairo railway clashed with the interests of Germany, Belgium and France. Russia's plan to build the Trans-Siberian railway was partly responsible for the Russo-Jap war. Kaiser William H's plan to build a railway from Berlin-Baghdad, did not find favour with Britain. The British saw the railway as a threat to their interests in the Far East. As each crisis unfolded, it was only diplomatic skill that avoided a war.

#### **7.2.5 The Newspaper War:**

The poisoning of public opinion by the newspapers in all the countries contributed a great deal to the world war. Points of dispute were exaggerated, and attacks and counter-attacks was a regular feature before the war. The newspapers either misrepresented or suppressed the truth. This spread the atmosphere of mutual hatred and distrust, which contributed to the war.

#### **7.2.6 Kaiser William II:**

In 1890 when Kaiser William II took full control over Germany's policies, he looked beyond Europe. He wanted Germany to be a

world power. England, France and Russia had already built huge empires for themselves. Kaiser William II could not bring himself to accept a subordinate position and was determined that Germany would have her “place in the sun”. He tried every possible means of expansion. The Kaiser made a tour to Constantinople and Jerusalem and proclaimed his friendship with Sultan Abdul Hamid. His actions angered both Britain and Russia. The Kaiser never realised the consequences of his actions because he could never understand any other point of view except his own. So Germany’s ambitions and visions of world empire may be looked upon as the ultimate cause of the first world war.

### **7.2.7 International Crisis:**

Germany’s desire to be a world power created many problems for her. Firstly, she clashed with France over Morocco. Secondly, she clashed with Austria and Russia in the Balkans.

#### **THE MOROCCON CRISIS 1905.**

When the Entente Cordiale was signed, the British agreed to respect the French position in Morocco, while the French accepted the British position in Egypt Kaiser William II challenged the agreement proclaiming that he was the protector of the Muslims. At the ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE in 1906, he received support only from Austria-Hungary, while the British and the Russians supported France. An agreement was reached which was a victory for France.

#### **THE AGADIR CRISIS. 1911. (The Second Moroccan Crisis)**

In 1911 there was an uprising of unruly tribes in FEZ, the capital of Morocco, France sent troops to put down the trouble. Kaiser William sent his gunboat “Panther,” to supposedly protect German interests. The situation turned ugly when Britain sent her warship to Morocco. Germany was forced to compromise and accept a French protectorate over Morocco.

The Agadir crisis only served to strengthen the friendship between Britain and France.

#### **THE BALKAN CRISIS 1908:**

The Bosnian crisis formed a link in the chain of events that led to the war. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria aroused a lot of nationalist feeling in Serbia. She looked upon herself as the champion and liberator of all Slavs in Turkish and Austrian territory. Austria on the other hand, was determined to crush Serbia and Germany was ready to support her and defy Europe.

## **THE BALKAN WARS 1911-1912.**

Disappointed in 1908, the Balkan nations-BULGARIA, SERBIA, GREECE AND MONTENEGRO-formed the BALKAN LEAGUE, against Turkey. In the first Balkan War, the Turkish forces were completely defeated. By the Treaty of London, Turkey had to surrender most of her European territory to the victors.

Problems arose among the Balkan states, as they could not agree on how to share this territory. Serbia and Bulgaria disagreed about Macedonia. Bulgaria suddenly attacked Serbia. Greece and Romania helped Serbia to defeat Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Bucharest, Serbia received northern and central Macedonia, while southern Macedonia was handed over to Greece. Bulgaria had to be satisfied with very little.

Austria did her best to break up Serbian plans and her anti-Serbian attitude created problems. She forced Serbia to give up many of the towns she had won from the Turks and prevented her from getting an outlet into the sea. The Austria-Serbian feud continued till the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was the nephew of the Austrian Emperor.

The importance of the Balkan Wars lay in the fact that they emphasised the gains that could be won in short wars. Attention turned to subject races who were not yet free. These races looked for supporters among the major powers.

### **7.2.8 Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand.**

Finally, when all the European countries were fully armed and ready for war, a little spark was needed to start the war. The murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria, and his wife, on 28 June 1914, in Serajevo the capital of Bosnia, became the spark of World War I.

The assassin was Gavrilo Principia, a member of the secret society of Young Bosnia, and his weapons had been supplied by a secret society of Serbia.

This incident caused a wave of anger to sweep over Austria and the people denounced the people of Serbia as a "nation of assassins." The Austrian Government said the crime was due to the anti Austrian propaganda carried out by the Serbians and the Government. After consulting Germany, Austria delivered a drastic ultimatum to Serbia which had to be accepted in 48 hours. Serbia accepted most of the terms but did not agree to Austrian officials

policing Serbian affairs. She offered to refer the matter to a Conference of Great Powers. Austria was bent on war, and the ultimatum was just a formality. Austro-Hungarian troops were mobilized and war was declared on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1914.

### **Check Your Progress:**

What were the Important causes of the World War I ?

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## **7.3 COURSE OF THE WAR**

Austria's action drew Russia into the field, because she was deeply interested in the fate of the Slav states in the Balkans. Russia was in favour of a conference but Austria was not. Russia had no other option but to mobilize her troops. Since Germany was bound to Austria by the Triple Alliance, she too mobilized her troops.

On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. On 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1914, Germany declared war on France.

The British people on the whole had greater sympathy for France than for Germany and Britain had tried to maintain peace. But Germany's action made her neutrality impossible. In order to strike at France, on 4<sup>th</sup> August Germany marched through Belgium, violating her neutrality. The neutrality of Belgium had long been an important point in the foreign policy of Britain. She requested Germany to withdraw, but Germany refused. At midnight 4<sup>th</sup> August, Great Britain declared war on Germany.

On 7<sup>th</sup> August, Montenegro joined Serbia against Austria-Hungary.

Then Japan became a part of the war, partly to fulfill its treaty obligations to Britain and partly to take its revenge on Germany. On 17<sup>th</sup> August, Japan presented an ultimatum to Germany to withdraw all its warships immediately from Chinese and Japanese waters and to hand over Kiaochow to them. Germany refused and Japan declared war on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1914.

Italy, although a member of the Triple Alliance announced her neutrality on the ground that her allies were not involved in a defensive



war. In 1915, Italy joined the Entente Powers. Her object was to recover from Austria some of the provinces which belonged to her.

Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in 1914.

Thus in the three months from 28 July to 29 October 1914, a conflict between Serbia and Austria Hungary broadened into a world war in which Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire were up against Russia, France, Great Britain, Japan, Belgium Serbia and Montenegro. Six of the eight Great Powers were immediately involved, and five of the six continents.

The early phase of the war was in favour of the Allies. In 1915, Britain inflicted a crushing defeat on Turkey and captured the Straits of the Dardenelles and the port of Constantinople. They also attacked German colonies in Africa and took control of her concessions in China. Alarmed by the Allied success, Germany intensified the submarine warfare and sunk a number of British ships. The Allies then launched a counter-offensive.

The year 1917 proved to be a turning point in the history of the war. The Russian army was neither well trained nor well equipped, and was being defeated at every stage by the Germans. Completely demoralized, the Russian army revolted against the Czar in March 1917. By October 1917, the Communists had taken control and established a Republic. They asked for peace and signed the TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK in 1918.

The collapse of Russia made the position of Germany very strong and they started a submarine warfare on a large scale. Not only did they destroy British battleships, but also attacked American merchant ships. It seemed as if the Allies were on the verge of collapse, but the U.S.A. came to their rescue. In January 1917, Germany was warned to stop her submarine warfare. She refused and on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1917, the U.S.A. declared war on Germany. The entry of the U.S.A. was a turning point in the war. It greatly strengthened the Allies by placing at their disposal men, money and material all of which boosted the morale of the Allies.

In June 1918, the military successes of the Central Powers stopped. Austria-Hungary was exhausted. Germany was being forced to retreat by the French and the Americans. Meanwhile in September 1918, an allied army struck at Bulgaria. The Bulgarian army no longer had the support of Germany and Austria and it fell to the allied army. At the same time, the Dual-Monarchy of Austria-Hungary also collapsed. The Central Powers who had stood like a rock fortress for four years, were beginning to crumble. Their armies were defeated and

demoralized. Their rulers and statesmen were panic-stricken. Their people wanted peace. Bulgaria the last to join the group, was the first to quit it. Bulgaria surrendered in September 1918; and a month later, the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary also surrendered. Germany was left to end the war as best it could. After a month of negotiation between the German Chancellor Prince Maximilian and President Wilson the Allies agreed to make peace on the basis of the “fourteen points.” An armistice was signed on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918, between Germany and the Allies and the war finally came to an end.

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## **7.4 CONSEQUENCES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

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The armistice of 11 November 1918, brought an immediate sense of relief to the whole world. The horrible bloodshed of the four and half years, with untold suffering and misery, was at last halted. In the defeated countries the popular hope was that the Allies would be considerate while framing the peace treaties. This hope was not realistic. The vast majority of the people in every Allied country believed Germany was responsible for and guilty of the war. Clemenceau of France and Orlando of Italy, supported by their people demanded the punishment of the Central Powers. In Great Britain the slogan of Lloyd George was, “Hang the Kaiser and make Germany Pay.”

This war also showed that in an economic sense there are no victors. Both sides are responsible for and must share the extremely high cost of the war. Demanding war reparation does not solve the problem.

The consequences of the war were numerous:

### **7.4.1 Loss of Life:**

The First World War was fought by thirty countries. Sixty-five million men fought on the battlefield. Eight and half million men were killed. Twenty nine million men were wounded, captured or “missing in action.” Every family in Europe, had lost a member— a husband, a brother, a son. Many of the colonies had sent troops to Europe, many of whom never returned. To the list of casualties must be added the millions who died on account of civilian massacres, disease and famine which were the direct outcome of the war. The civilians had received a small weekly ration, which had led to malnutrition and sometimes death. The war had been deadly and costly.

### **7.4.2 Economic Impact:**

The cost of the war was equal to the scale of its operations.

Those who won and those who lost, both paid an extremely high price. After much argument, the Reparations Commission fixed the compensation that Germany had to pay at 132,000 million gold marks i.e. 33,000 million dollars or 6,600 million pounds. The amount was unrealistic and German currency soon collapsed. Finally in 1932, Germany stopped paying the reparation even though she had not paid the amount originally demanded. John Maynard Keynes a British economist rightly predicted that such reparations would not be paid for more than a few years.

The direct financial cost of the war has been estimated at over two hundred billion dollars; its indirect cost at over a hundred and fifty billion dollars; and these figures do not include the additional billions in interest payments, soldiers pensions and health care, etc.

The total cost of the war cannot be measured only by these astronomical figures. The amount of property destroyed, the ships and cargoes which had been sunk, the wealth which otherwise would have been produced if raw materials had not been destroyed, all have to be taken into account. The territory occupied by the enemy suffered devastation. Machinery and factories were destroyed. In northern France the destruction was so complete that the people decided not to rebuild certain towns. The basic necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter—were not available for millions of Europeans. Many more died of starvation or malnutrition. Mounting national debt and rising inflation dislocated normal economic life. Unemployment had reached terrible proportions and crime was on the rise.

World trade was effected. During the war, countries which had depended on Europe for various products, had found ways of dealing with the lack of European goods. They looked to Asia and Africa or started production themselves. The European nations found little demand for their goods and they had to compete with U.S.A. and Japan. Economic reconstruction was a slow process.

Inflation was not a problem experienced by Germany alone, all countries did. In 1919 the French franc stood at half its pre-war value. All the nations had borrowed heavily during the war. The whole question of repaying those war loans had consequences on international trade as well as international relations.

### **7.4.3 Political Impact:**

#### **Rise of nationalism:**

One of the great results of the war was the triumph of the principle of nationalism. Four hereditary Imperial Dynasties of Germany, Austria-

Hungary, Russia and Turkey— were swept away. The subject peoples were given their freedom in most cases.

Out of the old Russian empire, four independent republics were set up,—Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Poland was recreated

Parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire went to make the new states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The influence of nationalism was not confined to Europe alone. It awakened China and Turkey. Nationalism received an impetus during the war and became assertive.

### **Spread of Democracy:**

The war which in the words of Woodrow Wilson had been fought “to make the world safe for democracy”, seemed to have achieved its aim in 1919. New nations, which had got their independence, adopted democracy as their form of government.

Germany set up the WEIMAR REPUBLIC with its Parliamentary constitution to replace the old empire.

Austria too followed the democratic pattern. Greece abolished monarchy.

But the greatest triumph of democracy was in Turkey, where the Sultanate and the Caliphate were abolished and a republic set up with Kemal Pasha as the President.

Democracy came into vogue and nationalism was its natural ally.

### **Rise of Dictatorships:**

Almost every country, new and old, underwent a radical change for the good or the bad. The whole of normal industrial and economic life was very badly affected, since most industries were ruined. The end of the war caused serious problems for the soldiers. It was difficult to rehabilitate them as employment was scarce. Many countries were on the verge of bankruptcy, unemployment was rising and inflation could not be controlled. These and other similar problems created much discontent among people and most blamed their governments for the problems. Conditions were favourable for the growth of leftist and radical parties under different names.

Democracy could not survive for long and it received its first

blow in Italy, where Fascism under Benito Mussolini emerged. In Germany, under Hitler, Nazism reigned supreme. The Communists were in power in Russia. The individual interest was sacrificed for the national interest. Everybody lived for the state and not for himself. The motto of the dictators was “everything for the state, everything within the state, and nothing outside the state.” The rise of these new political powers led to a change in the “status quo” and a new balance of power in and outside Europe.

#### **7.4.4 Social Impact:**

The First World War brought about tremendous changes in society. Many people chose not to return to their old way of life. Agricultural workers migrated to the cities instead of remaining on their farms.

Not only did governments turn democratic after the war, but socially too there was more democracy. The old social classes started to disappear. The so-called upper classes lost their privileges and power. Russia aimed for a classless society. In order to lessen the divide between the “haves” and the “have-nots”, land was taken from the upper classes and redistributed among the landless peasants.

In every country the war had the effect of moving very quickly towards the emancipation of women, especially in countries where the process had already begun. In 1918 in Great Britain, women over the age of 30 were given the right to vote. Since the war had been a total national effort, women had worked in factories and shops, offices and voluntary agencies, hospitals and schools. They took the place of men along men, and naturally they claimed equality of status and rights. After so many had experienced independence socially and economically, there was no reason to deny them their rights. Women found it so much easier to find jobs in industry and business, since the old ideas against them were breaking down.

Developing technology, improved nutrition and advance in medicine helped in increasing the standards of living and the quality of life.

#### **7.4.5 Peace Treaties:**

The Paris Peace Conference was inaugurated on 18<sup>th</sup> January 1919, and the representatives of 32 nations attended. The most famous among them were President Woodrow Wilson (U.S.A.), Lloyd George (Britain), George Clemenceau (France), and Orlando (Italy). The defeated nations were not invited. Long negotiations and diplomatic activities continued till a broad understanding could be reached. The G delegates protested since the treaty was not based on the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson. The Allies threatened war again, and

Germany was forced to sign the treaty in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles.

The Allies held Germany responsible for the horrors of the war and were determined to make them pay.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES was signed by Germany on the 28<sup>th</sup> June 1919, and the agony of the war came to an end. Germany was stripped of large areas of territory. Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France. The small districts of Moresnat, Eupen and Malmedy were given to Belgium. Poland got Posen and the Baltic Port of Danzig was converted into a "Free City." The Saar basin, rich in coal reserves, was controlled by France. Germany lost all her colonies in Asia and Africa as mandates to the League of Nations. In the Far East Japan received the lease of the Kiaochow and control over the Shantung province. She also received all the islands south of the Equator in the Pacific.

Germany was asked to disarm and maintain a small army of 100000 soldiers. Conscription was abolished. The size of her navy was reduced and she had to stop producing war material. The Rhineland was demilitarised.

Germany was compelled to accept her war guilt and had to promise to make good "for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property." The war indemnity was fixed at a super high level and Germany also had to pay in the form of coal gold, livestock, chemicals and building materials.

Thus Germany was bled white territorially, militarily and economically by her conquerors.

THE TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN 1919 which AUSTRIA signed, witnessed the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were the two new states formed. Her size shrunk and her population was also reduced from 31 million to 6 million German speaking population. But to see that she remained always separate from Germany, a special clause was put into the treaty by which her independence was preserved by the League of Nations.

TREATY OF TRIANON 1920. By M treaty, Hungary was deprived of her non-Magyar subjects and also stripped of a lot of territory. She ceded Croatia to Yugoslavia, the Banat to Rumania and Yugoslavia and the Slovak districts to Czechoslovakia. As a result her population was reduced from 21 million to 8 million.

TREATY OF NEUILLY 1919. This treaty was signed by BULGARIA,

by which she lost territory to Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania. The strength of her army was reduced and she agreed to pay half a billion dollars as war indemnity.

**TREATY OF SEVRES WITH TURKEY 1920.** The Allies were very harsh in their treatment of Turkey. She stood to lose a lot of land as well as colonial territory. Nothing remained of the once mighty Ottoman Empire except Constantinople and Anatolia. The war indemnity was very high.

However, Mustafa Kemal Pasha who had established a rival government at Ankara was not prepared to accept this treaty. Taking advantage of the tired Allied troops, his army pushed back the Italian and French troops. They occupied the whole of Asia Minor and took the capital, Constantinople. The Allies were forced to conclude a new treaty, The Treaty of Lausanne, in Switzerland in July 1923.

This treaty was a great triumph for Mustafa Kemal Pasha and a great humiliation for the Great Powers of Europe.

A careful consideration of the peace treaties will make it clear that the statesmen failed in their duty.

They made peace but at too great a cost. The humiliation that Germany suffered made her want her revenge and this led in the end to the Second World War.

#### **7.4.6 Emergence of Great Powers.:**

Post war Europe saw the emergence of the Allies as Great Powers. GREAT BRITAIN proved herself to be the leading maritime and colonial power. FRANCE came to be regarded as a great military power. JAPAN increased its power and prestige in the Far East at the cost of China and Russia. The U.S.A. was the newest Great Power who had both military and economic power.

#### **7.4.7 League of Nations:**

The founder of this organisation was Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A His peace programme was the last of the Fourteen Points.

The purposes of the League were four: to prevent war, to organise peace, to perform certain duties according to the peace treaties, and to promote international cooperation.



The League started functioning from January 1920, with its headquarters at Geneva. There were 41 members in the beginning. Russia did not join the League for a long time and unfortunately, the U.S.A. refused to become a member. Thus the League was deprived of the great support she could have received from this powerful nation in her efforts to maintain peace.

In the twenty years of its career the League dealt with a large number of political disputes. Many were solved peacefully. However in disputes which involved the Great Powers, the Leagues efforts were not so successful. The League successfully looked after members of the national minorities living in Central and Eastern Europe. The League managed to check the illegal narcotics trade and trafficking in women and children. It also suppressed Slavery and bonded labour. Although unsuccessful the League played a major role in bringing about a general reduction of armaments.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain briefly the effects of the World War I

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## **7.5 SUMMARY**

The war, which began in August 1914 and lasted for four years and three months, was in many ways entirely novel in human history. It was the first general conflict between highly organised nations, who were able to mobilize all their citizens, and also use all their resources of modern technology to find new methods of destruction and of defence. It was fought on land and under land in the trenches, on sea and under the sea. All countries felt the disastrous impact of the war.

The reasons for such a conflict were to be found in the developments and events which preceded the war. The growth of extreme nationalist had people believing that only their country was right and they were prepared to die for their country. Once Germany and Italy won their political independence, other people like the Serbs wanted freedom too. The secret alliances which were started by Bismarck in his attempt to isolate France and at the same time gain friends and security for Germany, were a major cause of the war. The race for

armaments and superior military power, and the race for large colonial empires led to the war.

Once, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, all the Great Powers declared war on each other. In 1917 two major events took place. Firstly, there was a communist revolution in Russia and the new government asked Germany for peace. Secondly, due to Germany's submarine warfare and her repeated attacks on unarmed merchant ships, U.S.A. joined the war on the side of the Allies. By 1918, the Central Powers were all defeated and surrendered.

The Great Powers then met at the Paris Peace Conference and attempted to bring about lasting peace. Five separate treaties were signed, but the terms of the Treaty of Versailles which Germany signed, were very harsh. The destruction, the loss of lives and property were immense. Old empires collapsed and new nations were born. However the establishment of the League of Nations made it seem like the world could live in peace and harmony.

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## 7.6 QUESTIONS

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1. What were the causes and effects of World War I?
2. Discuss the factors and events leading to World War I.
3. To what extent were the following responsible for causing World War I:
  - (a) Secret Diplomacy
  - (b) Militarism
4. Describe the important consequences of the War I.
5. Write short notes on:
  - (a) Secret alliance system,
  - (b) Kaiser William II,
  - (c) Paris Peace Conference

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**Module 4**  
**WORLD IN TRANSITION (1870-1919)**  
**Russian Revolution of 1917**

**Unit Structure**

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Causes of the Revolution
- 8.3 Events that led to the Revolution
- 8.4 The Two Phases of the Revolution
- 8.5 Bolshevik Policies, Programme and Problems
- 8.6 Impact of the Russian Revolution
- 8.7 Summary
- 8.8 Questions

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**8.0 OBJECTIVES**

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The objectives of this lesson are as follows;

- To understand the factors/causes responsible for the revolution in Russia.
- To discuss the main events that led to the February Revolution of 1917.
- To understand the nature of the February Revolution and the problems faced by the Provisional Government.
- To examine the ideology of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, and its success in capturing power in the October Revolution 1917.
- To discuss the policy, programme and problems faced by the Bolshevik Government.
- To appreciate the significance of the Bolshevik Revolution, and its impact on the rest of the world.

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## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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The Russian revolution of 1917 ranks as the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. The consequences of the revolution were immense. It affected at least two continents, Europe and Asia. The revolution brought an end of one era in Russia and the beginning of another.

World War I had seen the principles of nationalism and democracy triumph in Central Europe. But in Russia it led to a revolution which shook Russian society to its very foundations. It caused not only the political structure but also the social order to collapse in ruins.

The revolution took place in two phases. The political phase took place in February (March) 1917, and it sealed the fate of autocracy: the social phase or the Bolshevik revolution followed in October (November) 1917, and it brought into existence the first Worker's Republic.

Russia until 1917, was an autocratic and despotic monarchy. Socially, economically, politically and even militarily she was lagging behind all major European countries. As regards the cause of the revolution there were many and similar in many respects to those of the French revolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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## 8.2 CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

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### 8.2.1 Economic Causes

The seeds of the revolution lay in Russia's backward economic conditions. Though there was some industrialization, basically Russia remained a poor country. Though Russia had vast natural resources they were not properly utilised. Her economic potential was not exploited which resulted in extreme poverty for the masses.

#### **Agriculture:**

Russia's agricultural conditions remained backward in many respects. The tools that the Russian peasants were using were outdated and primitive. Agricultural techniques had not changed for centuries, irrigation methods had not improved or were non-existent.

The position of the peasants was as bad. Most of them were SERFS, tied to the land. Though in 1861, Czar Alexander III had passed the EMANCIPATION DECREE, in actual practise most of the peasants remained serfs.

Land revenue was very high and the Russian peasant was burdened with various indirect taxes too.

About 60% of Russia's agricultural land was owned by the rich landlords, the nobles and the royal family. They represented 10% of the total population. The peasants formed 70% of the population and owned nothing much. Most had to hire horses to help with the plowing.

In 1913, Russia's agricultural production was at its lowest. The peasant seemed to have no way out of the poverty, hunger, disease and dirt that he suffered. They remained a discontented group ready to take advantage of any movement that promised them relief from their misery.

### **Industry:**

After 1890, Russia saw a lot of industrial development. A number of basic industries like iron, steel and coal were established. Count Sergie Witte a minister was chiefly responsible for the industrial development in Russia. The Trans-Siberian railway line was started, and other transportation and communication facilities developed.

Unfortunately, to a large extent, the Russian economy was characterised by foreign capital investment. Nearly half the capital was from France and Belgium. Many banks were in the hands of foreign bankers.

### **8.2.2 Social Classes:**

Upto the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Russian society was divided into two classes, the nobles and the serfs. The royal family headed the small group of powerful and wealthy nobles. The peasants made up 80% of the population. The former owned land, property, and had wealth and social status, while the latter owned no property, had no wealth or social status. On the contrary, they were poverty stricken and with the government doing nothing to improve their condition, it seemed that they would die in that condition.

As the industrial revolution swept into Russia, we have the development of another class, i.e. the BOURGEOISE. This class included capitalists, workers and professionals and they soon became a powerful group in Russian society. The term Bourgeoisie refers to the capitalist class, while PETTY BOURGEOISIE refers to the small merchants, traders professionals etc.

The industrial revolution created another large group i.e. the wage-earning working class also known as the PROLETARIAT. This urban

working class made up only about 10% of the population. Many were educated and knew how important their labour was for the factories. In order to improve their working conditions and living standards, they were keen to organise trade unions. The government suppressed such efforts. It is no small wonder that they then supported revolutionary societies.

There was another group, which though small in size were still important. They were the professionals like doctors, lawyers, writers, etc. Though some of them had the wealth to be associated with the upper classes, but they sympathised with the lower classes. They were critical of the policies of the government and were drawn towards the revolutionary groups.

As we have seen the majority of the people lived in horrible conditions with no education, no health care and no equality before the law. In fact the Czar did not develop schools, in the hope that the lack of education would hamper the growth of revolutionary ideas.

### **8.2.3 Political Causes:**

A review of the economic and social conditions of Russia, have shown us the backwardness of the country. What the country really needed was an efficient and capable government, but that is what was lacking in Russia.

This vast partly European, partly Asiatic country had been ruled for over 300 years by the Romanov Dynasty. Most of the Czars had been autocratic rulers. Czar Alexander II had tried to improve, the condition of the serfs but had not succeeded. The rest of them had depended on a vast bureaucracy to administer the country but had maintained all powers in their hands.

Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was not a strong character and was easily influenced by others. Czarina Alexandra and the monk Rasputin, were two of the people who through the Czar interfered in political matters. He depended on them instead of the experienced ministers. As a result there was no proper administration.

In Russia there were no civil and political rights, and no freedom of speech or expression. The Czarist Government dominated every aspect of man's life including the Church. Ethnic minorities were subjected to torture methods of punishment were barbarous and political offenders were exiled to Siberia. The Russian people were terrorised into silence and obedience. The Czarist Regime was ruthless autocratic and repressive. Though Czar Nicholas II had granted the people a Parliament called the DUMA, it had limited powers and was an instrument

of the Czar. The Zemstvos (local councils) were restricted to the rural areas only.

Russia, in the words of Lenin, “was a military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms”.

#### **8.2.4 Ideological Causes:**

The material revolution in Russia was preceded by a revolution in IDEAS. Though the Czars had tried to keep the Russians away from western liberal and radical ideas, western thought did filter into Russia and influence the people. These new influences first found expression in literature. The novels of Tolstoy and Dostoviesky had a deep impact on the minds of young Russians. The liberal and educated people called the “intelligentsia” demanded political reforms. The students even formed revolutionary organisations. But the Czar did not give in to their demands and called their ideas ‘senseless dreams.’

Some socialist revolutionary groups focussed their attention on the peasants. In 1901, the SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY was formed. They wanted to overthrow the Czar and form a new government of the proletariat. Their programme included the confiscation of large estates from the rich landlords and dividing it among the actual cultivators. The party believed in terrorism but did not use it at first.

Since the Czar did nothing to improve the situation, the Russians began to lose patience and the Radical intellectuals, turned to Socialism. They took their inspiration from Karl Marx. This group started the RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, in 1898. The teachings of Karl Marx were popularised and spread by radicals like MIXIM GORKY and revolutionary socialism made rapid progress among factory workers.

As with any other political party, there were differences of opinion here too. At the 1903 party meeting, there was a split within the party on the question of party discipline and tactics. There was a difference of opinion on who could be admitted into the party. The majority felt that the party should admit only devoted workers, while the minority felt that the party should admit all those who wished to join the party. The majority group known as BOLSHEVIKS (men of majority) were led by VLADIMIR ULIANOV better known as LENIN. The more moderate wing of the party came to be known as the MENSHEVIKS. (minority men.)

The Mensheviks were moderate in their views and methods. They were willing to cooperate with other political parties in order to overthrow the Czar. But they felt that there must be a transitory (temporary)



stage of a Bourgeois Democratic Republic, before the final stage when a Socialist Government would be established. They felt that all people must first understand and accept totally the ideas of Socialism before establishing a Socialist State.

The Bolsheviks on the other hand, stood for extreme measures and wanted the immediate overthrow of the Czar. They were willing to use force to establish a dictatorship of the Proletariat. They recognised only the working class and did not want to join hands with any middle-class political party.

Ultimately it was the Bolshevik doctrine, which shaped the character of the Soviet State.

### **8.2.5 Anti-Semitic Policy (Anti-Jewish Policy)**

The Jews had been persecuted by the Czars, for a very long period of time. Czar Nicholas II continued with this policy, partly to divert the attention of the people from the failure of his foreign policy. Many of the Jews were wealthy, as they were involved in trade and commerce. They bribed the police for protection, The others were tortured and persecuted, and most left the country.

### **8.2.6 Persecution of National Minorities**

The large Russian Empire included the national minorities from FINLAND, POLAND, GEORGIA, ARMENIA and LATVIA. They were against the autocratic rule of the Czar. They formed an alliance to work for the overthrow of the Czar and the establishment of a representative government. They also wished to safeguard the rights and interests of the national minorities.

Though they were given representation in the second and third Dumas, their numbers were very few. This caused resentment. The Czar's government followed the policy of RUSSIFICATION among national minorities. E.g. Education was conducted through the Russian language. In many other ways the minorities were and they were an angry lot, ready to join any movement to overthrow the Czar.

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## **8.3 EVENTS THAT LED TO THE REVOLUTION**

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### **8.3.1 Russo-Japanese war 1904-1905:**

Russian imperialism suffered serious defeat in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Looking towards the east and partly because of China's weakness, Russia decided she wanted the provinces of Manchuria

and Korea. Her ambition brought her into conflict with Japan. Japan too was following an imperialist policy. Her position and status was recognised by Britain, who signed a treaty with Japan in 1904.

The real source of conflict between Russia and Japan was warm water ports, in particular Port Arthur. After Japan defeated China in 1895, she signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Port Arthur was handed over to Japan. However, Russia, France and Germany forced Japan to return this port to China. Then Russia secured the port on lease from China. This angered the Japanese. They were also worried about Russian influence in Manchuria and Korea. Japan therefore demanded the withdrawal of Russian troops. Since Russia did not oblige, Japan was forced to declare war in 1904.

The war exposed the inefficiency of the Czarist government and the weakness of the Russian armed forces. Russia suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the tiny Asiatic country. The Russians had always thought of themselves as big and powerful and were not prepared for the war. The people were shocked and angry at this defeat and blamed the Czar.

### **8.3.2 The Revolution of 1905:**

As the war with Japan was being fought, there was increasing disorder and unrest within the country. Czar Nicholas had ignored the demands for liberal reforms. But the middle-class liberals and the industrial workers became very vocal in their protests. The head of the police, Plehve was assassinated. Workers organised strikes and protest marches.

In 1905, the industrial workers of St. Petersburg and Moscow formed the SOVIET—a Council of Workers Deputies—to represent themselves. A general strike was organised in St. Petersburg. A priest named, GAPON took a big procession of workers to the winter palace to present a petition to the Czar. The Russian police fearing trouble fired into the crowd, and killed hundreds of workers. January, 22, 1905 was thus named “BLOODY SUNDAY”. This event shocked the entire country and was followed by riots.

Following the advice of his moderate ministers, the Czar issued an IMPERIAL MANIFESTO which promised liberal reforms. There was peace for some time, Soon the Czar went back on his word and the people reacted with riots.

In 1905 there was a December revolution in which thousands of people were murdered in cold blood by the Russian troops. The revolutionary force became bolder and demanded the end of autocratic

rule. As conditions began to worsen, the Czar was forced to summon a DUMA (a parliament) The first Duma met in 1906, but was dissolved because it demanded reforms. The second too suffered the same fate, and the third survived for five years. The Czar continued to rule with an iron hand, thus driving all revolutionary forces underground.

### **8.3.3. World War I:**

Before the war began, all countries in Europe had signed agreements among themselves pledging to support each other in times of need. Russia joined Britain and France to sign the ENTENTE CORDIALE, which was directed against Germany. When Austria attacked Serbia, Russia rushed to help her. This war developed into the World War I.

Russian entry into the war was considered an act of foolishness, since Russia was not at all prepared. The Government tried to encourage support for the war with patriotic slogans. All German sounding names were changed in Russia. St Petersburg was changed to PETROGRAD. On the war front, Russia fared very badly. They were defeated in many battles. Russian soldiers were ill-equipped and ill-trained. Many of the soldiers who went to war had no shoes or ammunition, and thus were no match for the Germans. There were heavy casualties in the army. About 1.7 million men were killed and 5 million were wounded.

On the home front, the situation was as bad. Industrial production was low, the transportation system was breaking down, food was scarce, prices were high, and by 1917 famine threatened the larger cities.

The Czar took no notice when the Duma protested against the inefficient conduct of the war. In an attempt to boost the morale of his soldiers, Czar Nicholas II went to the war front, leaving the government in the hands of his wife.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Discuss the important causes of Russian Revolution of 1917.

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## 8.4 THE TWO PHASES OF THE REVOLUTION

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### 8.4.1 The February / March Revolution, 1917:

The crisis began in Petrograd in February 1917. On 18<sup>th</sup> February, (8 March, of the new calendar,) the Petrograd workers organised a big strike which was soon joined by large crowds. The shortage of food led to food riots. There were street demonstrations, workers, women and young people joined this strike movement. The Czar asked the commander of the local troops to put down the trouble in Petrograd. The order was not obeyed. Instead the soldiers began to mix with the workers and the local people. A Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies was set up in the capital to direct the uprising. On the same day the Duma appointed a PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. Within five days of the beginning of the revolution, Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate. Finding that everyone had deserted him, the Czar finally resigned. Monarchy had come to an end, but the revolution continued.

### 8.4.2 Provisional Government and the Problems it faced:

The sudden resignation of the Czar had created confusion among the political parties in Russia, as they were unprepared to take over the government. Finally, the Constitutional Democrats, led by a landowner LUVOV, organised the government with the help of ALEXANDER KARENSKY, a social revolutionary. The Provisional Government was mainly made up of middle class men.

They introduced a number of liberal reforms like freedom of speech and the press, freedom of religion. The Government freed political prisoners and also allowed political exiles to return to the country. One of the most famous men who did return was LENIN. It made provisions for the election of a Constituent Assembly. This Assembly would prepare a constitution for Russia. At the same time it continued fighting the war and tried to encourage patriotism among the people.

However, in Russia the common man was not interested in political reforms. What mattered to him was whether there was food to eat. What mattered to the peasant was whether he owned the land he was cultivating. What mattered to the soldier was peace. The people did not want a political revolution, they wanted economic and social changes.

Thus the revolution which began as a liberal movement slowly moved towards Socialism. Local Soviets (councils) of working men and soldiers were set up all over Russia. These became centres of popular agitation and propaganda. Trouble continued as workers

demanded higher wages, and peasants grabbed the land from the landlords. Soldiers refused to obey their officers. The war policy of the Cadets and become unpopular and they were thrown out of the Provisional Government. The MENSHEVIKS, who were moderate socialists, replaced them. Alexander Karensky was the leader.

As a leader of the moderate socialists, Karensky wanted to use constitutional and moderate methods to bring about socialism in the country. The Bolsheviks did not favour this policy. For some time he was able to convince the army to fight and they were successful against the Germans. But the success was temporary. The soldiers were strongly influenced by the Bolsheviks and soon refused to fight. The landlords and capitalists supported General Kornilov, the Commander-in-chief of the Russian army. He attempted to overthrow the government but the attempt was crushed.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks had increased in numbers. They soon gained control of the Petrograd Soviet and in November 1917, by a COUP D'ETAT, overthrew the Provisional Government. Karensky fled from the country. With this second revolution, power passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

#### **8.4.3 The October / November Revolution, 1917:**

Vladimir Ulyanov, more commonly known by his pen name Nikolai Lenin, was born in 1870 at Simbirsk on the River Volga. He was the son of a school inspector. Lenin studied law at the University of Kazan, where he was exposed to the writings of Karl Marx. His elder brother was executed for plotting to kill the Czar. This event had a deep effect on Lenin's mind. He soon turned into a revolutionary. The Russian police watched his activities and he was caught and exiled to Siberia. While in prison he spent his time in writing a book on Russian capitalism. This book caught the attention of many socialists. Between 1900 and 1917 he was in exile in Switzerland, except for two years i.e. 1905-1907.

In 1905 there was a lot of unrest in Russia. Lenin returned and preached Marxism. He also organised Soviets (councils) in towns and cities. These soviets played an important role in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the November revolution.

#### **8.4.4 Role of Lenin in the Bolshevik Revolution:**

After the February revolution, among the many political exiles who returned to Russia were the Bolshevik party workers and their leader, Lenin. He returned to Russia from Switzerland, with the help of the Germans, in a 'sealed train'. The Germans helped Lenin because

they felt the revolution would weaken Russia and that would help them to defeat Russia Leon Trotsky returned from New York and Stalin from Siberia.

The Bolshevik leaders were in touch with what was happening in Russia and then used to smuggle revolutionary writings into Russia. They had a definite political and economic programme. Soon after his arrival, Lenin began to work for the downfall of the Provisional Government and the immediate take over of the country by the Bolsheviks. His first task was to gain the confidence of the peasants, workers and soldiers. He promised the peasants land, the workers he promised bread, and the soldiers he promised peace. These promises won him a lot of support. Trotsky organised the Military Revolutionary Committee to work among the soldiers.

#### **8.4.5 Bolshevik Revolution:**

Lenin supported by Trotsky won over the party to his view and on November 6 and 7 the, Bolsheviks took over the administration of Russia at gun-point. They took control of posts and telegraphs, telephones and railway stations, banks and important military depots. The members of the Provisional Government were at the Winter Palace, which was surrounded by troops loyal to Lenin. The Provisional Government surrendered, and Karsky fled abroad. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin declared Russia a SOVIET REPUBLIC.

Lenin had a huge job ahead of him. He had to get the support of all Russians. He had to organise a government, which would rebuild the social and economic life of Russia on communist Principles.

On 7<sup>th</sup> November 1917, Lenin met the all-Russian Congress of Soviets in Petrograd and announced his party plan. The Congress appointed a Central Executive Committee and a cabinet called the Soviet of Peoples Commissars. Lenin was appointed Chairman and Trotsky was the Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

What were the important problems the Provisional Government faced?

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## **8.5 BOLSHEVIK POLICIES, PROGRAMME AND PROBLEMS**

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The Bolsheviks decided to establish a socialist system. The Congress adopted the following proposals of Lenin (1) to establish peace, (2) private property was to be abolished and peasants were to use the land, (3) control of Production to be transferred to worker's committees, (4) establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat, and (5) the spread of communist ideas in the world.

### **8.5.1 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:**

The first job that Lenin had, was to secure peace for Russia. This was necessary if the Bolsheviks were to concentrate their efforts on the problems at home. Soon after taking over Control, Lenin opened negotiations with the Central Powers and concluded a separate peace treaty with Germany and her allies. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1918, was humiliating treaty and Russia lost a lot of territory.

### **8.5.2 Civil war and Opposition:**

Not all Russians were happy with the changes that were taking place in their country. Between 1917 and 1930, the Bolsheviks known as the REDS, were defending their revolution against the WHITES who were reactionaries and supported by the western countries. Trotsky organised the war against the White Army and forced them to surrender by 1920.

There was opposition also from the nobles and the bourgeoisie, which Lenin was determined to crush. The freedom of the press was limited, political parties were broken up. An organisation to fight this opposition was started, popularly called "CHEKA". Thousands were put to death without a fair trial. This terror tactics broke the spirit of the old bourgeoisie class completely.

The royal family, who was at Ekaterinberg, was shot on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

Religion and State were separated and religion was discouraged. Churches were closed and festivals could not be celebrated. Lenin believed that religion was the opium of the people.

### **8.5.3. Economic Reforms**

Lenin began the economic reconstruction of Russia by putting



into practise the principle of Marxian Socialism. He abolished all private property and gave land to the peasants to the cultivated for the benefit of the state. The landowners were not compensated for the loss of their lands. Factories and workshops were seized by the state and their management was handed over to the working men. Here also, the original owners were not paid any compensation. Lenin allowed the workers to help in increasing the industrial output and share in the decision to fix prices. He did not allow them to interfere in the running of the industry. Labour was made compulsory for all citizens.

#### **8.5.4 Reasons for the NEP:**

The Bolsheviks had made sweeping changes in the social and economic system of Russia. Their programme of NATIONALISATION AND STATE OWNERSHIP produced results, which put Communism to very severe test. They realised that they had gone too far.

The peasants were happy to get rid off their landlords but they wanted the confiscated land for themselves. They wanted to make a profit on the surplus production, and were not interest in the Communist idea of handing over the surplus to the State. When the Government demanded this surplus, they cut down on production. In 1921, there was a drought and a severe famine. Millions died of starvation.

The industrial picture was not any better. Factories and large industries were nationalised and handed over to the workers. The workers were not trained managers and did not know how to run these units. Production decreased and prices rose very high. The railway system almost broke down. Shortage of food and decreasing industrial production caused terrible economic problems. There was a decline in the state revenue as taxes were not collected properly. The people were not happy with the new Government.

Lenin realised the danger of the economic situation. He saw that establishing pure Communism was not working. As the restlessness of the people increased, the possibility of a revolt increased Lenin responded positively to the situation decided to retreat from Communism for some time until the conditions improved.

#### **8.5.5 NEP:**

A change of policy was a crying necessity. Hence he proclaimed the NEW ECONOMIC POLICY or the NEP as it was commonly called. It was a retreat from pure Marxian Communism and it involved a compromise between Socialism and Capitalism. Private enterprise on a limited scale was to continue side by side with state enterprise.

The series of reforms were aimed at bringing political and economic stability to the country.

Some of the main features of the NEP were :

- (1) The State would not take foodstuff from the peasants. Instead the peasants had to pay a fixed tax in cash.
- (2) The peasant were also allowed to sell surplus grains in the open market.
- (3) Private enterprise on a small scale was allowed, since only the big industries and public services were nationalised.
- (4) To secure liquid capital, profit-sharing concessions were allowed to foreign capitalists for large-scale agriculture and engineering projects. However the State retained the right to repurchase the products of such industries.
- (5) The state retained in its hands foreign trade, banks, mines, forests, railways and heavy industries.
- (6) Private retail trading was permitted under certain restrictions, but the State also set up retail stores of its own. This was in the form of competition and encouraged Consumer Co-operative Societies.
- (7) Incentives such as higher wages for improved production were offered to labourers.
- (8) Strikes in factories were banned.
- (9) A new currency was introduced on the basis of the gold standard.

#### **8.5.6 Significance of the NEP:**

The NEP was a departure from the Marxian ideas, although it was not a complete return to capitalism. Lenin and other Communist leaders regarded it as a temporary measure. Lenin described the NEP as taking “one step backward in order to take two steps forward”. There is no doubt that the NEP helped in economic recovery as the industrial and agricultural production slowly began to rise. The NEP saved the Bolshevik Government from a great economic catastrophe.

#### **8.5.7 Death of Lenin:**

Lenin worked so hard between 1918 and 1922 that his health began to fail. He died in January 1924, and was unable to see the full working of the NEP. As the Father of the Bolshevik Revolution and the creator of new Russia he will be always occupy a prominent place in the pages of history. He had a strong will and a fanatical faith in Communism, combined with a keen sense of political expediency.

To save the revolution he reversed his policy and thereby averted a great catastrophe. The Communists have raised him to the stature of divinity and his tomb in Moscow has become a shrine and an object of public worship.

On the death of Lenin two prominent Communist leaders LEON TROTSKY and JOSEPH STALIN, Stalin, contested for the leadership of the party. Trotsky had helped Lenin in the November revolution. He was in favour of working for world revolution. The peasants did not support him and others did not support the idea of world revolution. Stalin was a realist in politics. He wanted to concentrate on national revival instead of world revolution. He was a clever politician and worked quietly to remove Trotsky. Trotsky was expelled from the communist Party and exiled from the USSR in 1929. Stalin then became the virtual ruler.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Describe the programmes and policies of the Bolsheviks.

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## **8.6 IMPACT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

The Russian Revolution takes its place in History by the side of the American and the French Revolutions. Never before had an attempt been made on such a large scale to change the entire political, social and economic structure of a community on the basis of a theory of social thinkers.

The interesting features of this experiment were its sphere, its scope and its agency. Its sphere was a population over 200 million occupying 1/6<sup>th</sup> of the world's surface. Its scope was the creation of a Communist Society. Its agency was the entire machinery of government. In less than 20 years, the landlord and the capitalist disappeared from Russian society and private enterprise was limited.

Politically, the cult of the common man, popular in all democracies was a contribution of the Russian Revolution. This was a definite influence of Soviet democracy. Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a different kind of democracy compared to the bourgeoisie democracy

of the west. Under the Russian system the government can introduce changes much faster. However, in the Russian system the basic freedom of man is limited.

Economically, the Soviet system has influenced a large part of the world. The adoption of five year plans for economic development of a country has become popular. India and many other Asia, African and Latin-American countries have adopted Stalin's idea for economic development.

Thirdly, economic planning indicates a definite social policy. For example, five year plans were introduced in India with the purpose of establishing a socialistic pattern of society. Economic planning is meant to improve the condition of the masses and it leads to equal rights for all sections of society.

The establishment of the COMINTERN encouraged the labouring classes all over the world to stand united against the capitalist class. The popular slogan of the time was, 'Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and the world to gain'.

Fourthly, Russia became one of the dominant powers of the world. She was the leader of the Communist bloc. The Russian national policy was to help spread communism to other parts of the world. Many countries were influenced by communism to other parts of the world. Many countries were influenced by communist ideology and opted for a change of government. After world war II much of Eastern Europe such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, turned communist and came under the influence of Russia. In fact they were referred to as her 'satellites'. In Asia, China, North Korea and Vietnam chose Communist Governments.

The Bolshevik Revolution challenged in a very powerful way the various values of western culture, the fundamental principles of trade and industry, the well-established systems of government, the social political and economic institutions and the methods of diplomacy. By challenging the Western intellectual domination of the world, it forced to re-evaluate western values of civilization.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Enumerate the major effects of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

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## 8.7 SUMMARY

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Before World War I, Russia was not only one of the largest countries in the world, but also one of the so-called Powers. Nearly 4/5 of the population consisted of peasants and the people were economically and culturally backward. Economic conditions were unsatisfactory, because industrial development was slow and in agriculture farmers still used traditional methods of cultivation. Taxes were very high. The military had become weak due to corruption and inefficient management.

Politically, Russia had a monarchical system of government and was ruled by the Romanov Czars. They were despotic rulers and the people had no rights. After the defeat of Russia by the Japanese in 1904. The Russians revolted but they were ruthlessly put down. Though the Duma was summoned, in practice it had no power, the conditions prevailing in the country inspired revolutionary movements of which the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries were important.

The Czar and his advisors, the bureaucracy, the military officers and the feudal elements were opposed to reforms. So, when the country involved itself in World War I, the weak autocracy collapsed. Two Revolutions broke out—the February Revolution and October Revolution of 1917.

The February revolution saw the Mensheviks in power with Alexander Kerensky as the leader of the PROVISIONAL Government. The October revolution saw the Bolsheviks in power with Lenin as the leader. The Bolsheviks introduced a Socialism system of government. Lenin dealt with the Civil War effectively and also withdrew from the first World War. However, his initial economic reforms were not so successful. He then introduced the New Economic Policy with a partial return to capitalism.

The Revolution had a deep impact on many countries of the world. It challenged the traditional economic, political and social systems.

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## 8.8 QUESTIONS

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1. Examine the causes of the February Revolution 1917 in Russia.
2. Analyse the social, political and economic causes of the Russian Revolution 1917.
3. Discuss the working of the Provisional Government. Why did it fail?

4. Describe the role played by Lenin in the Bolshevik Revolution 1917.
5. Assess the significance and results of the Russian Revolution.
6. Discuss the policies and programmes of the Bolshevik Government after coming to power. What reforms did they introduce?
7. What was the NEP? Assess its impact on the Russian economy.
8. Write short notes on the following :
  - (a) Economic causes of the Russian Revolution.
  - (b) Political causes of the Russian Revolution
  - (c) Ideological causes of the Revolution
  - (d) Revolution of 1905
  - (e) Russia and World War I
  - (f) The Provisional Government.
  - (g) Lenin's NEP
  - (h) Impact of the Russian Revolution.

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**Module 5**  
**INTER WAR PERIOD (1870-1919)**  
**a. Kemalism**  
**B. Reza Shah Pahlavi**

**Unit Structure**

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Kemal's Early Career
- 9.3 Reforms of Mustapha Kemal Pasha
- 9.4 Foreign Policy of Kemal Pasha
- 9.5 Conclusion
- 9.6 The Anglo –Iranian Secret Agreement
- 9.7 Early life of Reza Khan
- 9.8 Reforms of Reza Shah Pahlavi
- 9.9 Summary
- 9.10 Questions

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**9.0 OBJECTIVES**

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The objectives of this lesson are to understand the following aspects of Turkey's history;

- Mustapha Kemal Pasha's early career and his rise to power as President of the Republic of Turkey.
- The various reforms of Kemal which contained his six principles and through which he successfully modernised and westernised Turkey.
- Kernal's 'peaceful' foreign policy.
- Understand the background of the Anglo – Iranian Agreement.
- Discuss the early life of Raza Khan.
- Explain the reforms of Reza Shah Pahlavi.
- Describe the foreign policy of Reza shah Pahlavi.



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## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

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After the First World War, the spirit of nationalism spread very quickly all over the Middle East. People here were determined to get rid of their foreign masters and establish independent nations for themselves. These two words, “nationalism” and “self-determination” influenced people’s minds to a great extent. Turkey was no exception.

The Ottoman Empire had dominated Asia Minor, the Middle East and the Balkan Peninsula since the mid-fifteenth century. But the early 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the decline of the Empire. The Balkan provinces broke away and by 1914, Turkey in Europe was reduced to Istanbul and a part of Eastern Thrace. But in Asia, Turkey had large territory. During the First World War, Turkey had joined the Central Powers. After loosing the war, Turkey naturally had to sign a peace treaty. The Sultan’s government accepted the Treaty of Sevres, which deprived the Empire of almost all her territory. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits, connecting the Black Sea with the Aegean Sea were demilitarised and placed under the control of the League.

The harsh terms of the treaty shocked the Turks and some of them decided to take immediate action. Their leader was Mustapha Kemal.

### **Background:**

Reza Shah Pahlavi’s Iran had been the centre of the ancient civilization. One group of Aryan settled in the North-West, founded the Kingdom of Media and the other group settled in the Southern part of Iran came to be Known as Persis. These two areas together called Iran, means the Land of Aryans. In 550 B.C. it came under the control of Cyrus the Great of Achaemenid dynasty and in 331 B.C. Alexander the Great of Macedonia conquered it and made it a province of Greece. Iran came under the rule of Sassanians, Arabs and Seljuk Turks. Seljuk and other Turkish tribes ruled Iran From 1000 A.D. to 1220 A.D.

Iran never experienced peace, because it became victim of campaigns of Genghis Khan Mongol and later Tartars under the leadership of Tamarlane. In Sixteenth Century, Turkish tribes Known as Safavid controlled it and ruled up to 1722 A.D. It plunged into turmoil for nearly a period of seventy years, and in 1795 Agha Muhammad Khan brought all area of Iran under his rule and established the rule of his Qajar dynasty which ruled Iran upto 1924.

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## 9.2 KEMAL'S EARLY CAREER

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He was born at Salonika in 1880, and went to a military college for training. He developed into a first rate soldier and at the same time was interested in revolutionary literature. He hated the Sultan's autocratic government and for some time joined the Young Turks Party. By 1919 he was back to study military techniques in France.

All his military training was put to the test when his country fought the Balkan Wars in 1912-13. But what established his reputation as a military commander was his defeat of the British in 1915 at Gallipoli.

After the war, he was angry at the harsh treaty that the Allies imposed on the Turks. He tried to persuade the Sultan Muhammad VI to fight the Allies. But the Turkish government was too frightened.

Kemal was not the type to be quiet for long. He went to Anatolia and reorganized the army. Then he started a nationalist party called the PEOPLE'S PARTY with the slogan, "Turkey for the Turks." This party met several times and decided not to accept the Treaty of Sevres. The parliament at Istanbul supported them. The British army replied to the situation by marching into Istanbul and proclaiming Martial Law. So in 1920, Kemal called a Grand National Assembly at Ankara and declared that this Assembly was the only representative of the Turkish people. The Assembly elected Kemal to be its President and Commander-in-Chief of its army. So Kemal had set up a parallel government at Ankara.

Kemal's first act was to clear the country of foreign troops. He forced the Italian troops to move out from southern Anatolia, and the French troops from Cilicia.

The Greeks had got a lot of territory by the Treaty of Sevres, so they were keen to see that the Turks kept to the terms of the treaty. The British Government offered them financial support. In 1921, they attacked Turkey and moved towards Ankara. To their great surprise the Turkish troops pushed them back. Kemal then captured Smyrna and pushed out all Greek inhabitants from Asia Minor. On being so successful, Kemal wanted to cross the Straits. But the British warships prevented him from doing so. Kemal did not want to fight a war with Britain, so he concluded a peace with them.

Kemal's victory over the Greeks forced the Allies to revise the Treaty of Sevres. In 1923, they met at Lausanne to frame a new treaty. By this new Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey regained eastern Thrace, Constantinople was also given back to her. All restrictions on Turkey's

army, navy and air force were removed. Foreign control on customs was lifted. Turkey agreed to the demilitarization of the Straits. This treaty was a great triumph for Kemal and a huge humiliation for the Allies. Kemal had shown that he was strong enough to secure what he wanted.

The Grand National Assembly had voted to depose the Sultanate and Muhammad VI had fled from Turkey. On 22 October 1923, Turkey was declared a Republic and Kemal was elected its first President. He was virtual dictator of Turkey. The only difference was that he used his powers for the benefit of the people and the good of the country.

On 1 March, 1924, Kemal opened a new session of Parliament. In his speech he emphasised three main points:

- (1) The safeguarding and stabilization of the Republic.
- (2) The creation of a national and unified system of education.
- (3) The need to “cleanse and elevate the Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument to which it had been accustomed for centuries.”

In other words, he wanted to separate the religion from the government. The Grand National Assembly now voted to abolish the Caliphate and to banish all members of the Ottoman house from Turkey. This was Kemal's first open attack on Islamic orthodoxy. He met with a lot of opposition but he dealt with it firmly.

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### **9.3 REFORMS OF MUSTAPHA KEMAL**

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Kemal was a man of courage and determination and he used his authority in introducing -tremendous reforms. His programme contained six principles:

- (1) Republicanism
- (2) Secularism
- (3) Populism
- (4) Nationalism
- (5) Statism
- (6) Reformism.

He was determined to remove all ancient systems in the country and remodel Turkey on a western pattern. The modernization and development of Turkey became his goal.

### **9.3.1 Administrative Reforms:**

The new Turkey had a democratic government. There was a written constitution and the National Assembly was to be elected once every four years by universal adult suffrage. The Assembly would elect the President. In practice however, Kemal conducted the government of Turkey as a national dictator. There was only one political party, the People's Party, and Kemal was the leader. Since he controlled the Assembly, his election as President was definite. He was also Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and had their total obedience.

The old administrative units of the Ottoman Empire were abolished. Turkey was divided into 62 VILOYETS (provinces). These Viloyets were sub-divided into 430 KAZAS (districts). Each Kaza was further divided into NAHIYAS (boroughs).

### **9.3.2 Legal Reforms:**

Kemal felt that a radical reorganisation of the entire legal system was necessary. The old legal system based on the Sheriat or Holy Law was abolished. In 1926, the National Assembly adopted -

- (1) A new civil code based on the Swiss law,
- (2) A new penal code based on the Italian law, and
- (3) New commercial laws, which were based on the German commercial law.

Laws were passed regarding private debts and their collection. But the system of arresting and imprisoning debtors was done away with.

In the old system, certain families and individuals had always enjoyed special rights and privileges. However the new constitution declared that all Turkish citizens were equal before the law and all privileges were cancelled. Kemal incorporated this idea into the word, 'populism.'

The new codes were western in nature. Polygamy was abolished and instead civil marriages and divorce with equal rights for both partners was introduced. The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim was legally permitted.

### **9.3.4 Secular Reforms:**

Kemal believed that Turkey would not develop as long as Islam continued to control the people. The strict laws of the Islamic faith

were opposed to westernisation, and Kemal was determined to get rid of all Islamic influences.

In 1924, the Caliphate was abolished. Until then the Sultan of Turkey was also the Caliph (religious head) of the Muslims all over the world.

In 1928, the state was further secularised and it was declared that Islam was no longer a state religion. Islam became a private and not a public concern. Sacred tombs were closed as places of worship.

One of his first reforms was very symbolic. A new law was passed which required all men to wear western hats instead of the Fez (traditional hat). To all others, the replacement of one headgear with another might seem very unimportant, but to the Turks it was of great significance.

The Muslim calendar was replaced by the Western calendar. The Muslim year 1342 became 1926 A.D. The weekly holiday was changed from Friday to Sunday.

Religious schools were converted into state schools. Religious instruction was banned in all schools. Kemal and his supporters tried their best to de-emphasize the place of religion in everyday life.

### **9.3.5 Educational Reforms:**

Universal education was another expression of Populism. Kemal encouraged education both primary and secondary and set up schools in most towns. All children between the ages of six and sixteen had to attend school. Adult education was promoted and all Turks under forty years of age were made to take lessons in reading and writing.

The Turkish language was still written in the Arabic script. So Kemal appointed a committee to prepare an alphabet using the Roman (Latin) alphabets.

Kemal also made provisions for teacher training institutes to be set up in different parts of the country.

For higher studies, students were encouraged to go abroad and they were given scholarships.

### **9.3.6 Military Reforms:**

After the defeat of Turkey in World War I, Kemal decided to develop the Turkish armed forces on modern lines. Special emphasis was placed on discipline, training and education of military officers. Soldiers too were trained and provided with new and modern weapons. The

airforce was modernised and the navy was developed. A large share of the budget was kept for developed the army so that Turkey could defend herself if necessary.

### **9.3.7 Social Reforms:**

Kemal Introduced sweeping changes in the social life of the people. His most important and worthy efforts were the reforms to 'emancipate women.' So far women had always been considered inferior and had been denied any rights. So Kemal decided to make women equal partners with men. Polygamy was abolished and instead civil marriage was introduced. The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man was permitted. Divorce was permitted with equal rights for both parties. The 'burkha' was not banned but women were discouraged from using it. Schools were established for girls and women were allowed to become doctors, lawyers, etc. In 1929 women were granted the right to vote in local elections and five years later in national elections.

Other cultural reforms were introduced. Men and women were encouraged to wear western dress in public. The Muslim style of greeting was abolished and the western style of shaking hands was encouraged. Western dance and music was promoted among the youth.

Mustapha Kemal was proud of being a Turk and he wanted all Turks to be proud of their race and heritage. Many of his reforms were to promote nationalism. Removing all Arabic words revived the Turkish language. Then all the Turks had to adopt surnames. The National Assembly gave Kemal the surname of ATTATURK, which means 'Father of the Turks.' All titles were abolished and replaced by the words, BAY and BAYAN that means Mr. and Mrs. Kemal Attaturks new slogan was 'Turkey for the Turks and the Turks for Turkey.'

### **9.3.8 Economic Reforms:**

When Kemal became President he introduced a new economic policy. He stressed the need for greater economic activity by the State. This did not mean that Turkey was turning Socialist. He had no intention of eliminating private enterprise from industry and commerce, or of collectivising agriculture. The purpose of state control was to start and develop projects in fields, which were very important to the country.

### **BANKING INDUSTRY:**

Attention was first paid to the Banking industry. There were two major banks, 'Banque Ottomane' and 'Banque Agricole.' The Industrial and Mining Bank was started in 1925 and the Mortgage and Trustee Bank was started in 1926. The sound monetary policy of the banks

and their proper functioning helped to bring about a favourable balance of trade.

### **STATE MONOPOLIES:**

The tobacco and cigarette industry was made a state monopoly. Mining concessions were also placed under government supervision. The profits made from these and the monopoly of the salt industry were used to finance the development of other industries.

### **INDUSTRY:**

In order to increase industrialisation, manufacturers were permitted to import machinery without paying any duty. They were also allowed to transport goods on the railways at reduced freight rates. Important industries were free from taxation for the first ten years and after that they were taxed. These measures yielded great profits.

The policy of accepting foreign loans at high rates of interest was discouraged. For multinational companies operating in Turkey, 50% of the capital had to be Turkish. A law was passed making it compulsory for all firms to use the Turkish language in all transactions. This was done to prevent damaging the Turkish reputation.

### **AGRICULTURE:**

Perhaps one of the most serious defects of the entire economic programme was the limited development of agriculture. Most of Turkey was a high barren plateau with bad soil. But nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the population was engaged in agriculture. Kemal introduced land reforms by dividing the large estates. His government subsidized agriculture by the free grant of cattle and ploughs to deserving families. He encouraged agricultural production by better methods of cultivation. Farmers were motivated to grow cash crops like cotton and tobacco, which were in great demand. Agricultural colleges were set up and agricultural banks started to lend money to farmers. Model farms were set up where the latest machinery was displayed. Kemal had his own model farm on which he himself worked, driving his own tractor.

### **MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION:**

Kemal realised that the means of transport and communication would have to be developed if Turkey was to have a self-sufficient economy. Before World War I Turkey had a limited railway network. The construction of strategic railways was necessary from the point of view of defense. It was also essential to create the infrastructure for development and growth of industries. Turkey decided to employ foreign contractors to construct the railway.



The Government also started a programme of construction and improvement of harbours. Ports on the Black Sea were developed. The Government also built narrow-gauge railways to connect the important ports.

Finally, the Government gave priority for the construction of roads and bridges and they employed the latest technology. An ambitious plan of constructing over 5000 Km. of roads was begun.

### **PUBLIC WORKS:**

At another level, Kemal saw that the Municipality provided the people with civic amenities. They started massive programmes of drainage and water supply. Villages and towns all over soon received electricity. The construction of dwelling houses and public buildings offered many job opportunities to the skilled and unskilled labourers. By 1930, the capital city of Ankara was one of the most modern cities in the world.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain briefly the reforms of Kemal Pasha.

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## **9.4 FOREIGN POLICY OF KEMAL PASHA**

At first, Kemal was suspicious of the Western Powers because of the harsh treatment Turkey had received after the First World War. Hence he was drawn into friendly relations with Russia. In 1925, he concluded a treaty of mutual guarantee and neutrality with Russia. But he remained suspicious of Russia's plans to spread Communism. Russia in turn did not approve of Turkey suppressing Communism, and the relations between the two were not so good.

In 1932 Turkey joined the League of Nations. Next Kemal Pasha tried to develop diplomatic friendships with all Turkey's neighbours.

After an exchange of Turks living in Greece with Greeks living in Turkey, good relations were maintained with Greece.

As the threat of fascism increased, Turkey drew closer to Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia by signing the Balkan Pact in 1934.

This was followed by the Eastern Pact by which Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan promised not to interfere in each others internal affairs and to consult each other on matters of international concern.

The peaceful attitude of Turkey won her the sympathy of the Western Powers. With the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, Turkey felt it was necessary to fortify the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles. The Allied Powers agreed to this request. Though the Straits were declared open to all countries during peace times, Turkey had exclusive control during times of war.

The only country with which Turkey did not share a good relation was Italy. Mussolini's attempt to convert the Mediterranean Sea into an Italian lake, was not approved of by the Turkish people. Turkey supported the League of Nations and protested against Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. When the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was formed, Turkey was worried about her security. She signed treaties of mutual assistance with Britain and France.

### **Check Your Progress**

1. Write a short note on the foreign policy of Kemal Pasha.

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## **9.5 CONCLUSION**

The renaissance of Turkey must be attributed in a large measure to the personality of her ruler. Mustapha Kemal was a man of swift and decisive action. Under him, Turkey was an authoritarian State, ruled by a Government based on a one-party system. But the Turkish State was not totalitarian like Italy or Germany. Kemal showed a great respect for human and legal standards, which was in contrast to other dictators. He was an inspired leader who snatched the "Sick Man of Europe" from his deathbed and gave him a new life. He was aware that a mere outward modernisation was worthless-what was necessary for Turkey was fundamental changes in her society. He permitted a wide field of initiative in education, cultural and social activities.

## 9.6 THE ANGLO –IRANIAN SECRET AGREEMENT

The big powers Like Russia, England and France had interest in Iran for their own ends. British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon wanted to create a chain of Vassal States stretching from the Mediterranean to the Pamirs in which Iran was the most vital link. In order to put this plan into action, the British troops, immediately after the world war I, on their way to help the 'Whites' in Baku and Caucasus in their civil war against the Bolsheviks occupied whole Iran. Meanwhile in 1919, England induced the Iranian Prime Minister to sign the Anglo-Iranian Agreement giving the former substantial control over Iran. By this agreement England recognized the integrity and sovereignty of Iran on certain conditions. Accordingly, England helped Iran in all possible areas. This agreement would have made Iran a virtual protectorate of England, which the Iranian people would not have agreed. Even the other powers like the U.S.A. never approved it. The internal and external forces pressurized the British to withdraw her forces from Iran.

### **The Coup d'état:**

Due to the disapproval of the Anglo- Iranian Agreement England was unhappy with the developments taking place in Iran. Moreover, England became suspicious about the Iran- Soviet Treaty of 1921 because, this treaty retained some vestiges of Tsarist imperialism in Iran. England, therefore wanted a strong central government in Iran to safeguard British interests and keep Soviet Russia at bay.

The Political instability in Iran alarmed all nationalists including Reza Khan, An army officer of Iranian Cossack Brigade. Reza Khan was a man of little education but his courage and initiative had risen him to a position of command. His long association with Russian officers and bad experience of them had turned him against Russia. Reza Khan took advantage of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and wrested power from them. He wanted to explore the chaotic conditions in Iran and convinced that he must do something about it. However he needed a partner, who knew politics, could make speeches and do many things for which he himself was not yet prepared. He found such a partner in Ziauddin Tabatabai, a newspaper publisher and admirer of the British institutions. Ziauddin Tabatabai too wanted to bring about a change in the Iranian government but he was convinced that he would not be able to stage a coup without military support. Thus, these two persons, Reza Khan and Ziauddin Tabatabai had the same object but did not know each other. The British Legation, who knew them both, put them in touch with each other and let them work out their plans to achieve their goals.

On 21st February 1921, Reza Khan and Ziauddin Tabatabai entered Tehran with 2500 Cossacks, who fired some machine gun shots and completed the coup d'état against the government of Ahmad Shah. Ziauddin became the Prime Minister and Reza Khan was declared as the Commander –in-chief of the Iranian Armed Forces without any Cabinet post. But the Government of Ziauddin could not last long due to differences between him and Reza Khan. Meanwhile, Reza Khan excluded all Russian officers from the Cossack Brigade and established himself as the Supreme Commander of the Iranian forces. Reza Khan forced Ziauddin to resign from the post of Prime Minister, Iran and assumed the office of the Prime Minister of Iran. On 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1925, a specially convened Assembly deposed Ahmad Shah. On 12 December, 1925 the Constituent Assembly amended the constitution and proclaimed Reza Khan as Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. Thus, Reza Khan became Shah mean King of Iran.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on Anglo -Iranian Secret Agreement and the coup d'état of Reza Shah.

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## **9.7 EARLY LIFE OF REZA SHAH**

As mentioned above Reza Shah and Ziauddin came together, former being a soldier commanded the Cossack division and the later being a radical writer provided a political ideology. It was an amiable combination which subsequently became inconsistent. The Cossack division was created in 1878 on the line of the Russian army, which became the most efficient brigade of the Iranian army. The Russian officers used to be in command of this Cossack Brigade, which protected the Russian interest in Iran during the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Reza Khan, who became Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925, was born in month of March, 1878 at Savad KHU village in the Caspian Province of Iran. The family of Reza Khan produced several soldiers, who served the country with remarkable distinction. Although, Reza had no formal education he had very strong and robust common sense by which he judged people accurately in his life. He had good wisdom and some manners which secured him many foreign friends. Reza rose from

the ranks to the higher position by dint of his merit like Hyder Ali of Mysore in India who rose from the ranks to that of a ruler. Reza was a man of fortune but behaved as irreligious person whereas Hyder Ali was more liberal in his religious outlook. Reza was aware about confusing conditions in Russia, which he wanted to explore and exploit. The plans of Reza Khan were fully supported by British out of Iran, the British strengthened their position in Iranian army and asked Reza to dismiss all Russian officers and appoint British officers in the positions. Consequently, Colonel Symth, a British officer imparted him all concerned technical know-how and advised him properly. He marched towards Tehran and staged a coup in 1921. Finally, the Iranian Majlis deposed the Shah and proclaimed Reza Khan as the Shah of Iran in 1925 that brought to an end Qajar dynasty in Iran.

Reza Shah wanted to modernise Iran by adopting Western technique on the line of his role model Kemal Pasha in Turkey. He was to consolidate his position to rule Iran for a longer time. He was to strengthen the Iranian army and make the central Government strong enough to enforce several reforms in the country.

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## **9.8 REFORMS OF REZA SHAH PAHLAVI**

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He was a far sighted man and wanted to modernise his country like Kemal Pasha of Turkey. In order to achieve this objective, he introduced a number of reforms and created national awakening, social reorganization, economic reconstruction and chalked out a sound foreign policy to enhance the national prestige.

### **1. Establishment of Law and Order:**

Reza Shah created safety and security of masses in the country – using stern measures against the people who oppressed the common man. He was a god sent deliverer to the peasants and the masses. He reorganized army to subdue rebellions, disarm the tribes and to bring every corner of Iran under the rule of the central government. Due to his ruthless methods all villages became safe and for the first time transport and communication could take place in all parts of Iran without fear and molestation.

### **2. Transport and Communication:**

The development of transport and communication is very essential in the economic development of any country. Reza Shah realized this important factor and built roads across the country. He constructed wireless service and took over the operation of the telegraph company from the British government. His greatest achievement in

the field of transport and communication was the construction of rail roads through out Iran, in which the important railroads were the Caspian and Persian Gulf roads, which were completed in the year 1939 and covered the distance of 865 miles. These railroads facilitated the movement of troops, goods, raw material, personnel and machinery – to industrialize the country and enhance economic development of Iran.

### **3. Economic Reforms:**

After the coup in 1921, Reza Khan introduced a programme of economic reforms as

- a) In 1922 he employed Dr. Arthur Millspaugh of the United States as financial adviser to the Iranian government, who improved the finances and regulated the budget of Iranian government.
- b) Iran began to finance the state owned industries, which was the direct result of the rehabilitated economy under the new regime.
- c) The Iranian government began to appoint officers to recover revenue properly on regular basis.
- d) Reza ordered the State Trading Agency to carry on the greater part of foreign trade.
- e) Reza Shah established a National Bank and took over the privilege of issuing bank notes from the British.
- f) He established several factories like cement, sugar and textile factories in various parts of Iran.
- g) He also introduced government monopolies on all trade and commerce.

### **4. Reforms in Education:**

Reza Shah had realized the importance of educating Iranian youths on the modern lines of Europe. He wanted to achieve two objectives by way of reforms in education as one was to modernize Iran on the basis of western countries and the other was to undermine, the influence of orthodox clergy, who neither appreciated liberalism nor adopted progressive policy in the country. Accordingly, he opened schools for men and women and also started the same educational institutions to educate adults in Iran. He made primary education compulsory and established a university at Tehran in 1934 to bring coordination in all educational institutions. Reza Shah sent Iranian students to various European countries for study and allowed all western missionaries to continue with their educational institutions in Iran to maintain the level and standard of education in the country.

## **5. Religious and Judicial Reforms:**

There were several authorities in religion in Iran namely, the Clergy, Landlords, the Shah and the foreigners, who created confusion in the administration of Law. In order to put an end to the chaotic and confusing legal systems, Reza Shah introduced the reforms as under:

- a) In 1922, he introduced a law by which all titles and properties had to be registered.
- b) He made provisions to put down the opposition of the Mullahs to this law with an iron hand and took away the control of religious endowments from their hands to curb their power forever.
- c) Reza Shah abolished the Shariat and introduced the new Penal Code in the country. He adopted the French judicial system to speed up the secularization of Laws to benefit the people as early as possible.
- d) In 1935, Shah passed a law by which all marriages and divorces had to be registered with the government and the records should be maintained properly.
- e) He confiscated the Waqf properties and abolished the extraterritorial privileges of foreigners. He also relegated the Mullahs to background and ignored all religious institutions run by them in the national life of Iran.

## **6. Social and Cultural Reforms:**

In addition to the above reforms, Reza Shah carried out the following Social and Cultural Reforms in Iran:

- a) He pressurized people to adopt the European attire.
- b) He made women optional to wear Veil. When the Queen herself attended a prayer at the Mosque unveiled, the cleric admonished her in the congression, the Shah ordered his forces to flog the concerned clerk and put down the opposition with stern measures.
- c) Reza Shah asked the Iranian Parliament to enact Laws against polygamy and exaggerated privileges of males.
- d) He made women eligible to hold public offices, however, they were not granted with political rights.
- e) Reza Shah minimized Islamic influence on Iranian Society for which he adopted old Persian solar calendar in place of Islamic Lunar calendar. He also established a Persian academy to enable the people to read Persian Language with Arabic words encouraged the poets and writers to choose the conventional subjects of the past with the style of European novels.



- f) He permitted Western music, arts, architecture and cinema their presence felt in the modernized Iran.
- g) In 193, Reza Shah officially rechristianed his country as Iran. Thus, Reza Shah tried his level best to modernise Iran.

**Check your progress :**

Q. Discuss briefly the reforms of Reza Shah.

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**Foreign Policy:**

Although, Reza Shah required foreign technical expertise for his newly started industrial development, he tried to avoid involvement either with England or Soviet Russia. Because he felt that he would bring Iran under the influence of those countries Like France, Germany and Italy. But this led Iran to be in trouble after 1939, when England and German began to fight against each other in the World war II. Although, Reza Shah declared neutrality of Iran in the war, England ask Iran to expel all German experts, technicians and other people who were spying and sabotaging the British in their Anglo- Iranian oil Company. Reza Shah could not comply with the demand of the British government because it was against the interest of Iran and it would have affected very adversely to the industrial development of Iran. But England and Russia did not agree with Iranian neutrality because they wanted to use the Trans- Iranian Railroad as an alternative route for transporting supplies from the Persian Gulf to the Soviet Caucasus region. Thus, Russia and England who had come together against Germany in 1941, attacked on Iranian forces and defeated them. The prime Minister of Iran resigned and Muhammad Ali Foruqi accepted the term of Allied Forces as new Prime Minister of Iran. The British captured Reza Shah and shifted him to the Island of Mauritius, where he died on 26 July, 1944. Muhammed Reza became new Shah of Iran after the abdications of his father Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1944.

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**9.6 SUMMARY**

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After her defeat in World War I, Turkey was forced to accept the Treaty of Sevres. The terms were very harsh and turkey would loose practically all her territory. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, a Turkish military

hero, organised a national movement since the Sultan's government would not reject the treaty. He conducted victorious military campaigns until the Allies agreed to renegotiate the treaty. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923, and Turkey got much better terms.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was the founder and first President of the Republic of Turkey. He served as the country's President from 1923 until his death. Under his leadership, Turkey adopted major reforms that changed the political, economic and social conditions in the country. He was a great visionary and his reforms were based on the European model. The policies of modernization and westernization adopted by Kemal Pasha came to be known as Kemalism.

Kemal secularized the country by first abolishing the Caliphate and the Sultan was exiled. Then Turkey adopted a parliamentary system of government. The old religious law was replaced by modern scientific civil codes. Education was given top priority and even adults were made to learn to read and write. Women were given equal rights under the new law. The initiative shown by the Turkish women not only in occupations and professions but also in rising to positions of leadership made Turkey unique among Muslim countries. Numerous cultural reforms were introduced but more attention was paid to economic reforms. Industries, trade and commerce were developed. Special attention was paid to the development of harbours, railways and roads. Public works were started and the city of Ankara rebuilt. As a result of sustained efforts of Kemal Pasha, Turkey made great progress in the economic field which led to the prosperity of many Turks.

Kemal's foreign policy was one of friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. He did not involve his country in war after independence had been won.

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## 9.7 QUESTIONS

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1. Describe the modernisation of Turkey under leadership of Kemal Pasha ?
2. What were the important reforms carried out by Kemal Pasha in Turkey?
3. Discuss the foreign policy of Kemal Pasha?
4. Assess the reforms carried out by Reza Shah Pahlavi.
5. Examine the role of Reza Shah in the modernization of Iran.
6. Describe briefly the foreign policy of Reza Shah Pahlavi.

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## Module 5

**INTER- WAR PERIOD (1919- 1945)****C. The Birth of Israel And Arab Nationalism****Unit Structure**

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Factors Responsible for Zionist Movement

10.3 Declaration of Birth of Israel

10.4 Factors Responsible for Rise of Arab Nationalism

10.5 Three Stages of Arabs Nationalism

10.6 Summery

10.7 Questions

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**10.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After the study of this module the student will be able to

- a) Understand the Zionist movement.
- b) Explain the various factors responsible for the rise of Zionist movement.
- c) Perceive the conditions in which the birth of Israel took place.
- d) Understand the foundation of Islam
- e) Describe the various causes of the rise of Arab nationalism.
- f) Comprehend the three phases of Arab Nationalism.

In two thousand B.C. Arabs originated in today's west Asian countries like Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The word Arab first appeared in the Assyrian documents dated back to 850 B.C. The documents suggest that the early Arabs were nomads, camel herders and inhabited in the areas known as Jordan and Israel. Thereafter, they spread to northeast, south and central Arabian Peninsula. The Arabs had no social harmony, as they inhabited different regions, developed their own social, cultural and political character. They were nomads initially and carried on caravan trade in dates and palms. They had no sufficient food items for which they were to depend on

the neighboring countries. Arabs faced cultural diversity, as well as political diversity and lack of well defined religion. Each Arab tribe had its own religion and system of governance. But all Arabs were brought together when they visited Kaaba to worship their holy idols once a year.

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## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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The birth of Israel took place on 14 May, 1948 at Tel Aviv in the territory of Palestine where the Jews and the Arabs have been living since the time immemorial. Although these two communities belonged to the same racial groups, divided by religion into Judaism and Islam which led to involve into a deadly conflict. They defied the solutions suggested by the international communities to their problem for last half a century. Even today, the state of Israel is involved in a struggle to maintain her identity and keep intact her security to the requisit minimum.

### **Zionism:**

The movement that led to the foundation of the state of Israel was Known as Zionism. This was the Jewish nationalist movement aimed at uniting all Jews exiled in Europe and Americal to settle in the territories of Palestine, which was their ancient homeland. This Zionist movement was called after the ancient hills zion in Palestine in 1890. Zionist movement originated in the nineteenth century had its roots in the Biblical period. The association of the Jewish people with Palestine existed for over 3500 years. In the sixth century B.C. the Jews were carried off to captivity to Babylonia and there after, they moved to various countries in the world due to the struggle with the Arabs. Their prophets encouraged to believe that one day their god would allow them to return Palestine or the Land of Israel. Over the centuries, the Jews spread in various countries, associated the hope that God would send the Messiah, a savior to liberate them. Thus, the Jews in groups or individual began to migrate to Palestine, to materialize their dreams of separate Land for themselves, which came to be Known as the State of Israel.

### **Foundation of Islam:**

In seventh century A.D. Prophet Muhammad founded Islam religion which became the first rallying incident to all Arabs together into a nation. The Prophet, when visited Kaaba, he came to know very shocking and miserable conditions of Arabs over there. They were engaged in immoral activities, gambling and addiction to intoxicants. He realized that the heterogeneous character of the Arabs was the main reason

of distress and mistress. Muhammad decided to organize all Arabs into one nation with common cultural, social and political system. He began to preach them the monotheistic religion, which came to be known as Islam by which he could bring all disorganized tribes into a well organized political group. The followers of Islam came to be Known as Muslims, who believed that god has revealed all teachings of Islam to the Prophet Muhammad. The Arabs received the inspiration from the teachings of Islam and created an empire through out the Asia minor and north Africa. In the eleventh century some of the parts of eastern Arab land came under the non-Arab invaders as Turks and Mongols whereas the northern Africa remained in the hands of local Arabs only. In sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire in Turkey controlled almost all territories of Arabs in which maximum officials were Arab origin. The Arabs remained under the foreign rule of Ottoman and European powers for nearly six hundred years.

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## **10.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT**

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Initially, the trend of Jews in Europe was towards assimilation into European society, which allowed them to adopt German culture or, the culture of their respective country. The Jews in revolutionary France achieved political equality, which spread through out Europe in the following decade. But this became a temporary phenomena. The Jews in Europe began to get suppressive and oppressive treatment in various countries of Europe, which led them to start the movement to move towards their original land Palestine. Among the factors which influenced Jews to start the Zionism, where as 1) The French Revolution and its aftermath, 2) Dreyfus affair, 3) Assassination of Tsar Alexander II in Russia, 4) Organization of anti- Semitic parties in Germany and Austria – Hungary and were the most important. Almost all European countries began to treat Jews differently. In order to escape from the persecution of European people, the Jews began migration to the United States of America. But a smaller group of Jews believed that their security Lay only in a Homeland of their own, which was Palestine. Thus, these Jews began to migrate towards Palestine with the financial support of a French Jewish Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Moses Hess, a German Jewish Socialist, got inspiration from the Italian national movement, published a book Known as Rome and Jerusalem, in which he rejected the idea of assimilation of the Jews into the European society and insisted that the essence of the Jews problem was their lack of a national home. In 1896, Theodor Herzl an Austrian Journalist published a short book called 'The Jewish State' and gave a political turn to the Jewish problem. He regarded assimilation as the most desirable solution but in view of anti- Semitism it was impossible to

realize. He argued that the external forces forced the Jews to form a nation to lead a normal existence in one territory and that would be their original home Palestine.

Theodor Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland in 1897 which was attended by two hundred delegates from all over the world. This Congress formulated the Basel programme which became the fundamental platform of the Zionist movement till the realization of their dream, the creation of Israel an independent State for themselves. Vienna was made the centre of Zionist movement, from where Herzl published the official weekly came to be Known as 'The World'. The Zionist Congress used to meet yearly until 1901 and thereafter every two years. When the Ottoman Government refused Herzl's request for Palestine as the national home for Jews, the British offered to explore the possibility of Jewish colonization in Uganda an East African territory. This proposal of the British people brought out a split in the Zionist movement. The Zionist delegate from Russia accused Herzl for betraying the Zionist Programme, which Herzl could not bear and died a broken heart in 1904. After the death of Herzl, the Zionist leadership went on changing from Vienna to Cologne and then to Germany.

### **The Balfour Declaration:**

After 1904, the Zionist movement popularized their programme through pamphlets and newspapers in their own language known as Hebrew. The major achievements of the Zionist movement during the twentieth Century were two fold as one was the commitment of the British Government made in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the second was the actual establishment of the Independent State of Israel in 1948. During the world war I, the British tried to please the Zionist in order to secure the strategic control over Palestine, which was under the rule of Turkey and to gain the support of all Jewish people from all over the world for the cause of Allied powers. The declaration which was made contained in a letter dated 2 November 1917, from the Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to a British Zionist leader Chaim weizmann approved the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Because, Palestine had shifted from Turkey to the British control. This led Weizman to emerge as an unchallenged leader of the Zionist movement. The serious setback was sustained to this due to two reasons as one was the Communist rule of Lenin in Soviet Russia which prevented immigration of Russian Jews to Palestine and the second reason was that the rift was erupted between Louis Brandeis an American Zionist and Chaim Weizmann a British Zionist Leader. Due to this dispute, the American Jews directed their major part of charity to the relief of European Jews rather than the Jews in Palestine until the World War II. Naturally in 1929 Weizmann was forced

to set up a chain of Jewish Agency through out the world to coordinate the financial support to the Jews in Palestine from various organizations philanthropist in the world.

### **British Mandate in Palestine:**

After the world war I the League of Nations came into existence to create Law and order in the world. In 1922, the League issued a mandate and control over Palestine to England. It entrusted England to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, This created encouraging effects among the Jews world over, who began to arrive to Palestine in large groups. The Jews immigrated to Palestine between 1919 to 1939 were in large number who began to contribute towards the all round development of the Jewish community. The Jews who immigrated from Russia between 1919 and 1923 laid the foundation of basic and comprehensive development of social and economic infrastructure, development of agriculture, establishment of collectivization and also provided chief labour for construction of housing and roads connecting Jew locality with each other. Between 1924 and 1932 around sixty thousand Jews immigrated from Poland to Palestine, they developed and tried to enrich the urban life in Palestine as they established various businesses in the cities Like in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. In 1933, Hitler came to power in German, who began to prosecute the Jews to recover a large wealth from them. In order to avoid inceasingly ruthless persecution at the hands of the Nazi Party, around One lakh fifty thousand Jews immigrated to Palestine. Another important factor, the economic recession in Europe combined with the international enthusiasm towards the Zionist movement from Western and Central Europe led them to migrate to Palestine in the Late 1930's. Among these migrantes, many were highly educated and professionals, their skills and experiences raised the standard of business and improved their urban and rural life which broadened the cultural life of all Jews in Palestine.

The migration of Jews and their development in Palestine created suspicion in the minds of Arabs. This generated full scale rebellion by Arabs against the Jews in the 1920's. The recurrent riots between 1936 and 1939 made coexistence with Arabs very difficult for the Jews. Despite this situation, the Zionist leaders adopted various approaches as the foundation of a joint Arab-Jewish State advocated by Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University and the proposal of David Ben-Gurion, the future Israeli Prime Minister to make Jews a majority community in Palestine.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate in Palestine



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### **The White Paper:**

In order to appease the Arabs, the British Government changed its policy towards Palestine before the World War II. The British published the White Paper in May, 1939 and terminated its commitment to Zionism. It also provided for the establishment of a Palestine State with in the period of ten years. The British guaranteed the Arab majority by a Clause along with a provision of migration of 75000 Jews to Palestine with in the period of subsequent five years but the additional entry of Jews thereafter would be depended on the consent of the Arabs over there. This White Paper of 1939, broke the traditional Anglo-Zionist Alliance and provoked Jews to undertake violent protest in Palestine, which disturbed Law and order in the area.

### **The Biltmore Programme:**

The Jews in the World were helping the democratic forces during the World War II as they did in the World War I. The Nazi regime under Hitler did not like this and carried out a plan to murder all Jews in Europe. As German armies swept through Europe, Jews were captured and sent to concentration camps, where they were put to death by sending them to gas chambers. It is said that around six million Jews were killed at the hands of the Nazis during the World War II. The Jews, therefore, made America as the centre of their activities from 1942. They held a Zionist conference in New York and chalked out a programme which came to be Known as the Biltmore Programme. The Programme rejected British restrictions on immigration of Jews to Palestine and urged the British to fulfill the Balfour Declaration and establish a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The British did not budge from their earlier stand. The Jews, thereafter instituted a secret network to immigrate illegally to Palestine. As the result around 85000 Jews reached Palestine through secret routes in order to make it their permanent homeland.

### **Check your Progress**

1. Discuss the factors responsible for the birth of Israel.
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### 10.3 DECLARATION OF BIRTH OF ISRAEL

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England was totally exhausted due to the World War II and wanted to reconsider her position and policy in Palestine as the mandate power. It had already failed in negotiation with the Arabs and the Jews for an amicable solution. In February 1947, England under these circumstances referred the Palestine issue to the UNO to thrash out a solution. After the assessment of the situation, the UN Special Committee on Palestine proposed to partition the territory of the British mandate west of the River Jordan into Arab and Jewish states keeping Jerusalem under international control. The United Nations adopted the partition plan submitted by the Special Committee on 29 November, 1947. The US and Soviet Russia were in favour of the plan, the Zionist movement accepted the partition as the best solution under the present political circumstances. The Arabs denounced and rejected the plan of Partition. England had already abstained from voting. Meanwhile, the British colonial Secretary announced the end of their mandate on 15 May, 1948 over Palestine. After the departure of the British from Palestine, brought in one of the bloodiest war in the area. These developments led the Jews National Council to declare the birth of an independent State of Israel for Jews at Tel-Aviv.

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### 10.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

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There were several factors responsible for the rise of Arab nationalism. Some of them were as under

**1. Arabs were subjected to political and economic** domination of the Turks, along with this the racial, cultural and Linguistic differences of Arabs did not permit them to cultural and into the Turkish society led them to create a sense of nationalism among the Arabs.

**2. The European contact and the spread of education:**

There were three different agencies, which introduced the western education among Arabs. The earliest contact was through Napoleon Bonaparte who Landed in Egypt in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The whole area of Nile was exposed to the French influence and created a good number of pioneers of western education. The second was through the Ottoman Emperors.

When the Turkish nationalism came into existence, it inspired the Arabs to search their own national identity. The third was through the Christian missionaries, who introduced the western education to spread their religion and exploit the Arabs, which led them to the rise of Arab Nationalism.

### **3. Revival of the past glory :**

The spread of Arabic classic literature and the knowledge about their past contribution to science and Mathematics aroused the sense of pride among all Arabs and generated the feeling of nationalism among them.

### **4. Emergence of Religious Reform movements :**

In 1745 Muhammad Ibn Abd al- Wahhab began to preach about the purification of Islam of external and modern influences and brought into existence the Wahhabi movement. The movement received the support of Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud and got spreading speedily throughout the Arabian Peninsula. It also created clashes with the Ottoman Empire, which continued throughout the subsequent century.

The Wahhabis with the support of the Saudi army captured Mecca in 1802, they were forced to leave Mecca for Riyadh in 1812 which the Wahhabis made their base in 1824 and began to reconquer the land they lost but the dynasty of Saudi did not enjoy peace for a long time. It involved in civil war and the kingdom of Saud was divided into various clans. The Ottoman Empire also secured some of the areas in the civil war. After the Saudi family was exiled to Kuwait in 1902, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud recaptured Riyadh. His forces also regained the region of Najd. During the first World War, the British Government helped the Wahhabis against the anti- British policy of Turkey. In 1932, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud unified all the territories which he conquered and called it Saudi Arabia. Thus, this led all Arabs to be into one nation means these developments helped to develop Arab nationalism.

### **5. Pan-Islamic movement :**

This was one more factor responsible for the rise of Arab nationalism. It so happened that Jamal –ud-din Afghani started the pan-Islamic movement to promote a Muslim nationalism but it encouraged the Arabs to come together which generated the Arab nationalism.

### **6. Contribution of Intellectuals :**

The urban intellectuals came ahead to establish close contact with the west and their interest in western Literature contributed to

arouse a feeling of nationalism among the Arabs. It is said that the Jesuit Missionaries encouraged the Syrian Arabs to establish several cultural societies. Among such cultural societies, following contributed to the rise of Arab Nationalism.

- 1) Syrian Scientific Society which was founded in 1857 was very important. Ibrahim Yaziji, one of the founder members of the society demanded the fanaticism and preached revolution to overthrow the Turkish domination.
- 2) Abdur Rehman-Al-Kawakibi was described as the father of Arab nationalism. He advocated four principles as revivalism, Arab nationalism, Westernization, and constitutionalism, which attracted all Arabs and became the basic principles of liberation movement of Arabs. Abdur Rehman stressed upon the separation of Arab nationalism from Pan- Islamism which was advocated by Batros Bustani and Afghani. He advocated teaching western political philosophy, economics, parliamentary and revolutionary traditions. While imparting the Western heritage, the Arabic culture was always brought in the proper perspectives. As a result the Arabs took pride in their own culture and marched towards their nationalism.

## **7. Role of the Secret Societies:**

The Secret Societies founded in the Arabs world played an important role in the creation of Arabs nationalism. Some of the important secret societies were as :

- 1) The Literary Club, which was founded in Istambul, promoted openly several political activities. It had several branches opened in Syria and Iraq.
- 2) The League of the Arab Fatherland : Najib Azuri, a young Arab, who was exiled by the young Turks to Paris, established the League of Arab fatherland. Najib also published a newspaper 'Arab Independence' in 1907 and tried to arouse all Arabs for the achievement of their fatherland.
- 3) The Freedom and Concord Party, which was founded in 1911 and demanded for decentralization of the Ottomon Empire in order to generate Arab nationalism.
- 4) The young Arab Society : This society was founded by the Arab refugees in 1911 which was aimed at complete freedom and independence for the Arabs. Due to surveillance of the young Turks police, this society shifted from place to place first to Beirut in 1913 and then to Damascus in 1914. Naturally, this society attracted all Arabs and created nationalism among them.

- 5) Ottoman Decentralization Party : This was the party, which was established at various places like Cairo, Syria and Iraq. Some leading Arab leaders came together, established it and advocated a federal structure for the Ottoman Empire and autonomy for all Arabs in West Asia.
- 6) The Pact Society : There were several Arab officers in the Turkish army, who supported Arab nationalism from the bottom of their heart. Major Aziz Ali was one of such Arab army officer, who founded the Pact Society. Major Aziz Ali restricted the membership of this society to the Arab soldiers only. Although, he had held high ranks in the army, he was arrested in 1914 and awarded capital punishment. But he escaped to Egypt, where he was given a red carpet welcome which was afforded to heroes. Thus, these and many other secret societies founded in west Asia generated Arab nationalism.

### **Check your progress :**

Q. Briefly discuss the various factors responsible for the rise of Arab nationalism.

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## **10.5 THREE STAGES OF ARABS NATIONALISM**

There were several stages of Arab nationalism but some the important stages were as under :

1. During the first phase of the Arab nationalism it was an idealist movement because there were only intellectuals involved in it and they favoured the establishment of constitutional Government for Arabs. They had liberty and equality as its ideals of the movement.
2. The second phase of the Arab movement was realistic. They put forth the demands like decentralization and autonomy as the nationalist approaches of the Arab movement.
3. During the third phase the Arab nationalist movement became revolutionary. The Arabs prepared themselves to fight for their rights against the Ottoman rulers. This was the direct result of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Because these Young Turks only encouraged the Arabs to fight for their rights.

### **Arab Nationalism During the First World War :**

Although, the Young Turks supported Arabs against the Ottoman rulers, the picture changed after the Young Turks Revolution in 1908 totally. The Young Turk Government began to prosecute Arabs for their political activities. As the result of this change in the policy of Young Turks, the committee of reforms met at Beirut and demanded Arab Home Rule openly. Although, the Arab demand was ruthlessly suppressed, the Young Arabs met at Paris in 1913 and launched several programmes, which were supported by almost all Arabs. This led, the Young Turk government to issue imperial decree for introducing reforms in Arab provinces but all reforms remained on paper only.

During the First World War, the Arabs were divided into two groups as one group of Arabs wanted to join the Allies with a hope of realising their national aspirations. The second group of the Arabs was suspicious about the motive of Europeans in the west Asian territories and advocated Pan-Islamism to uphold the Turkish Sovereignty. The Young Turks Government tried to win over the second group of Arabs and promised them the absolute autonomy. But the British Government supported the first group of Arabs and encouraged to revolt against the Government in Turkey. All Arab generals, the Sheiks and Sheriffs joined hands with the British on the promise in return to support their independence. However, the Arab nationalism sustained a great setback when Arab leaders were in favour of a United Nations State for the Arabs and the Sheiks and Sheriffs were interested in promoting their own agenda against the Arab unity and unanimity.

### **Arab Nationalism and the British Government:**

During the First World War, the British often promised the Arabs for an independent Arabs government in the territories of former Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of War. Because the Ottoman in Turkey had entered the war on the side of German in 1914. In order to materialize this promise the British forces occupied Basra and Southern Iraq in 1915. They also captured Bagdad and Mosul some months before the armistice took place and declared its protectorate over Egypt. As a part of their promise towards the Arabs, the British began negotiations with Hussein, the ruler of Mecca and other holy cities, the same negotiations were continued by Macmohan, the British High Commissioner in Egypt with Hussein up to 1916. By these negotiations the British agreed to the formation of independent Arab Kingdoms in Arabia, Palestine, Iraq and Syria in return for Arab support against the Turks.

On the other hand the British also had signed the Sykepicot Agreement of 1916 with France to divided Turkey's Arab Empire between

themselves. But this Agreement was not made public till 1917. Due to the British support, the Arabs revolted against the Ottomans and all Arab forces occupied Jerusalem. In the same year by the Balfour Declaration in the month of November England promised the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. Thus, the British made three contradictory promises during the year 1916-17 as 1. Independent Arab states 2. National Home for Jews in Palestine and 3. Division of Ottoman Empire in the west Asia between England and France. After the World War I ended in 1918 Faisal and the Arabs in Damascus were ruling Syria, Lebanon and Jordon, the British had control over Iraq and Palestine while the French occupied Syrian coast. The treaty of Versailles was not finalized till the Treaty of Serves with Turkey was not concluded. On the other hand, the Arab nationalists declared Faisal as king of independent Syria, Palestine and Lebanon while Abdullah the brother of King Hussein was made the king of Iraq in 1920. Soon after, the San Remo the conference of Allied powers continued the French mandate for Syria and Lebanon and England was granted the mandate for Iraq, Palestine and Jordon. In returns, the British and French were expected to exercise their mandate in the mandated areas and help those people in attaining self government democratically. While exerting the mandatory powers, England and France tried to implement their own agenda in which they used 1. Imperial strategy 2. Communication convenience 3. Exploration of commercial interests and 4. garnered the feeling that the people of the region needed good training for self government and hoped that after attaining independence those countries should be on the side of England and France in any eventuality in future.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on the Arab nationalism and the British Government.

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## **10.6 SUMMERY**

The United States of America & the Soviet Russia accorded recognition to the new state one after another. On 17 September, 1950 India granted recognition of Israel did not mean that India endorsed Israel's stand with neighboring Arab countries. India also did not establish diplomatic relations immediately with the state of Israel. Thus, Israel came into existence. Ben Gurion declared that Israel was the expression of the



self evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation. Although, all Arab states came to help the Palestinian Arabs, there attempts to overthrow the new state were failed one after another on the contrary it enabled Israel to possess more territories than actually allotted to her under the partition plan including Jerusalem

### **Emergence of Arabs Nations:**

This was the manifestation of the rise of Arab nationalism. After the Treaty of Versailles and the confirmation of mandate over the territories of the erthwhile Ottomans, the Arabs in various areas resisted against the British and French which paved the way for the formation of Arab nations in Iraq, Jordon, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The British putdown the unrest of Arabs in Iraq in 1920 and announced that the British would complete the process in 1932 and declare Iraq as an independent nation under the kingship of Faisal. In the same way Abdullah, the son of Hussein ruled Transjordan first as a prince in 1922 and declared independence of Jordon in 1946. Syria and Lebanon were under the mandate of France, they began to resist the French mandate but France suppressed them ruthlessly. Finally, Syria and Lebanon became independent after the second World War. In 1932, the British acknowledge the independence of Saudi Arabia under the kingship of Ibn Saudi. Thus, all west Asian Arabs including Egypt became independent as Arab nations.

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## **10.5 QUESTIONS**

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1. Account for the rise of Zionist movement.
2. Examine the various factors that led to the birth of Israel.
3. Assess the role of British mandate in Palestine in the birth of Israel.
4. Account for the rise of Arab nationalism.
5. Discuss briefly the Arab nationalism during the World War I
6. Examine the British policy towards the Arab nationalism.

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**Module 6**  
**WORLD AT ARMS**  
**A. Dictatorship in Italy And Germany I**

**Unit Structure**

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Early Life of Benito Mussolini
- 11.3 Rise of the Fascist Party
- 11.4 Fascists in Power
- 11.5 Domestic Policy of Mussolini
- 11.6 Foreign Policy of Mussolini
- 11.7 Causes for the Rise of Nazism
- 11.8 Early Life and Career of Hitler
- 11.9 Hitler's Domestic Policy
- 11.10 Hitler's Foreign Policy
- 11.11 Summary
- 11.12 Questions

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**11.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After studying the module the student will be able to

- Understand the factors responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy.
- Explain early life of Benito Mussolini.
- Describe the domestic policy of Mussolini.
- Discuss the foreign policy of Mussolini.
- The causes for the rise of Nazism in Germany.
- The early life and career of Hitler—the formation of the Nazi Party  
Hitler's rise to power as chancellor of Germany.
- Hitler's domestic policy.
- Hitler's foreign policy.

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## 11.1 INTRODUCTION

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### 11.1 Reasons for the Rise of Fascism in Italy :

DEMORALIZING EFFECTS OF THE WAR. In spite of being a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy had remained neutral in the first year of the war. When the Allies promised her TRENTO and TRIESTE, she changed sides and fought against Germany and Austria-Hungary. But she regretted her actions. She suffered defeats and hardships during the war. But she did not withdraw from the war, because she hoped that she would gain territory after it ended.

At the Paris Peace Conference, she was handed over Trentino and Trieste as promised. But Italy felt that she deserved more and also asked for German colonies in Africa and the port of Fiume on the Adriatic Sea. Her extra demands were rejected.

There was a general sense of disappointment at the treatment given to Italy at the Paris Peace Conference. Most felt the Italy had not been sufficiently compensated for her efforts and sacrifices during the war. The people wanted the government to make a stronger demand, and when the delegation returned to Italy, it was jeered at by the crowds.

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

Secondly, the post-war conditions in Italy had turned from bad to worse. Poor before, she was poorer now because of war expenditure. Industry and trade were disorganised, agriculture was stagnant and in the cities unemployment was increasing. The value of her currency had depreciated so much that the people were unable to buy the necessities of life. Public debt had increased due to the war and post-war budgets showed even bigger deficits. In some of the industrial regions of the north, there were serious labour strikes.

### FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT:

Due to so much misery people lost their faith in the democratic government. Political instability was a common feature. Between 1919 and 1922, there were as many as six coalition governments. Politicians were corrupt and the administration was inefficient.

### CATHOLIC PARTY:

There was another movement, not at all revolutionary but very troublesome to the government. This was the rise of a Catholic political party called the POPULAR PARTY, led by the priest Luigi Sturzo.

Catholic intellectuals and peasants who wanted social reform supported this party. The Government under Nitti and Geolitti proved incapable of dealing with the situation. Bold leadership was what was needed and this was finally supplied by the Fascists.

There were however many strong patriots, mostly belonging to the middle-class, who were worried that the government was doing nothing against the Communist activities. They wanted to save the country from Communism, even by force if necessary. To prevent anarchy and revolution in the country, these Patriots formed an association. This association finally developed into a highly disciplined political party called the Fascist party (the full name being FASCIO DI COMBATTIMENTO meaning 'Union for Combat') under BENITO MUSSOLINI.

Nazism was a political movement - and later on a form of government - that developed in Germany in the 1920's. The Nazis led by the dictator Adolf Hitler, controlled Germany from 1933 to 1945. Nazism was a fascist movement i.e. it tightly restricted personal but permitted private ownership of property. The Nazis called for aggressive nationalism, militarism and the expansion of Germany's borders. They glorified the Aryan race. They claimed that Jews, Slavs and other minority groups were inferior. Nazism opposed democracy, socialism and other political systems that favored equality. It promised to build a peaceful and prosperous society for the Germans. Instead it brought terrorism, war and mass murder.

There were many factors that contributed to the rise of Nazism. The humiliating Treaty of Versailles created severe economic problems for Germany. She could not cope with the inflation, the war indemnity, and the loss of territory and raw materials. Not being allowed to maintain an army, made her feel totally insecure. It was no wonder that the Germans supported Hitler when he promised them what they did not have. Hitler was a great orator and he convinced the people that unless they went against the terms of the treaty of Versailles, Germany had no future. The Germans also felt threatened by the spread of Communism. The Weimar Republic seemed to be an ineffective government and the Germans blamed it for all their problem.

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## **11.2 EARLY LIFE OF BENITO MUSSOLINI**

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Born in 1883, his father was a blacksmith and his mother a schoolteacher. After he completed his university education in Switzerland, he worked there for some time. He started as a teacher, then turned into a socialist, and finally became an Editor of a Socialist newspaper. Because of his revolutionary activities, he was asked to leave the country. He returned to Italy for required military training but

was soon arrested for revolutionary activities. Later he became Editor of AVANTI, a newspaper of the Italian Socialist Party.

Mussolini's break with the Socialist Party began over the question of participation in the war. The majority opposed while Mussolini was in favour of joining. He joined the Italian army and fought on the battlefield. His army career was cut short because he was wounded. After his recovery he founded the newspaper called, 'IL POPOLO D'ITALIA.' He used it to attack the Socialist party, as well as the existing government for being unable to control the economic unrest and violence. He got the support of a large number of ex-soldiers, property owners and young intellectuals for the new movement, which he called FASCISM.

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### **11.3 RISE OF THE FASCIST PARTY**

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The Fascists were so called because they organised themselves into a group or FASCIO (bundle) like the FASCES or bundle of rods, which the Roman Lictors carried as a symbol of authority. Just as Garibaldi's volunteers had worn 'red shirts'; Mussolini's men wore 'black shirts.' They organised themselves into semi-military companies and saluted their chief-IL DUCE-with the outstretched hand of the old Roman salute.

Between 1921-1922, there was a rapid rise of the Fascist Party and the opposition groups weakened. Mussolini strongly fought the Communists. It was this fight together with militant nationalism, which won the hearts of the bourgeoisie class, the ex-soldiers, peasants and workers. All these people were disgusted with the Government and the Communist take-over of the factories.

The Fascist Party had two aims. The first was to restore the full authority of the government. The second was to encourage Italian Nationalism. To achieve these aims, the Party conducted a vigorous PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, through patriotic speeches, books, papers and pamphlets. The Black Shirts even trained school-children and made them parade with slogans, "Believe, Obey and Fight." In 1921, 35 Fascists were elected to the Parliament and their methods became even more radical. They used castor oil, lathes and guns to torture their enemies. Mussolini attacked the communists in his editorials and got the sympathy of the middle-class, industrialists and merchants. They contributed lots of funds to the party. The black shirts broke up the meetings of the other parties and the police were useless.

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### **11.4 FASCISTS IN POWER**

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In October 1922, the Fascists held a Congress at the city of Naples. Forty thousand of them paraded the streets in military formation,

and Mussolini in a grand speech, declared that, "EITHER THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE GIVEN TO US OR WE SHALL MARCH ON ROME." On October 27 the Prime Minister resigned, and the Fascist army moved from Naples to Rome. The regular army did not stop them, and King Victor Emmanuel III, without a government had no option but to send for Mussolini and ask him to form the government. Mussolini had hardly expected that his bluff would bring down a government, but that explains his popularity with the people.

Mussolini realised that his opponents were waiting to overthrow his government. So he demanded dictatorial powers for a year to end the disorder and violence in the country. He then proceeded to extend and consolidate the Fascist organisation throughout the country.

- (1) Since he had the power Mussolini began to appoint his loyal supporters to important positions in the administration.
- (2) He then concentrated on establishing his supreme control over the legislature. He passed a revolutionary ELECTION LAW, according to which the party that secured the largest number of votes, automatically got 2/3 of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies (lower house.) In the 1924 elections the Fascists got a majority of votes and so they got 2/3 of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The opposition parties were threatened, some of their leaders were kidnapped or murdered. By 1928, there was hardly any opposition worth mentioning. He took other steps to maintain his control over the country.
- (3) The municipalities of towns and cities lost their local autonomy.
- (4) The press was censored.
- (5) Mussolini became the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces and he was responsible only to the King.
- (6) He ruled over the country with the help of a GRAND COUNCIL. The members of this Council were all Fascist Party members. They occupied ministerial positions, drafted laws, and discussed national and international issues.
- (7) All educational institutions were controlled by the state. The textbooks glorified the state and preached loyalty to Il Duce. Fascist teachers and professors dominated the educational institutions.
- (8) A secret police force was formed and the death penalty was revived. Thus in all respects Italy became a TOTALITARIAN STATE.

The machinery of the Fascist Party and that of the Italian State were closely inter-linked and the supreme manipulator of both was Mussolini. He was Chairman of the Grand Council and through its military he was master of the entire country. He was also Prime Minister

of the State appointing officers, advising the King, drafting laws and much more. Very few statesmen had exercised such wide and dictatorial powers

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Account for the rise of Fascism in Italy.

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## **11.5 DOMESTIC POLICY OF MUSSOLINI**

Fascism achieved much for Italy. It restored the nation's confidence in itself and made the administration of government very efficient. It brought about a total transformation in the political, social and economic life of the country.

### **11.5.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:**

Mussolini dealt firmly with the, economic problems facing his country. THE KEY-NOTE OF HIS ECONOMIC POLICY WAS TO BRING ABOUT SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE STATE IN ALL ASPECTS. Efforts were made to reduce the country's dependence on foreign imports of wheat, cotton and tobacco. High tariffs were introduced on imports and incentives were given to exports. He financed hydro-electric projects and encouraged the shipping industry. He introduced economy in the administration by dismissing the unproductive officials. Strikes and Lockouts were banned. These types of measures brought about a sound economy and a balanced budget. A variety of public works including repairing ancient and historic monuments were undertaken. Transport and communication were improved.

### **11.5.2 CORPORATE STATE:**

Mussolini gained the support of the working classes by undertaking social reform and substituting a "CORPORATE STATE" for the previous "liberal state." In 1926, a law abolished non-Fascist trade unions and prohibited strikes and lockouts. The law also established thirteen SYNDICATES, six of employers, six of employees and one of professional men. In 1927, he introduced a "CHARTER OF LABOUR," which guaranteed private property. For the employees it guaranteed minimum



hours of work, medical, accident and old age insurance. In 1928, the electoral law gave the thirteen syndicates' political functions, i.e. to nominate parliamentary candidates. In 1930, the thirteen syndicates were transformed onto "CORPORATIONS" under a general Fascist Confederation of Industry. In 1934, a National Council was created of deputies from the various corporations in order to advise parliament on economic and social legislation.

The achievements of Mussolini in the economic sphere impressed many. Trains ran on time. There were no strikes. The tourist industry flourished. Education was made compulsory for children. The Italian currency (lira) became stable, so also with the banking system. Unfortunately the economic depression of 1929 seriously harmed the Italian economy. Millions were rendered unemployed. The government was unable to cope with this problem. In order to divert people's attention from these problems, Mussolini concentrated on his imperialist foreign policy.

### **11.5.3 SETTLEMENT WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH:**

One of Mussolini's outstanding achievements was the settlement of the long-standing dispute with the Pope. The conflict between the Catholic Church and the State began with the annexation of Rome in 1870. All efforts to pacify the Pope had not succeeded. The Catholics loyal to the Pope were naturally not loyal to the State. Mussolini decided to end this conflict by offering some compensation. Pope Pious XI too, was eager to end the conflict. After some negotiation, the Pope and Mussolini signed the LATERAN TREATY in 1929.

The Lateran Treaty consisted of three documents, —a political treaty, a Concordat and a financial settlement. By the first, the Pope recognized the House of Savoy as the legitimate rulers over Italy, In return King Victor Emmanuel III recognized the Pope as the ruler of the Vatican City and the religious head of the Catholics.

The second document— the Concordat— defined the future relations between the State and the Papacy. The Roman Catholic faith was recognized as the sole religion of the State. The Pope could appoint all bishops, priests and other officials and the State would not interfere.

The last agreement was a financial agreement. Money compensation was paid to the Pope for the loss of Rome.

After the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini declared, "the citizen is Catholic and the Catholic is a citizen." The Pope then replied, "God has been restored to Italy and Italy has been restored to God." The Lateran

Treaty removed a threat to the Fascist state.

### **Check Your Progress**

1. Describe briefly the Domestic Policy of Benito Mussolini.

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## **11.6 THE FOREIGN POLICY OF MUSSOLINI**

One of the fundamental principles of the Fascist policy was to increase the prestige of Italy in the eyes of foreign nations. The Fascists glorified war as a symbol of national virility. They dreamed of the glories of the ancient Roman Empire and adopted their customs and rituals to some extent in their daily life.

The Fascists encouraged population growth, through early marriages and large families. The purpose of increasing the population was to make Italy a strong country. All children above the age of six were given military training. The army and navy were expanded. Mussolini declared the soon Italy would become a world power and the Mediterranean Sea would become an Italian lake (Mare Nostrum.) An ever-increasing population brought its own problems. Food production was less. Italy was left with no other option but to establish colonies. Mussolini adopted a vigorous policy of expansion.

### **11.6.1 EARLY CONQUESTS:**

He turned his eyes to TUNISIA and CORSICA, which were French possessions, and said that Italy had a better right to them. Mussolini's speeches put a severe strain on the relations between France and Italy. Mussolini then turned to Eastern Europe for expansion. He first secured the DODECANESE ISLAND and then in 1924 the port of FIUME. Italy's relations with Yugoslavia were not good, as Yugoslavia wanted Dalmatia from Italy. They both wanted control of the ADRIATIC SEA. This conflict became worse when Mussolini conquered ALBANIA in 1939.

### **11.6.2 CONQUEST OF ABYSSINIA (ETHIOPIA):**

But the most spectacular of Mussolini's achievements was the conquest of ETHIOPIA. He wanted to wipe off the humiliation of Italy's

defeat in 1896. But the real cause was that Italy needed colonies to improve her prestige and to find more room and food for her growing population. Mussolini attacked Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. The King Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations. The League immediately declared Italy to be the aggressor. Mussolini however, defied the League, conquered Abyssinia and proclaimed King Victor Emmanuel III as the Emperor of Ethiopia in 1936.

### **11.6.3 SUPPORT TO GENERAL FRANCO:**

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, Mussolini looked upon it as a struggle between Communism and Fascism. He decided to support General Franco and sent Italian troops to Spain. He also had selfish reasons to support General Franco. He realised that a friendly Spain would be of great help in checking French and British influence over the Mediterranean region. Then it would be so much easier for Italy to control that region.

### **11.6.4 ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXIS:**

After this war Italy drew closer to Germany and further away from France and Britain. Mussolini came to an understanding with Hitler and they formed the ROME-BERLIN AXIS in October 1936. A month later Germany and Japan entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact against Russia. Italy also joined this Pact and this gave rise to the ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXIS.

When World War II broke out and France collapsed, Mussolini joined Germany and declared war on Britain and France. However the Italians did not win great victories, and finally in 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini, and obtained an armistice with the Allies. In the final days of the war, Mussolini tried to escape with his mistress. He was captured and shot, by Italian freedom fighters. His body was hung by the heels in Milan. Few Italians wept for him or the end of Fascism.

### **Check Your Progress**

1. Discuss briefly the foreign Policy of Benito Mussolini.

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## **11.7 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF NAZISM.**

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### **THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES:**

The defeat of Germany in World I and the humiliation that she later faced, made her want her revenge. The Treaty of Versailles caused a deep wound on the minds of the Germans. It was not a matter of choice for them. Their delegates were not even allowed to participate in the drafting of the treaty, but were forced to sign it. The entire burden of the war guilt was placed on her, branding her an aggressor.

### **WAR INDEMNITY:**

By the treaty she was practically stripped of everything she had, and had to agree to pay a ridiculously high war indemnity. The coal mines of Saar were given to France for fifteen years. Germany lost 1/6 of her arable land, 2/5 of her coal, 2/3 of iron, and 7/10 of her zinc. The war indemnity was fixed at \$33 billion. The Allies knew that she would not be able to pay this amount even if she borrowed from friendly nations. The Germans not being in a position to meet all the demands were only waiting for an opportunity to revoke the treaty.

### **TERRITORIAL LOSSES**

They were forced to give up territory. They surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, northern Schleswig to Denmark, Posen to Poland, Upper Silesia to Czechoslovakia, and Danzig was made a free city. All her colonies were taken away and in China she surrendered to Japan.

### **INCAPABLE WEIMAR GOVERNMENT:**

The Germans were not willing to accept the Weimar Republic, which the Allies had set up for her. The new government was not able to cope with the problems of inflation, rising prices and unemployment. There were severe food shortages also. After the Depression of 1929, the Germans lost their faith in the democratic government and were looking for someone to pull them out of their problems.

### **ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:**

The economic problems seemed uncontrollable. Inflation was very high and the German Mark lost all its value. In 1923, France occupied the Rhur valley because Germany had failed to pay its indemnity. The value of the Mark dropped to 40,000 for a dollar. By November 1923, it was quoted as 4,200,000,000,000 marks per dollar.

Not only the middle-class but also the rich were affected. Hitler gained his support from this group. The lower classes were poverty stricken and were prepared to follow anyone who promised a better future.

### **LIMITATION ON ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS:**

In their determination to keep Germany down, the Allies had limited Germany's armed forces. She was not permitted an Air Force at all. Her army was cut down to 100,000 men and the navy to 15,000 men. Factories producing war materials had to be destroyed. The Rhineland was demilitarised. Germany complied with all these requirements, but around her the other countries continued with the production of war materials. It was but natural that Germany would be upset. The League of Nations failed to check the race for armaments. The disarmament Conference held at Washington was not successful. So Germany secretly started manufacturing weapons and small battleships. In 1935, Britain permitted Germany to increase the strength of her navy. It was a typical case of guilty conscience, since the Allies had not kept to their word of disarming themselves after the war. This gave Hitler an excuse to defy the Treaty of Versailles.

### **POLICY OF APPEASEMENT:**

One of the key factors, which gave rise to Hitler's aggressive nationalism, was the policy of appeasement, followed by Britain and France. While Hitler was breaking the Treaty of Versailles clause by clause these countries did not have the courage to stop him. A joint armed intervention on their part would have been sufficient but they preferred to remain quiet. Hitler's acts of aggression, namely the invasion and annexation of Austria, Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia remained unchecked.

### **GROWTH OF COMMUNISM:**

The German businessmen were worried about the steady growth of Communism in the country. The number of Communists in the Reichstag (parliament) increased. Hitler had strong anti-Communist views and he spoke of Germany as a 'bulwark against a world socialist revolution'. The German industrialists and businessmen supported him with money, so that the Nazi troops might help to destroy the trade unions etc.

### **HITLER'S PERSONALITY:**

Hitler was a great orator and he exploited the psychological state of the Germans to win them over. Through his speeches he played upon the deep discontent of the people. He promised food, employment

to thousands who were unemployed, to fight inflation and so on. His speeches against the Jews, Germany's foreign oppressors and the harsh Treaty of Versailles, secured millions of votes for the Nazi party. He sensed that the spirit of revenge burned deep within every German's heart. He played on their fears of Russia and the Communists, on their anti-Semitism; and he stirred the discontented Germans with promises of a new and greater Reich to rise from the ashes of the war to revenge the humiliation and suffering the Allies had heaped on Germany.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain the main causes responsible for the rise of Nazism in Germany.

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## **11.8 EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF HITLER**

Adolf Hitler was born on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1889, in Austria. He belonged to a peasant family and his father was a customs official. After going through terrible hardships in his early life, he finally chose the profession of an artist. He could not secure admission into the Imperial Academy, so he earned his living by being a house decorator. It was during this period that he realised the problems facing the Germans and Austrians. He developed hatred towards the Jews as they controlled the financial institutions.

He went to Munich (Germany) in 1912, and when the war broke out in 1914, he joined the army. He was wounded in the war, and for his bravery he was given the Iron Cross. The defeat of Germany and the hardships she faced caused him great distress. He remained unemployed.

It was at this time his political career began. In 1919, he formed the GERMAN WORKERS PARTY. He was able to gather around him men like Herman Goering and Joseph Goebbels, who became his strong supporters. In 1923, he participated in a coup (the Putsch) led by Ludendorff, which failed. He was arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

During his prison days he wrote his memoirs called MEIN KAMPF. This book contained his deep-rooted prejudices on many issues, and it outlined the programme of the National Socialist Party. It included:

- (1) his plans for expanding the German Empire—LEBENSRAUM.
- (2) Plans for terminating the Treaty of Versailles,
- (3) Equality on armaments.
- (4) Regaining of colonies.
- (5) Anti-Semitism or anti-Jewish Policy.
- (6) superiority of the Aryan race,
- (7) removal of German war guilt,
- (8) land reforms,
- (9) better conditions for workers,
- (10) nationalization of trusts and the like.

Hitler was freed within a year and he turned to reviving his party. The party was converted into the NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (Nazi Party). The party adopted the brown shirt as its uniform and the SWASTIKA as its emblem. Hitler was called the FUHRER and they borrowed the Roman salute from Mussolini. He raised a body of Storm Troopers, (Schutzstaffel or SS for short) and used them in rioting, street fighting and general political terror. However, he had learnt from his previous failure that a show of legality would achieve much more than only violence. So though he used his Storm Troopers, in public he vowed to use only 'legal' means to attain power.

The strength of the party kept increasing from 7 members in 1919, to 27,117 in 1925, and to 176,426 in 1929. In the 1924 general elections, the Nazi Party secured 32 seats and in 1932 230 seats. It became the single largest party in the Reichstag. The party's spectacular victory at the polls was due to two factors. First was the Great Depression of 1929, and secondly, was Hitler's ability to make speeches and sway the public.

In January 1933, President Hindenburg invited Hitler to act as the Chancellor even though the Nazi Party did not have a clear majority in Parliament. Hitler used his powers to crush all opposition. On the eve of the March elections 1933, Hitler stage-managed a fire in the Reichstag building and blamed it on the Communists. The Nazi Party then won the elections with a huge majority. Most of the Communists were imprisoned or killed.

President Hindenburg then ordered the old flag to be replaced by two new flags: the black, white and red of the Old Empire, and the



Swastika of the new Nationalism. On April 1, the Reichstag voted to give its powers to the Hitler government for a period of four years. Thus the democratic German Republic formally came to an end, and was succeeded by the THIRD REICH (Third German Empire.) This new government was inaugurated with great pomp and popular support. The press, radio and cinema were used to stir up patriotic emotions. There were huge parades with the brown-shirted soldiers saluting, the youth singing and waving swastika flags, and the leaders making patriotic speeches. Such methods were usual with the Nazis and were developed and utilised effectively. Joseph Goebbels, one of Hitler's chief lieutenants, was appointed Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment.

Hitler used the supreme power given to him in organising campaigns against the Jews and Communists. On the same day that the new government was established, it sponsored a nation-wide boycott against Jewish shopkeepers and professional men. Then it declared that only ARYANS could occupy civil or military posts or serve as judges, policemen, school teachers, lawyers and professors. Next, Jews were dismissed from public offices, and discriminated against in business. Thousands of German Jews fled abroad, and those who could not, suffered tremendously at the hands of the Nazis. In Germany, the anti-semitic policy was glorified as a policy, which generated unity and patriotism.

Hitler was also anti-Communist. Parades were organised to demonstrate the power of the Nazi labourers, and Nazi soldiers threatened Communist and Socialist workers into silence. The government then banned all Marxist propaganda in the country, abolished Socialist and Communist trade unions and confiscated their funds. The National Socialist Party then organised a single labour union, called the "German Labour Front."

Taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm for the 'new Germany,' Hitler and his Nazi lieutenants decided to get rid of all possible opposition. All parties were suppressed and Hitler declared that Germany would have only a single political party, the Nazi Party. Those who opposed were either sent into exile or to concentration camps.

Next, in 1934, came the purge (cleansing) of his own party. Hitler together with Goebbels, Goering and the secret police took drastic action, to terrorize the National Socialist Party into unity and the country into obedience. Several hundred people were murdered, including senior party members. The only explanation that Hitler gave was 'reasons of state' and 'morality.' The fact that the people accepted this explanation without question, showed the strength of his control and power over them.

In 1934, President Hindenburg died and Hitler took charge of two offices: the President and the Chancellor. In August 1934, a plebiscite was held and thirty-eight and a quarter million Germans voted 'yes.' At last by popular will, Adolf Hitler became the sole and supreme ruler of Germany.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Describe briefly the early life of Hitler.

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**11.9 HITLER'S DOMESTIC POLICY**

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**11.9.1 Administrative System.**

Hitler's domestic policy was authoritarian and totalitarian in every sense. He abolished the separate provincial governments and unified Germany under a central government at Berlin. The Reichstag had passed a law, which abolished the provincial diets, deprived the states of their sovereign rights and changed them into only administrative districts of the Empire.

A single party, that of the Nazis, ruled the state and all opposition was suppressed. The Jews and Communists were looked upon as anti-German and they were cruelly persecuted.

**11.9.2 Education:**

Every activity was subjected to state control. Individual freedom practically disappeared from the country. The educational system was used to create a Nazi mentality and absolute loyalty to the Fuhrer. People were made to understand that, "to serve Hitler is to serve Germany, to serve Germany is to serve God." Many intellectuals and scientists who could not tolerate the situation fled the country.

**11.9.3 The Church:**

Hitler had experienced some difficulties in his relationship with the Christian Church. The Catholic Church had not supported the Nazi Party. So Hitler had negotiated with the Vatican, promising religious

freedom. The Nazis however, had done their best to suppress Christian practices, schools and religious orders. The relations between the two remained shaky and the Christians though willing to co-operate politically, wanted total freedom in the religious sphere.

#### **11.9.4 Economy:**

One of the causes of Germany's collapse had been the breakdown of her economic system and shortage of food supplies. Hence Hitler made every attempt to secure economic self-sufficiency for Germany. Imports were discouraged, exports were encouraged and raw materials were rationed. Wool, rubber, motor fuel were made by artificial process from such materials as wood and coal. So substitutes for imported articles were manufactured. The tariffs increased and shipping lines were reorganized. Strikes and lockouts were prohibited. From 1936 onwards Germany moved into a war economy and all the national resources were used to improve the country's defense system. Millions of Germans were recruited into the armed forces and employed in ammunition factories. In this way the unemployment factor was dealt with. It was only after building a militarily strong Germany that Hitler planned for world conquest.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss briefly the domestic policy of Hitler.

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### **11.10 HITLER'S FOREIGN POLICY**

#### **11.10.1 AIMS:**

When Hitler came to power, he promised to recover for Germany the position of power and importance, which she had held before world war I. His plan, included the formation of a "Third Reich," or empire which would include all Germans in a new or greater German State. This would mean absorbing or annexing the German-populated regions of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Thirdly, he was determined to tear away the Treaty of Versailles which had humiliated Germany and imposed heavy restrictions on her.

Briefly the three goals of Hitler's foreign policy were:

- (1) The union of all people of German race by the right of self-determination in one great Germany.
- (2) The cancellation of the Treaty of Versailles
- (3) The acquisition of more territory for the support and settlement of the surplus population.

#### **11.10.2 Germany's Rearmament:**

Hitler's first significant step in this direction was to withdraw from the Disarmament Conference.

On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1935, Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by introducing conscription.

Next, Hitler left the League of Nations and openly sent troops to remilitarize the Rhineland. Britain was not willing to take action against Germany for her violation of the treaty of Versailles. France dared not take action against Germany without the co-operation and collaboration of Britain. This policy of appeasement only encouraged Hitler to take larger risks.

#### **11.10.3 Annexation of Austria:**

During the Spanish Civil War, Hitler had learnt all he needed about the weakness of the Allies. He had found that his intervention in the Spanish problem, had not met with any resistance from the Great Powers. So he found the courage to embark upon a policy of naked aggression. He turned his attention to Austria whose union with Germany was prohibited by the treaty of Versailles. He encouraged Nazi agitation, bullied the Austrian Chancellor to appoint a Nazi minister in his cabinet. In 1934, when Nazi agents started a revolt and the Chancellor Dr. Dolfuss was murdered. The Austrian government was unable to contain the trouble, so Hitler sent the German army into that country and brought about the ANSCHLUSS (union with Germany.)

#### **11.10.4 Annexation of Sudetenland:**

After Austria, Hitler turned his attention to Sudetenland where a large number of Germans were living. He accused the Czech government of oppressing the German minority. The Czech government denied this and said they had given the Germans all privileges. Hitler refused to accept the explanation and demanded that Sudetenland be ceded (given) to Germany, or he would take it by force if peaceful means failed. At this point Britain and France were very concerned. To check the growing ambition of Hitler, the leaders of France, Britain

and Italy signed the MUNICH PACT with Germany on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1938. Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetenland to Germany. This policy of appeasement exposed the weakness of France and Britain. They were not prepared for another war.

#### **11.10.5 Non-Aggression Pact with U.S.S.R.:**

Hitler concluded a non-aggression pact with U.S.S.R. 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1939 and secured Russia's neutrality. Stalin was angry with Britain and France because he was ignored at the Munich Pact. He accused western democracies for encouraging Germany to attack Russia.

#### **11.10.6 Attack on Poland:**

Knowing that Hitler would turn his attention to Poland, Britain and France gave her a guarantee of protection. Hitler put pressure on Poland to return the city of Danzig. The whole world was shocked at the bullying tactics of Hitler and his war-mania. Having the backing of Britain and France, Poland refused Hitler's demands. Hitler then attacked Poland on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939. Britain and France honor their promise to protect and thus the world was drawn into another war.

The story of Adolf Hitler only ended when he committed suicide at the end of the war in 1945.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss briefly the foreign policy of Hitler.

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#### **11.11 SUMMARY**

Fascism was a political movement of the less wealthy members of the middle class. Their ideology was a mixture of anti-communism, racism, anti-intellectualism, extreme nationalism and hatred of democracy.

Mussolini founded the Fascist Party in 1921. The post-war conditions were not good. Thousands of soldiers and workers were

unemployed. Industrial development was low and inflation was high. Parliamentary democracy was not working well. Mussolini was able to get the support of the army, the industrialists, socialists and the poor unemployed. By the end of October 1922. Mussolini and his party were firmly in power in Rome. He had become IL DUCE (the leader).

The domestic policy of Mussolini was fairly impressive. His economic re-organisation was successful. The Charter of Labour made the workers happy. Industrial and agricultural production increased. To some extent the problems of national deficit and unemployment were solved. Mussolini signed the Lateran Treaty with the Pope and even gained the support of the Church.

On the international front, Mussolini was able to give the Italians some of their lost national pride. He managed to get Ethiopia, which was a long cherished dream of the Italians. By the agreement with Hitler, the power and position of Italy was further enhanced.

In the beginning, the Italians did benefit from the reforms introduced by Mussolini. The country made progress in all spheres of life. But Mussolini's greed for power and his contempt for all democratic institutions, in the end brought disaster to Italy.

The treaty of Versailles played a big role in the rise of Nazism in Germany. It humiliated them, it robbed them of territory, it burdened them with a huge war indemnity, it did not permit an armed force and finally placed the entire war guilt on the Germans. It was but natural that the Germans were ready to follow Hitler, since he promised them all that they had lost as well as much more. His personality was such that people were prepared to obey any of his commands.

He started the Nazi Party and gradually increased its strength in the Parliament. His own personal army created fear in the minds of those who opposed him. By 1933, he had established himself as Chancellor of the Third Reich in Germany. He eliminated all opposition whether it was the Communist Party or whether it was opponents in his party.

Hitler's domestic policy was authoritarian and totalitarian in nature. He controlled everything, including the Church and education. On the positive side he revived the German economy. Industries developed, and since he stopped paying the indemnity, there was more money to spend on Germany's development. He rebuilt the armed forces and ordered conscription.

Then he embarked on his foreign policy. This included violating

the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. He signed an agreement with Italy and Japan which was referred to as the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Russia and Germany signed a Non-aggression Pact. He invaded Austria and Sudetenland announcing that he wanted all the German speaking people to be united in one country. Finally he invaded Poland and that was the beginning of the Second World War.

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### 11.12 QUESTIONS

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1. Account for the rise of Fascism in Italy. How did Mussolini take control of the country?
2. Analyse the domestic and foreign policy of Mussolini.
3. How and why did Fascism emerge in Italy? Bring out the salient features of Mussolini's dictatorship.
4. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Reasons for the rise of Fascism in Italy.
  - (b) Mussolini's domestic Policy.
  - (c) Mussolini's foreign policy.
5. Discuss the reasons for the rise of Nazism in Germany. What was the policy of the Party.
6. Describe the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. What was his domestic policy.
7. Examine the domestic and foreign policy that Hitler followed.
8. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Causes for the rise of Nazism in Germany.
  - (b) Hitler's domestic policy.
  - (c) Hitler's foreign policy.

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**Module 6**  
**WORLD AT ARMS**  
**B. Militarism in Japan**  
**B-2 World war II**

**Unit Structure**

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.3 Causes for the Rise of Militarism in Japan
- 12.4 Unrest among the Workers and Peasants
- 12.5 Rise of Ultra- Nationalist Groups
- 12.6 The Manchurian Crisis
- 12.7 Nature of the War
- 12.8 Causes of the Second World War
- 12.9 Main Events of the Second World War
- 12.10 Peace Treaties after World War II
- 12.11 Consequences of the Second World War
- 12.12 Summary
- 12.13 Questions

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**12.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After the completion of this module the student will be able to-

- Comprehend the background of Japan
- Understand the reasons responsible for the rise of militarism in Japan.
- Explain the attitude of western countries towards Japan.
- Perceive the aftermath of the rise of militarism in Japan .
- The nature (character) of the war.

- Causes (factors) that led to the war.
- Main events (course) of the war.
- Consequences of the war.

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## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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In the later half of the nineteenth century Japan was opened to the western powers, which transformed her from a medieval slumber to an ultra modern nation. Japan adopted all those ideas and institutions that made the western countries progressive and powerful, which led her to emerge as a world power in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Japan had transformed her military set up totally during the Meiji restoration. It remodeled its armed and naval forces on the line of Germany and England, which led her to become a strong military power in the world. The period between the two wars proved to be the golden age for Japanese militarism. The Manchurian crisis, the second Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese attack on Pear Harbour and her entry into the Second world war manifested the deep rooted cult of militarism in Japanese people.

It was unfortunate that the world did not learn a lesson from World War I, for hardly two decades later the world was at war again. Beginning with Hitler's invasion of Poland and ending with atomic bombs being dropped on Japan, this war proved to be as disastrous as the first. At the same time the second war differed in many respects from the first.

The seeds of the Second World War were sown much earlier. In 1919, France humiliated Germany and forced her to accept the dictated peace and sign the Treaty of Versailles. France not only recovered Alsace and Lorraine, but also took away the rich Rhur Valley. Germany was unable to pay the heavy war compensation. Germany's economy soon crumbled. These factors made her to prepare for the Second World War and tear up the treaty of Versailles which had brought her these troubles.

The causes that brought the Second World War were many. Some were fundamental causes and some were immediate. Some of the main factors were (a) failure of the League, (b) failure of disarmament efforts, (c) rise of dictators, (d) aggressive nationalist (c) problem of national minorities, and (f) policy of appeasement.

## **12.2 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN**

There were several factors responsible for the rise of militarism in Japan. Some of the important factors were as under:

### **1. Military Tradition in Japan:**

Japan had a very long and strong tradition of militarism with the Emperor as its head of honour and authority. During the reigns of the Heian and the Kamakura dynasties, the Japanese army occupied the position of importance in the socio-Political set up of the country. The Emperor conferred the title of Shogun on Yoritomo, the head of a powerful clan. Naturally, the Shoguns became the supreme commanders in the army of Japanese Emperor, who dominated politics and administration from sixteenth century to the twentieth century Japan. Thus, it helped rise militarism in Japan to some extent.

### **2. Rise and Fall of Party System in Japan:**

During the First World War, the militaristic Germany and autocratic Russia were defeated and apparently weaker democratic nations became victorious. This situation impressed Japanese and led them towards the foundation of Liberal and party government. The expansionist policies were manifested by the Twenty one demands and Siberian campaign of Japan were criticized strongly everywhere. The lowering of military leadership in the war contributed much to the rise of party system in Japanese politics. In 1918, Hara Takashi, the leader of political party secured a seat in the lower House and made him to be Prime Minister of Japan. He selected all members of his cabinet from his own party and announced several reforms in the country. But his rule could not last long, because he was assassinated in 1921 and brought two more governments to power which were non-party Cabinets and headed by naval officers namely Admiral Kato and Viscount Kiyoura. These cabinet generated social and economic unrest which led Japanese to introduce universal manhood suffrage and bring to power one more party government. The Japanese working class began to engage itself in forming political parties and trade unions, consequently, the communist party of Japan came into existence in 1922. This paved the way for the establishment of several proletarian and peasants parties in Japan.

Japan had several limitations on its Liberalism because between 1918 and 1932, there were only three Prime Ministers from the rank of common people. There were several reason for this situation as 1. There was lack of deep rooted tradition of elective and responsible government. 2. The parties in Japan were not with definite ideologies

but were comparatively loose organizations. 3. These parties were depending on powerful personalities then their political principles. 4. There developed factionalism and corruption among the members of all political parties. 5. These political parties were supported by the middle class, trusts, professionals, universities and newspapers benefiting to urban industrial workers and peasant farmers. Thus, the party systems at large showed that the actual benefits of liberalism were highly, exaggerated. There was a never strong faith in democratic process that made parties vulnerable to challenges of militarist and disgruntled sections in society. Naturally, this paved the way for militarism in Japan.

### **3. Political Influence of the Zaibatsu :**

In 1920, the party politics increased the political influence of the Zaibatsu class and gave birth to their large firms Like Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Yasuda Sumitomo. These firms controlled one fourth capital of Japan such as finance, bank, insurance business and enabled them to corrupt members of the 'Diet' and political parties. Due to their influence Japanese politics they always swayed cabinet decisions in their favours and scrapped the anti-trust Laws and the Laws regarding the growth of trade unions. Both politicians and bureaucrats began to receive huge donations and bribes from the Zaibatsus which obstructed the creation of sound economic foundation for political and social democratic set up. Due to favourable policies of the successive governments towards the business interest of the Zaibatsu, the welfare of common Japanese was totally neglected. This situation created the following as 1. resentment of conservative nationalists against the Zaibatsus support to political parties. 2. intense struggle between the young military officers and Zaibatsus. 3. feeling in the military class that Zaibatsu prevented the expansion of army and navy. 5. dislike in radical army officers about Zaibatsus economic independence and aristocratic status. 6. Public opinion extremely hostile towards the politicians, bureaucrats and the Zaibatsus. Thus, the Japanese favoured the military to control the government in Japan and it speeded the rise of militarism in Japan.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Q1. Write a short note on the political party system in Japan.

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## **12.4 UNREST AMONG THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS**

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The Governments which came to power failed to create a stable economy and satisfactory living standard for common people. The problem became more serious when a period of slump occurred in Japanese economy and created unemployment and social discontent. Since 1913, Japanese government had not addressed to any problems of industrial workers, which generated general discontentment among the people. The Japanese government also neglected the interest of the people and passed legislations in favour of business and industrial magnets. Although, agriculture was the backbone of Japanese economy, the political party governments in Japan never tried to improve the position of agriculture and the small scale industries which were based on the agricultural production that led to create discontent among the peasantry of Japan. On the contrary, the Japanese government under Hara imported rice and agricultural raw material when prices of agricultural production were falling at home. Thus, the party Governments were criticized openly for callous disregard towards the workers and peasants and people began to advocate the old policy of colonial expansion.

### **Setback in Foreign Relations:**

Japanese increased occupation of the German islands appeared a danger to American positions in the Philippines and south Pacific areas. England also felt uneasy about Japanese presence in her neighborhood. Under these circumstances an attempt was made to achieve the naval disarmament and political resettlement in the Far East. The United States, therefore convened the Washington Conference in 1921-22.

At the Washington Conference the Japanese were forced to terminate the Anglo- Japanese Alliance of 1902 and accept the Four Power Pact, which ratified the existing territorial possessions in the Pacific region. Japan was compelled to sign the nine power Treaty by which the signatories were bound to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of China and respect the open Door policy announced by USA in China. Japan was pressurized to withdraw her forces from Siberia and restore political control of china in Shantung. Finally, the Five Power Naval Treaty established the unequal ratio of Britain, America and Japan in the proportion of 5:5:3. Thus, the outcome of the Washington Conference was considered as a great setback by the Japanese military and ultra – nationalists. They blamed the party government for its inability to secure more favourable terms for Japan at the Conference of 1930. Japan tried to change the unequal naval

ratio 5:5:3 determined at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. but Japan did not succeed in her efforts. This led the Japanese military to hate the policies of the Liberal government and the rise of militarism took place in Japan.

### **Check form progress**

Q. Write a short note on the contribution of the Zaibatsu towards the rise of militarism in Japan.

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## **12.5 RISE OF ULTRA- NATIONALIST GROUPS**

After the Washington Conference of 1921-22, there came up several ultra- nationalist groups, radical societies and terrorist organizations in Japan, which paved the way for the rise of militarism in Japan. Some of the important groups were as 1. Gen Yosha 2. The Black Dragon Society. 3. The Japan National Socialist Party. 4. The State Shintoists 5. The Sakurakai. Among these groups the first group Gen Yosha was popularly Known as the Sea of Genkai, that was founded in 1881 and had three aims as crossing the sea of Genkai means adopting the policy of expansion, patriotic devotion to the emperor and the support for the movement popular rights. Thus, this group favoured the rise of militarism in Japan. The other groups like the Black Dragon Society and the Japanese Production Party emphasized on the attainment of national economic self- sufficiency and equitable distribution of sources of income. They advocated the expansion in the Japanese empire in the Amur River region and realization of its empire in the Greater East Asia. The Black Dragon party had very dominant leaders like Kitalkki and Dr. Okawa Shumei, who advocated the reconstruction of Japan around the military and the high status to the soldiers and peasants. They influenced the younger and petty military officials, who believed in the Emperor worship cult and opposed to Liberalism, Socialism and communism. Their ideology was authoritarian, anti-Parliamentarian, anti- democratic and opposed to disarmament and were suspicious about the work of the League of Nations. There were several terrorist organizations in Japan, who tried to establish a military dictatorship in Japan, when it failed they plotted to assassinate the whole cabinet and bring the whole government into their hands. However, before the plot was materialized, the leaders

involved in the plot were arrested. Finally, the terrorist groups, assassinated to successive Prime Ministers namely Hamaguchi in 1931 and the second Inukai in 1932. Thus, these developments paved the way for the rise of militarism in Japan in 1932.

### **Check form progress**

Q1. How far the setback in foreign policy of Japan led to the rise of militarism in the country?

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## **12.6 THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS**

This crisis also contributed to the rise of militarism in Japan. In 1931, there was a clear split between the Liberal Government in Tokyo and the military classes. This was further divided into armed clashes by an explosion of bomb on the Southern Railroad near Mukden, on the night 18-19 September, 1931. This incident provoked the Japanese armed forces to control Mukden, the Capital of Manchuria and Later whole Manchuria on the basis of protecting Japanese people and their property. After the critical assessment and coming to a certain conclusion of the crisis by the League of Nations, Japan declared that there was no interference of Japan but it was the work of the independent State of Manchukuo and gave up her membership of the league of Nations, in order to avoid any action by the League of Nation. Thus, Manchurian incidence brought military leadership to the forefront in Japan and led her to enter the age of militarism, giving whole Japanese administration in the hands armed personnel.

## **12.7 NATURE OF THE WAR**

It was a 'total war'— a war in which all the resources of the country and all the activity of the country was mobilised for the war purpose. The power of the State was fully exercised. It took control of all the activities of every sphere of life and subordinated them to the needs of the war. Food and many other things were rationed private houses taken over by government, factories controlled, the universal blackout was declared — these and many other factors brought the war home to every family. In a sense everybody was made to contribute to the war effort.



Secondly, the scope of the war was worldwide and so was its strategy. Its battles were fought in every part of the globe-in the deserts of Africa, in the jungles of Burma, in the islands of the Pacific in the Far East.

Thirdly, this war was different in strategy and method. The First World War was static and its main feature was trench- warfare. In the second war the armies moved with great speed. Hitler's BLITZKRIEG, or lightening war struck down six countries in a period of three months. This was possible because of the close co-operation between the German land and air forces and the perfect organisation of the supply services. Another feature of the war was the powerful use of the airforce.

Lastly, it was a war of ideas and also of nations. The Nazis were motivated by their philosophy of the superior Aryan race and their belief that the inferior races must work for them. This philosophy made them very aggressive. Nazism stood for a totalitarian state in which there was no room for individual freedom. Hence it was a challenge to the western democratic way of life. The struggle between the two worlds did not permit any compromise. The Nazis did not bother about human rights or moral considerations, and committed terrible crimes against humanity. Hence to fight against Nazism was to fight for freedom and civilization. President Roosevelt summed up the war aims of the Allies as consisting of four freedoms, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and political freedom. Thus the ideology of the Allies was totally different from that of the Axis Powers. Much more than political liberty was at stake, civilisation was being threatened.

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## **12.8 CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

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### **12.8.1 Treaty of Versailles**

The injustice of the Treaty of Versailles was largely responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. This treaty showed a spirit of vengeance by imposing severe terms and restrictions on Germany. It had stripped her of all armaments and left her powerless before the enemy. It deprived her of all her colonies, burdened her with a huge war indemnity, and placed the war guilt only on her shoulders. All this was done without giving Germany any opportunity to negotiate. Forced to accept a dictated peace treaty the Germany felt deeply humiliated. They felt that a deep injustice had been done to them. The series of economic problems that followed only increased the resentment that the Germans felt towards the Allies. They wanted to be free of their economic problems. Hitler promised to get rid of the root cause of their problems and he began by defying the treaty of Versailles. Had

the Allies shown good sense and revised the treaty from time to time, then the war would not have happened. But the shortsighted and selfish policy of the Allies was as much responsible for the war as was Hitler's aggressive policy.

### **12.8.2 Failure of the League of nations:**

Had the League of Nations done its duty well, there would have been no war. The League failed to come up to the expectations of the peoples of the world. The League had become nothing more than a debating society since the powers used it for their own personal objectives.

Britain used the League as an alternative to Bolshevism

France used the League to see that Germany did not break the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. To her the League was an instrument to guarantee her security against a revengeful Germany.

The Nazis called the League, " a joint-stock company for the preservation of the booty won in the war".

The first shock to the League came from Japan. In 1931, she occupied the Chinese territory of Manchuria and set up a puppet government there. Though the League condemned the act, Japan walked out of the League in 1933. This was a serious blow.

Hitler very systematically violated the Treaty of Versailles and then left the League.

In 1935, Mussolini attacked Abyssinia. The League declared Italy to be the aggressor and applied economic sanctions. Unfortunately the sanctions were not applied seriously by the members of the League. After occupying Abyssinia, Mussolini withdrew from the League in 1936. The action of Italy was a shattering blow to the League. It proved beyond a doubt, that the League had no "teeth" and could not prevent its members from fighting with one another. It proved that collective security was an idle dream.

### **12.8.3 Problem of Minorities:**

When the U.S.A. entered the First World War in 1917 the Allied Powers promised to fight for the principle of 'self-determination' of all people. But this was not what happened at the Paris Peace Conference. There were nearly 30 million minority groups living in lands not their own. In Rumania for example there were about one and a half million Hungarians, and some more Hungarians lived in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In Czechoslovakia there were nearly three and a half million

Sudeten Germans. Likewise there were Hungarians, Poles, Germans, Italians Bulgars, Albanians, Russians and Macedonians living in other countries. The principle of self-determination had certainly not been applied for them. Austria had not been allowed to join Germany. As a result, Hitler found justification for annexing Austria and Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. He invaded Poland in 1939 for the same reason.

#### **12.8.4 Failure of Disarmament Efforts:**

The question of disarmament is closely connected with security. All nations were concerned with security but this would remain on paper only, until they were persuaded to disarm themselves. Each country waited for the other to begin disarming first. By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had been forced to disarm. She had hoped all nations would also bring about a certain degree of disarmament, since the terms of the League Covenant provided for it.

Some success was achieved in the field of naval armaments. In 1921, at the Washington Conference, USA, Japan, France and Italy agreed to limit their navies in a fixed ratio.

Attempts were also made to secure a limitation on land armaments. The World Disarmament Conference met at Geneva in 1932 but came to nothing. From the beginning, France and Germany had totally opposite viewpoints. Germany demanded parity with France. France would not disarm because to her, security meant the isolation and total disarmament of Germany. Britain and USA could not convince France and so the final attempt of the League ended in failure.

#### **12.8.5 Aggressive nationalism:**

The First World War resulted in the toppling of four monarchies and the collapse of their empires. It led to the creation of new nations on the basis of the principle of self-determination as proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson. It was but natural that the people from these nations should feel proud of their countries. Unfortunately, the nationalistic spirit took an extreme and aggressive form. Nationalism was emphasized and promoted by Mussolini and the Fascist Party. Italians were continuously reminded of their past greatness and their future destiny as a nation. Mussolini tried to revive the glory of the ancient Roman Empire and advocated the use of force to attain such a goal. The Germans had been humiliated after the war. Hitler promised to restore the national pride and glory by tearing up the Treaty of Versailles. Through his speeches, Hitler promoted a sense of militant nationalism.

Militant nationalism was used to promote imperialistic expansion.

Japans activities in the Far East, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, and Hitler's invasions of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland finally brought the world to another war.

#### **12.8.6 Rise of Dictators:**

Practically all countries faced severe problems after the war. Governments were unable to cope with unemployment, food-shortage and inflation. The Great Depression of 1929 brought even more hardships. So countries became a breeding ground for the rise of dictatorships. In Italy Mussolini came to power with promises to set things right. In Russia, Stalin started five year plans by which the people gained economic development at the cost of their personal liberty. Out of the civil war in Spain, General Franco emerged as dictator. Similarly, Portugal also welcomed a dictator. In the Far East, the military generals supported the Japanese Emperor. The political scene was fast changing and it is no small wonder that Germany too embraced an ambitious dictator. These dictatorships used violence at home and had no problem using it abroad. It was a prime means of securing and strengthening their hold on their people. These dictatorships were militantly aggressive.

#### **12.8.7 Policy of Appeasement:**

European affairs between March 1938 and April 1939 were dominated by the full-scale implementation of Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. This policy was based on a number of considerations;

- (1) Britain and France did not agree on many issues. France wanted Germany to be economically crippled. Britain disagreed, because British economic recovery depended on German economic recovery.
- (2) The most significant basis of this policy was the fear of Communism. Britain, France and USA did not want Russia to become a world power.
- (3) This policy also rested on a careful calculation of the balance of power. Germany, Italy, Japan and other dictators too, were against Communism and ready to destroy it. The Western Powers wanted to see Germany, Japan and Russia fight each other and perhaps destroy each other.
- (4) This policy was also based on their internal weakness. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, believed that the policy of appeasement would either avert a war or at least delay it long enough for Britain and France to be ready for the war.
- (5) Finally, the British did not really understand the new generation

of dictators. Neville Chamberlain believed that once the injustices in the Treaty of Versailles were removed, Hitler would not fight a war.

#### **12.8.8 Hitler's Foreign Policy:**

One of the promises that Hitler made to the Germans was that he would recover for Germany her position of power. His view of the Third Reich was an Empire that included all Germans within one nation. He intended to annex territory that had a German population, which meant Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

- (1) Hitler first turned his attention to Austria. He encouraged Nazi agitation within Austria, bullied the Austrian Chancellor to appoint a Nazi minister and forced him to conduct Austria's foreign policy at Germany's dictation. In 1938, Hitler sent German armies into Austria and brought about ANSCHLUSS (union) with Germany.
- (2) The Nazi dictator then turned his attention to Sudetenland where a large number of Germans were living. He accused the Czech government of oppressing the German minority. The Czech government replied that it had given equal privileges to all its citizens. Hitler was not satisfied and said that he would help the Sudetens. Britain and France were very concerned with this development and in September 1938, together with Italy they signed the MUNICH PACT. Hitler was permitted to annex Sudetenland on condition that in future he did not want more territory.
- (3) This policy of appeasement exposed the weakness of Britain and France. Hitler became bolder and he conquered Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. Hitler forced Lithuania to hand over Memel to Germany.

#### **12.8.9 Immediate cause of the War:**

Hitler's plans involved Poland. He demanded that Danzig be returned to Germany and the Polish Corridor as well. This demand proved too much for the British. Chamberlain gave up his policy of appeasement and announced that in case Poland was attacked, Britain would come to her aid. He concluded a formal alliance with France and Poland, and the three Powers agreed to guarantee one another's independence and territorial integrity. Hitler moved swiftly and signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Russia for ten years. Hitler was convinced that Britain and France would not fight. On September 1, German troops invaded Poland without any declaration of war. On 3 September Britain and France declared war on Germany. Thus began the Second World War.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Trace the causes of the World War II.

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## **12.9 MAIN EVENTS (COURSE) OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

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### **THE BLITZKRIEG:**

The long war began with Germany's invasion of Poland. It was here that the new German strategy of BLITZKRIEG or lightening war was first demonstrated. The Polish capital of Warsaw fell in two weeks. Russia invaded eastern Poland according to her Pact with Germany, and Poland was partitioned between them.

Hitler next attacked NORWAY because he wanted the iron mines for his war production. Then one after another he took control of HOLLAND, BELGIUM and FRANCE. The German army entered France on June 5, and in less than three weeks the French General Marshal Petain signed an unconditional surrender. The world was shocked at the success of Hitler's Blitzkrieg.

Mussolini joined the war on the side of Germany and seized NICE from Italy.

### **THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN, 1940-1941:**

With the fall of France, Britain was left alone to fight Germany. Hitler chose not to invade Britain immediately. He tried to break down the British morale by heavy air attacks and large-scale sinking of British ships. The Luftwaffe (German airforce) bombed Britain's industrial areas, the ports and London itself, for a year (August 1940 – June 1941.) But the British fought back with great determination. They had a skilful system of air-raid precautions. The pilots of the British Royal Air Force did a splendid job in fighting off the Germans. WINSTON CHURCHILL, the war-time Prime Minister of Britain, paid rich tributes to the R.A.F. pilots with these words, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." It was during this time that USA supplied war materials on a lend-lease basis to Britain.

**INVASION OF RUSSIA:**

The Non-Aggression Pact signed between Russia and Germany proved to be for a short time only. Stalin did not like the German occupation of Balkan territory. The conquest of Yugoslavia by Germany and quarrel over sharing the territory created a division between the two countries. In June 1941, Hitler attacked Russia by ordering a well-coordinated and massive attack. The German army advanced from three directions. In the south, the German advance was swift but as the Russians retreated they destroyed all bridges, factories, railways and even crops growing in the fields. It was a "scorched earth" policy, to prevent the Germans from getting any kind of advantage. In the northern area, the German troops laid siege to LENINGRAD. It was a matter of life and death for Russia and her patriotic citizens fought it out. The over-confident Hitler did not take into account the Russian winter. The Russian winter froze the German soldiers and the Battle for Russia turned out to be a great disaster for Germany.

**PEARL HARBOUR AND JAPANESE SUCCESS:**

The war was converted into a global conflict when Japan invaded the USA naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on December 7, 1941. Three days later they sank two British battleships. They captured Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma. The Dutch East Indies were conquered and the Philippines surrendered after four months of fierce fighting. By October 1942, Japan was at the gates of India's eastern frontiers, and controlling an empire stretching over three million square miles.

**ALLIED VICTORIES IN NORTH AFRICA AND ITALY:**

From the beginning 1943, the prospects of the Allies improved in the west. The Eighth Army under the command of General Montgomery won a historic battle against General Rommel (German tank Commander) at EL ALAMEIN. At the same time a large British and American force under General Eisenhower landed in northwest Africa near Algiers. The two Allied armies after some fierce fighting, joined up in Tunisia and compelled the whole enemy force to surrender in May 1943. The German struggle in North Africa came to an end.

The Allies next invaded and took Sicily. From there they began to march to Rome. Mussolini fell from power and Italy surrendered unconditionally. But the German army in Italy offered a tough resistance and Rome was only taken in June 1944. Before this, Mussolini had been shot dead by the anti-Fascists.



### THE D-DAY INVASIONS:

One of the most spectacular events of the second world war was the Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944, led by General Eisenhower. Before this day the Allies bombed Germany fiercely. The Ruhr and other industrial centres, the railway and canal system—all were heavily damaged by this constant bombing. When the Allies landed, the Germans put up a stiff resistance but were pushed back everywhere. In August, Paris was liberated. Soon after the Germans were expelled from Belgium and Holland. The Allies penetrated through Germany's weak defenses and moved across the German frontier. Meanwhile the Russians had opened their great offensive through Poland and were fighting in Berlin. Hitler committed suicide, and on May 7, 1945 Germany surrendered. Hitler's successor Admiral Doenitz signed the peace agreement.

### THE PACIFIC WAR:

Although the guns were silent in Europe, the war had not ended. Japan continued to fight. A British and Indian army fought Japan steadily in the jungles of Burma, while the Americans attacked the Japanese bases in the southwest Pacific. The battle was fierce and the Americans took island by island, till they reached Okinawa. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in the battle for Okinawa, but the Americans won.

The Allies then issued an ultimatum threatening Japan with prompt and utter destruction if she did not surrender. The Japanese government turned down the proposal. The Americans were left with no options and they dropped the atom bombs on HIROSHIMA and NAGASAKI. The two cities were completely destroyed and Japan realising the hopelessness of the situation surrendered on August 14, 1945. The nuclear holocaust came as a finale to the Second World War.<sup>2</sup>

#### Check Your Progress:

Enumerate briefly the main events during the World War II.

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### 12.10 PEACE TREATIES AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

Regarding the fate of Germany, the Allies had made their aims

known through the Atlantic Charter and the Conferences held in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. Germany and her capital was to be divided into zones and occupied by Russia, France, Britain and USA. The Nazi leaders were to be tried for their offences and punished. The Franco-German frontier of 1939 was restored. After a plebiscite the Saar was annexed to Western Germany. Russia and the Western Allies quarreled over many issues and the unification of Germany remained unsolved.

A Council of Foreign Ministers prepared drafts of peace treaties to be signed by Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland. The Paris Peace Conference was held in July 1946, which was attended by 21 nations. In February 1947, these countries signed their treaties after pleading their cases.

- (1) Italy surrendered all her territorial conquests gained after the First World War. Albania became independent and Communist. Trieste was divided into two zones and occupied by Anglo-American and Yugoslav forces.
- (2) Austria was separated from Germany and occupied by the Four Powers until 1955.
- (3) Hungary and Bulgaria came under communist governments.
- (4) Finland ceded some territory to Russia.
- (5) The Allies under General Mac Arthur occupied Japan until 1951. Japan signed treaties with Britain, France and USA. She gave up her control over Korea, Formosa, Sakhalin and Kurile Islands, and signed a defense treaty with the USA permitting her forces to remain in Japan.

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## **12.11 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II**

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The Second World War like the First, brought economic, social and political changes. In 1945 the most drastic economic and social changes came in central and Eastern Europe, and where many countries underwent a complete economic reorganization under Communist control. The greatest political upheavals came in the Asiatic countries of China, India, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia.

World War II produces catastrophic results, unparalleled in the history of mankind.

- (1) During the five years and ten months of war, it was estimated that twelve million soldiers were killed in action. Another twenty five million died due to starvation and disease. About 1,60,000 people died in Japan because of the atom bombs. Even today the children of those who survived the holocaust, suffer from skin

diseases and cancer. The numbers will never be accurate, but this time women and children figured very high on the death roll.

- (2) The USA spent nearly 350 billion dollars. The other countries may have spent something like a trillion dollars (i.e. 1,000 billion.) In terms of damage the cost was another trillion dollars.
- (3) At the end of the war Europe found itself completely ruined. Almost every European State had witnessed heavy bombing. Industries were destroyed, ports, railways, bridges were destroyed and civilian homes as well.
- (4) The war caused sufferings to millions of people all over the world. Everything was in short supply. There was scarcity of foodstuff, kerosene, building materials etc. Prices shot up and the standard of living went right down.
- (5) Every country found itself bankrupt and this affected political life. European nations came to be influenced by socialist and leftist ideas. E.g. the Labour Government came to power in Britain soon after the war.
- (6) The people of the world were horrified at the MORAL DEGENERATION of all humanity. Man had committed the worst possible cruelties and atrocities on other innocent human beings. The Nazis had massacred millions of Jews in the most terrible way. The dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki proved that man was prepared to wipe out his own species. Acts like these showed the depth of moral degradation.
- (7) The three great Axis Powers i.e. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan were completely crushed. (a) GERMANY was split into four zones, and each zone was put under the control of USA, Britain, France and Soviet Russia respectively. The capital city of Berlin was also divided into four zones. These zones were under foreign military control between 1945-1948. (b) Italy lost all her colonial possessions. She had to pay a war indemnity and Russia got a hundred million dollars as reparation from Italy. She collapsed economically and the Marshall Plan helped her to recover. (c) Japan too lost her entire colonial empire including Korea, Manchuria and Taiwan. The Allied Forces (SCAP) under General Eisenhower of the USA occupied her. Today all these three countries under democratic governments have staged an economic recovery.
- (8) World War II brought about changes in the positions of then Allied countries as well. Britain and France lost their positions as super powers and they gave up this position to USA and USSR. After the War Britain and France were faced with domestic and external

problems. Both of them could no longer hold their respective colonies. Their economies were almost bankrupt.

- (9) One of the surprising results of the war was the rise of USSR as a super power. She was partly responsible for the defeat of Germany. The heroism shown by her people at the time of the war, could hardly be forgotten.
- (10) The USA played a pivotal role in winning the war. The USA had benefited financially in a tremendous way and her industrialists had made huge profits. During the war the USA had loaned money to many countries. After the war, since her financial position was secure she continued to loan money to war-torn countries.
- (11) These two new Super Powers, USA and USSR, represented totally different ideologies. USA represented the Capitalist bloc and USSR represented the Communist bloc. The “cold war,” between the two lasted from 1945 -1989.
- (12) The most far-reaching consequence of the war was the colonial revolution. The people of the colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland revolted against the domination of the white man. They were determined to have their freedom. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indo-China, Israel, Iran, Syria, Ethiopia, Libya and states in Africa, all won their independence soon after the war.
- (13) The United Nations Organisation (UNO) was born in 1945. Although the League of Nations failed, mankind did not lose its hopes of making the world a safer place. The UN Charter was signed at San Francisco and it contains the hope that countries can work together to maintain peace.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Bring out the Important effects of the World War II?

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## **12.12 SUMMARY**

After, the rise of militarism in Japan in 1932, it launched the military

campaigns in the Far East, the mainland of China and started the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. This incident led Japan to enter the second World War in 1939 and finally it was to face the consequences of its policy i.e. bomb attack by America in 1945.

Even though all countries in Europe and the world had suffered so much due to the First World War, they did not seem to have learnt a lesson. In less than 33 years these same countries were at war again.

Though there is no doubt that the rise of dictators like Hitler and Mussolini was responsible for the war, yet we should not overlook the deeper reasons. The Treaty of Versailles had humiliated and hurt Germany deeply and also destroyed her economically. Germany wanted her revenge. Nationalism all over became aggressive and national minorities fought for their independence. Though the League of Nations had tried to stop the race for armaments, it was unsuccessful. Once again the world was an armed camp. Surprisingly, Britain and France followed a policy of appeasement, whenever Hitler went against the Treaty of Versailles. Nobody stopped him and he took advantage.

Hitler invaded Austria, Sudetenland and finally Poland. This led the whole world into war again. On one side were the Axis Powers i.e. Germany, Italy, and Japan. On the other side were the Allied Powers who included USA, Britain and France. Russia at first was with the Axis Powers but when Germany attacked her, She was forced to join hands with the Allies.

The Allies were finally successful but they paid a heavy price. There was immense loss of life and destruction of property. When Japan refused to surrender, the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Allies were careful not to be harsh at the peace conference. The Second World War saw the rise of two new Super Powers, USA and USSR. Britain and France were now second rate powers. Germany, Italy and Japan were economically destroyed. Japan was occupied by SCAP to help with its economic recovery. Finally the UNO was established in an attempt to maintain peace and cooperation among all nations.

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## 12.13 QUESTIONS

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1. Account for the rise of militarism in Japan.
2. Explain the role of the Zaibatsu in the rise of militarism in Japan.
3. Discuss in brief the foreign policy of Japan after the World War

4. What were the major causes of World War II?
5. Analyse the causes of World War II.
6. Discuss the Important effects of World War II.
7. Write short notes on the following,
  - (a) Nature of World War II
  - (b) Course of World War II
  - (c) Main events during World War II

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**Module 7**  
**Nationalist and Freedom Movements**  
**(Far East and South East Asia)**  
**A Dr. Sun-yat-sen and China**  
**B Ho-chi-minh, Dr. Sukarno and**  
**Aung Sang**

**Unit Structure**

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Dr. sun-yat-sen and Nationalism in China
- 13.3 Beginning of National Awakening
- 13.4 The three principles of Dr. sun-yat-sen
- 13.5 Ho-chi-minh and National movement in Indo-China
  - 13.5.1 Beginning of nationalism
  - 13.5.2 The emergence of Ho-chi-minh
  - 13.5.3 The foundation of Vietminh
  - 13.5.4 Establishment of the Republic of Vietnam
  - 13.5.5 The Geneva Conference
- 13.6 Dr. Sukarno and Nationalism in Indonesia
  - 13.6.1 Rise of Nationalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century
  - 13.6.2 Contribution of Sukarno
  - 13.6.3 Sukarno's guided democracy
- 13.7 Summary
- 13.8 Questions

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**13.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After the study of this module, the student will be able to understand the factors that led to the rise of nationalism in China:

- Describe the cause of the Revolution of 1911.
- Discuss the three people's principles.



- Comprehend the role of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in the history of China.
- To survey the conditions prevailing in Asian countries.
- To analyse the causes of the exploitation of Asian countries by Western Nations.
- To explore into the factors that gave rise to consciousness in Asia.
- To know about the national movements in Indo-china, Indonesia, China and India.

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### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

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#### **Dr. sunyat sen and Nationalism in China:**

The Manchu dynasty ruled China since 1650. But the rulers were weak and inefficient. Power passed in the hands of feudal officers called war lords. The country remained politically unstable, economically backward and exploited. Foreign countries took advantage. They entered the country as traders. Gradually they forced the rulers to grant concessions for trade. They smuggled opium into China. The youth fell a prey to opium addiction. When the Manchus objected the western nations fought two opium wars against China. The Manchus were defeated. They had to sign treaties according to which many Chinese ports were opened to western nations. The British captured Hongkong. The French, Germans, Belgians and Americans, were interested in exploiting the country. The Open Door Policy was formulated, by which the foreign countries, divided China into spheres of interest. It meant that politically China would be ruled by the Manchus, but economically every foreign nation would dominate over its sphere of interest. Thus the condition of China was miserable.

In earlier units we have learnt about the modernisation of European countries. We know how the Europeans put forward democratic ideals. As a result of political, social and economic progress, there was rise of imperialism. The industrial revolution led to colonisation. There was a need for raw material for the industries. Europeans had to search for colonies in Asia and Africa. Comparatively these areas were backward. Gradually almost all Asian and African nations fell a prey to Western imperialism. In this unit we will try to understand how Asia and Africa became conscious. There were freedom movements in all countries. Finally most of them threw the foreign yoke and became independent.

The first part deals with the history of Indo China in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The French colonised Indo-china. They forced the inhabitants into all sorts of exploitation. The country was politically occupied, economically and socially suppressed. However western education aroused the people. Dr. Ho-Chi-minn led them towards freedom.

The second part of the unit conveys the story of the Struggle of the people of Indonesia. This group of Islands was conquered by the Dutch. The poor inhabitants had to fight for independence. They were brought together by Sukarno later he became the President of Indonesia.

China faced similar exploitation by European and other imperialist powers. Politically the country was not captured, but it was economically exploited. The weak Manchu dynasty and subsequent weak Presidents could not escape humiliation. Finally Mao-Zedong organised the communist party, which fought against foreigners and other forces, which kept the country divided.

The last part of the unit deals with the Indian national movement. India was colonised by the British. About two-thirds of India was under direct British rule. There were attempts to revolt against the British. Some uprisings failed, but they aroused the people. The Indian National Congress and other parties, waged a long struggle against the British. In 1947 India got freedom.

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## **13.2 BEGINNING OF NATIONAL AWAKENING**

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The educated involved into secret revolutionary societies. They protested several times. A major episode was the Boxer's rebellion in 1900. The Boxers attacked European missionaries and foreign embassies. To save themselves America, England, Russia, Germany and Japan sent armies into China. The rebellion was suppressed. China was once again forced to accept the humiliating terms of the treaty, which was signed.

### **13.2.1 Revolution of 1911:**

#### **Early Life Dr. sun-yat-sen:**

Dr. sun-yat-sen has been respected the father nation of China as Mahatma Gandhi has been respected as the father of nation of India. Dr. sun-yat-sen was senior by three years to Mahatma Gandhiji i.e. he was born on 12th November, 1866 at a village Hsiang-Shan, in the district of Tsui-Hang in as prosperous farmers family. Dr. sun-yat-sen studied at his village upto the age of 14 and then he was shifted to the Church of Englad chool, Honolulu, where his elder brother had a business establishment there. He studied mathematics, History and English in that school, which created profound impression in his tender mind. Dr. sun-yat-sen was further shifted to Hongkong, where he studied medicine and became a qualified surgeon. Sir James Cantile, one of the one of the reputed surgeon of his time became a good friend of Dr. sun-yat-sen, who induced him to undertake social work with him

and converted him to Christianity. After completing his medical degree at Queens College, Hong Kong Dr. Sun Yat-sen went to Macao to start his medical practice over there but the Portuguese Government of Macao did not permit him to start the practice because Dr. Sun Yat-sen had no medical degree from a Portuguese institution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was terribly stunned due to this institution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was terribly stunned due to this experience and decided to become a revolutionary like Dr. Ho Chi Minh of Indo China.

### **Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a Revolutionary:**

He himself established as a major revolutionary up to 1885, in which his secret Society known as the Revive China Society, played an important role and helped him to get married with a daughter Charles Jones, a wealthy merchant of Shanghai, Dr. Sun Yat-sen made Hong Kong his base for revolutionary activities and tried to seize Canton but he could not succeed, which made him to go underground for sometime. Dr. Sun Yat-sen left for Tokyo, Japan in order to avoid arrest by Chinese police. Japanese Government helped him with men and material for revolutionary activities, which he supervised from Tokyo. In 1896, Dr. Sun Yat-sen left Japan for London, where he was arrested by the Chinese intelligence, but Sir Charles Cantlie, once his British friend, managed to secure his release. His arrest and subsequent release made Dr. Sun Yat-sen extremely popular as a revolutionary and reformer, who was fighting against the autocratic government in China. The London episode led him to acquaint with the European revolutionaries and brought Chinese soldiers very close to him, who helped Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the revolution of 1911.

### **Dr. Sun Yat-sen and World War II:**

During the first World War Dr. Sun Yat-sen had been out of any scenario. There was a struggle between parties for powers. Despite the allies had forced China to enter the war against Germany. General Chen one of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's followers defeated his adversaries and declared Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a President of the Chinese Republic at Canton in 1920. Dr. Sun expected help from the Western powers but it was not possible because they wanted a strong man as a ruler of China not a democrat. The Western powers had decided to continue their imperial interests in China for which they needed a despotic ruler rather than Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This dismayed Dr. Sun Yat-sen and reminded him the betrayal of China at the Versailles by the Western Powers.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen got a favourable response from communist Russia, who sent Adolph Joffe to help him Dr. Sun Yat-sen in organisational work in China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had a dream of bringing whole China

under the control of his Republic but Wu-Pel-Fu, one of the warlords was creating problems in the Northern China, Dr. sun-yat-sen wanted to overpower as soon as possible. Dr. sun-yat-sen, therefore, sought alliance with Tuan and Chang the other two war lords of China but they took decision on their own before V reaching the meeting at Peking. These warlords is not help him, he saw his dreams shattered and died of a broken heart on 12th March, 1925. His death made him a legendary hero, the father of Nation of China.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was a Chinese patriot. He founded the Chinese Revival Society to save the nation. He aroused people by his anti-Manchu and anti-foreign speeches. Young students got attracted to his thoughts. Sun wanted to reorganise China on modern lines. He devised his own programme of social reform based on three principles. This later became his revolutionary philosophy.

**The Three Principles Dr. sun-yat-sen were :**

1. Min-tsu-chu-i or Nationalism
2. Min-chuan-chu-i- or Democracy
3. Min-sheng-chu-i- or Peoples livelihood.

He formed a secret party called Tung-meng-hui. Its branches were established in many provinces. This party was later called Kuo ming tang or KMT.

People in China were tired of the weak Manchu regime. They were aroused by the revolutionary organisations. The revolution of 1911 began suddenly. A police firing in Hankow led to the publication of a list of conspirators. So they revolted immediately. The local armies joined and the revolt spread rapidly. Dr. Sun was at Tokyo. He directed the activities from there.

The Government tried to suppress the uprising Gen-Yuan Shikai was told to put down the same. Meanwhile the revolutionaries captured South China and proclaimed it independent. Yuan found it difficult to save monarchy. He compromised with the revolutionaries, on the condition that he would be the President of the new state. The people had no resources to carry the struggle. So Sun Yat Sen offered the post to Yuan. The Manchu ruler Pu-Yi transferred, power to Yuan since he was helpless. Thus monarchy was overthrown and China was proclaimed a republic.

**13.2.2 China between 1912 and 1928:**

After becoming the President, Yuan grabbed all power. His ambition was to become the emperor. Chinese people did not like

this. There were protests, uprisings etc. leading to decrease of his power. War lords emerged in provinces. They considered themselves independent.

Dr. Sun therefore, tried to get foreign support. Yuan died in 1916, leaving China as divided as before. Dr. Sun had to organise the party to establish control over China. He was influenced by the success of Bolsheviks in Russia. He asked help from Bolsheviks. They agreed. Michael Borodin was sent to reorganise KMT on communist lines. But the alliance of KMT and communists was temporary. The communists tried to side track Dr. Sun. He could not do much and died a sad man in the year 1925. His successor to the KMT party was Chiang kai shek. Chiang was the President of China. But hardly, any China was under him. It was grabbed by the war lords Secondly, he also to face the Japanese and Communists.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss briefly the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

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## **13.3 RISE OF MAO-TSE TUNG (MAO ZEDONG)**

Marxist ideas spread into China. Intellectuals got attracted. The May Fourth movement saw the beginning of organisations of students and intellectuals. In 1921 all such people got together to form the Communist Party. It was guided by Russian Communists. Mao tse tung was a founder member. Soon he emerged as an important leader of the party.

The early activites included arousal of workers and peasants, strikes, demonstrations etc. later the Communists compromised with Chiang kai shek and formed a United Front to defend China against the imperialist Japan. However Chiang was suspicious of the communists and suppressed them. They had to run to save their lives.

In 1934 Mao organised the Long March. It was a programme to revitalise his followers. Mao began the march from Hunan in South China. About a lakh people joined him. The aim was to, travel and establish a new centre for communists. It was a hard journey through

rivers, mountains and jungles. On the way Mao and his men, spoke to peasants and asked for their support. Weapons were also given to peasant leaders, for future struggle. The areas that they passed were claimed by them. However, they had to fight with war lords and also Chiangs' army. Finally Mao and others reached Shensi and they stopped. Shensi became their new centre. The Long March was a great success for Mao. It gave him name, fame and power. He got the goodwill of masses - peasants and workers and emerged the leader of China.

### **13.3.1 Japanese Imperialism:**

Japan had modernised in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Soon there began a militant period in Japan. Military leaders wanted to grab territories. China being weak, Japan set eyes on her. In 1916 Japan presented to China 21 Demands. If accepted, it would make China a Japanese Colony. But China was saved by international pressure on Japan.

In 1931, Japan went ahead and grabbed Manchuria, a Chinese province rich in natural wealth. It was clear that Japan would snatch some more parts of China. Chiang kai shek was too weak and helpless. To save the country, Chiang took Mao's hand in hand. A second united front was made. But nothing kept Japanese away.

In 1935 Japan captured coastal areas of South East China. Puppet regime was established. In 1937, Japan formally announced war on China. By 1939, many parts of China, fell to the Japanese. In 1939, the Second World War began. Japan got involved in it. The China war continued as a part of the World War.

### **13.3.2 The Civil War in China:**

It was a war fought between Chiang's Nationalist government and Mao's communist force. It began in 1926 and ended in 1949 with the establishment of Communist regime of Mao.

The first phase began with Chiang's campaign to crush communists. Gradually the communists were revitalised by Mao, through the Long March. Mao captured rural areas of interior China. There he set up Soviets to administer the areas. In the meanwhile Japan captured parts of China. Thus there were 3 Chinas - that under Chiang, Mao and the Japanese. Every power tried to put down the others.

Japan lost in the second world war. She evacuated China. There was struggle between Mao and Chiang to claim the area. Heavy fighting took place. USA assisted Chiang because he was a nationalist. He got military and financial help from USA. Mao got moral and military

support from USSR. Mao was more popular among the masses. His army was better organised and disciplined.

Chiang was advised to compromise with Mao, but he did not. Finally the communists captured the entire main land of China. Chiang fled to Formosa and announced his rule over main land China. US recognised his regime. However, it was finally, agreed that China belonged to the Communist party. Thus China got her sovereignty back, in the year 1949.

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## **13.4 NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN ASIA**

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### **Indo China:**

The countries included in Indo China were Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Western countries became interested in the area, in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. The Portuguese were the first to enter the region. Traders and Christian missionaries frequented the places. The French came next. They too traded in these countries. The local population resisted the presence of foreigners, but in vain.

After 1800 French influence increased. They converted a majority of population to Christianity. Gradually, the French occupied the entire region of Indo China.

#### **13.4.1 Beginning of Nationalism:**

The French tried to keep the people unawakened. For this they suppressed every possible uprising. However they could not keep the Indo Chinese away from the ideals of democracy; which they themselves had given the world. The French spread western education, which made the locals aware of their position.

Secondly, the ruthless exploitation of the masses and the economy, kindled the light of rebellion. The French imperialists ruined the country. They considered the people backward and inferior.

Thirdly, the Japanese victory over Russia in the war of 1904-05, encouraged the people to rise against the French. They got confidence, to challenge an European power. They were inspired by the national movements in some Asian countries like India. However most of their revolts were put down by the French regime.

#### **13.4.2 The Emergence of Dr. Ho-chi-Minh:**

He was born in 1890 in Tongking. He was educated in Paris.



During the Paris Peace Conference, he had asked for independence for Indo China. But the French were too strong at the time. He wrote articles in newspapers to preach his national sentiments. He got attracted to Marxism and went to Moscow for further reading. He got training from Russian Communists. He returned to his country and founded the Indo Chinese Communist Party ICCP.

In the meanwhile some other nationalists in Indo China established Vietnam National Party. It was based on the lines of Chinese Kuomintang party. It was dominated by the wealthy and middle classes, while he attracted the masses. Both parties had different plans for the struggle for nationalism. The French managed to suppress both.

### **13..2.3 The Second World War and the Foundation of Vietminh:**

The second world war began in 1939. In 1940 France was defeated by Germany. The French colonial administration was weakened. It hardly had any forces to continue the rule in Indo-China. Japan took advantage and occupied Indo-China. Both nationalist organisations were frustrated. Ho Chi-minh studied the situation. He came to the conclusion that a united action was necessary. He knew that all patriots would help him to liberate the country. Therefore in 1941 he declared the foundation of a new unified party called the Vietminh. It was anti Japanese.

He appealed to the masses and the intellectuals, workers and farmers. He organised guerilla forces. He chalked out a plan to establish republic government. The Japanese tried to break Indo-Chinese resistance. They set up a puppet regime with Bao Dai, who belonged to the royal family. In 1945 Japan was defeated in the world war. She evacuated all her possessions; including Indo - China.

### **13..2.4 Establishment of the Republic of Vietnam:**

The Vietminh had controlled about half of Indo-China. Ho was elected its President. After Japan's defeat he declared the independence of Vietnam, which comprised Annam, Cochin China and Tonking. Hanoi was the capital of the new state. Vietnam was recognised by USSR and China, because it was a Communist State.

However, the French, who had colonised the country were not ready to give up their claim. They came back and occupied Southern Vietnam. They made Bao Dai the President of this democratic regime. Ho Chi-minh resisted this move. He organised his armed forces. He got support from USSR and China. A civil war started in November 1946 and lasted for 8 years. The Vietminh had control over rural areas. The democratic nations like USA, UK helped France and Bao Dai. Vietnam thus got involved in the cold war.

### 13..2.5 The Geneva Conference 1954:

The French government found it difficult to carry the civil war. To establish peace in the area, the Geneva conference was called. It was attended by the major countries. It declared the end of French rule in Indo-China. Laos and Cambodia were given independence. Vietnam was divided into two states. North Vietnam under Ho-chi-minh and South Vietnam under Bao Dai. After two years elections in both countries were to be held and a new united country was to be established. For the time being the country was divided at 17<sup>th</sup> parallel.

The elections never took place. North Vietnam remained a communist state under Ho. Communist guerillas were sent to carry subversive activities in neighbouring countries, specially South Vietnam. South Vietnam was ruled by Bao. He got economic and military support from Western Nations. The involvement of major nations led to a long war in Vietnam lasting from 1957 to 1975. Ho-chi-Minh brought many reforms in North Vietnam. He died in 1969. He is considered the father of the nation.

Bao did not get public support. But with the American help he and his successors continued to remain in power. Later in 1975 America found it futile to waste time and money in the war. The long war had led to tremendous loss of men and property. In 1976 America opted out of the war and the whole of Vietnam was unified under the communist government.

#### Check Your Progress:

1.Account for the rise of Ho-chi-minh in Indo China.

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### 13.5 RISE OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

Indonesia consists of Java, Sumatra and about 3000 other islands. The state was colonised by the Dutch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Till the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch followed their 'ethical policy'. It meant that, emphasis was put on social and economic progress of he islands. Indonesia was rich in natural resources and tobacco, tea, coffee plantations. Thus it was a valuable colony for the Dutch.

### **13.5.1 Rise of Nationalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century:**

In 1908 the first nationalist organisation was founded. It was called Budi Utomo. it consisted students, civil servants and other intellectuals. However it did not become a mass movement.

The Dutch exploited the locals in every manner. Western education enlightened the people. They were introduced to new ideas. This led to the foundation of Sarekat Islam or Muslim Union in 1912. The object was to unite Muslim patriots. It demanded self government in 1916.

Encouraged by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the communists within the Sarekat Islam, formed the Communist party of Indonesia. The leadership of Tan Malakka created confidence among the people. The party workers brought about strikes, protests and demonstrations against the Dutch. However they failed. The party was banned and leaders were expelled.

In 1927 a third party, was formed. It was called Partai National Indonesia. (Indonesian National Party), The leader was a young leader called Sukarno. The Dutch suppressed the party leaders. However, patriots continued their struggle for freedom, -under their leaders, specially Sukarno.

### **13.5.2 Contribution of Sukarno:**

Most of the freedom fighters were in prison when the second world war broke out. The Japanese captured almost all South East Asian nations. The Dutch also had to surrender their hold on Indonesia. The Japanese released the political leaders, including Sukarno. The leaders were divided about their reaction to Japanese occupation. Some formed secret resistance organizations. Sukarno felt that cooperating with the Japanese would be helpful in future. At the same time he asked his men to put up a resistance force.

After the defeat of Japan in the world war, Sukarno proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia. However, soon a clash occurred between his party - (the PNI) the Communist Party, and the Islamic Majsuni Party.

By the end of the year, the Dutch officials came back and re-occupied the islands. But they could not take Java and Sumatra, which were under Sukarno. The British brought some -peace but it proved to be time being. Hostilities between the Dutch and Sukarno continued. The Dutch attacked Java and Sumatra's lines of communication. There were protests from Asian countries, so the Dutch signed a ceasefire. Again in 1948, the Dutch occupied Java and Sumatra. The leaders

were imprisoned, but the army and people gave a tough fight. International pressure and UNO saved them. The Hague agreement was signed. According to it, all islands except West New Guinea were given freedom. The new country was called Indonesia. Sukarno was accepted as the President.

The new state faced economic problems. Sukarno nationalised Dutch estates and companies. Dutch residents were forced to leave the country. Still problems like unemployment, over population, poverty continued. Besides there was stiff opposition from Communist Party and Islamic Party. To solve some crisis Sukarno adopted his dictatorship called 'guided democracy'.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Trace events that led to Dr. rise of Dr. Sukarno's in Indonesia?

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### **13.5.3 Sukarno's guided democracy:**

He believed that western democracy was not suitable for his country. The problems could not be tackled by western measures. Though the constitution had recommended democracy the process had failed in Indonesia.

Sukarno was attracted towards communism. He increased the number of communists in his government. Other parties resisted and there was an attack on his life, but he escaped. His rivals said that he did nothing to solve internal problems. To divert the attention of the people, he participated in international disputes regarding Malaysia.

It is said that in 1965 the communist party organised a coup against him. Violence followed. He was openly accused of selling the country to communists. In 1967 the army revolted against him. He was forced to step down. General Suharto took the reins of the government in his hand.

Sukarno had a charismatic personality. Many considered him a god. Though he failed to solve Indonesian problems, he gets the credit, for Liberating his country from the Dutch yoke. He died in 1970 when he was house arrested.

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**13.6 QUESTIONS**

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1. Account for the rise of nationalism in China.
2. Discuss the role of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in the Revolution of 1911 in China.
3. Describe briefly the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.
4. Discuss the role of Ho-chi-minh in the National Movement of Indo-China ?
5. Account for the rise of nationalism in Indo-China.
6. Evaluate the role of Dr. Sukarno in the national movement in Indonesia ?
7. Trace the rise and growth of national movement in Indonesia ?
8. Write short notes on :
  - a) Foundation of Vietminh
  - b) Divided Democracy of Dr. Sukarno

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**Module 8****EFFORTS FOR PEACE OF INDIA****A1 International Organisations-League of Nations****A2 International Organisations United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.)****Unit Structure**

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 The Organisation of the League of Nations
- 14.3 Aims and Objectives
- 14.4 Membership
- 14.5 Main organs of the League of Nation
- 14.6 Auxillary Organs
- 14.7 Achievements of the League in the Political Field
- 14.8 Achievements of the League in the Social Field
- 14.9 Causes of the Failure of the League of Nations
- 14.10 Conclusion
- 14.11 Membership of the UNO
- 14.12 Organisation of the UNO
- 14.13 Specialised Agencies of the UNO
- 14.14 The Achievements of the UNO
- 14.15 Summary
- 14.16 Questions

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**14.0 OBJECTIVES**


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After studying of this module the student will be able to

- Understand the aim and objectives of the League of Nations.
- Comprehend the membership and organisation of the League of Nations.

- Describe the achievement of the League of Nations.
- Discuss about the failure of the League of Nations.
- Percieve the objectives and aims of the UNO.
- Understand the organisation of UNO
- Comprehend about the special agencies of UNO
- Describe the achievements of the UNO

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## 14.1 INTRODUCTION

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In January 1918, 10 months before World War I ended, President Woodrow Wilson of the U. S.A. proposed a set of war aims called the Fourteen Points. Wilson believed that the Fourteen Points would bring about a just peace settlement, which he called 'peace without victory.' Eight of Wilson's Fourteen Points dealt with specific political and territorial settlements. The rest of them put forward general principles aimed at preventing future wars. The last point proposed the establishment of an international association—later called the League of Nations—to maintain peace.

Wilson believed that as long as each nation was responsible for its own defense, world wars would continue to take place. He wanted all nations to join together in the League, and promise to defend the independence and territory of any member attacked by another nation. Wilson got other, countries to agree to his plan but the U.S.A. refused to join.

The League of Nations was established in January 1920. The main organs of the League were the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. It also functioned through auxiliary organs like the International Court.

### 14.1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE UNO:

The UNO Charter has 111 Articles and these Articles defuse, the purpose, principles and the manner in which the UNO was to be organised. According to the Preamble, the UNO will work to achieve and promote social progress and better standards of living it will strive to establish conditions of justice.

The UNG Charter contains four clear objectives:

- (1) to maintain international peace and security,
- (2) to promote friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of peoples,
- (3) to achieve international cooperation m solving various problems, and



- (4) to promote respect for human rights, dignity and freedom.

In order to achieve these objectives, the UNO has accepted certain principles. They are:

- (1) Equality of all members,
- (2) Membership is open to all peace loving nations,
- (3) Each member is expected to fulfill its obligations in good faith,
- (4) No member nation shall use force against any state and no other state shall support the aggressor state.
- (5) The UNO shall not intervene in the internal affairs of any member state.

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## **14.2 THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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The scale of the war of 1914, the immense losses which it involved, the suffering of the civilian population, the huge financial burden on the defeated and victorious countries – all these factors produced a hatred in the minds of people for war. The common feeling was that war does not solve problems. Throughout recorded History, mankind has shown a blind faith in the use of force to eliminate national problems. By substituting collective action for individual action, the League of Nations was designed to give all people a sense of security, which would make them think in terms of peace and not in terms of conflict as in the past. Thus the League tried to achieve the deepest psychological revolution – to transform the war mentality of man into a peace mentality.

The birth of this international organisation was in the form of a COVENANT (constitution) which was included in all the treaties signed at the Paris Peace Conference 1919. The founder was President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. He realised the necessity of such an organisation as a cure for all the problems that the world was suffering. The last point in his programme of 14 points, refers to a general association which would guarantee. “Political independence and territorial integrity”. During the discussions at the peace conference, he insisted on the formation of this League. The League when finally established in Geneva, was a compromise between two extreme views. It was to work as a world body with a strong commitment towards maintaining world peace even if it were to mean punishing a member which was in the wrong.

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### 14.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

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The main jobs that the League had to perform were : (a) to prevent wars, (b) to maintain peace, (c) to carry out the special duties as stated in the peace treaties , (d) to promote international co-operation.

Many articles were included within the Covenant to ensure that war was avoided. Article 10 urged all members “to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence.” Article 11 authorised the League to take suitable action to safeguard the peace of nations. Article 12 says that members should submit their disputes to arbitration. Article 15 said that any dispute which could not be settled by arbitration, should be submitted to the League’s Council. Secret treaties and agreements were forbidden. The League had the power to impose economic sanctions against any nation, which broke the law. Thus Articles 10 to 16 ensured the prevention of war and Maintenance of peace.

The other Articles mentioned the positive role that the League had to play. e.g. Article 23 referred to the promotion of just and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children. Another referred to the need for bringing about a general disarmament among nations. The Covenant made provisions for the creation of an International Court of Justice.

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### 14.4 MEMBERSHIP

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The League started functioning in January 1920 and in November shifted it’s headquarters from Paris to Geneva. Any self-governing country could become a member if two-thirds of the Assembly agreed to the membership. All peace-loving states were admitted.

There were two kinds of members of the League: Original and Non-original. The Original members were those states that had signed the Treaty of Versailles and who had joined before 20<sup>th</sup> March 1920. Non-original members were those who were admitted after that date.

When the Assembly first met in November 1920 there were 41 member states. By 1924 the number rose to 50 and by 1934 to 60. The Central Powers were not admitted for some time because they were guilty of starting World War I. Russia too did not join for a long time. The U.S.A. Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and thus did not become a member.

Membership of the League could be lost by the following methods. A nation could withdraw it’s membership of the League by giving a

two years notice. Under Article 16 of the Covenant, a nation could be expelled from the League if it went against the Covenant.

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## **14.5 MAIN ORGANS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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The main organs through which the League functioned were:  
(a) The Assembly, (b) a Council, (c) a Secretariat.

**14.5.1** The Assembly consisted of representatives of all member nations. Though each country could send three representatives, they only had a single vote. The meetings were held once a year but special sessions could be held. The Assembly controlled the League budget, admitted new members, elected the temporary Council members, and made amendments to the Covenant. On these matters the Assembly could decide by a two-thirds or a majority vote.

As a deliberative body, the Assembly could also discuss any matter that was a threat to peace for its recommendations to be accepted it needed a majority vote in the Assembly. In practice the Assembly worked well and it made real contribution to international co-operation

**14.5.2** : At the beginning, the COUNCIL was made up of four permanent members, i.e. Britain, France, Italy and Japan. There were four non-permanent members, but the number was increased to six. These seats were rotated among the small nations of the League. Germany was made a permanent member in 1926. The first non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain.

The Council met frequently. They dealt with any matter affecting peace in the world. Their duties included drawing up plans to protect members from external aggression. When disputes were brought before them they made inquiries into the matter and suggested solutions to the problem. They were required to make plans for reduction of armaments. The reports submitted by the Mandatories were studied and the administration of certain territories like the free city of Danzig were supervised.

Since the Council enjoyed executive powers, it could impose sanctions on any nation disturbing the peace. This recommendation required an unanimous vote in the Council.

### **14.5.3 The SECRETARIAT:**

provided the administrative staff of the League. A Secretary – General who was nominated by the Council and approved by the Assembly, headed a staff of about 600 officials. These officials assisted the peacekeeping work of the League. The Secretariat kept records,

maintained correspondence and helped in the work of all the organs. The Secretary – General registered and published all the treaties signed by the member nations. The secretariat provided staff for the various international organisations set up by the League to promote co-operation in international trade, finance, transportation, communication, health and science.

The first Secretary—General was SIR ERIC DRUMMOND of Great Britain from 1920 to 1993. He was helped in his duties by two Deputy Secretary-Generals and two Under-Secretaries. The official languages of the League were English and French.

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## 14.6 AUXILIARY ORGANS

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In addition to the main organs of the League, there were, a number of auxiliary organs in the of Advisory Committees and Technical Agencies. The most important were the following:

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (World Court)

Article 14 of the Covenant provided for the establishment of such a court. The draft for setting up this court was passed by the Council and also by the Assembly. The Permanent Court was composed of 11 judges and was situated at the Hague (Netherlands). The Council and the Assembly chose the judges for a term of nine years. The Court had the power to “hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties submit to it”. The court could also give advisory opinion. The Permanent Court codified international law and also interpreted the law to decide which nation had violated the law. The Court started functioning from 1921 till the end.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)

This organisation was established by Article 23. It was to be an autonomous body consisting of a General Assembly, Governing Body and an International Labour Office. The representatives in these bodies devoted their time to discuss various problems affecting labour. They worked to improve conditions of workers, especially women and children.

The League set up other minor agencies to fulfill its obligations. The Mandates Commission effectively supervised the administration of colonial territories. Another agency looked after refugees. Yet another agency, checked epidemics. Similarly, another dealt with the illegal drug trade and slavery.

### Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss in brief the organisation of the League of Nations ?

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## 14.7 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

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In the twenty years of its career, the League dealt with a large number of political disputes between nations. Many of them were settled peacefully. Disputes between smaller nations were scaled rather quickly. However the bigger and more powerful nations did not like the investigations of the League and said it violated their sovereignty. Sometimes they pressurized the League to decide in their favour. Some of the political disputes will be discussed below.

In 1920, the League settled a dispute between FINLAND and SWEDEN over the ownership of the AALAND ISLANDS. The islands were handed over to Finland but the Swedish nationality of the people was to be preserved.

In 1921, a dispute between POLAND and GERMANY over the boundary line to be drawn in UPPER SILESIA was submitted to the League. After investigations the League decided that the boundary line between Germany and Poland should pass through Upper Silesia and the area should be an economic unit supervised by the League for a period of fifteen years.

In 1921, the League secured the withdrawal of SERBLAN troops from ALBANIA by threatening to impose economic sanctions.

In 1923, ITALY attacked and occupied the GREEK ISLAND of CORFU because four of her subjects had been murdered there. The Italian government demanded an apology and reparation for the crime. The League brought about a settlement.

The League also successfully settled the MOSUL boundary dispute between BRITAIN and TURKEY. A neutral committee investigated the claims of the two countries in the oil-rich Mosul area and the League ruled in favour of Turkey.

The smooth operation of the MANDATE SYSTEM may be described as one of the greatest achievements of the League. Under Article 22, the League was to take charge of the colonies taken away from Germany and Turkey. The League appointed France and Britain as mandatory powers to look after these countries till they became independent. In 1920 a Mandatory Commission was appointed to review the progress made by these people. The League received reports from the people concerned and the governments functioning there. On the basis of these reports the Commission made recommendations to the Council.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Bring out achievements of the League of Nations ?

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## **14.8 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE IN THE SOCIAL FIELD**

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There was much constructive work done by the League through lesser bodies. Since this work was undramatic and did not involve confrontation between nations, not much has been written about it. Some of the achievements are listed below:

The League successfully looked after 30,000,000 members of national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe. A MINORITIES COMMITTEE was appointed. It supervised the resettlement of Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. The League negotiated for the return of prisoners of war in Russia.

The League did a lot of work to control the illegal drug trade and also to eliminate the trafficking of women and children.

It did a commendable job in suppressing slavery and bonded labour. In 1932 it set up a permanent Slavery Commission. The International Labour Organisation was successful in improving the conditions of labour class all over the world, particularly of women and children.

The League for the first time, spread the idea of international co-operation among peoples of the world and tried to make the world a better place to live in.

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## **14.9 CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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Although the League achieved great progress in the early years of its existence, in the long run it failed to achieve its objectives. It proved to be weak machinery, unable to prevent a war to make the world safe for democracy, and to establish peace based on justice.

Finally it was officially closed on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1946. Naturally the question as to why the League failed, has been repeatedly asked. Numerous answers have been given.

The failure of the League could be explained in terms of the following analysis:

#### **LEAGUE PART OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES:**

The Covenant, which gave birth to the League, was part of all the peace treaties. Since the treaties were one-sided and favoured only the victorious Allies, the defeated nations felt that the League was a biased body. Though they were forced to join it, they were not admitted for quite some time. Hence they viewed it with great suspicion and hatred.

#### **ABSENCE OF THE U.S.A.:**

The refusal of the U.S.A. to join this body was a great moral loss. The League had been founded due to the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson. He felt that only collective effort on the part of all nations would prevent a war and maintain peace. But the U.S.A. Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles. The participation of the U.S.A. in the League's activities could have prevented international lawlessness and the outbreak of the Second World War.

#### **DOMINATION BY GREAT POWERS:**

It was felt that the League was dominated by big powers like Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Smaller nations had no role to play. On many important issues the Great Powers could not agree and voted against each other in the meetings. This made the League ineffective and powerless. The Powers failed to support the League, and so the League failed to support the Powers. Germany joined only in 1926 and Russia in 1934. The absence of such powers further weakened the League.

#### **LACK OF AN ARMED FORCE:**

The League did not have any armed force to stop any aggressive nation. It had to depend upon member-countries to carry out its decision against aggressor nations. Many times the members failed to give adequate support. When economic sanctions were applied against Italy, Britain and France continued to supply oil to her.



### **FAILURE TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT:**

The League Council had been given the task of making plans for the reduction of armaments. Technical commissions were appointed, but the discussions did not prove fruitful. France was reluctant to weaken her defences. The World Disarmament Conference 1932 was a failure and a great disappointment. At this conference Germany demanded an equal level of armaments with France. France opposed this request. Hitler used the French attitude as an excuse not only to withdraw from the conference but also to withdraw from the League itself. .

### **RISE OF DICTATORSHWS AND FAILURE TO CHECK AGGRESSION:**

The rise of dictators in Europe, lessened the chances of the success of the League. Mussolini of Italy and Hitler of Germany treated the League with contempt. Military dictatorship in Japan and the Communist dictatorship in Russia proved to be dangerous for the League as they went against the principles and objectives of the League. Germany blamed the League for failing to bring about disarmament and refused to be tied down by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles any longer. Japan also left the League after invading Manchuria. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia), disregarding the League. The dictators exploited the helplessness of the League and defied international law.

### **CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF GREAT POWERS:**

The Great Powers used the League to serve their own ends. They did not agree that 'collective security' was the main purpose of the League.

Britain looked upon the League as a means to continue her favourite theory i.e. the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. British leaders considered it a meeting place for powerful nations to consult in case of a threat to peace.

France saw the League mainly as an organisation that would maintain the territorial settlement imposed on Germany after World War I. She wanted the League to guarantee her security from a possible German attack.

The Soviet Union believed the League was a fake body, because Communism taught that war was inevitable among capitalist nations.

As Pitman B. Putter observed, "The ultimate culprits in the failure

of the League were the Member-States. It was not the League of Nations, but the nations which failed the League.”

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## 14.10 CONCLUSION

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Wilson and other statesmen who designed the League hoped it would lead nations to stop seeking protection through secret alliances. Instead they favoured a system of ‘collective security.’ In this system the security of each member would be guaranteed by the protection of all. For collective security to work, it was necessary that all members come to the aid of each other if any member was attacked. The League could not force nations to help each other. It had to be a voluntary action. Each nation had to believe that a threat to the peace of any nation however small, was a threat to its own peace.

Why the League failed was most dramatically illustrated when Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935. The League declared that Italy had gone against the Covenant and asked members to impose sanctions against Italy. Members agreed to stop all imports from Italy and to send no money or war materials to Italy. But the U.S.A., Japan and Germany were not members. It was left to Britain, France and Russia to strongly oppose Italy. However Britain and France were not willing to use force to stop Italy, as it might lead to war. They did not impose the oil sanctions against Italy, and finally Italy conquered Ethiopia in May 1936. The Ethiopian crisis completely discredited the League as an instrument of maintaining peace.

### Check Your Progress:

1. Account for the failure of the League of Nations ?

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## 14.11 MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNO

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When the UNO began in 1946, it had 51 original members. These founder members included not only the Great Powers but also Asian nations.

There is a definite procedure for admitting new members. Firstly, membership is open only to peace loving nations that are willing to accept the obligations contained in the Charter. Secondly, the Security

Council should recommend the new member and the General Assembly must accept it by a two-thirds majority.

There is no provision for the withdrawal of membership. But on the recommendation of the Security Council, the general Assembly can expel or suspend a member nation which has violated the Charter.

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## **14.12 ORGANISATION OF THE UNO**

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The main organs of the UNO are (1) General Assembly, (2) Security Council, (3) the Economic and Social Council, (4) the Trusteeship Council, (5) the Secretariat, (6) the International Court of Justice.

Besides these there are many subsidiary and specialized agencies under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council.

### **14.12.1 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:**

This is the main organ of the UNO, and is made up of all the members. The Assembly can discuss and make recommendations on any matter of international importance. The Assembly is concerned with matters of security and also health, education, finance, politics and social welfare. Its function is to review, criticise and supervise the actions of the UNO.

In the General Assembly all countries are equal. Every country can send five representatives but they have only one vote. Decisions on important matters are made by two-thirds of the members present and voting.

The General Assembly meets regularly each year in September. Special sessions can be held. The Assembly elects a different President for each session.

The General assembly has exclusive control over the finances of the UNO. It has to approve of the budget of any of the specialised agencies like the UNESCO, the FAO, and the ILO.

The General Assembly is responsible for electing members to the Trusteeship Council and the ECOSOC.

The most important election duty is that of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council.

The Assembly appoints the Secretary- General on the recommendations of the Security Council.

### **14.12.2 THE SECURITY COUNCIL:**

The main organ established by the UNO to preserve peace and security is the Security Council. It has the authority to investigate any dispute between nations and to recommend peaceful solutions. It has the right to use diplomatic and economic measures to preserve peace. It also has the right to use air, naval or land forces against the aggressor, to restore international order. It is both a peacemaker and a policeman.

The Security Council is made up of 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members. The permanent members are, Britain, France, USA, USSR and China. The first nonpermanent members were Australia, Brazil, Poland, Mexico, Holland and Egypt.

It seems like the small nations have a majority. But this is balanced by the VETO VOTE of the permanent members. In order to reach a decision on important matters, the five permanent members must all agree. Even if one member opposes by casting a veto vote, a decision cannot be taken.

However, to apply economic, military or diplomatic sanctions, all five permanent members and two non-permanent members must agree.

The Council has complete authority to decide whether peace is being threatened or not. Its power of investigation is unlimited. It works efficiently and can take action in seven days. It can go into session at any time and function immediately.

### **14.12.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL:**

ECOSOC is a strong cooperative agency for human welfare. Its aim is the promotion of social and economic well being. It seeks to provide solutions for economic, social, health and related problems. It seeks to develop respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion.

The Council is made up of 18 member states, each with one representative. Decisions are made by a majority of members present and voting.

The scope of the Council extends to every human activity of international interest. ECOSOC has created various Commissions to help people.

The Economic and Employment Commission is concerned with devastated areas and employment.

The Social Commission deals with standards of living, food, clothing, health care etc.

The ECOSOC co-operates with other agencies like the UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, the WHO—World Health Organisation, the FAO — Food and Agricultural Organisation.

The job of ECOSOC requires action on a co-operative and not a political basis. Its future depends on the intelligence and goodwill of the people of the member nations.

#### **14.12.4 THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL:**

This council takes care of the people living in territories held under the League of Nations mandate or the territories surrendered by the Axis Powers coming under trust. It also receives reports on the progress made in the trust territories under the concerned powers. People in these areas were also permitted to present complaints or petitions.

The Trusteeship Council is composed of Big Powers, member-nations which administer Trust territories and members elected by the General Assembly. This Council elects a President at the beginning of each session and meets twice in a year.

#### **14.12.5 THE SECRETARIAT:**

This is the administrative organ of the UNO. It serves as a permanent liaison between the different branches of the UNO and between the specialised agencies also. It prepares for every session of the Assembly, of the ECOSOC and of the Trusteeship Council.

The General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council appoints the Secretary-General. He represents the UNO in the eyes of the whole world.

He has the power to appoint the entire stall of the Secretariat. He has to present the annual report to the general Assembly.

The most important function of the Secretary-General is his right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Finally, he is responsible for preparing the budget, allotting funds and controlling expenditure, and for collecting contributions from member states.

#### **14.12.6 THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE:**

This court is situated at the Hague in Holland. It consists of fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. No two judges can be from the same country. The judges are elected for nine years. Only the Court can dismiss them.

Many countries have signed an “optional clause,” by which they accept the court’s decision as binding in all legal disputes.

An important function of the court is to provide “advisory opinion,” to the general Assembly and the Security Council on request.

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#### **14.13 SPECIALISED AGENCIES OF THE UNO**

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In order to deal with the economic, social, educational, scientific cultural and humanitarian activities, the LNO has certain specialised agencies. These agencies are independent organisations with their own secretariats, administrative and executive bodies. Some of them are:

- (1) **THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. (ILO)** Established in 1919, it works to improve the conditions of workers all over the world.
- (2) **THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION (FAO)** This agency works to raise food production in the world. It also tries to improve nutrition levels in developing nations.
- (3) **THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. (IMF)** It is a banking agency to help members pay foreign debts, stabilise their currency and promote international trade.
- (4) **THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD).** This agency was set up in 1944 and is also known as, the World Bank. Its aim was to encourage economic progress by providing loans for reconstruction and development projects.
- (5) **THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION (WHO).** The headquarters of this agency are at Geneva. It attempts to improve health conditions throughout the world. It tries to eradicate epidemics like malaria and helps nations to improve health services. It gives assistance to victim of floods, famines and earthquakes.
- (6) **THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (UNESCO)** This agency seeks to increase respect for justice, law, human rights and fundamental

freedoms for all people. It stresses the development of education the increase and peaceful use of scientific knowledge.

- (7) THE UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND (UNICEF). Established in 1946, it aims at providing food, clothing and shelter to poverty stricken children. It also provides medical relief for sick children.

**Check Your Progress:**

Bring out the main organisations of the UNO.

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## 14.14 THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNO

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The UNO has had to deal with numerous situations over since it was formed. Some it has been able to solve and some, it has not. While it has been able to deal with local conflicts successfully, on the international front it has not been able to eliminate the possibility if a global war.

We will record a few of the successful attempts of the UNO in the political sphere.

- (1) In 1946, the UNO intervened in a dispute between Iran and USSR. The Soviet Union was asked to withdraw its troops from Iran, which she did.
- (2) In 1947, the UNO successfully stopped a civil war in Greece and saved its independence and sovereignty.
- (3) In 1948, British troops withdrew from Palestine and the new state of Israel was formed. It was situated in the middle of Arab States. The Jews expelled the- Arabs from Israel and this led to a war. The UNO intervened and arranged for a cease-fire.
- (4) Another serious problem faced by the UNO was the Suez Crisis. President Nasser of Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company in 1956. Britain and France joined Israel in invading Egypt. The world almost fought another war, since USSR threatened Britain and France. The UNO conducted 'quiet diplomacy.' She managed to restore peace in the area.
- (5) In 1960, the, UNO sent her peacekeeping forces to Congo to help stop a civil war.



- (6) In 1965, India and Pakistan fought over Kashmir. The UNO intervened to maintain a cease-fire.

It is not possible to list out all the situations where the UNO has intervened. In many of these cases she has not been successful, and the cases have not been solved. But the fact is that the UNO is the only forum through which all disputes can be settled. Many times the UNO has not been consulted. Many times the concerned countries settled the dispute by themselves. Many times the peacekeeping forces have only brought about a temporary truce. Very often the UNO has not been effective, because of Super Power rivalry. One country or the other has exercised its veto power, thus limiting the scope of the UNO.

In the non-political field the UNO has an impressive record. Many developing countries have received financial assistance from the World Bank and other agencies. The UNESCO and UNICEF have done an extremely good job in the third world countries. They have tried to improve the quality of life for these people. Through the efforts of the WHO, diseases like malaria, T.B. leprosy and polio have almost been eradicated. The ILO has rendered valuable service in the improvement of the conditions of labour. One of the greatest achievements of the UNO has been the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, unanimously adopted in 1948 by the General Assembly.

Finally, the UNO can be successful only as long as the member nations want its success. The peace and welfare of the world depends on them. If they chose not to co-operate with each other, especially the Permanent Members, there will never be peace.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Discuss in brief the achievements of the UNO?

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## **14.15 SUMMARY**

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When Woodrow Wilson had put forward his Fourteen Points, he had hoped it would bring about a peaceful settlement after the war. He argued that unless all countries collectively tried to maintain peace, there would be no peace. All countries had to respect each others

territorial integrity. On the basis of these ideas, he proposed the establishment of an international association called the League of Nations.

The main aim of the League was to prevent war, promote peace and international co-operation. The League functioned through the main organs of the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. There were other auxiliary organs like the International Court and the World Health Organisation.

Unfortunately the League failed in its main purpose of preventing war. It was the member nations themselves who, failed the League as they refused to obey orders. The League did not have any military force with which to compel members to obey. When the League asked Italy not to colonise Abyssinia and to withdraw, Italy withdrew from the League instead.

But in the field of social and humanitarian work it accomplished much. Its agencies did much to suppress the illegal drug trade, prostitution of women and children and to abolish slavery. The League was also successful in promoting educational and intellectual Co-operation and in co-ordinating health and scientific organisations throughout the world.

As noted above, the need for a peace-keeping body was felt during the second world war itself. People and the leaders of the countries realised that by destroying life and property, no real victory was won. Selfishness in world politics had led to the war. Now countries needed to co-operate with each other, so that they might live in peace with each other.

Many meetings were held and plans drawn up, to form a peace body after the war. The Atlantic Charter was one of the first attempts, followed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the San Francisco Conference. Finally on 24 October 1945, the United Nations Organisation was formally inaugurated at New York.

The aims of the UNO are clear:

- (1) To maintain international peace and security,
- (2) To promote friendly relations,
- (3) To achieve international co-operation, and
- (5) To promote respect for human rights, dignity and freedom.

There are many subsidiary and specialised agencies through which the UNO functions. There are five main organs—the General

Assembly, the Security Council the ECOSOC, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat and the International Court of Justice. Besides these there are the specialised agencies at work to promote economic, social, educational and cultural well being of the people of the world. It is an extremely difficult task to list out the achievements of the UNO. In the political area there have been many serious situations where the UNO has not been able to maintain peace. But in many situations the peace-keeping forces have maintained peace in trouble areas. Very often the UNO conducts quiet diplomacy and manages to bring about a compromise between the parties. India and Pakistan fought in 1965 over the Kashmir issue and the UNO intervened to bring about a cease-fire.

In the non-political field, the UNO has a very impressive record. The World Bank and the IMF have given much financial assistance to developing countries. The UNESCO and the UNICEF have helped in improving the quality of life in third world countries.

The UNO as a body has its weaknesses, but if the ideals have to succeed and peace has to be maintained in the world, then it is up to the members of the UNO to maintain peace.

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## 14.16 QUESTIONS

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1. What were the aims and objectives of the League of Nations?  
How did the League function?
2. Describe the organs of the League and how did they function?
3. Describe the achievements and failures of the League of Nations.
4. Why did the League of Nations fail?
5. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Aims and objectives of the League.
  - (b) Achievements of the League.
  - (d) Reasons for the failure of the League.
6. What are the aims and objectives of the UNO?
7. Describe the organisation of the UNO.
8. Write short notes on the following;
  - (a) Specialised agencies of the UNO.
  - (b) The Security Council
  - (c) General Assembly.

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## MODULE 8

### EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND INDIA

#### D Gandhi Era- Non-violence and Satyagraha

#### Unit Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Beginning of National Awakening
- 15.3 Summary
- 15.4 Questions

---

#### 15.0 OBJECTIVES

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After the study of this module, the student will be able to

- Percieve the rise of Gandhiji in the Indian National Movement.
- Comprehend the Non-Cooperative Movement Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhiji.
- Understand the Civil Disobidience Movement of Gandhiji
- Discuss the quit India movement of Gandhiji of 1942.
- Describe the attainment of Independance of India.

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#### 15.1 INTRODUCTION

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The British came to India as traders. Their East India Company played a politics, conquered almost all India by using the 'Subsidiary Alliance Systems and the Doctrine of Lapse' to the indigenous rulers. They exploited India using various ways and methods. Indians, however were exposed to new ideas of democracy and liberalism through the introduction of Western education. This aroused a sense of partition among the Indians. They revolted against the British on a number of times. The Revolt of 1857 was the most important uprising aganist the British, because it brought all Indians together and created the sense of nationalism.

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. It was the first organised movement. The first phase of it was dominated by the western educated, middle class, intellectuals. It is called the

Moderate period. They followed constitutional methods of agitation. They asked the British to introduce reforms. However, some young congressmen became frustrated, because the British government neglected the demands of the Congress. They felt that moderate methods would not succeed. These people believed in strong action. They were called Extremists. Their main objective was to get Swaraj. They believed in Swadeshi and burnt English goods. The third phase of the national movement is called Gandhian era. After 1919 we find that Gandhiji directed the national struggle.

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## **15.2 BEGINNING OF NATIONAL AWAKENING**

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### **15.2.1 Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi:**

He was born at Porbander on 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1869. He studied law and went to South Africa. There he launched his non-violent satyagrah against racial discrimination. He also promoted swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability and upliftment of women.

He returned to India and took active part in the national movement. His first major action was the Champaran Satyagrah. He took up the cause of indigo plantation workers. They were in a miserable condition, being exploited by the British. Gandhiji then organised a strike of textile mill workers of Ahmedabad for better wages. Then he instigated peasants of Kheda to ask for tax remission since crops had failed. All his actions proved a success. He was acknowledged as a leader.

### **15.2.2 Rowlatt Act and Jalianwala Bagh Tragedy:**

The Rowlatt act imposed restrictions on Indians and gave arbitrary powers to the police. Gandhiji took over matter. He asked Indians to observe hartal on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1919. All activities on that day were to be suspended.

In Punjab, things became serious. The government arrested two political leaders. To protest against this, thousands of Indians gathered at the Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar. General Dyer entered the place and without any warning fired the innocent crowd. Hundreds were injured and killed, within 10 minutes. All Indians vehemently protested against the British. There was widespread violence. Gandhiji requested the people to be non-violent and observe satyagrah.

Gandhiji joined the Khilafat movement, so that he could bring Muslims closer to the Congress.

### 15.2.3 The Non-Cooperation Movement 1920 - 1922:

He launched the movement throughout India. The chief features of it were

1. Boycott of British goods and use of swadeshi.
2. Boycott of English educational institutions and establishment of national schools and colleges.
3. Giving up of honorary titles awarded by the British.
4. Popularisation of Charkha
5. Fight against untouchability.
6. Observation of non-violence and peace.

The movement was a success. People took part in protests, marches and demonstrations. They burnt British goods. They picketed shops selling foreign material, wine, opium etc. It created political awakening even among masses and the people from rural areas.

### 15.1.4 The British Governments Reaction :

There were lathi charges and mass imprisonments. As a result the Indians turned violent in Malabar, Mumbai and other places. But the most violent episode was the Chauri-chaura incident. This was a town in Gorakhpur district, where the police fired a march. The mob turned violent and killed 22 policemen. Gandhiji was shocked to hear the news. He called off the non-cooperation movement saying that the Indians were not ready for it. Indians all over were unhappy over Gandhiji decision. Many became his opponents in the process.

### Check Your Progress:

Write a short note on Gandhiji's Non cooperation movement?

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### 15.2.5 Swarajists. Revolutionaries and Others:

C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru etc. Were angry over the withdrawal of the movement. They formed the Swaraj party (a group within the Congress), to put forward their ideas. Another reaction came in form of revolutionary movement. Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh

etc. formed the group. They believed in militant methods to oppose the government. They took part in bomb making, looting government cash, and attack on British officers. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged, for killing a British. The government adopted severe measures to put down these movements. However, terrorist activities continued in Bengal and Maharashtra. Even young girls took part in these movements. People took part in protests against Simon Commission., because it was an all white group, to recommend constitutional provisions for India.

#### **15.2.6 Purna Swarajya and the Civil Disobedience Movement:**

A new chapter begins with the emergence of Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was elected the President of the Congress in 1929 at Lahore. The resolution of Purna Swarajya was adopted by the Congress. He took the oath of complete independence on the banks of river Ravi. On 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1930, all Indians took the same oath at public meetings.

The session gave Gandhiji the charge of the Civil Disobedience movement. It meant that people should defy laws that were offensive. Gandhiji began the movement with the Dandi March. The journey from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi Sea Coast was 200 miles. He selected 70 followers. All started the march on April 5, 1930. The aim was to reach Dandi and pick up salt. The making of salt was government monopoly. Tax on salt was heavy. Gandhiji wanted to break law in public.

Thousands of villagers welcomed Gandhiji at Dandi. This showed that they had lost faith in the British rule. Another remarkable feature was the large scale participation of women in it. Many of them were imprisoned.

The movement spread all over India. People disobeyed laws. They stopped paying taxes. They boycotted English goods. During this time we find the rise of Abdul Gafar Khan in North West Frontier province. He was a follower of Gandhiji.

The government reacted brutally. There were serious lathi charges. Newspapers were censored and could not write about British atrocities. The police fired nonviolent nationalists. Still people were ready to suffer physical torture, to support the movement. Due to national and international pressure the government released political prisoners who were not involved in the terrorist movement. Gandhiji signed a pact with Lord Irwin. He also agreed to attend Second Round Table Conference at London.



### **15.2.7 The Second World War and Indian National Movement:**

Indians were not satisfied with the British government's promises. They were unhappy with the provisions of the Act of 1935. When the second world war broke out in 1939, the British sent Indian soldiers to fight the war.

In 1940, the leader of the Muslim League, M.A. Jinnah laid the two nation theory. He demanded a separate state for Muslims. It was also the period of the activities of Netaji Bose. He believed that foreign help, could give India her freedom. He went to Germany and Japan. With the Japanese help he organised the Azad Hind Fauj.

### **15.2.8 The Quit India Movement 1942:**

The Congress adopted the Quit India resolution, as a part of the struggle for independence. On August 8, 1942 Gandhiji and others gathered at Gowalia Tank Mumbai. The British were told to quit India. Gandhiji appealed to every Indian to join the movement. "Karengé ya marengé" was the slogan. People shouted the slogan to support Gandhiji.

The immediate effect was that, on the next day all major leaders were imprisoned. Leadership passed to militant students. Traders, workers and housewives participated. There were protests, hartals and demonstrations. Students and teachers abstained from classes. People attacked railways, post offices, electric wires etc, which were symbols of British authority.

We find the rise of Jai Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Achyuthrao Patwarthan. However, this movement was a Congress action. The Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, depressed classes and Sikhs did not participate. The British government suppressed the movement. However, it was understood that Indians were determined and British would have to quit India in near future.

### **15.2.9 India attains freedom:**

The British sent several missions to India. The purpose was to discuss with Indian leaders of various political parties, about the future structure of India. The missions could not achieve much because of the differences among the parties. The Muslim League was firm on a separate state. The Congress tried to persuade the Muslim League, but in vain.

Lord Mountbatten arrived in India and laid the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan. According to it the British rule ended. Pakistan was made a separate

State from 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947. The princely states were free to decide their position.

Finally India achieved independence on 15, August 1947. The 150 years of British rule came to an end. Hundreds of Indian died for their mother land. Thousands sacrificed their homes and property so that lakhs get their independence.

**Check Your Progress:**

Write a short note on Quit India movement of Gandhiji'?

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**15.3 SUMMARY**

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In the above unit we have examined the rise of national movements in Asian countries. We have studied how Asian countries were colonised by European imperialists. There had been industrial revolution in Europe. Therefore there was a need for raw material and markets. Asian countries were backward and unprogressive comparatively. Therefore European nations took advantage. They divided the continent of Asia among themselves. Except a few nations, all others feel a prey to European imperialism.

Asian colonies experienced the worst form of exploitation. Besides political conquest, there was economic and socio-religious exploitation. However, the Asian nations benefitted by the western education. They learnt new ideas of democracy. They were aroused. They got inspired and developed a spirit of nationalism. In Indo-china Ho-chi-minh and others led the national movement. The country went through a civil war and division of the state even after independence.

Sukarno led the people of indonesia. The national movement was successful and. the country threw away foreign yoke. He later reconstructed the political and economic fabric of Indonesia.

China suffered immensely due to foreign interference. The Chinese were fully exploited, not only by Europeans, but by their own monarchy. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Dr. Sun-yat Sen laid the foundation of the national

movement. Mao-tse-tung arrived on the scene and led the country to sovereignty.

India suffered under the British rule. The Indian National Congress and other parties, carried the struggle for freedom. Gandhiji and many others fought for the country. Finally we got independence in 1947.

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## 15.4 QUESTIONS

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1. Evaluate the role of Mahatma Gandhi in India's struggle for freedom.
2. Explain the importance of Non-Co-operation movement. Why did Gandhiji withdraw it.
3. Write notes on :
  - a) Dandi March
  - b) Quit India movement

\*\*\*\*\*





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**HISTORY PAPER-II**

**LANDMARKS IN WORLD HISTORY  
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**S.Y.B.A. HISTORY PAPER II SEMESTER - III****Module 1**

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Age of Revolutions

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**Use of maps is highly recommended.**  
**LANDMARKS IN WORLD HISTORY**  
**LIST OF MAPS**

1. World Discoveries and Colonization (1763)  
Pub: Vidya Chitra Prakashan, New Delhi.
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