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HISTORY

Unit - 1

Outbreak of World War I and Its Aftermath



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The race for colonies leading to rivalry and clashes among the great powers of Europe
- Emergence of Japan as the strongest and most aggressive power in East Asia
- Colonialism's impact on Africa
- Causes, course and results of the First World War
- Treaty of Versailles and its provisions
- Causes, course and outcome of the Russian Revolution
- Foundation, functioning and failure of the League of Nations



Introduction

1914 is a turning point in world history. The political and social processes that began in 1789 culminated in the First World War that broke out in that year and decisively shaped the course of the twentieth century. Historians therefore call this as 'the long nineteenth century'. This was the first industrial war that drew on the economic resources of the entire world, and also affected large sections of the civilian population. The political map of the world was redrawn. Three major empires lay shattered by the end of the War: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottomans. The biggest outcome of the War was the Russian Revolution. It was a unique event as well as the first revolution of its kind in world history. For the first time, countries tried to bring about world peace through the League of Nations. In this lesson, we discuss the circumstances leading to the outbreak of the First World War and its repercussions, including the Russian Revolution and the formation of an

international peace organisation, namely the League of Nations.

1.1 Scramble for Colonies

Capitalist Countries' Race for Markets

The aim of capitalistic industry was to produce more and more. The surplus wealth thus produced was used to build more factories, railways, steamships and other such undertakings. Revolution in the means of communication and transportation in the latter half of the nineteenth century facilitated the process of European expansion in Africa and other places.

A striking feature of nineteenth century was that Europe emerged as the dominant power while Asia and Africa were colonized and exploited. Within Europe, England held a pre-eminent position as the world leader of capitalism. An ever-growing demand for markets and raw materials made the capitalist powers race around the world for expanding their empire for exploitation.

Rise of Monopoly Capitalism

After 1870, the alliance of industry and finance seeking profits in markets for goods and capital, which was an essential characteristic of imperialism, became evident in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The old ideas of free trade collapsed. There were trusts in the USA and cartels in Germany.

A trust is an industrial organisation engaged in the production or distribution of any commodity. The trust would possess adequate control over the supply and price of that commodity to its own advantage.

Imperialism and its Essential Characteristics

Capitalism inevitably led to imperialism. According to Lenin, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Besides being a market for surplus goods, colonies served another purpose. Imperialism was not just about colonies. It became a total system, the logic of which was total militarisation and total war.

1.2 Rivalry of Great Powers

Europe

In the nineteenth century, European powers had colonised many other countries. By 1880, most of the Asian countries had been colonised. Only Africa was left. The occupation, division and colonisation of Africa took place from 1881 to 1914. After 1870, England, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany joined in the scramble for colonies.

Clashes amongst Great Powers

Despite the lead in industrial growth and the control of a vast empire England was not satisfied. England was in competition with Germany and the United States, which were producing cheaper manufactured goods and thus capturing England's markets. National rivalry led to frequent clashes between these great powers in Asia and Africa and Europe.

Asia: The Rise of Japan

In Asia, Japan during this period (Meiji era from 1867 to 1912), imitating Western nations had become their equal in many respects. Though the outlook of the rulers still remained feudal, Japan took to Western education and machinery. With a modern army and navy, Japan had emerged as an advanced industrialised power. In 1894 she forced a war on China. The crushing defeat of China by little Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) surprised the world. Despite the warning of the three great powers Russia, Germany and France – Japan annexed the Liaotung peninsula with Port Arthur. By this action Japan proved that it was the strongest nation of the East Asia.

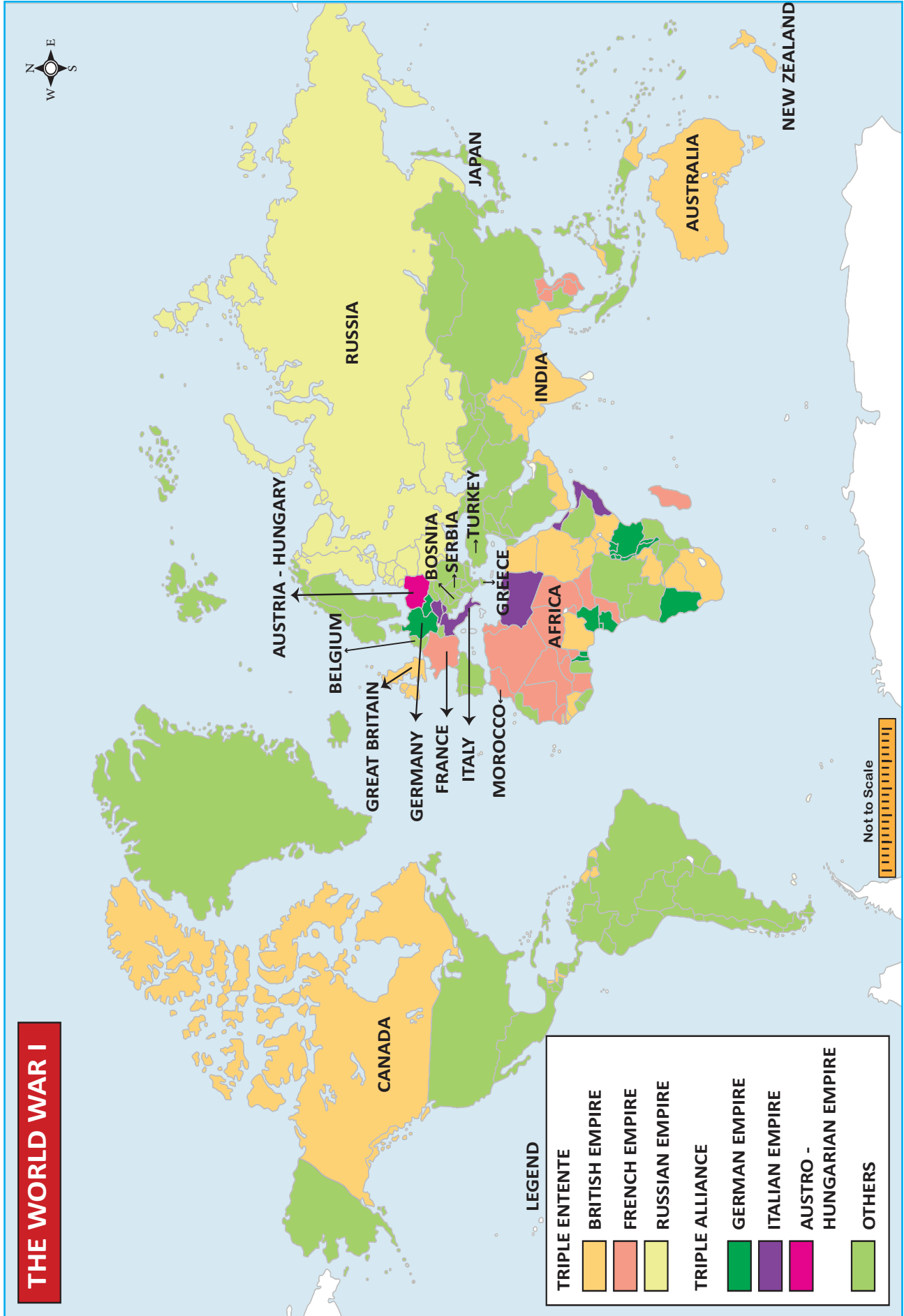
Japan, however, in view of the pressure mounted by European Powers, soon gave up its claim over Port Arthur. Russia took advantage of this and sent a large army to Manchuria. Japan entered into an alliance with England in 1902 and demanded that Russia withdraw troops from Manchuria. Russia underestimated Japan. In 1904 the war began between the two countries. In this Russo-Japanese War, Japan defeated Russia and got back Port Arthur. After this War Japan entered the “circle of the great Powers”.

Strong-arm Diplomacy of Japan

After 1905 Japan took control of Korean domestic and foreign policy. The assassination of a prominent Japanese diplomat provided the excuse in 1910 for Japan's annexation of Korea. The confusion in China following the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912 provided Japan an opportunity for further expansion. Japan demanded the transfer of German rights in Shantung to Japan and the recognition of Japanese hold over Manchuria. This strong-arm diplomacy aroused the hostility of both China and the European Powers.

Colonisation and its Fallout

In 1876 barely 10 percent of Africa was under European rule. By 1900 practically the



THE WORLD WAR I

LEGEND

TRIPLE ENTENTE	OTHERS
BRITISH EMPIRE	
FRENCH EMPIRE	
RUSSIAN EMPIRE	ITALIAN EMPIRE
TRIPLE ALLIANCE	AUSTRO - HUNGARIAN EMPIRE
GERMAN EMPIRE	
ITALIAN EMPIRE	
AUSTRO - HUNGARIAN EMPIRE	
OTHERS	

whole of Africa was colonised. Britain, France and Belgium had divided the continent between them, leaving a few areas for Germany and Italy. Britain, France, Russia and Germany also established “spheres of influence” in China. Japan took over Korea and Taiwan. France conquered Indo-China. The US took the Philippines from Spain, and Britain and Russia agreed to partition Iran.

The first European attempts to carve out colonies in Africa resulted in bloody battles. The French had to fight a long and bitter war to conquer Algeria and Senegal. The British lost to the Zulus (1879) and to the Sudanese Army (1884). The Italian army suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of an Ethiopian army at Adowa (1896).

1.3 Causes, Course and Results of World War I

(a) Causes

European Alliances and Counter-Alliances

In 1900 five of the European Great Powers were divided into two armed camps. One camp consisted of the Central Powers-Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Under the guidance of Bismarck, they had formed the Triple Alliance in 1882. The understanding was that Germany and Austria would help each other. The other camp consisted of France and Russia. Their alliance was formed in 1894 with the promise of mutual help if Germany attacked either of them. An isolated Britain wanted to break her isolation and approached Germany twice but in vain. As Japan was increasingly hostile towards Russia, as France was the ally of Russia, it preferred to ally with Britain (1902). The Anglo-Japanese Alliance prompted France to seek an alliance with Britain to resolve colonial disputes over Morocco and Egypt. This resulted in the Entente Cordiale (1904). In return for letting the French have a free hand in Morocco, France agreed to recognize the British occupation of Egypt. Britain subsequently reached an agreement with Russia over Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet.

Thus was formed the Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia.

Violent Forms of Nationalism

With the growth of nationalism, the attitude of “my country right or wrong I support it” developed. The love for one country demanded hatred for another country. England’s jingoism, France’s chauvinism and Germany’s Kultur were militant forms of nationalism, contributing decisively to the outbreak of War.

Aggressive Attitude of German Emperor

Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany proclaimed that Germany would be the leader of the world. The German navy was expanded. The sea being considered a preserve of England ever since Napoleon’s defeat



Kaiser Wilhelm II at Trafalgar (1805), Germany’s aggressive diplomacy and rapid building of naval bases convinced Britain that a German navy could be directed only against her. Therefore, Britain embarked on a naval race, which heightened the tension between the two powers.

Hostility of France towards Germany

France and Germany were old rivals. Bitter memories of the defeat of 1871 and loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany rankled in the minds of the French. German interference in Morocco added to the bitterness. The British agreement with France over Morocco was not consented by Germany. So Kaiser Wilhelm II intentionally recognised the independence of the Sultan and demanded an international conference to decide on the future of Morocco.

Imperial Power Politics in the Balkans

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908, an attempt at creating a strong and modern government in Turkey, provided both Austria

and Russia with the opportunity to resume their activities in the Balkans. Austria and Russia met and agreed that Austria should annexe Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Russia should have freedom to move her warships, through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, to the Mediterranean. Soon after this, Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria's action aroused intense opposition from Serbia. Germany gave Austria firm support. Germany went to the extent of promising that if Austria invaded Serbia and in consequence Russia helped Serbia, Germany would come to Austria's assistance. The enmity between Austria and Serbia led to the outbreak of war in 1914.

The Balkan Wars

Turkey was a powerful country in the south west of Europe in the first half of eighteenth century. The Ottoman empire extended over the Balkans and across Hungary to Poland. The Empire contained many non-Turkish people in the Balkans. Both the Turks and their subjects of different nationalities in the Balkans indulged in the most frightful massacres and atrocities. The Armenian genocide is a frightful example.



Taking advantage of the political and economic instability of the Turkish Empire from the second half of the eighteenth century, Greeks followed by others began to secede, one after another, from Turkish control. Macedonia had a mixed population. There were rivalries among Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Montenegro for the control of it. In March 1912 they formed the Balkan League. The League

attacked and defeated Turkish forces in the first Balkan War (1912–13). According to the Treaty of London signed in May 1913 the new state of Albania was created and the other Balkan states divided up Macedonia between them. Turkey was reduced to the area around Constantinople.

The division of Macedonia, however, did not satisfy Bulgaria. Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece. But Bulgaria was easily defeated. The Second Balkan War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913.

Immediate Cause

The climax to these events in the Balkans occurred in Sarajevo in Bosnia. On 28 June 1914 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, was assassinated by Princip, a Bosnian Serb. Austria saw in this an opportunity to eliminate Serbia as an independent state. Germany thought that it should strike first. It declared war on Russia on 1 August. Germany had no quarrel with France, but because of the Franco-Russian Alliance, the German army which was planning a war against both France and Russia wanted to use the occasion to its advantage. The German violation of Belgian neutrality forced Britain to enter War.

(b) Course of the War

Two Warring Camps

Central Powers

The warring nations were divided into two. The Central powers consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. Italy which was earlier with Germany and Austria had left, as her attempt to recover Trentino in north east Italy, where Italians lived in majority but remained as part and parcel of Austria-Hungary, was not supported by Germany. Italy remained a neutral country when the War broke out. But it decided to enter the War hoping to gain the territory in the north - east. Britain, France and Italy signed the secret Treaty of London in April 1915, by which Italy agreed to enter the War against the Central Powers in return for this territory after the War.

Allies

Nine states that opposed the Central powers were: Russia, France, Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, Serbia, Romania and Greece. Romania and Greece declared war on the Central Powers in 1916 and 1917 respectively but played little part in the war. Most Americans wanted their country to remain neutral and so in the first three years the United States gave only moral support and valuable material aid to Britain and France.

Tsar's Abortive Attempts for Peace

Tsar Nicholas II of Russia suggested to the Powers that they meet together to bring about an era of universal peace. In response, two Peace Conferences were held at The Hague in Holland in 1899 and 1907 but in vain.

War in Western or French Front

Germany steamrolled and smashed the resistance of the people of Belgium. On the side of the Allies, the burden of the fighting fell on the French army. Within a month Paris seemed almost doomed.

Battles of Tannenberg and Marne

Meanwhile Russian forces invaded East Prussia. Germany defeated them decisively. At the Battle of the Marne (early September 1914), the French succeeded in pushing back

Trench Warfare: Trenches or ditches dug by troops enabled soldiers to safely stand and protect themselves from enemy fire. The main lines of trenches were connected to each other and to the rear by a series of linking trenches through which food, ammunition, fresh troops, mail, and orders were delivered.



Outbreak of World War I and Its Aftermath

the Germans. Paris was thus saved. The battle of Marne is a memorable for **trench warfare**.



Battle of Tannenberg

Battle of Verdun

Between February and July 1916, the Germans attacked Verdun, the famous fortress in the French line. In the five-month Battle of Verdun two million men took part and half of them were killed. The British offensive against Germans occurred near the River Somme. In this four-month Battle of Somme Britain lost 20,000 men on the first day. The battle of Verdun, however, decided the fortunes of the War in favour of the Allies.

War in Eastern or Russian front

In the eastern front, Russian troops repeatedly defeated the Austrians. But the Russians were in turn defeated by the Germans. Russia had the worst trained and equipped army and therefore Russian losses were the greatest. In 1917, the Tsarist regime in Russia was overthrown in a revolution. Russia wanted peace and consequently it signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) with Germany.

Minor Theatres of War

In the Middle East

Turkey also fought on the side of the central powers. Though Turkey met with initial success and the Allies suffered reverses, particularly in Mesopotamia and Gallipoli, ultimately Turkey was defeated. The Turks tried to attack Suez Canal, but were repulsed. Britain attacked Turkey in Iraq, and later in Palestine and Syria.

In the Far East

China also joined the allies. Japan was able to capture the province of Kiauchau given by the Germans to China in the province of Shantung. There was no war in the Far East. Japan made use of the occasion to threaten China into ceding valuable concessions and privileges.

In the Balkans

The Austro-German army in coordination with Bulgaria crushed Serbia. Serbia came under German rule. Rumania watched the course of the War and in August 1916 joined the Allies. Rumania also passed under Austro-German occupation.

Fate of Colonies of Germany in Africa

The German colonies in western and eastern Africa were also attacked by the Allies. As these colonies were quite far from Germany they could not receive any immediate help, and therefore surrendered to the Allies.

Italy falls to Austrian onslaught

Italy formally joined the Allies in the war in May 1916. Italians were fighting with the Austrians and continued to sustain their resistance. But when the Germans came to Austria's help, the Italians collapsed.

Central Powers' Victories

The Central Powers successfully occupied Belgium and a part of France in the north-east, Poland, Serbia and Romania.

The epicentre of the struggle was the western front and the seas. As the Allies controlled the sea-routes, they cut off the supply of food and other material reaching the Central Powers. In Germany and Austria women and children suffered from hunger and privation. Germany attacked England by air. Bombs were thrown on London and places where there were major factories. Later aeroplanes were used for targeting civilian population. The Germans introduced poison gas and soon both sides resorted to its use.

Naval Battles and America's Entry into the War

In 1916 a naval battle (**Battle of Jutland**) had taken place in the North Sea. The British won the battle. Thereafter Germany started their submarine warfare and their cruisers went roaming about, interfering with the shipping of the Allies. One of these was the famous Emden, which bombarded Madras. As a counter measure to the blockade the Germans proclaimed in January 1917 that they would sink even neutral ships in certain waters. *Lusitania*, an American ship, was torpedoed by a German submarine. There was a lot of resentment in the USA and President Wilson declared war against Germany in April 1917. America's entry with its enormous resources made Allied victory a foregone conclusion.



Sinking of Lusitania

(c) The Armistice and Treaty of Versailles

Germany ultimately surrendered in November 1918. The armistice took effect from 11 November 1918. Germany was forced to accept harsh terms by the political situation at home with the abdication of the Kaiser William II.

Peace Conference in Paris

The Peace Conference opened in Paris in January 1919, two months after the signing of the armistice. Woodrow Wilson (USA), Lloyd George (Prime Minister of England) and Clemenceau (Prime Minister



A News paper Report

of France) played a very important part in the deliberations.



Paris Peace Conference

Faced with a threat of a renewed war, the German government was forced to agree to the terms. On 28 June, 1919 the peace treaty was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Provisions of the Treaty

1. Germany was found guilty of starting the War and therefore was to pay reparations for the losses suffered. All Central Powers were directed to pay war indemnity.
2. The German army was to be limited to 100,000 men. A small navy was allowed.
3. The union of Austria and Germany was forbidden.
4. All German colonies became mandated territories under the League of Nations.
5. Germany was forced to revoke the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (with Russia) and Bucharest (Bulgaria).
6. Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France.
7. The former Russian territories of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were to be independent
8. Northern Schleswig was given to Denmark and some small districts to Belgium.
9. Poland was recreated.
10. The Rhineland was to be occupied by the Allies. The area on the east bank of the Rhine was to be demilitarized.

President Wilson laid down his Fourteen Points, which were to be followed by the Allies. The most important one he highlighted was the need for 'a general association of nations for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states like'.

Separate treaties were drawn up and signed by the Allies with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The Treaty with Turkey (Treaty of Sevres), though accepted by the Sultan, failed because of the resistance of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his followers.

Fallout of the First World War

The First World War left a deep impact on European society and polity. Through conscription, and through air raids, the War had involved and affected far more of the population than in the past. 8 million had died in four years, while more than twice as many were wounded, and many crippled for life. Millions more had succumbed to the worldwide influenza of 1918. The outcome, in all countries, was imbalance between the sexes—a shortage of men. Soldiers came to be placed above civilians.

The War and its aftermath turned out to be a stirring period of history. The most striking of all was the rise and consolidation of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R or the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics, as it was called. America entered the War as a debtor country but it emerged as the money-lender to the world in the aftermath of the War.

Another outstanding event of this period was the awakening of the colonies and their inspired attempts to gain freedom.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha played a remarkable role for Turkey's rebirth as a nation. Kemal Pasha modernised Turkey and changed it out of all recognition.

Impact on India

The First World War had a significant impact on India. The British recruited a vast contingent of Indians to serve in Europe, Africa and West Asia. After the War, the soldiers came back with new ideas which had an impact on the Indian society. India contributed £ 230 million in cash and over £ 125 million in loans towards war expenses. India also sent war materials to the value £ 250 million. This caused enormous economic distress. There were grain riots as poor people looted shops. Towards the

end of the War India too suffered under the world-wide epidemic of influenza. (£ - symbol of Pound sterling)

The War conditions led to the rise of Home Rule Movement in India. The Congress was reunited during the war.

India and Indians had taken an active part in the War believing that Britain would reward India's loyalty. But only disappointment was in store. Thus the War had multiple effects on Indian society, economy and polity.

1.4 Russian Revolution and its Impact

Introduction



The biggest outcome of the War, the Russian revolution, was unique in world history. The socio-political and economic conditions prevailing in Russia were brought to a head by the vast losses and sufferings caused by the War. There were really two revolutions in the year 1917, one in March and the other in November. On the abdication of the Tsar the bourgeois government which followed, wanted to continue the war. But the people were against it. So there was a second great uprising under the guidance their leader Lenin, who seized power and established a communist government in Russia.

Causes of the Revolution

Social Causes

In Russia Peter the Great and Catherine II attempted westernisation without changing the social conditions. The Russian peasants were serfs tied to lands owned by wealthy Russians. After Russia's defeat in the Crimean War, some reforms were introduced. In 1861 Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom and emancipated the serfs. But they were not given enough land to subsist. These peasants became the powder keg for the revolution. The labourers and workers whose number had increased on

account of industrialisation were aggrieved as they got very low wages.

Role of Revolutionaries

The spread of revolutionary ideas among the intelligentsia and their repression by the Tsar's government made the socialistically inclined students to carry their propaganda to the peasantry. Soon, based on the Marxist philosophy, new ideas began to take shape and a Social and Democratic Labour Party was formed.

Autocracy of the Tsar

Tsar Nicholas II of Romanov dynasty had little experience of government. His wife Tsarina Alexandra was a dominant personality and Nicholas was under her strong influence. Determined that Russia



Tsar Nicholas II

should not be left out in the scramble for colonial possessions, Nicholas encouraged Russian expansion in Manchuria. This provoked a war with Japan in 1904. The resulting Russian defeat led to strikes and riots. On 22 January 1905 Father Gapon, a priest, organised a march of men, women and children on the Tsar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg demanding a representative national assembly and agrarian and industrial reforms. But police and soldiers fired on the procession. Hundreds were killed and many thousands wounded. The events of this day (known as Bloody Sunday) led to riots, strikes and violence. Nicholas was forced to grant a constitution and establish a parliament, the Duma. This was no longer satisfactory to the left-wing parties that formed a Soviet (council) of worker's delegates in St Petersburg, led by Trotsky.

Opposition to Tsar and Dissolution of Duma

The outbreak of the First World War had temporarily strengthened the monarchy, as

Russia allied to France and Britain. As there was rumour of a palace revolution. Nicholas made himself the Commander-in-Chief of the army. At the end of 1916, Rasputin, who had a domineering influence over the Tsar and the Tsarina, was murdered by a member of the Tsar's family. The members of the St. Petersburg Soviet were arrested. Whenever the Duma opposed the Tsar's move, it was dissolved and fresh elections held. Without change of government policy, the fourth Duma ended with the revolution of 1917.

Popular Uprisings

The bread shortages among women textile workers, many with husbands in the army, forced them to go on strike anyway and march through the factory areas of Petrograd, the capital of the Russian Empire. Masses of women workers demanding "Bread for workers" waved their arms towards factory workers and shouted "Come out!" "Stop work!" The city's 400,000 workers joined the movement the next day (24 February).



Revolution of 1917

Abdication of Tsar

The government used the troops to break the strike. But soon mutinies broke out in the barracks. The Tsar ordered a declaration of martial law. But his order was not broadcast in the city, as there was no one to do this job. The Tsar then tried to return to Petrograd. The railway workers stopped his train. The generals at the front and some leaders in Petrograd, frightened by these developments pleaded with the Tsar to abdicate. On 15 March, Nicholas II abdicated.

The revolutionary Tamil poet Bharathiyar cheerfully welcomed the revolution in Russia by penning these poetic lines.....

The Mother Great, the Power supreme,
Turned her glance benign towards Russia,
The Revolution of the Age,
Behold the wonder, rises high
The tyrant howling falls down limp,
The shoulders of the heavenly gods,
Are swelling now with joy and pride,
Eyes hot with unshed tears, the demons,
Perish. O people of the world,
Behold this mighty change!

Provisional Government

There were two parallel bodies to take on government functions. One was of the bourgeois politicians of the old state Duma, comprising propertied classes. On the other there were workers' delegates drawn together in a workers' council, or Soviet. Those in the Duma were able to form a provincial government with the consent of the Soviets. The Soviet was dominated by Mensheviks and the minority Bolsheviks were timid and undecided. The situation changed with the arrival of Lenin.

Failure of Provisional Government

Lenin was in Switzerland when the revolution broke out. Lenin wanted continued revolution. His slogan of 'All power to the Soviets' soon won over the workers' leaders. Devastated by war time shortages, the people were attracted by the slogan of 'Bread, Peace and Land.' But the Provisional government made two grave mistakes. First, it postponed a decision on the demand for the redistribution of land and the other was government decided to continue with the war. Frustrated peasant soldiers deserted their posts and joined those who had resorted to land grabbing. This intensified the rising in Petrograd led by Bolsheviks. The government banned *Pravda* and arrested all Bolsheviks. Trotsky was also arrested.

Takeover by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership

In October Lenin persuaded the Bolshevik Central Committee to decide on immediate revolution. Trotsky prepared a detailed plan. On 7 November the key government buildings, including the Winter Palace, the Prime Minister's headquarters, were seized by armed factory workers and revolutionary troops. On 8 November 1917 a new Communist government was in office in Russia. Its head this time was Lenin. The Bolshevik Party was renamed the Russian Communist Party.

Lenin was born in 1870 near the Middle Volga to educated parents. Influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx, Lenin believed that the way for freedom



was through mass action. Lenin gained the support of a small majority (bolshinstvo), known as Bolsheviks, which became the Bolshevik Party. His opponents, in minority (menschinstvo), were called Mensheviks.

Outcome of the Revolution

The Russian Communist Party eliminated illiteracy and poverty in Russia within a record time. Russian industry and agriculture developed remarkably. Women were given equal rights, including rights to vote. Industries and banks were nationalised. Land was announced as social property. Land was distributed to poor peasants. Lenin thought the most important factor for the fall of Provisional government was its failure to withdraw from World War. So Lenin immediately appealed for peace. Unmindful of the harsh terms dictated by the Central Powers, Lenin opted for withdrawing from the War to concentrate on the formation of new government. In March 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed.

Global Influence of the Russian Revolution

The revolution fired people's imagination across the world. In many countries, communist parties were formed. The Russian communist government encouraged the colonies to fight for their freedom. Debates over key issues, land reforms, social welfare, workers' rights, and gender equality started taking place in a global context.

Pravda is a Russian word meaning "Truth". It was the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1918 to 1991.

1.5 League of Nations

Structure and Composition

The Covenant of the League was worked out at the Paris Peace Conference and included in each of the treaties that were signed after the First World War. It was largely due to the pressure from President Wilson that this task was accomplished. In drawing up the constitution of this organization, the ideas of Britain and America prevailed.

The League which was formed in 1920 consisted of five bodies: the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat, the Permanent Court of Justice, and the International Labour Organisation. Each member-country was represented in the Assembly. The Council was the executive of the League. Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States were originally declared permanent members of the Council. Each member had one vote and since all decisions had to be unanimous, even the small nations possessed the right of veto.

The secretariat of the League of Nations was located at Geneva. Its first Secretary General was Sir Eric Drummond from Britain. The staff of the secretariat was appointed by the Secretary General in consultation with the Council. The International Court of Justice was set up

in The Hague. The court was made of fifteen judges. The International Labour Organisation comprised a secretariat and general conference which included four representatives from each country.

Objectives of the League

The two-fold objective of the League of Nations was to avoid war and maintain peace in the world and to promote international cooperation in economic and social affairs. The League intended to act as conciliator and arbitrator and thereby resolve a dispute in its early stages. If wars should break out despite arbitration, the members should apply sanctions to the aggressor first economic and then military.

The difficulty in achieving the objectives was increased from the beginning by the absence of three Great Powers namely USA (did not become a member), Germany (a defeated nation) and Russia. The latter two joined in 1926 and 1934. While Germany resigned in 1933, Russia was expelled in 1939.

Activities of the League

The League was called in to settle a number of disputes between 1920 and 1925. The League was successful in three issues. In 1920 a dispute arose between Sweden and Finland over the sovereignty of the Aaland Islands. The League ruled that the islands should go to Finland. In the following year the League was asked to settle the frontier between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia, which was successfully resolved by the League. The third dispute was between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Greece invaded Bulgaria, and the League ordered a ceasefire. After investigation it blamed Greece and decided that Greece was to pay reparations. Thus the League had been successful until signing of the Locarno Treaty in 1925. By this treaty, Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy mutually guaranteed peace in Western Europe. Thereafter Germany joined the League and was given a permanent seat on the Council.

After two years the US and Russia began to participate in the non-political activities of the League.

Violations

One of the major problems confronting the European powers was how to achieve disarmament. In 1925 the Council of the League set up a commission to hold a Disarmament Conference to sort out the problem. But the proposed conference materialised only in February 1932. In this Conference, Germany's demand of equality of arms with France was rejected. In October Hitler withdrew Germany from the Conference and the League.

Japan attacked Manchuria in September 1931 and the League condemned Japan. So Japan also followed the example of Germany and resigned from the League. In the context of Italy's attack on Ethiopia, the League applied sanctions. As the sanctions came into effect, Italy resigned from the League in 1937. Thereafter the League was a passive witness to events, taking no part in the crises over the Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The last decisive action it took was in December 1939 when Russia was expelled for her attack on Finland. The Assembly did not meet again and the League of Nations was finally dissolved in 1946.

Causes of Failure

The League appeared to be an organisation of those who were victorious in the First World War.

Since it lacked the military power of its own, it could not enforce its decisions.

The founders of this peace organisation underestimated the power of nationalism. The principle of 'collective security' could not be applied in actual practice.

When Italy, Japan and Germany, headed by dictators, refused to be bound by the orders of the League, Britain and France were the only major powers to act decisively.

SUMMARY

- Capitalistic countries' ever growing demand for markets and raw materials leading to scramble for colonies and the resultant clashes amongst great powers in Europe are discussed.
- Rise of Japan as an Imperial Power in Asia is highlighted
- Division of Europe into two warring camps and the resultant alliances and counter-alliances are detailed.
- Important factors responsible for the outbreak of World War I such as growth of violent forms of Nationalism, aggressive attitude of Germany, France's hostility towards Germany for the loss of its territories, Alsace and Lorraine, power politics in Balkans are explained.
- America's entry into the War in the context of launch of submarine battles by Germany and the decisive victory won by the Allies are outlined.
- Paris Peace Conference and the provisions of Versailles Treaty are analysed.
- Fallout of the First World War, with focus on Russian Revolution causes, course and impact are elaborated.
- First world peace organisation the League of Nations and its role in preventing wars and promoting peace are critically examined.

GLOSSARY

monopoly	exclusive possession or control	முற்றுரிமை
devastating	highly destructive or damage	பேரழிவு
jingoism	blind patriotism, especially in the pursuit of aggressive foreign policy	கண்மூடித்தனமான நாட்டுப்பற்று
chauvinism	extreme patriotism	அதிதீவிரப்பற்று
kultur	thinking highly of German civilization and culture	ஜெர்மானியக் கலாச்சாரத்தை மிக உயர்வாக நினைப்பது
repulse	drive back	எதிரியை விரட்டி அடித்தல்
torpedo	attack or sink (a ship) with a torpedo	மூழ்கடி
bourgeois	characteristic of the middle class, typically with reference to its perceived materialistic values or conventional attitudes	முதலாளித்துவம்
intelligentsia	intellectuals or highly educated people as a group, especially when regarded as possessing culture and political influence	அறிவுஜீவிகள், நுண்ணறிவாளர்கள்



EXERCISE



DM4YNV

I Choose the correct answer

- What were the three major empires shattered by the end of First World War?
 - Germany, Austria Hungary, and the Ottomans
 - Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia
 - Spain, Portugal and Italy
 - Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy
- Which country emerged as the strongest in East Asia towards the close of nineteenth century?
 - China
 - Japan
 - Korea
 - Mongolia
- Who said "imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism"?
 - Lenin
 - Marx
 - Sun Yat-sen
 - Mao Tsetung
- What is the Battle of Marne remembered for?
 - air warfare
 - trench warfare
 - submarine warfare
 - ship warfare
- To which country did the first Secretary General of League of Nations belong?
 - Britain
 - France
 - Dutch
 - USA
- Which country was expelled from the League of Nations for attacking Finland?
 - Germany
 - Russia
 - Italy
 - France

II Fill in the blanks

- Japan forced a war on China in the year _____.
- The new state of Albania was created according to the Treaty of _____ signed in May 1913.
- Japan entered into an alliance with England in the year _____.
- In the Balkans _____ had mixed population.

- In the battle of Tannenberg _____ suffered heavy losses.
- _____ as Prime Minister represented France in Paris Peace Conference.
- Locarno Treaty was signed in the year _____.

III Choose the correct statement

- The Turkish Empire contained many non-Turkish people in the Balkans.
 - Turkey fought on the side of the central powers
 - Britain attacked Turkey and captured Constantinople
 - Turkey's attempt to attack Suez Canal but were repulsed.
 - i) and ii) are correct
 - i) and iii) are correct
 - iv) is correct
 - i), ii) and iv) are correct
- Assertion:** Germany and the United States were producing cheaper manufactured goods and capturing England's markets.

Reason: Both the countries produced required raw material for their industries.

 - Both A and R are correct
 - A is right but R is not the correct reason
 - Both A and R are wrong
 - R is right but A is wrong.
- Assertion:** The first European attempts to carve out colonies in Africa resulted in bloody battles.

Reason: There was stiff resistance from the native population.

 - Both A and R are correct
 - A is right but R is not the correct reason
 - Both A and R are wrong
 - R is right but A is wrong.

IV Match the following

- Treaty of Brest- Litovsk - Versailles
- Jingoism - Turkey
- Kemal Pasha - Russia with Germany
- Emden - England
- Hall of Mirrors - Madras

V Answer briefly

1. How do you assess the importance of Sino-Japanese War?
2. Name the countries in the Triple Entente.
3. What were the three militant forms of nationalism in Europe?
4. What do you know of trench warfare?
5. What was the role of Mustafa Kemal Pasha?
6. List out any two causes for the failure of the League of Nations.

VI Answer the following in detail

1. Discuss the main causes of the First World War.
2. Highlight the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles relating to Germany.
3. Explain the course of the Russian Revolution under the leadership of Lenin.
4. Estimate the work done by the League of Nations.

VII Activity

1. Students can be taught to mark the places of battles and the capital cities of the countries that were engaged in the War.

VIII Map Work

Mark the following countries on the world map.

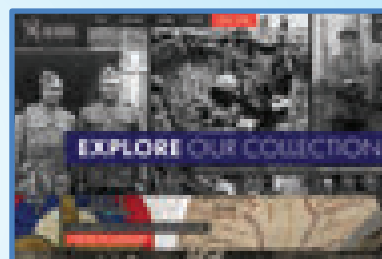
- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Great Britain | 2. Germany |
| 3. France | 4. Italy |
| 5. Morocco | 6. Turkey |
| 7. Serbia | 8. Bosnia |
| 9. Greece | 10. Austria-Hungary |
| 11. Bulgaria | 12. Rumania |

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1. R.D. Cormvelli, *World History in the Twentieth Century*, London: Longman, 1972
2. David Thomson, *Europe since Napoleon*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990
3. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of extremes, 1914 – 1991*, London: Abacus, 1994.
4. Hew Strachan, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

**ICT CORNER****Outbreak of World War I and Its Aftermath**

Through this activity you will learn about Time Line Events of World War -I

**Steps**

- Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Click on 'Learn' in menu and Select 'Interactive Timeline'
- Drag the Time line bar and click to see the events

Website URL: <https://www.theworldwar.org/>



B376_10_SOCIAL_EM

Unit - 2

The World between Two World Wars



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The post-World War I developments leading to the Great Depression.
- The unjust provisions of Treaty of Versailles and the rise of fascist governments led by Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany.
- Anti-colonial struggles and the decolonisation process in the colonized world: Case Studies of Indo-French in South-East Asia and India in South Asia.
- European Colonisation in Africa – The case of Britain in South Africa.
- Independence struggles and political developments in South America



Introduction

The First World War shattered the global capitalist system based on European imperialism. The European powers were gravely weakened by the War, financially and politically. The conflict between the workers and the ruling classes that controlled the government became intense. As a result of this Fascism emerged in Italy and Germany. Anti-colonial struggles got intensified as the colonial powers were weakened by the War.

As we saw in the last chapter, the crisis in the Western world had led to the outbreak of World War I. We now turn to the social and political developments in the world after the end of the War.

2.1 The Great Depression

Developments in the post-World War I

The First World War led to the expansion of certain industries in the hope that the

war-time boom would continue. However, when the War came to an end, the industries that grew to meet war-time requirements had to be abandoned or modified. The situation was made worse by the political complications caused by the Treaty of Versailles. A new wave of economic nationalism which expressed itself in protectionism or in tariff barriers affected world trade. The war also placed a heavy burden of debt on every European country.

Stock Market Crash in the US

The first huge crash occurred on 24 October 1929. This discouraged investors and consumers to such an extent that more and more people began to sell their shares and dispose of their stocks. But there were no buyers. This was followed by the failure of American banks. The American financiers were forced to recall their own funds invested abroad.

Breakdown of the International System of Exchange

Despite emergency measures such as cutbacks in expenditure and increased taxation, the situation did not improve in England. So England decided to leave the Gold Standard. Immediately a great number of countries left the gold standard. Each nation adopted a policy of protectionism and devaluation of currency. Devaluation forced creditors to stop lending. This led to a world-wide credit contraction. Thus the defensive measures adopted by various nations to safeguard their economic interests led to an unprecedented decline in world economic activity. As its effect was deep and prolonged economists and historians call it the Great Depression.

Gold Standard is a monetary system where a country's currency or paper money carried a value directly linked to gold.

Repercussion in Politics

The Depression changed the political conditions in several countries. In England, the Labour Party was defeated in the general elections of 1931. In the USA, the Republican Party was rejected by the people in successive elections for about twenty years after the Depression.

2.2 Rise of Fascism and Nazism

(a) The Impact of War in Italy

The first of the nations of Western Europe to turn against the old ruling regime was Italy. During World War I the primary task of Italy was to keep the Austrians occupied on the Southern Front, while the British, French and Americans cornered Germany into submission along the battle lines in Flanders. The financial cost of the participation in the War was huge. Moreover, after the War, in the sharing of the spoils, Italy got less than she expected. The country suffered heavy losses in a war that was unpopular with both socialists and pro-Austrian Catholics. The nationalists were equally unhappy with the

marginal gain in territory from the Treaty of Versailles. The War resulted in inflation. There were frequent protests and strikes. People held the rulers responsible for the humiliation at Versailles.

Emergence of Mussolini

In the elections held November 1919 in the aftermath of the Treaty of Versailles, Italian socialists, proclaiming that they were following Bolshevism (Communism in Soviet Russia), won about a third of the seats. Mussolini, son of a blacksmith and qualified as an elementary school master, in the end became a journalist with socialist views. A forceful speaker, Mussolini began to support the use of violence and broke with the socialists when they opposed Italy's entry into the War. When the Fascist Party was founded in 1919 Mussolini immediately joined it. As Fascists stood for authority, strength and discipline, support came from industrialists, nationalists, ex-soldiers, the middle classes and discontented youth. The Fascists resorted to violence freely. In October 1922, in the context of a long ministerial crisis, Mussolini organised the Fascist March on Rome. Impressed by the show of force, the King invited Mussolini to form a government. The inability of the Democratic Party leaders to combine and act with resolution facilitated Mussolini's triumph.

Fascism is a form of radical authoritarian ultra-nationalism, characterised by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition and strong regimentation of society and of the economy, which came to prominence in early 20th-century Europe. –Wikipedia.

Fascists under Mussolini

In the 1924 elections, after intimidation of the electors, 65 per cent of the votes were cast for the Fascists. Matteotti, a socialist leader, who questioned the fairness of the elections was



Mussolini

murdered. The opposition parties boycotted the Parliament in protest. Mussolini reacted by banning opposition parties and censoring the press. Opposition leaders were killed or imprisoned. Assuming the title of Il Duce (the leader), in 1926 he became a dictator with power to legislate. He passed a law forbidding strikes and lockouts. Unions and employers were organized into corporations. In 1938 Parliament was abolished and was replaced by a body representing the Fascist Party and the corporations. This new arrangement bolstered Mussolini's dictatorial control of the economy, as well as enabling him to wield enormous power as head of the administration and the armed forces.

Mussolini's Pact with Pope

In order to give respectability to the Fascist Party, Mussolini won over the Roman Catholic Church by recognising the Vatican City as an independent state. In return the Church recognised the Kingdom of Italy. The Roman Catholic faith was made the religion of Italy and compulsory religious teaching in school was ordered. The Lateran Treaty incorporating the said provisions was signed in 1929.

Italy during the Great Depression

During the years of the Great Depression the much publicised public works of building new bridges, roads and canals, hospitals and schools did not provide solution to the unemployment problem. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. This was useful to divert attention of the people away from the economic troubles.

(b) Germany in the post-War

From 1918 to 1933 Germany was a republic. The factors which led to the eventual triumph of Fascism in Germany were many. Between 1871 and 1914 Germany had risen to dizzy heights of economic, political and cultural accomplishments. Germany's universities, its science, philosophy and music were known all over the world. Germany had surpassed even Britain and the US in several fields of industrial production.

Germany's defeat and humiliation at the end of World War I caused a deep shock to the German people. The Great Depression further deepened their frustration and prompted them to turn against the Republican government.

Evolution of German Fascism

The origin of German fascism goes back to 1919 when a group of seven men met in Munich and founded the National Socialist German Workers' Party (abbreviated as Nazi Party). One of them was Adolf Hitler. During World War I, he served in the Bavarian army. A gifted speaker, he could whip up the passion of the audience. In 1923 Hitler attempted to capture power in Bavaria. His launch of the National Revolution on the outskirts of Munich landed him in prison. During his time in prison wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), an autobiographical book containing his political ideas. In the Presidential election of 1932, the Communist Party polled about 6,000,000 votes. Alarmed capitalists and property owners tilted towards supporting fascism Hitler exploited this opportunity to usurp powers.



Hitler

Social Democratic Party was founded as the General German Workers Association on 23 May 1863 in Leipzig. Founder was Ferdinand Lassalle. German elites of the late 19th century considered the very existence of a socialist party a threat to the security and stability of the newly unified Reich, and so Bismark outlawed this party from 1878 to 1890.

However, in 1945, with the fall of Hitler, the Social Democratic Party was revived. It was the only surviving party from the Weimar period with a record of opposition to Hitler.

The Nazi State of Hitler

Republican government fell, as the Communists refused to collaborate with the Social Democrats. Thereupon industrialists, bankers and Junkers prevailed upon President Von Hindenburg to designate Hitler as Chancellor in 1933. The Nazi state of Hitler, known as Third Reich, brought an end to the parliamentary democracy.

Hitler replaced the flag of the Weimar republic by the swastika banners (卐) of National Socialism. Germany was converted into a highly centralised state. All political parties except the Nazi party were declared illegal. The army of brown-shirted and jack-booted storm-troopers was expanded. The Hitler Youth was created, and the Labour Front set up. Trade unions were abolished, their leaders arrested. Strikes were made illegal, wages were fixed by the government. Total state control was extended over the press, the theatre, the cinema, radio and over education.

The Nazi Party's propaganda was led by Josef Goebbels, who manipulated public opinion through planned propaganda. The Gestapo or Secret State Police was formed and run by Himmler.

Nazi Policy towards Jews

Along with the repressive measures, Hitler's government followed a policy of repressing Jewish people. The Jews were removed from government positions, excluded from the universities and deprived of citizenship. Jewish businesses were closed down, and their establishments were attacked. After the outbreak of World War II concentration camps, barracks surrounded by electrified fences and watch towers, were built where Jews were interred and used as forced labour. Later they were turned into extermination camps where industrial means of murder such as gas chambers were used to kill them in what the Nazis termed 'The Final Solution'.

Defiance of the Treaty of Versailles

In August 1934 Hindenburg died and Hitler, apart from being Chancellor, became both President and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Hitler's foreign policy aimed at restoring the armed strength of Germany and annulling provisions of Versailles Treaty.

2.3 Anti-Colonial Movements and Decolonisation Processes in Asia

(a) French Indo-China Rise of Anti-Colonialism

Indo-China (today's Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) had shown its discontent right from the beginning of the French occupation (1887). While the Indo-Chinese resisted the imposition of French language and culture, they learned from them the ideas of revolution. During the First World War about 100,000 Indo-Chinese fought in France and returned with first-hand knowledge of how the French had fought and suffered during the War. Communist ideas from mainland China were also a major influence. Many became convinced that the considerable wealth of Indo-China was benefiting only the colonial power.

Decolonisation is a process through which colonial powers transferred institutional and legal control over their colonies to the indigenous nationalist governments.

The Emergence of Viet Minh

The mainstream political party in Indo-China was the Vietnam Nationalist Party. Formed in 1927, it was composed of the wealthy and middle class sections of the population. In 1929 the Vietnamese soldiers



Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) was born in Tongking. When Ho Chi Minh was twenty one, he went to Europe. After working as a cook in a London hotel, he went to Paris. In the Paris peace conference, he lobbied for the independence for Vietnam. His articles in newspapers and especially the pamphlet, *French Colonialism on Trial*, made him well known as a Vietnam nationalist. In 1921 he became a founder-member of the French Communist party. Two years later he went to Moscow and learnt revolutionary techniques then. In 1925, he founded the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

mutinied, and there was a failed attempt to assassinate the French Governor-General. This was followed by a large scale peasant revolt led by the Communists. The revolt was crushed followed by what is called “White Terror.” Thousands of rebels were killed.

After the White Terror, Ho Chi Minh left for Moscow and spent the 1930s in Moscow and China. When France was defeated by Germany in 1940, Ho Chi Minh and his lieutenants used this turn of events to advance the Vietnamese cause. Crossing over the border into Vietnam in January 1941, they organized the League for the Independence of Vietnam, or Viet Minh. This gave renewed emphasis to a distinct Vietnamese nationalism.

(b) Decolonisation in India

Dyarchy in Provinces

The decolonization process started in India from the beginning of the twentieth century with the launch of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905. The outbreak of the First World War brought about rapid political as well as economic changes. In 1919, the Government of India Act introduced Dyarchy that provided for elected provincial assemblies as well as for Indian ministers to hold certain portfolios under Transferred Subjects. The Indian National Congress rejected Dyarchy and decided to boycott the legislature.

Lack of Measures to Industrialise India

Despite the discriminating protection given to certain select industries such as sugar, cement, and chemicals, there was no change in the colonial economic policy. But in the case of indigenous industries, support was only in

the form of providing “technical advice and education, and the establishment of pioneer factories in new industries.” However, even this policy was soon abandoned as many British enterprises were opposed to this .

Impact of Depression on Indian Agriculture

The ‘Great Depression’ also dealt a death blow to Indian agriculture and the indigenous manufacturing sector. The value of farm produce, declined by half while the land rent to be paid by the peasant remained unchanged. In terms of prices of agricultural commodities, the obligation of the farmers to the state doubled. The great fall in prices prompted Indian nationalists to demand protection for the internal economy. The 1930s saw the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a militant mass movement.

Government of India Act, 1935

The British had to appease the Indian nationalists and the outcome was the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935. This provided for greater power to the local governments and the introduction of direct elections. In the 1937 elections the Congress won a resounding victory in most of the provinces. However the decision of Britain to involve India in the Second World War, without consulting the popular Congress ministries, forced the latter to resign from office.

2.4 Anti-Colonial Movements in Africa

Colonisation of Africa

The African coastline had been explored in the sixteenth century and a few European settlements had come about. But the interior of

Africa was unknown to the outside world until the last quarter of nineteenth century. European colonisation began after about 1875. The Berlin Colonial Conference of 1884–85 resolved that Africa should be divided into spheres of influence of various colonial powers. The war between the British and Boers in South Africa, however, was in defiance of this resolution.

Boer Wars

The relations between the two British colonies of Natal and Cape Colony and the two independent Boer states of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had long been unfriendly. The discovery of gold in Transvaal, in 1886, led to large numbers of British miners settling in and around Johannesburg. The Boers hated these people whom they referred to as Uitlanders (foreigners). The Boers taxed them heavily apart from denying political rights. So the question was whether the British or the Boers were to be supreme in South Africa. Fearing attacks from the British, the Boers armed themselves and decided to attack.

The Boer War lasted for three years, 1899–1902. Initially, the Boers were successful. But by the first half of 1900, the Boer army was defeated. Pretoria was occupied. The Boers took to guerrilla fighting. This continued for about two years. In retaliation the British destroyed farms and crops. They set up internment camps for Boer women and children. Shortage of food, medical and sanitary facilities caused the death of 26,000 people. The British annexed the two Boer states. Boers were however promised



Boer War

self-government in due course. In 1907 full responsible government was given to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The four states formed into a union and the South Africa Act passed by the British parliament in 1909 provided for a Union Parliament at Cape Town. The Union of South Africa came into being in May 1910.

The descendents of original Dutch settlers of South Africa, also known as Afrikaners, were called Boers. Their language is Afrikaans.

Nationalist Politics in South Africa

There were two main political parties: the Unionist Party which was mainly British, and the South Africa Party which had largely Afrikaners (Boers). The first Prime Minister, Botha belonged to the South Africa Party ruled in cooperation with the British. But a militant section of the South Africa Party formed the National Party under Herzog. In the 1920 elections the National Party gained forty-four seats. The South Africa Party, now led by Smuts, secured forty-one seats. At this juncture the British-dominated Unionist Party merged with the South Africa Party. This gave Smuts a majority over the militant Afrikaner-controlled National Party.



Smuts

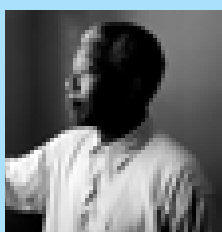
Racist Policy against the Blacks

The Afrikaners pursued a harsher, racist policy towards the blacks and the minority Indians. In 1923 an Act was passed to confine the native residents to certain parts of towns. Already an Act of 1913 had segregated black and white farmers, which made it impossible for the blacks to acquire land in most parts of the country. The 1924 elections were won by the National Party with the support of the Labour movement, composed mainly of white miners. The

Act passed in 1924 prevented blacks from striking work and from joining trade unions. In the Cape Province the voting right to blacks was abolished. Native Blacks suffered in all spheres: social, economic and politics.

Apartheid in South Africa

Apartheid, which means separateness, became the racial policy of the Nationalist Party in 1947. From 1950 onwards a series of laws came to be enforced. The whole country was divided into separate areas for the different races. Marriage between white and non-white was forbidden. Nearly all schools were brought under government control so that education different from that of the Whites could be implemented for Africans. University education was also segregated. Apartheid is based on the belief that the political equality of White and Black in South Africa would mean Black rule. The ANC which fought the practice of racism was banned and its leader Nelson Mandela was put behind bars. Mounting pressure at the global level helped to end the racist regime in South Africa. In 1990 the ban on ANC was lifted and Mandela freed after 27 years. In the elections held subsequently the Africans were allowed to vote and ANC won the election and Mandela became the first black president of South Africa. Even though apartheid was dismantled the Whites completely dominate the economic sphere.



Nelson Mandela



2.5 Political Developments in South America

Mayas and Aztecs

Before the European discovery of America three centres of civilisations existed there in

Mexico in Central America and in Peru in South America. The Maya, the Inca and the Aztec Civilizations were highly advanced. There were several states in each of these areas of civilisation. Well organised and strong governments existed. Around the eleventh century, large cities formed into a league of Mayapan (centre of Maya civilisation of Native Americans American Indians). For over hundred years the League of Mayapan lasted. Though Mayapan was destroyed towards the close of twelfth century, other cities continued. Aztecs from Mexico conquered the Maya country in the fourteenth century and founded their capital city of Tenochtitlan. For nearly two hundred years the Aztecs ruled their empire.

European Colonisation and its Impact

In the sixteenth century (around 1519) when the Aztecs were at the height of their power, the whole empire collapsed before a handful of adventurers led by a Spaniard named Hernan Cortes. Mexican civilisation collapsed. With it the great city of Tenochtitlan also perished. This is one of the world's worst genocides. The other famous Conquistador (conqueror) was also a Spaniard by name Francisco Pizarro, who led the conquest of the Incan Empire. Later the Spaniards made Peru a part of their dominions.

By the late 18th century, demand for political freedom, administrative autonomy and economic self-determination was articulated throughout Latin America. There were bloody conflicts between Haitian slaves, colonists, the armies of the British and the French colonizers. These struggles led by Toussaint L'Ouverture during 1791-1804 ended in the Haitian people's independence from the colonial control of France. Haiti thus became the first Caribbean country to throw off slavery and French colonial control.



Pizarro

Impact of Napoleonic Invasion of Spain and Portugal



Simon Bolivar-

Pedro I

The American and French Revolutions provided inspiration to the Latin Americans. The Napoleonic invasion of Spain and Portugal in 1808 quickened the process of liberation Struggle in South America. Already the spirit of independence was growing under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, called El Liberator, the liberator. In the case of Brazil, the Portuguese royal family in the context of conquest of Portugal by Napoleon fled from Lisbon and thereby assisted the transition of Brazil from colony to independent nation. Pedro I renouncing the claim to the Portuguese throne declared independence of Brazil.

The Monroe Doctrine

The fight for independence intensified when Napoleon fell in 1815. But Monroe, the President of the USA, came up with his famous Monroe doctrine, which declared that if Europeans interfered anywhere in America, north or south, it would amount to waging a war against the United States. This threat frightened the European powers. By 1830 the whole of South America was free from European domination. Thus the U.S. protected the South American republics from Europe; but there was no one to protect them from the Protector, the United States.

Disunity among Latin American Nationalists

Latin American nationalists fought not only Spain and Portugal but also each other. In 1821 Central America seceded from Mexico. Later (1839) Central America itself split into five republics (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua). Uruguay split from Brazil in 1828. In 1830 Venezuela and Ecuador seceded from Gran Columbia, the republic created by Bolivar.



Latin America

US Imperial Interests

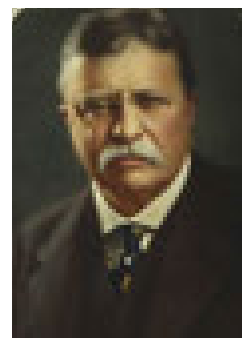
At the dawn of the twentieth century the United States had occupied Cuba and Puerto Rico, after defeating the Spanish in 1898. From 1898 to 1902 Cuba was under US military rule. When the Americans finally left they retained a naval station in Cuba. Roosevelt made an important amendment to the doctrine in 1904. It authorised US intervention in Latin America 'in order to maintain order.' After effecting this amendment, the US became the dominant influence not only politically but also in economics.

Great Depression in South America

The situation created by the Great Depression made it impossible for oligarchic regimes to accommodate the rising expectations of several assertive groups. In Mexico, there was violent social protest involving dissatisfied segments of the oligarchy, middle-class intellectuals, and

peasant communities. Elsewhere electoral reform enabled newer social groups to obtain political power through the ballot box.

Latin America protested American intervention and disliked their "dollar imperialism". The opposition to political intervention produced a change in US policy after 1933. Franklin Roosevelt in his "Good Neighbour" policy agreed that the US would not intervene in the internal affairs of any state, and would give economic and technical assistance to Latin America.



Theodore Roosevelt

Dollar Imperialism, the term used to describe the policy of the USA in maintaining and dominating over distant lands through economic aid.

SUMMARY

- Intensification of anti-colonial struggles commenced from the end of the First World War
- The harsh decisions in the Paris Peace Conference against the defeated countries destabilised the ruling regimes and created a climate for the rise of fascism especially in Italy and Germany.
- The economic slump originating in the US in 1929 and subsequently affecting all capitalist countries in the world resulted in changes in polity and society.
- Decolonisation process was quickened during the inter-war period in India.
- The Munroe Doctrine prevented colonisation of Latin American countries by European powers and thereby ensured early sovereign status to them. Later this was regarded by Latin Americans as a cover for American intervention and exploitation of the resources of their countries.

GLOSSARY

solidarity	a bond of unity, support for a common cause	ஒற்றுமை உணர்வு, பொதுக்காரியத்திற்கான ஆதரவு
slump	a sudden severe or prolonged fall in the price	விலைவீழ்ச்சி, சரிவு
bankruptcy	insolvency, financial ruin	திவால், கடன் தீர்க்க முடியா நிலை
devaluation	a decrease in the value of a country's currency	பணமதிப்புக் குறைதல்
intimidation	threat, the act of making fearful	மிரட்டல், அச்சுறுத்தல்

bolstered	strengthened	வலுப்படுத்தினர்
demoralized	having lost confidence or hope, disheartened	மனத்தளர்ச்சி அடைதல், நம்பிக்கை இழத்தல்
manipulate	control or influence a person or situation cleverly, unfairly to achieve a specific purpose	கெட்டிக்காரத்தனமாய் அல்லது சூழ்ச்சியாய் கையாளு
annulling	declaring invalid or null and void	செல்லாதாக்கல், ரத்துசெய்தல்



EXERCISE



KF882T

I Choose the correct answer

- With whom of the following was the Lateran Treaty signed by Italy?
 - Germany
 - Russia
 - Pope
 - Spain
- With whose conquest did the Mexican civilization collapse?
 - Hernan Cortes
 - Francisco Pizarro
 - Toussaint Louverture
 - Pedro I
- Who made Peru as part of their dominions?
 - English
 - Spaniards
 - Russians
 - French
- Which President of the USA pursued "Good Neighbour" policy towards Latin America?
 - Roosevelt
 - Truman
 - Woodrow Wilson
 - Eisenhower
- Which part of the world disliked dollar imperialism?
 - Europe
 - Latin America
 - India
 - China

II Fill in the blanks

- The founder of the Social Democratic Party was _____.
- The Nazi Party's propaganda was led by _____.
- The Vietnam Nationalist Party was formed in _____.
- The Secret State Police in Nazi Germany was known as _____.
- The Union of South Africa came into being in May _____.
- The ANC leader Nelson Mandela was put behind the bars for _____ years.
- Boers were also known as _____.

III Choose the correct statement

- During World War I the primary task of Italy was to keep the Austrians occupied on the Southern Front
 - Germany took to Fascism much later than Italy.
 - The first huge market crash in the US occurred on 24 October 1929.
 - The ban on African National Congress was lifted in 1966.
 - i) and ii) are correct
 - iii) is correct
 - iii) and iv) are correct
 - i), ii) and iii) are correct

2. **Assertion:** A new wave of economic nationalism which expressed itself in protectionism affected the world trade.

Reason: This was because the USA was not willing to provide economic aid to the debtor countries.

- a) Both A and R are correct
 b) A is right but R is not the correct explanation
 c) Both A and R are wrong
 d) R is right but it has no relevance to A
3. **Assertion:** The Berlin Colonial Conference of 1884–85 had resolved that Africa should be divided into spheres of influence of various colonial powers.
- Reason:** The war between the British and Boers in South Africa, however, was in defiance of this resolution.
- a) Both A and R are right
 b) A is right but R is not the right reason
 c) Both A and R are wrong
 d) A is wrong and R has no relevance to A

IV Match the Following

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---------------------|
| 1. Transvaal | - | Germany |
| 2. Tongking | - | Hitler |
| 3. Hindenburg | - | Italy |
| 4. Third Reich | - | gold |
| 5. Matteotti | - | guerilla activities |

V Answer briefly

1. What do you know of the White Terror in Indo-China?
2. Discuss the importance of Ottawa Economic Summit.
3. What was the result of Mussolini's march on Rome?
4. Point out the essence of the Berlin Colonial Conference, 1884-85.
5. How did Great Depression impact on the Indian agriculture?
6. Define "Dollar Imperialism."

VI Answer in detail

1. Trace the circumstances that led to the rise of Hitler in Germany.
2. Attempt a narrative account of how the process of decolonization happened in India during the inter-war period (1919-39).
3. Describe the rise and growth of nationalist politics in South Africa.

VII Activity

1. Each student may be asked to write an assignment on how each sector and each section of population in the USA came to be affected by the Stock Market Crash in 1929.
2. A group project work on Vietnam War is desirable. An album or pictures, portraying the air attacks of the US on Vietnam and the brave resistance put up by the Vietnamese may be prepared.



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Unit - 3

World War II


 Learning Objectives

- To acquaint ourselves about the political and economic developments after World War I which ultimately led to World War II
- To understand the course of the War, in general; in particular, to learn the main events which were turning points in the War
- To know the effects of World War II
- To understand the “holocaust”, and the mass killing of Jews in Nazi
- To acquire knowledge about the international organisations established after the



Introduction

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed two wars which devastated the world. World War I was fought from 1914 to 1918 and World War II began in 1939 and ended in 1945. While the world at large had experienced many wars, these two wars are referred to as “World” wars because of the extended areas of the conflict and the very high death toll of civilians as well as armed combatants. Both wars were fought on several fronts across Europe, Asia and Africa.

In both wars, the combined forces of Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States fought against a war alliance led by Germany. Germany’s allies were Italy and Japan in World War II.

3.1 Causes, Course and Effects of World War II

(a) Causes

The devastation caused by World War I was of such magnitude that it was referred

to as The Great War, or The War to End All Wars. The belligerent nations, especially the Allies, had no desire for a second prolonged conflict, and this was the main driving force behind their actions after the end of World War I. The immediate and primary cause of World War II was the aggressive military offensive undertaken by a resurgent Germany and a fast developing Japan.

Germany and Treaty of Versailles, 1919

The Treaty of Versailles ending World War I was signed in June 1919. Among the many clauses of the Treaty, three in particular caused great resentment among the Germans. (i) Germany was forced to give up territories to the west, north and east of the German border; (ii) Germany had to disarm and was allowed to retain only a very restricted armed force; (iii) as reparations for the War, Germany was expected to pay for the military and civilian cost of the War to the Allied nations.

Failure of League of Nations

The Treaty also set up the League of Nations, on the initiative of President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. The League was expected to mediate between countries and take action against countries which indulged in military aggression. The popular mood favoured the traditional isolationist approach, and therefore the United States did not become a member of the League. The other Allied nations were also determined to maintain a non-interventionist attitude and, in consequence, the League remained an ineffectual international body.

Post-War Crisis and Germany

As mentioned above the three main clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, especially the imposition of penal reparations caused great discontent in Germany. The problems which many countries faced in the post-World War I decades led to the rise of extreme right wing dictatorships in Italy (Mussolini), Germany (Hitler) and Spain (Franco).

Germany experienced both high unemployment and severe inflation after the War, and its currency became practically worthless. There are several pictures of the 1920s when ordinary people had to carry money in wheelbarrows to buy bread. This was blamed on the war reparations which Germany was forced to pay, though in the final analysis, the demands for war reparations were moderated over several rounds of negotiations.

The Rise of Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler was able to exploit the general discontent among the Germans. Gifted with great oratorical skills, he was able to sway the people by his impassioned speeches, promising a return to the glorious military past of Germany. He founded the National Socialist party, generally known as "the Nazis". The fundamental platform on which Hitler built his support was the notion of the racial superiority of the Germans as a pure, 'Aryan' race and a deep-seated hatred of the Jews. Hitler came to power in 1933 and ruled Germany till 1945.

In direct contravention of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler began to re-arm Germany. The recruitment for the armed forces and the manufacture of armaments and machinery for the army, navy and air force with large amounts of government spending resulted in an economic revival and solved the problem of unemployment in Germany.

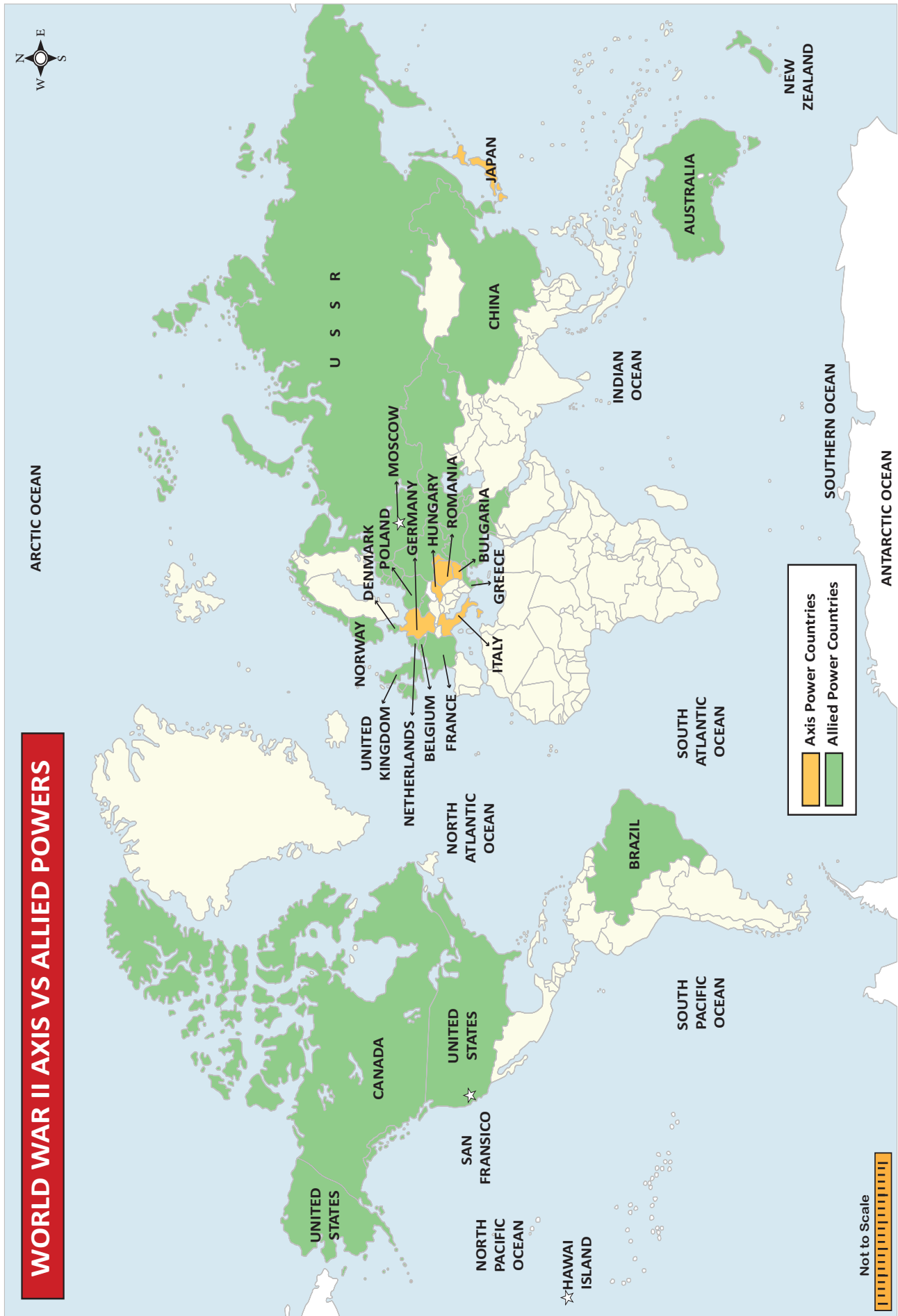
Italy's break with Britain and France in the wake of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia resulted in better relationship between Italy and Germany. In 1936, before Germany invaded the Rhineland, which was supposed to be a demilitarised zone, Rome - Berlin Axis had come into being. Later, with Japan joining this alliance, it became Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. In 1938, Hitler invaded Austria and Czechoslovakia. Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia was German speaking, and Hitler's claim was that the German speaking people should be united in to one nation.

Allies and Non-Intervention

There were also acts of aggression by Italy and Japan. Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and Albania in 1939. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations, but got no help. In the East, Japan was pursuing its policy of military expansion. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria, and in 1937 it invaded China and seized Beijing. All these were ignored by the Allies and the League of Nations was unable to take any action.

In spite of all these manifestations of military activity by Germany, Italy and Japan, Britain and France continued to be non-interventionist. The mood in Britain was not in favour of starting another war. Prime Ministers Baldwin and Chamberlain did not feel justified in intervening in a region which was not officially in their sphere of interest. The United States was totally indifferent to the outside world, and was concerned with the revival of the economy after the Great Depression.

WORLD WAR II AXIS VS ALLIED POWERS



Munich Pact

A further factor was that the western powers and the Soviet Union distrusted each other. In 1938, Prime Minister Chamberlain concluded the Munich Pact with Germany, which was a shameful acceptance of Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia to annex German-speaking Sudetenland. In 1939 the Soviet Union independently concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany. The continued passivity of the Allies and the reluctance to start building up their armies were also contributory causes of the extended scale of World War II.

Though Hitler gave an assurance in the Munich Pact that Germany would not attack any other country, this was broken immediately. In 1939 he invaded Czechoslovakia. Poland was attacked next, and this was the final act which resulted in the declaration of war by Britain and France against Germany. In Britain, Prime Minister Chamberlain resigned in 1940 and Winston Churchill, who had always warned about Hitler and his military ambitions, became Prime Minister.



Munich Pact

(b) Course of World War II

Nature of the War

World War II was fought on two distinct fronts - Europe and the Asia Pacific. In Europe, the war was fought by the Allies against Germany and Italy. In the Asia Pacific, the Allies fought Japan.

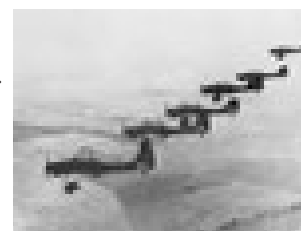
World War II was a modern war fought with heavy military equipment such as tanks,

submarines, battleships, aircraft carriers, fighter planes and bomber planes. This involved a very large resource base, since all this equipment needed to be manufactured. There had to be raw materials, manufacturing capacity and technical inputs to improve the military hardware. This was an expensive and prolonged war of attrition.

Outbreak of War

Britain and France declared war on Germany in September 1939. In June 1940, Italy joined Germany, and in September 1940, Japan also joined the Axis powers.

There was little action immediately after the declaration of war. Britain had already begun to build up its military capabilities, and all



Blitzkrieg

young men were conscripted for military duty. The first years of the War were a time of spectacular successes of the Germany army which occupied Denmark and Norway and later France. By 1941, all of mainland Europe till the Russian frontier was under the Axis powers. The German army followed a tactic of 'lightning strike' (Blitzkrieg) to storm into various countries and overrun them.

The British Royal Navy continued to be the most powerful among the European naval forces and ensured that a sea-borne invasion of Britain was not possible.



British Royal Navy

However, Britain depended on large scale imports of food, raw materials and industrial goods by sea from its Empire and the US. To attack this, Germany developed a fleet of submarines which caused havoc, especially in the Atlantic Ocean area, by sinking a large number of civilian ships carrying supplies to Britain.

Important Events

Dunkirk – In May 1940 more than **300,000** British and French soldiers were

forced back to the beaches in Dunkirk. Britain would have found it difficult to regroup if so many of her soldiers had been lost at Dunkirk.

Battle of Britain– By July 1940, it was feared that the Germans were planning to invade Britain. Hitler wanted to force Britain to accept his proposals for peace by a prolonged air-borne bombing campaign. The German air force began to attack specific targets, especially the ports, airfields and industrial installations. In September 1940, London was bombed mercilessly, an action known as The Blitz. By October 1940, night bombing raids on London and other industrial cities began.

This campaign failed because with the aid of a newly developed and top secret device ‘radar’ for detecting aircraft while still at a distance, the fighter planes of the Royal Air Force (Spitfires and Hurricanes) were able to inflict severe losses on the German bombers. The raids stopped after October 1940. The Germans dropped their plans to invade Britain because of the failure of the air battle.



Hurricanes -
Royal Air Force



Spitfires -
Royal Air Force

Lend Lease 1941–1945

President Roosevelt realized that the United States had to change its policy of isolation, but could not intervene directly in the War in Europe, because it was not politically feasible. So he started a programme of “Lend Lease” in March 1941. Arms, food, military equipment and other supplies were sent to Britain, disguised as a “loan”, which would be returned after use. This augmented the resources of Britain to a great extent. Between 1941 and 1945, the total aid under Lend Lease amounted to \$46.5 billion.

Invasion of Russia 1941-1942

In June 1941 the German army invaded Russia. The long-term objectives of this move were to seize prime land for settling Germans, to destroy the communist regime, and also exploit Russia’s natural resources, especially oil. The German strategy of lightning strikes was initially successful and the army penetrated 1000 miles into Russian territory very soon. The German army then marched on Moscow. But ultimately, the resistance by the Soviet army, and the fierce Russian winter defeated the German army.

Battle of Stalingrad (17 July 1942 to 2 February 1943)

In August 1942, the Germans attacked Stalingrad. Stretching about 30 miles (50 km) along the banks of the Volga River, Stalingrad was a large industrial city producing armaments and tractors. Capturing the city would cut Soviet transport links with southern Russia, and Stalingrad would then enable the invading Germans to have access to the oil fields of the Caucasus. In addition, seizing the city that bore the name of Soviet leader Stalin would serve as a great personal and propaganda victory for Hitler. German war planners hoped to achieve that end with *Fall Blau* (“Operation Blue”). On June 28, 1942, operations began with significant German victories.

Russian people suffered not only from bad working and living conditions, but also from ill-treatment at German hands in the occupied areas. There were about 15 million civilian deaths during the war, and about 10 million members of the armed forces were killed. All together over one-tenth of Russia’s population died. Yet the people remained loyal to the government, despite Hitler’s hopes of an anti-Stalin revolution. They successfully defended the city of Stalingrad.

Battle of El Alamein 1942

In the early years of the War, German forces under General Rommel were remarkably

successful in occupying North Africa rapidly, leaving the British with only Egypt. The Allied forces under General Montgomery counter-attacked and defeated the German and Italian forces at El Alamein in North Africa. The German army was chased across the desert, out of North Africa. This provided the base for the Allied forces to invade Italy.

Surrender of Italy 1943

Mussolini had been thrown out and the new government of Italy surrendered to the Allies in 1943. However, the Germans set Mussolini up in a puppet regime in the north. Mussolini was killed in April 1945, by Italian partisans.

End of Hitler

The Allied forces under the command of General Eisenhower invaded Normandy in France. Slowly, the German army was forced back. But the Germans fought back and the War continued for nearly another year, and finally ended in May 1945. Hitler committed suicide in April 1945.

From 1944, the Russian army began to attack Germany from the East and captured much of Eastern Europe and Poland. In 1945, they occupied parts of Berlin, so that Germany was divided into two sections after the War.

War in the Asia-Pacific Region

Japan had entertained visions of a glorious empire, very much on the same lines as Hitler. The Japanese army invaded Manchuria in 1931. Though China appealed to the League of Nations, this act of aggression did not attract the attention of the United States or Britain. In 1937, Japan invaded China, and seized Beijing (Peking, as it was then known) which had traditionally been the capital of China. The region around Shanghai was also captured, and Nanjing (Nanking), the capital was captured at the end of the year. The Japanese army indulged in the biggest slaughter ever known in history in Nanjing. Civilians were killed en masse for sport, and all females – from children to old women – were tortured and killed. Guangzhou

(Canton) and many other parts of China were overrun. The Chinese army, under Chiang Kai-shek retreated to the west to the hilly country from where they continued to fight the Japanese.

Pearl Harbour 1941

On December 1941, Japan attacked American naval installations in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, without warning. The idea was to cripple America's Pacific fleet so that Japan would not face any opposition in its offensive against South-east Asian countries. Many battleships and numerous fighter planes were destroyed. The United States declared war on Japan, with Britain and China also joining in. This brought together both the Asia Pacific and the European war into one common cause. Most importantly, it brought the United States with its enormous resources into the war as a part of the Allies.



Pearl Harbour attack

Japanese Aggression in South-east Asia

The Japanese had spectacular success in their plan to extend their empire throughout South-east Asia. Guam, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and Burma, all fell to the Japanese.

Battle of Midway and Battle of Guadalcanal 1942

The US navy defeated the Japanese navy in the Battle of Midway, which turned the tide in favour of the Allies. The Battle of Guadalcanal in



Battle of Guadalcanal

the Solomon Islands was a combined offensive involving the army and the navy, and lasted for several months. Both were crushing defeats for the Japanese.

After this, the American forces were able to re-take the Philippines. Gradually the Japanese were thrown out of most of their conquered territories. In 1944, the combined British and Indian armies were able to push back the Japanese who attempted to invade the north-east of India. Then, along with the Chinese, they pushed the Japanese out of Burma, and liberated Malaya and Singapore.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 1945

As a top secret project, using the latest scientific advances, the US developed an atomic bomb immensely more powerful than conventional explosives. The Japanese generals refused to surrender and finally the US dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. As the Japanese still refused to surrender, another atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Japan ultimately announced surrender on 15 August 1945 and formally signed 2 September 1945 bringing an end to World War II.



(c) Effects of the War

New geo-political power alignment: World War II changed the world in fundamental ways.

The world was polarized into two main blocs led by superpowers, one led by the United States with a pronounced anti-Communist ideology, and the other by Soviet Russia. Europe was divided into two: Communist and non-Communist.

Nuclear proliferation: The United States and the Soviet Union entered into a race to have more nuclear powered weapons. They built a large stockpile of such weapons. Defence spending sky-rocketed in many countries.

International agencies: Many international agencies, in particular the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund came into existence providing a forum for countries large and small.

Colonial powers were forced to give independence to former colonies in a process of decolonization. India was the first to achieve independence.

3.2 Holocaust and Its Fallout

After Hitler came to power, the Jews were persecuted in many ways. They were deprived of their civil rights, their properties were confiscated and many were confined to ghettos. Eventually, the Nazis came up with the notion of the Final Solution, which was to exterminate the Jews completely.

The word 'holocaust' is used to describe the genocide of nearly six million Jews by the Germans during World War II. Annihilating the Jews was one of the main items on the political agenda of Hitler and the Nazis. Hitler was able to play on the anti-Jewish feelings (anti-Semitism) which were common in Germany and, in fact, throughout Europe. Jews were scattered all across Europe and many had become prominent in business, in performing arts and professional fields. Money-lending was a major business activity among Jews and this strengthened the prejudice against them. Shakespeare's play, *The Merchant of Venice* clearly depicts the dislike and distrust of Jews among the people.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In the aftermath of the Holocaust the UNO in its Charter, pledged to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction to race, sex, language and religion. The UN efforts to protect human rights on a global basis resulted in the constitution of UN Commission on Human Rights. A committee constituted under its auspices was chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt wife of late President Franklin Roosevelt. The members of the Commission included Charles Malik of Lebanon, P.C. Chang of Nationalist China, John Humphrey of Canada, and Rene Cassin of France. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was its important contribution. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights set forth fundamental human rights in 30 articles. The UN adopted this historic Charter on 10 December 1948. This day (10 December) is observed globally as Human Rights Day. Provisions of some ninety national constitutions since 1948, according to the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in New York, can be traced to this Declaration.

Birth of Israel

A major outcome of the Holocaust was the creation of the state of Israel as a homeland for the Jews. While this was historically the original home of the Jews during Roman times.

3.3 New International Order

By 1941 the United States and Britain began to give serious consideration to the need for international cooperation for achieving lasting peace among all nations. International economic and financial stability were also important objectives. All these would need international organizations with members of the various nations across the world working together for these common objectives. This ultimately resulted in the establishment of the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, with many

associated organizations which deal with basic issues of importance for all societies and countries.

United Nations

The first initiative for the United Nations came from the United States and Britain in 1941 when they issued a joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter. This Declaration of the United Nations was accepted by all the 26 countries which were fighting against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) on New Year's Day, 1942. The Charter of the United Nations was signed on June 26, 1945 by 51 nations. India which was not an independent country then also was a signatory to the Charter. Now the United Nations has 193 member states and each one - big or small - has an equal vote in the United Nations.

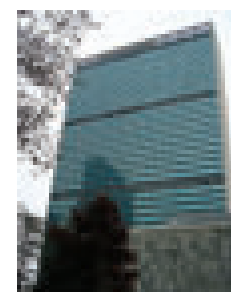


Symbol of UN

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small ..." - from The Preamble to the United Nations

General Assembly and Security Council

The United Nations functions almost like any government, through its principal organs which are similar to the legislative, executive and judicial wings of a state. In the General Assembly is the body in which each member state is represented. It meets once a year and issues of interest and points of conflict are discussed in the Assembly. The Security Council has



UN Headquarters, New York

fifteen members. Five countries - the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China - are permanent members, and there are ten temporary members who are elected in rotation. These two bodies function like a legislature. Each of the permanent members has the right to veto any decision by the other members of the Security Council. This right has often been used to block major decisions, especially by the superpowers, the US and Russia. Major issues and conflicts are discussed in the Security Council.

Administrative Structure

The executive wing of the United Nations is the UN Secretariat. It is headed by the Secretary General, who is elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary General, along with his cabinet and other officials, runs the United Nations. The International Court of Justice, headquartered at The Hague in Holland, is the judicial wing of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the fifth organ of the United Nations, is responsible for coordinating all the economic and social work of the United Nations. The regional Economic Commissions functioning for regional development across the various regions of the world (Asia Pacific, West Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America) are organs of ECOSOC. They have been very successful, and have been headed by eminent economists like Gunnar Myrdal.

Other Important Organs of the UN

Associated organizations deal with areas of critical interest to the world at large like food, health and education, and culture. These are: Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), World Health Organisation (WHO), UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). There are also special organizations funded voluntarily by member countries. The two best known among them are UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) which promotes child health and welfare across the world, and the UNDP (United Nations

Development Programme), which focuses on development.

Activities of the UN

Over the decades, the United Nations has expanded its activities in response to the changing problems facing the world. Thus, in the 1960s, decolonization was an important issue. Human rights, the problems of refugees, climate change, gender equality are all now within the ambit of the activities of the United Nations. A special mention must be made of the UN Peacekeeping force, which has acted in many areas of conflict all over the world. The Indian army has been an important part of the peacekeeping force and has been deployed in many parts of the world.

World Bank

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, referred to as the "Bretton Woods Twins", were both established in 1945 after the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Located in Washington D.C. in the United States, they have the same membership, since a country cannot be a member of the Bank without being a member of the Fund.



Bretton Woods Conference

The two main organs of the World Bank are the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Agency (IDA). Together they are often referred to as the World Bank. The main responsibility of the IBRD in the initial years was to fund the reconstruction activities under the Marshall Plan in the European countries devastated by the war. The agenda later expanded to promote economic development in poorer

countries and the Bank lends money to various countries for developmental projects. A further area of interest is poverty alleviation, especially in the rural areas of developing countries. The International Development Agency (IDA) also lends money to governments for developmental activities. These loans are “soft” loans, and are given at very low rates of interest for a period of 50 years. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) mainly functions with private enterprises in developing countries.

In recent years the Bank is actively promoting the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals which aim at improving living standards, removing illiteracy, empowering women and improving maternal and child health, improving the environment and eradicating AIDS.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The International Monetary Fund was primarily the brainchild of Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes, the famous economist. It was formally organized in 1945 with 29 member countries. It now has a membership of 189 countries. Its primary objective is to ensure financial stability and development across the world. The main agenda is to promote international monetary cooperation, expansion of international trade and exchange stability. The Fund lends money from its resources to countries facing balance of payments problems (because they are unable to pay for their imports). It however imposes stringent conditions on the borrowing nations to tighten their budgets, practice fiscal prudence and reduce their expenditure. This is often unpopular, especially among the developing countries which may have to cut down on various programmes which provide subsidies to the people.

The objectives of the IMF are: “to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth and reduce poverty around the world.”

3.4 Post-War Welfare States in Europe

The term Welfare State refers to the concept that the government is responsible for the social and economic welfare of the people, thus expanding the role of the state beyond providing defence and maintaining law and order.

In 1942, the Report commonly known as the Beveridge Report was published in the United Kingdom which proposed a series of measures which the government should adopt to provide citizens with adequate income, health care, education, housing and employment to overcome poverty and disease which were the major impediments to general welfare.

After the War, the Labour party was voted into power in Britain. It promised to undertake steps to look after the people “from the cradle to the grave”. Legislation was enacted to provide comprehensive free health coverage to the citizens through the National Health Service and monetary benefits like old age pensions and unemployment benefits, childcare services and family welfare services. These are in addition to universal, free school education to all children.

The benefits can either be achieved through cash transfers, like old age pensions and unemployment compensation, or through free services. In addition, these countries also try to minimize economic disparities through progressive taxation by taxing the higher income groups at relatively high rates.

SUMMARY

- The War lasted from 1939 till 1945 and was fought in almost every part of the world, in Europe, Africa and the Asia Pacific. The Allies, initially Britain and France, and subsequently the USSR (Russia) and the United States, fought against the Axis powers - Germany, Italy and Japan.
- Initially both the German army in Europe and Japan in the East were very successful. However, after the United States with its enormous resources also joined the Allies, both Germany and Japan were defeated after many prolonged fighting.
- The post-War world saw the rise of two superpowers, namely the United States and the USSR. Both countries were in an arms race, especially to build their nuclear weapons.

GLOSSARY

devastation/ havoc	total destruction	பேரழிவு
belligerent	one eager to fight / aggressive	போர் நாட்டம்
resurgent	rising again	மீண்டெழுகிற
reparations	compensation exacted from a defeated nation by the victors	இழப்பீடுகள்
armaments	weapons	போர்த்தளவாடங்கள்
conscripted	compulsory military service	கட்டாய இராணுவ சேவைக்கு அழைக்கப்பட்ட
slaughter	kill a large number of people indiscriminately	வதைத்துக் கொல்லுதல்
proliferation	a rapid increase	பல்கிப் பெருகுதல்
ghettos	slums	குடிசைத்தொகுதி
veto	a vote that blocks a decision / negative vote	மறுப்பாணை / எதிர்வாக்கு
ambit	range	வரம்பு / எல்லை
scourge	eternal suffering	மீளாத்துயரம்
stringent	tough	கடுமையான



EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer

- When did the Japanese formally sign of their surrender?
 - 2 September, 1945
 - 2 October, 1945
 - 15 August, 1945
 - 12 October, 1945
- Who initiated the formation of League of Nations?
 - Roosevelt
 - Chamberlain
 - Woodrow Wilson
 - Baldwin
- Where was the Japanese Navy defeated by the US Navy?
 - Battle of Guadalcanal
 - Battle of Midway



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- c) Battle of Leningrad
d) Battle of El Alamein
4. Where did the US drop its first atomic bomb?
a) Kavashaki
b) Innoshima
c) Hiroshima
d) Nagasaki
5. Who were mainly persecuted by Hitler?
a) Russians
b) Arabs
c) Turks
d) Jews
6. Which Prime Minister of England who signed the Munich Pact with Germany?
a) Chamberlain
b) Winston Churchill
c) Lloyd George
d) Stanley Baldwin
7. When was the Charter of the UN signed?
a) June 26, 1942
b) June 26, 1945
c) January 1, 1942
d) January 1, 1945

II Fill in the blanks

- Hitler attacked _____ which was a demilitarised zone.
- The alliance between Italy, Germany and Japan is known as _____ .
- _____ started the Lend Lease programme.
- Britain Prime Minister _____ resigned in 1940.
- _____ is a device used to find out the enemy aircraft from a distance.

III Choose the correct statement

- Assertion:** President Roosevelt realised that the United States had to change its policy of isolation.
Reason: He started a programme of Lend Lease in 1941.
a) Both A and R are correct
b) A is right but R is not the correct reason
c) Both A and R are wrong
d) R is right but it has no relevance to A

IV Match the Following

- | | | |
|----------------|---|------------------|
| 1. Blitzkrieg | - | Roosevelt |
| 2. Royal Navy | - | Stalingrad |
| 3. Lend Lease | - | Solomon Island |
| 4. Volga | - | Britain |
| 5. Guadalcanal | - | lightning strike |

V Answer the questions briefly

- Who were the three prominent dictators of the post World War I?
- How did Hitler get the support from the people of Germany?
- Describe the Pearl Harbour incident.
- What do you know of Beveridge Report?.
- Name the Bretton Woods Twins.
- What are the objectives of IMF?

VI Answer in detail

- Analyse the effects of the World War II.
- Assess the structure and the activities of the UN.

VII Students Activity

- Marking the Allies and Axis countries, as well as important battlefields of World War II in a world map.

VIII Map Work

Mark the following on the world map.

- Axis Power Countries
- Allied Power Countries
- Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Hawaii Island, Moscow, San Francisco



REFERENCE BOOKS

1. R.D. Cornwell, *World History in the Twentieth Century*, London: Longman, 1972.
2. C.V. Narasimhan, *The United Nations - An Inside View*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1988.
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 23 (1962 edition).
4. Chris Harman, *A People's History of the World* (Delhi: Orient Longman, 2007)



ICT CORNER

World War II

Steps

- Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Click on '**map**' to see the events happened in the location
- Select any year from the bottom time line (**Ex.1939**) and select the '**box**' to learn more about the World War II events.

Website URL:

https://www.abmc.gov/sites/default/files/interactive/interactive_files/WW2/index.html



Unit - 4

The World After World War II



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Communist Revolution in China
- Cold War and the Non-Aligned Movement
- Korean War and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Arab–Israeli Wars and Vietnam War
- European Economic Community and European Union
- Fall of Berlin Wall and the End of Cold War Era



Introduction

In the aftermath of Second World War a new era began. It was the beginning of the decline of European colonial empires and the independence of colonies in Asia and Africa. If the effects of World War I led to the communist revolution of Russia, the Second World War played a big part in the communist revolution in China. The emergence of the US and the USSR as super powers resulted in the division of the world into two antagonistic blocs. A cold war situation triggered deadly conflicts in Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and West Asia.

Under the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of the war-ravaged Europe, the US won the trust of the great powers in Europe. Soviet Russia, by demonstrating solidarity with the liberation struggles of countries in Asia and Africa, earned the goodwill of the latter.

The Non-Aligned Movement played a limited role in containing the conflict between the two power blocs. In a bid to wriggle out

of US control, European countries started the European movement in the form of Council of Europe. This developed into the European Common Market and finally into what is today the European Union. The Cold War period ended with the fall of Berlin Wall.

4.1 Chinese Revolution

(a) China in the Pre-War Period

In its long history, Chinese civilization was more advanced than that of Europe. But by the end of the nineteenth century, its progress had halted. The Manchus, the ruling dynasty, had governed China since about 1650. The entire administration system was in the hands of a bureaucracy of scholar-officials called mandarins who came from the landed gentry. The mass of peasant population was poverty-stricken, and suffered from high rents, high taxes, and shortage of land. There was very little industry, though some railways and engineering works had been built.

Discontent with the political and economic system resulted in a number of peasant uprisings. The Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) was a major rebellion. In the two opium wars of 1832 and 1848, China was defeated and was compelled to open its ports to western powers. The opening of China to western imperialism led to economic exploitation and the impoverishment of the Chinese people.

The European presence produced a profound hatred of foreigners. This combined with military defeat, led to more pressing demands for reforms from the Western-educated intellectuals. In 1898, the young Emperor, initiated a series of reforms known as the Hundred Days of Reform. But these reforms aroused tremendous opposition from the powerful conservatives and the Dowager-Empress Tzú Hsi. She imprisoned the Emperor and reversed the reforms.

(b) The Chinese Revolution 1911

The disintegration of the Manchu dynasty began with the death of the Dowager-Empress in 1908. The new emperor was two-years old and the provincial governors began to assert their independence. In October 1911 the local army mutinied and the revolt spread. Provincial governors removed the Manchu garrisons



Dr. Sun Yat-sen
(1866–1925)

Born in a poor family near Canton, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of modern china was educated in a mission school and became a Christian. He was then trained as a doctor of medicine in Hong Kong. Evincing interest in politics he took part in a rising against the Manchus in 1895. In 1905 he founded in Tokyo the political party which in 1912 became the Kuomintang or the National People's Party. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three principles were Nationalism, Democracy, and People's livelihood with Socialism as the ultimate object.

and proclaimed their independence. Already there were a few middle-class leaders. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was one among them. On hearing the news of the rising in a newspaper in the United States Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai and was immediately elected provisional president of the new Chinese Republic.

(c) Yuan Shih-kai and After

The unity of China under Yuan Shih-kai lasted for four years. On his death in 1916 a new President was appointed for the next twelve years but the government was central only in name.



Yuan Shih-kai

(d) Communist Party of China

With the Revolution and the breakup of the old society, Confucian thought was generally side-lined and after the Russian Revolution of 1917, the ideas of Marx and Lenin became popular among intellectuals. In 1918 a Society for the Study of Marxism was formed in Peking University. Among the students who attended was **Mao Tse-tung**.



Chou En Lai



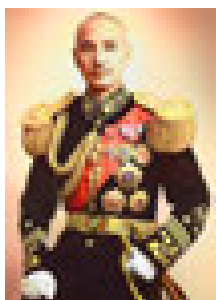
Mao Tse-tung
(1893–1976)

Mao was born in Hunan in south-east China. His father was a wealthy peasant, and a firm supporter of the Manchus.

Mao, who was very fond of reading, soon showed his ability and entered the Junior College at Changsha. This was the year (1911) when the Revolution had broken out in China. Mao joined the revolutionary army but soon left and enrolled in the Teachers' Training College in Changsha. In the following year Mao began his full-fledged political activities of Hunan and emerged as a staunch Communist.

Kuomintang and Chiang Kai Shek

After the death of Sun Yat Sen the leader of the Kuomintang was Chiang Kai-shek. While the Communist Party was under Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lai. As an avowed critic of Communists, Chiang removed all of them from important positions in the party. The communists increased their influence among the workers and peasants and obtained recruits for their army. The Kuomintang represented the interests of the landlords and capitalists.



Chiang Kai-shek

In 1928 he was successful in capturing Peking. Once again there was a central government in China.

Mao as Organizer of Peasants

Mao had understood that the Kuomintang grip on the towns was very strong. So he concentrated his energies on organizing the peasantry. A few hundred Communists led by Mao retreated into the wild mountains. Here they stayed for the next seven years. As the army of Mao was gradually growing, the Kuomintang was unable to penetrate the mountains. The campaign against the communists was distracted as Chiang Kai-shek had to deal with the constant threat from Japan and also the attacks from war lords.

The Long March 1934

As Chiang Kai-shek had built a circle of fortified posts around the communist positions, Mao wanted to move out of Hunan for safer territory. By 1933 Mao had gained full control of the Chinese Communist party. In 1934, the Communist army of about 100,000 set out on the Long March. This march has become legendary. Of the 100,000 who set out, only 20,000 finally reached northern Shensi late in 1935, after crossing nearly 6000 miles. They were soon joined by other communist

armies. By 1937 Mao had become the leader of over 10 million people.



Mao's Long March

Japanese Aggression

Japan continued to occupy north Chinese provinces while developing Manchuria as a military base. Mao believed that Chiang Kai-shek was necessary for some time to hold together Kuomintang to fight the Japanese. As a consequence of this pragmatic policy, the attacks on the communists gradually stopped.

Communist Victory

With the surrender of the Japanese (1945), both the Kuomintang and the communists sought to occupy the Japanese areas. In this race the Kuomintang was successful. The cities and railways soon fell into their hands. Even the area around Peking was soon controlled by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, largely because of the military aid given by the USA.

With the massive support provided by the USA Kuomintang government controlled the administration, ports and communication system. But the soldiers, mainly drawn from the peasants, were disillusioned and discontented. Mao was keen on obtaining the support of the middle class. So he declared that what the communists wanted was the rule of the people, not the dictatorship of the proletariat; the end of exploitation, not absolute equality.

National People's Congress

In September 1949, before fighting had ended in the south of China, the people's Political Consultative Conference met in Peking. Consisting of over 650 delegates from

the Communist Party and other left-wing organizations, the conference elected the Central Governing Council with Mao as its Chairman.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung was a world-shaking event. There were now two mighty Communist powers in the world —the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China.

Denial of UNO Membership

The United States refused to recognize the People's Republic of China for more than two decades.

4.2 Cold War: Rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union

1. Truman's Policy of Containment of Communism

In 1948 the Soviets had established socialist governments in the countries of eastern Europe that had been liberated from the Nazis by the Soviet Army. Truman, the president of USA, pursued a policy of containment of communism. The Soviets were however determined not only to maintain control of eastern Europe, but also keen on spreading Communism world-wide.



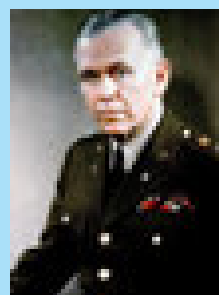
Truman

Cold War: The rivalry that developed after World War II between the US and the USSR and their respective allies created tension which is referred to as Cold War. They did not take recourse to weapons. Instead they waged war on political, economic and ideological fronts.

2. Marshall Plan

The US conceived the Marshall Plan to bring the countries in western Europe under its influence. The plan sought to help the countries of Europe with American dollars to facilitate their early recovery

from the destruction caused by the Second World War.



Marshall

The United States was much concerned that poverty, unemployment, and dislocation caused by the post-World War II period were increasing the appeal of communist parties in western Europe. The Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, advanced the idea of a European self-help programme to be financed by the United States. Sixteen nations, became part of this programme. Administrative and technical assistance was offered through the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) of the United States. Marshall Plan funding ended in 1951.

4.3 Formation of Military Alliances

(a) NATO

The United States and its European allies formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to resist Soviet aggression in Europe (1949). It was an inter-state military alliance between the countries of North America and Europe. The major member countries included Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Later Greece and Turkey joined the organization (1952). Germany joined the NATO in 1955. The chief objective of NATO was the peace and security in the North Atlantic region.

(b) SEATO or Manila Pact (1954)

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was organized for the collective security of countries in Southeast Asia. Following the signing of the Manila Pact (1954) by the US, France, England, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan. Member countries of SEATO were committed to prevent

communism from gaining ground in the region. Unlike the NATO alliance, SEATO had no joint commands with standing forces.

(c) Warsaw Pact

As a counter to the NATO, Soviet Union organized the Soviet-bloc countries for a united military action, under the Warsaw Pact. In December 1954, a conference of eight European nations namely, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Romania and Russia took place in Moscow. They concluded the treaty on May 14, 1955. This is known as the Warsaw pact. A joint command of armed forces of the member countries with its headquarters in Moscow was setup. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991 following the break-up of USSR.

(d) CENTO or the Baghdad Pact

In 1955 Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran signed a pact known as Baghdad Pact. In 1958 the United States joined the organisation and thereafter it came to be known as the Central Treaty Organization. This treaty was open to any Arab nation desiring peace and security in the region. CENTO was dissolved in 1979.

4.4 Korean War

The Korean War made the Cold War really hot. Since Korea was partitioned as North and South (1945), each side sought to win legitimacy by unifying the country. The President of North Korea Kim II (People's Republic of Korea) decided to act before his southern rival, Syngman Rhee (the Republic of Korea), got the chance. He launched an attack in June 1950, with the tacit support of Stalin. Both Kim and Stalin did not expect the US to intervene. The war lasted for three years. The human cost was enormous. But the Korean people gained nothing.

Third World Countries

The capitalist countries led by the U.S. were politically designated as the First World, while

the communist states led by the Soviet Union came to be known as the Second world. States outside these two were called Third World.

4.5 Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) emerged in the wake of decolonization that followed World War II. At the Bandung (a city in Indonesia) conference (1955), the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa gave a call for abstaining from allying with any of the two Super Powers. It also pledged to fight all forms of colonialism and imperialism.

The NAM held its first conference at Belgrade in 1961 under the leadership of Tito (Yugoslavia), Nasser (Egypt), Nehru (India), Nkrumah (Ghana) and Sukarno (Indonesia). The basic principles of non-alignment, as listed in the statement issued at the Belgrade (a Serbian city, then part of Yugoslavia) Conference, were: peaceful co-existence, commitment to peace and security, no military alliance with any super power, no permission for any super power to build its military base in its territories. With the collapse of Soviet Union, the idea of non-alignment lost relevance.



4.6 The Cuban Revolution

The United States had its satellite states in Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and Guatemala), the Caribbean (Cuba, the Dominion Republic and Haiti) and east Asia (the Philippines, South Korea, South Vietnam and Thailand). These states were



Fidel Castro

governed by ruling groups made up of military personnel, landed gentry and occasionally of local capitalists.

After Castro took power, the US-owned oil refineries on the island refused to process Russian oil. Castro nationalized them. The US retaliated by ending the arrangement by which it bought the bulk of Cuba's sugar. Castro nationalized the US-owned sugar companies, and ended the US monopolies in electricity and telephones. All these gravely threatened American economic interests.

Cuban Missile Crisis

In April 1961, while landing an army of Cuban exiles on the island of Bay of Pigs, the US bombed Cuban airfields with the objective of overthrowing Castro's regime. US warships surrounded Cuba. The Kennedy government had received intelligence that the USSR was secretly installing nuclear missiles in Cuba. Finally, the Soviet President Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the missiles and thus the Missile Crisis was defused.

Eventually the two sides reached an agreement. The Soviet Union removed the missiles from Cuba on an understanding that the US would never invade Cuba again.

4.7 Arab-Israeli War

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) had provided for mandates in Turkish Arab Empire. France was given the mandate for Syria and Lebanon, and Britain for Iraq, Palestine and Jordan. This arrangement upset the Arabs since they had expected independence at the end of World War I. Britain's promise to Zionist leaders that it would allocate one of the Arab lands, Palestine, to Jewish settlers from Europe further embittered the Arabs. There was growing Arab antagonism towards Zionist settlers, as they bought land from rich Arabs and evicted the local peasant families who had been cultivating it for centuries.

At the end of October 1945, the Jewish underground organizations like Irgun Zvai

Leumi (Zionist Para-military Organization) and the Stern Gang (Zionist Terrorist Organization) began to launch terror attacks on a large scale. Railways, bridges, airfields and government offices were blown up. The British government, presented the dispute to the UN for a decision.

Succumbing to the pressure of great powers, the UN resolved to partition the British mandate of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state (29 November 1947). Clashes broke out almost immediately between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

Zionist Movement: In Palestine, the ancient home of Jews, only a few thousand Jews were living in 1900. Some 15 million were scattered around Europe and North America. (This is referred to as the Diaspora.) In 1896 Thodore Herzl, a Viennese journalist, published a pamphlet called *The Jewish State* in which he called for the creation of a Jewish national home. Next year (1897) the World Zionist Organisation was founded.

The Israelis, won control of the main road to Jerusalem and successfully repulsed repeated Arab attacks. As a result of separate armistice agreements (1947 Feb-June) between Israel and each of the Arab states, a temporary frontier was fixed between Israel and its neighbours. In Israel, the war is remembered as its War of Independence. In the Arab world, it is treated as the Nakbah ("Catastrophe") as a large number of Arabs became refugees. Israel was admitted into the UN immediately much against the wishes of Arabs.

Suez Canal Crisis (1956)

In Egypt, in a coup in 1952, Colonel Nasser became its President. In 1956 he nationalized the Suez Canal, which undermined British interests. With the failure of diplomacy, Britain and France decided to use force. Israel saw this as an opportunity to open the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping and put a stop to Egyptian border raids. On 29 October Israeli forces invaded Egypt. Britain used this opportunity to

demand that its troops be allowed to occupy the canal zone to protect the canal. Egypt refused and on 31 October Britain and France bombed Egyptian airfields and other installations as well as the Suez Canal area. However, under pressure of world opinion, Britain and France ended hostilities on 6 November. India represented by Nehru played a crucial role in resolving the crisis.



Suez Canal crisis

Arab–Israeli War 1967

Ever since the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Israel came to be attacked frequently by Palestinian guerrilla groups based in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Israeli resorted to violent reprisals. In November 1966 an Israeli strike on the village of Al-Samū in the Jordanian West Bank, left 18 dead and 54 wounded. Israel's air battle with Syria in April 1967 ended in the shooting down six Syrian MiG fighter jets. In his bid to demonstrate Egypt's support for Syria Nasser mobilized Egyptian forces in the Sinai, seeking the removal of UN emergency forces stationed there on May 18. On May 22 he closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping. King Hussein of Jordan signed a mutual defence pact with

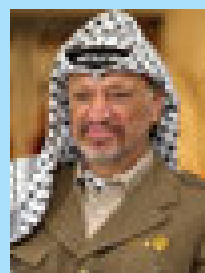
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)-

It is an umbrella political organization representing the world's Palestinians – all Arabs and their descendants who lived in mandated Palestine before the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. It was formed in 1964 to federate various Palestinian groups that previously had operated as clandestine resistance movements. Yasser Arafat was its most prominent leader.

Egypt. Accordingly, it was decided to place Jordanian forces under Egyptian command. Soon, Iraq too joined the alliance.

Israel's Offensive

Following the mobilization of Arab states by Nasser, on June 5, Israel staged a sudden pre-emptive air strike that destroyed more than 90 percent of Egypt's air force on the tarmac. A similar air assault incapacitated the Syrian air force. Within three days the Israelis had achieved an overwhelming victory on the ground, capturing the Gaza Strip and all of the Sinai Peninsula up to the east bank of the Suez Canal.



Yasser Arafat
(1924–2004)

In 1969, Yasser Arafat became chairman of the PLO's executive committee a position he held until his death in 2004. Yasser Arafat was appointed commander-in-chief of the all Palestinian Arab guerilla forces in September 1970. Wearing a disguised pistol and carrying an olive branch and dressed in a military uniform, his appearance raised world awareness of the Palestinian cause. Arafat was elected by the central council of the PLO as the first president of the state of Palestine on April 2, 1989.

Arab–Israeli War 1973

Egypt and Syria under Presidents Anwar Sadat and Hafez al-Assad respectively concluded a secret agreement in January 1973 to bring their armies



Anwar Sadat and
Hafez al-Assad

under one command. Sadat offered the Israelis a peace deal, if they withdrew from Sinai. Israel rejected the offer. Egypt and Syria launched a sudden and surprise attack on the Yom Kippur

religious holiday (6 October 1973). Though Israel suffered heavy casualties it finally pushed back the Arab forces. Arabs gained nothing out of this war too. By way of mediation the US succeeded in asserting its hegemony over the region and its oil.

4.8 Vietnam War

By the end of Second World War Viet Minh controlled the northern half of Vietnam. Viet Minh formed a government led by Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi. This Viet Minh government quickly occupied the southern half of Vietnam. However, the Allied Powers decided at Potsdam that the British in the south and the Chinese in the north should defend Indo-China from the Japanese. But Ho Chi Minh had established his control very firmly and so, early in 1946, the British and Chinese troops had to withdraw, leaving the French and Viet Minh to confront each other. In March the two governments (French and Viet Minh) reached an agreement by which North Vietnam was to be a free state, within an Indo-Chinese Federation.

In 1949 the French attempted to secure the support of the population by declaring Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia independent within the French Union, retaining only foreign affairs and defence under French control.

While the French were receiving considerable financial aid from America, the Viet Minh were helped by the new Chinese communist government. The French troops were eventually defeated. The Geneva Conference (1954) that met on Korea and Indo China decided that Vietnam was to be an independent state but temporarily divided; the Viet Minh to control the north and Bao Dai to head the government the south. Cambodia and Laos were to be independent.

With a population of 16 million North Vietnam became a Communist state with Ho Chi Minh as President. South Vietnam, approximately of the same size and population, was ruled by Ngo Dinh Diem.

The government's survival in South Vietnam depended on increasing amounts of US support. In 1965 marines landed at Danang naval base, and there were 33,500 US troops in the country within a month. The number increased and there were 210,000 by the end of year. The US bombed both North and South in the hope that it could force the liberation forces to abandon the struggle. The fighters of North Vietnam, trained in guerilla warfare, had grown out of spontaneous struggles against a repressive regime. They sustained their resistance without bowing to the US. The American troops also used bacteriological weapons. Incendiary bombs such as napalm and Agent Orange (to defoliate the forest cover) were used. Vast areas of Vietnam were devastated and hundreds of thousands of people killed. The American forces too suffered heavy casualties.



American Bombing of North Vietnam

Early in 1975, the war took a decisive turn. The armies of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam swept across the country routing the American supported troops of South Vietnam. By 30 April 1975, all the American troops had withdrawn and the capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, was liberated. North and South Vietnam were formally united as one country in 1976. The city of Saigon was renamed as Ho Chi Minh City after the great leader of the Vietnamese people.



Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon)

The emergence of Vietnam as a united and independent

nation was an historic event. A small country had succeeded in winning independence and unification in the face of the armed opposition of the greatest power in the world. The help given to Vietnam by the socialist countries, the political support extended by a large number of Asian and African countries, and the solidarity expressed by the peoples in all parts of the world, helped in achieving this.

4.9 Towards European Union

(a) Council of Europe

One of the momentous decisions taken in the post-War II era was to integrate the states of Western Europe. In doing so the Europeans wanted (1) to prevent further European wars by ending the rivalry between France and Germany. (2) to create a united Europe to resist any threat from Soviet Russia. (3) to form a third force in the world to counter-balance the strength of the US and USSR. (4) to make full use of the economic and military resources of Europe by organizing them on a continental scale. In May 1949 ten countries met in London and signed to form a Council of Europe. The Council of Europe with headquarters at Strasbourg was established with a committee of foreign ministers of member countries and a Consultative Assembly, drawn from the parliaments of foreign countries.

(b) European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

The European Defence Community (EDC) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) were established. Six countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg belonging to ECSC signed the treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC) or the European Common Market, with headquarters at Brussels.

(c) European Economic Community (EEC)

The EEC eliminated barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and labour. It also prohibited public policies or private agreements that restricted market

competition. A common agricultural policy (CAP) and a common external trade policy were evolved. European Common market was a remarkable success.

(d) Single European Act (SEA)

The Single European Act came into force on July 1, 1987. It significantly expanded the EEC's scope giving the meetings of the EPC a legal basis. It also called for more intensive coordination of foreign policy among member countries. According to the SEA, each member was given multiple votes, depending on the country's population. Approval of legislation required roughly two-thirds of the votes of all members.

(e) European Union (EU)

The Maastricht (Netherlands) Treaty signed on February 7, 1992, created the European Union. The monetary policy and a common currency (euro) to replace national currencies managed by common monetary institutions were subsequently planned and implemented. Today the European Union has 28 member states, and functions from its headquarters at Brussels, Belgium.

4.10 Fall of Berlin Wall and End of Cold War Era

The division of Germany into West (Federal Republic of Germany) and East (German Democratic Republic) led to glaring differences in living standards. West Berlin's economy became prosperous thanks to the support received from the West under the Marshall Plan. In contrast the USSR had little interest in developing the economy of East Berlin. Further, people in East Berlin suffered from lack of democracy and freedom. Therefore, people of East Berlin moved to West Berlin in large numbers. In West Berlin, on the other hand, there was a fear that the Soviets could use military force to take West Berlin. In this context, East Germany began to construct



a wall in 1961 which virtually cut off West Berlin from East Berlin and the surrounding East German areas. It was heavily guarded with watch towers and other lethal impediments to stop people from the East. In the late 1980s, as USSR's hold over Eastern European countries was weakening, a mass of people assembled on 9 November 1989 on both sides of the wall and began to demolish it. Germany was officially reunited on 3 October 1990. The Berlin Wall was more than just a physical barrier. It was a symbolic boundary between communism and capitalism. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Cold War era came to an end.



Demolition of Berlin wall

Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of West Germany from 1982 to 1990, and played a crucial role in integrating East Germany into West Germany in 1990. He thus became the first chancellor of a unified Germany after forty five years of division. With French president Mitterand, Kohl was the architect of the Maastricht Treaty, which established the European Union (EU) and the euro currency.

Disintegration of the Soviet Union

In the 1970s and early 1980s the Soviet Union continued to retain a strong and dominant position in international politics. However, its economy was suffering, and was unable to match the productive capacity of the first world. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev took over as head of the USSR. Gorbachev spoke about the need for openness (Glasnost) and reform (perestroika). But his commitment to reform, apart from opposition within the ruling communist party, did not match the resources

available to USSR. In the middle of the 1980s about one third of the total GDP was going to the military. In order to maintain a parity with the US, in the context of President Reagan's Star Wars programme, it became necessary for the Soviet Union to allocate more funds to the military. The increase in military budget further strained the Soviet economy.

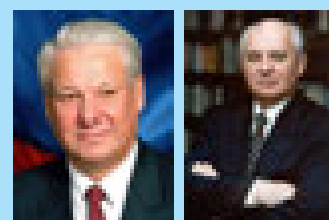
The year 1988 saw the first mass protests –first in Armenia, and then in the Baltic States. Earlier Soviet regimes had used severe repression to quell such uprisings. Gorbachev could not take recourse to such brutal measures. The Chernobyl Disaster, a major accident in a nuclear plant in Ukraine, in 1986, was another blow. Gorbachev made moves to stabilise his position by reliance on conservative forces in 1989 and 1991. But on each occasion he was interrupted by massive miners' strike which came close to cripple the country's energy supplies.

The East European communist states, under the Soviet umbrella, were also in a deep economic and social crisis. Gorbachev's decision to loosen the Soviet control on the countries of Eastern Europe created an independent, democratic momentum. A series of workers' strikes undermined the communist regimes first in Poland and then in Hungary. A wave of demonstrations that swept East Germany led to demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Perestroika ('restructuring') refers to the programme introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s to restructure Soviet economic and political system. Along with the policy of 'Glasnost' ('openness'), Perestroika was intended to energize Soviet economy which was lagging behind the developed countries of the capitalist world.

Glasnost ('openness') was a policy of ideologically openness introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev along with Perestroika in the 1980s. Under Glasnost there was more openness, writers who had been censored earlier were rehabilitated, and there was space for criticism of politics and government.

Yeltsin was first an ally of Gorbachev. However, as Mayor of Moscow, Yeltsin won great popularity as a champion of political and economic freedom. With Gorbachev's introduction of democratic elections for the Soviet parliament, Yeltsin was returned to power with overwhelming support of a Moscow constituency in 1989. The following year he was elected President of Russia over Gorbachev's objections. President Yeltsin advocated greater autonomy of the Russian Republic, with executive presidential system that would allow him to govern independently of parliament.



Yeltsin Gorbachev

Subsequent to it, regimes in Czechoslovakia, followed by Bulgaria, fell. An attempt by Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu to resist the wave of change by shooting down demonstrators ended in his execution by a firing squad (December 1989) under the command of his own generals. The televised images of the shooting and the fall of the Berlin Wall galvanized the process of the breaking up of the communist world. In six months the political map of half of Europe had been redrawn.

Gorbachev made a last attempt to take a hard line against the disruptionist only to be challenged by a second great miners' strike in 1991 and huge demonstrations in Moscow. In response, conservative forces in his government attempted to take a hard line without Gorbachev. They used troops in Moscow to stage a coup, and held Gorbachev under house arrest. But

other military units refused to back them and as a result power fell into the hands of Boris Yeltsin, a reformer backed by the West.

In the meantime, three Baltic States had formally left the Soviet Union. They were admitted to the U.N. as independent countries: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In November 1991 eleven republics (Ukraine, Georgia, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) announced secession from the Soviet Union. Instead, they declared they would establish a Commonwealth of Independent States. On 25 December Gorbachev announced his resignation. For six days the Soviet Union continued to exist only in name and at midnight on 31 December 1991, it was formally dissolved. The USSR was no more.

SUMMARY

- The history of China becoming a Communist country in the aftermath of Second War is narrated with the portrayal of developments there after the revolution of 1911.
- Rivalry between the US and the USSR, leading to the division of world into two military blocs and the significance of NATO and Warsaw Pact, are highlighted.
- Cold War developments are illustrated with cases of Korean War, Cuban Missile Crisis, Arab-Israeli Wars and Vietnam War.
- Launch of Non-Alignment Movement, representing the view-points of Third World countries, is described.
- Establishment of Council of Europe to act independently of the influence of USA that later developed into European Common Market and into European Union today is explained.

A-Z GLOSSARY

antagonistic	acting against or indicating	பகையுணர்வு கொண்ட
wriggle out	to avoid doing something	நழுவுதல்
ascension	the act of rising to an important position or a higher level, a movement upward	வளர்ச்சி, உயர்வு
disillusioned	disappointed on finding out something is not as good as hoped	அதிருப்தி
abstaining	restrain oneself from doing something	விலகியிருத்தல், ஒதுங்கியிருத்தல்
embitter	cause to feel bitter – to make hateful	வெறுப்புணர்ச்சி, கசப்புணர்வு
incapacitated	lacking in or deprived of strength or power	திறன்றதாக்குதல், முடமாக்குதல்
bacteriological weapons	the use of harmful bacteria as a weapon	நுண்ணுயிரியல் ஆயுதங்கள்



EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer

- Which American President followed the policy of containment of Communism?
 - Woodrow Wilson
 - Truman
 - Theodore Roosevelt
 - Franklin Roosevelt
- When was People's Political Consultative Conference held in China?
 - September 1959
 - September 1948
 - September 1954
 - September 1949
- The United States and European allies formed _____ to resist any Soviet aggression in Europe.
 - SEATO
 - NATO
 - SENTO
 - Warsaw Pact
- Who became the Chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee in 1969?
 - Hafez al-Assad
 - Yasser Arafat
 - Nasser
 - Saddam Hussein



W2IDPD

- When was North and South Vietnam united?
 - 1975
 - 1976
 - 1973
 - 1974
- When was the Warsaw Pact dissolved?
 - 1979
 - 1989
 - 1990
 - 1991

II Fill in the blanks

- _____ was known as the "Father of modern China".
- In 1918, the society for the study of Marxism was formed in _____ University.
- After the death of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Kuomintang party was _____.
- _____ treaty is open to any Arab nation desiring peace and security in the region.
- The treaty of _____ provided for mandates in Turkish -Arab Empire.
- Germany joined the NATO in _____.
- _____ was the Headquarters of the Council of Europe.
- _____ treaty signed on February 7, 1992 created the European Union.

III Choose the correct statement/statements

- i) In China (1898) the young emperor, under the influence of the educated minority, initiated a series of reforms known as the 100 days of reforms.

- ii) The Kuomintang Party represented the interests of the workers and peasants.
- iii) Yuan Shih-Kai had lost prestige in the eyes of Nationalists, when he agreed to the demand of Japan to have economic control of Manchuria and Shantung.
- iv) Soviet Union refused to recognize the People's Republic of China for more than two decades.
- a) (i) and (ii) are correct
b) (ii) and (iii) are correct
c) (i) and (iii) are correct
d) (i) and (iv) are correct
2. i) In 1948, the Soviets had established left wing government in the countries of Eastern Europe that had been liberated by the Soviet Army.
- ii) The chief objective of NATO was to preserve peace and security in the North Atlantic region.
- iii) The member countries of SEATO were committed to prevent democracy from gaining ground in the region.
- iv) Britain used the atomic bomb against Japan to convey its destructive capability to the USSR.
- a) (ii), (iii) and (iv) are correct
b) (i) and (ii) are correct
c) (iii) and (iv) are correct
d) (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
3. **Assertion (A):** America's Marshall Plan was for reconstruction of the war-ravaged Europe.
- Reason (R):** The US conceived the Marshall Plan to bring the countries in the Western Europe under its influence.
- a) Both (A) and (R) are correct, but R is not the correct explanation of A
b) Both (A) and (R) are wrong
c) Both (A) and (R) are correct and R is the correct explanation of A
d) (A) is wrong and (R) is correct

IV Match the following

1. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen - South Vietnam
2. Syngman Rhee - Kuomintang
3. Anwar Sadat - South Korea
4. Ho-Chi Minh - Egypt
5. Ngo Dinh Diem - North Vietnam

V Answer briefly

1. Write any three causes for the Chinese Revolution of 1911.
2. Write a note on Mao's Long March.
3. What do you know of Baghdad Pact?
4. What was Marshall Plan?
5. Write a note on Third World Countries.
6. How was the Cuban missile crisis defused?

VI Answer in detail

1. Estimate the role of Mao Tse tung in making China a communist country.
2. Narrate the history of transformation of Council of Europe into an European Union.

VII Activity

1. Divide the class into two groups. Let one group act as supporters of USA and the other group act as supporters of Soviet Union, Organise a debate.
2. Involving the entire class, an album may be prepared with pictures relating to Korean, Arab-Israeli and Vietnam Wars to highlight the human sufferings in terms of death and devastation.



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2. Richard Overy, *Complete History of the World* (London: Harper Collins, 2006)
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INTERNET RESOURCES

1. <https://www.brittanica.com>

Unit - 5

Social and Religious Reform Movements in the 19th Century



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The influence of Western ideas and Christianity in creating a new awakening in 19th century British India
- Contestation in the social and religious sphere – opposition to practices like sati, slavery, untouchability, and child marriage
- Opposition to idolatry, rituals and superstitious beliefs
- Contribution of Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society and Aligarh Movement to the regeneration of India
- Role played by prominent personalities in bringing about this awakening amongst Parsees and Sikhs
- Social movement of Jyotiba Phule and reform movements in Kerala and Tamilnadu



Introduction

English education, introduced with the object of producing clerks, also produced a new English-educated middle class. This class came under the influence of western ideas and thoughts. Christianity also had its effect on the newly emerging middle class. Though small in number, the educated middle class began to take a lead in political as well as in reform movements. The Indian reformers were, however, quite hesitant to subject their old notions and habits to critical scrutiny. Instead they attempted to harmonize both Indian and Western cultures. Their ideas and their actions helped to mitigate social evils such as sati, female infanticide, and child marriage and various superstitious beliefs.

The reform movements of nineteenth century in the realm of religion fall under two broad categories: reformist movements

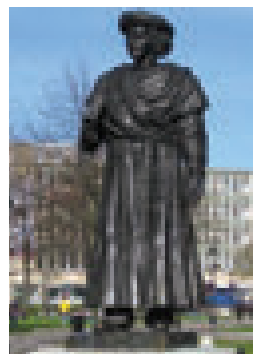
like the Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and the Aligarh Movement; and the revivalist movements such as the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Deoband Movement. There were also attempts to challenge the oppressive social structure by Jyotiba Phule in Pune, Narayana Guru and Ayyankali in Kerala and Ramalinga Adigal, and Iyothee Thassar of Tamil Nadu.

5.1 Early Reform Movements in Bengal

(a) Raja Rammohan Roy and Brahma Samaj

Rammohan Roy (1772–1833) was one of the earlier reformers influenced by the Western ideas to initiate reforms. He was a great scholar, well-versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and English apart from his knowledge

in his mother tongue, Bengali. Rammohan Roy was opposed to meaningless religious ceremonies and all forms of pernicious social customs. Yet he wanted to preserve continuity with the past. In his religio-philosophical social outlook, he was deeply influenced by monotheism and anti-idolatry. Based on his interpretation of the Upanishads, he argued that all the ancient texts of the Hindus preached monotheism or worship of one God.



Raja Rammohan Roy

Deeply concerned with the prevailing customs of sati, child marriage, and polygamy he published tracts against them and petitioned the government to legislate against them. He advocated the rights of widows to remarry. He wanted polygamy to end. He appealed to reason and humanity and compassion of the people. His campaign played a key role in forcing the Governor-General William Bentinck's legislation abolishing sati in 1829.

Rammohan Roy condemned the subjugation of women and opposed the prevailing ideas that women were inferior to men. He strongly advocated education for women. He gave his full support for the introduction of English language and western sciences in schools and colleges.

Rammohan Roy founded the Brahma Samaj on 20 August 1828. He opened a temple in Calcutta, where there was no image. There he laid down that 'no religion should be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken off or alluded to.' The Samaj forbade idol-worship and condemned meaningless religious rites and ceremonies. However, from the beginning, the appeal of the Brahma Samaj remained limited to the intellectuals and enlightened Bengalis. Though the Samaj failed to attract the people from the lower sections of society, its impact on the culture of modern Bengal and its middle class was quite significant.

(b) Maharishi Debendranath Tagore

After the death of Rammohan Roy (1833), Maharishi Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905), the poet Rabindranath Tagore's father, carried on the work. He laid down four articles of faith:



Debendranath Tagore

1. In the beginning there was nothing. The one Supreme Being alone existed who created the Universe.
2. He alone is the God of Truth, Infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, eternal, omnipresent, the One without second.
3. Our salvation depends on belief in Him and in His worship in this world and the next.
4. Belief consists in loving Him and doing His will.

(c) Keshab Chandra Sen & Brahma Samaj of India

Debendranath was a moderate reformer. But his younger colleagues in the Sabha were for rapid changes. The greatest of these, Keshab Chandra Sen, (1838–84) joined the movement in 1857. But in 1866 a split occurred in the ranks of Keshab Chandra Sen Brahma Samaj. Keshab left the Samaj and founded a new organization. Debendranath's organization, thereafter, came to be known as Adi Brahma Samaj. After Keshab had his fourteen-year-old daughter married to an Indian prince, in contravention of the Samaj's condemnation of child marriages, the opponents of child marriage left the Brahma Samaj of India and started the Sadharan Samaj.



(d) Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Another outstanding reformer in Bengal was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891).

While Ram Mohan Roy and others looked to western rationalist ideas to reform society, Vidyasagar argued that the Hindu scriptures were progressive. He provided evidence from scriptures that there was no sanction for burning of widows or for the prohibition on the remarriage of widows. He wrote a number of polemical tracts, and was the pioneer of modern Bengali prose. He played a leading role in promoting education of girls and helped them in setting up a number of schools. He dedicated his whole life for the betterment of the child widows of the Hindu society. The movement led by Vidyasagar, resulted in the Widows' Remarriage Reform Act of 1856. This Act was intended to improve the lot of child widows and save them from perpetual widowhood.



Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar

It was also to the credit of Vidyasagar that the first age of consent was included in the Indian Penal code, which was enacted in 1860. The age for marriage was fixed as ten years. It was raised to twelve and thirteen years in 1891 and 1925 respectively. Sadly, as reported in the Age of Consent Committee (1929), the law remained on paper and the knowledge of it was confined to judges, lawyers and a few educated men.

(e) Prarthana Samaj

The Maharashtra region was another region where reform activities gained steam. A movement similar to the Brahmo Samaj, but founded in Bombay in 1867, was Prarthana Samaj. Its founder was Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang (1825–1898). The two distinguished members of this Samaj were R.C. Bhandarkar and Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade. They devoted themselves to activities such as inter-caste dining, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and improvement of women and depressed classes. Ranade (1842–1901) was the

founder of the Widow Marriage Association (1861), the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870) and the Deccan Education Society (1884).



Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang



M.G. Ranade

5.2 Hindu Revivalism

(a) Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj 1875

In the Punjab, the reform movement was spearheaded by the Arya Samaj. It was founded (1875) by a wandering ascetic in the western Gangetic plain, Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–83). Swami Dayanand later settled in the Punjab to preach his ideas. His book, *Satyarthaprakash*, enjoyed wide circulation. He declared the practices such as child marriage, the prohibition of widow remarriage, and the alleged polluting effects of foreign travel had no scriptural sanction. The positive principles enunciated by Dayanand were: strict monotheism, condemnation of idolatry, and rejection of Brahman domination of ritual and social practices. He also rejected superstitious beliefs in Hinduism and his cry was “go back to Vedas.”



Swami Dayanand Saraswati

Arya Samaj attempted to check the incidence of religious conversion in British India. One of its main objectives was counter-conversion, prescribing a purificatory ceremony called suddhi, directed at Hindus who had converted to Islam and Christianity.

The primary achievements of the Arya Samaj were in the field of social reform and spread of education. The Samaj started a number of Dayananda Anglo-Vedic schools and colleges.

(b) Ramakrishna Paramahansa

Ramakrishna (1836–86), a simple priest of Dakshineswar near Kolkata, emphasised the spiritual union with god through ecstatic practices such as singing bhajans. An ardent worshipper of goddess Kali, the sacred mother, he declared that the manifestations of the divine mother were infinite. In his view, all religions contain the universal elements which, if practised, would lead to salvation. He said, “Jiva is Siva” (all living beings are God). Service for man, must be regarded as God.’



Ramakrishna
Paramahansa



Ramakrishna Mission,
Belur Math

Ramakrishna Mission

Ramakrishna’s primary achievement was his ability to attract educated youth who were dissatisfied with the rational orientation of religious reform organizations such as the Brahmo Samaj. After his death in 1886, his disciples organised themselves as a religious community and undertook the task of making his life and teaching known in India and abroad. The chief spirit behind this task was Vivekananda. Following the organizational structure of Christian missionaries, Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission which did not restrict itself to religious activities but was actively involved in social causes such as education, health care and relief in times of calamities.

(c) Swami Vivekananda

Narendra Nath Datta (1863–1902), later known as Swami Vivekananda, was the prime follower of Ramakrishna Paramahansa. An educated youth, he was drawn to Ramakrishna’s message. Dissatisfied with conventional



philosophical positions and practices, he advocated the practical Vedanta of service to humanity and attacked the tendency to defend every institution simply because it was connected with religion. He emphasized a cultural nationalism and made a call to Indian youth to regenerate Hindu society. His ideas bred a sense of self-confidence among Indians who felt inferior in relation to the materialist achievements of the West. He became famous for his addresses on Hinduism at the 1893 World Congress of Religions in Chicago. Despite his fame, he was condemned by orthodox Hindus for suggesting that the lower castes should be allowed to engage in the Hindu rituals from which they were traditionally excluded. Vivekananda’s activist ideology rekindled the desire for political change among many western-education young Bengalis. Many of the youths who were involved in the militant nationalist struggle during the Swadeshi movement following the Partition of Bengal were inspired by Vivekananda.

Swami
Vivekananda

(d) Theosophical Movement

The Theosophical Society was founded by Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel H.S. Olcott (1832–1907). Founded in the USA in 1875, it later shifted to India at Adyar, Chennai in 1886.

Theosophical Society stimulated a study of the Hindu classics, especially the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. The Theosophical Society also played an important role in the revival of Buddhism in India. Western interest

in Hindu scriptures gave educated Hindus great pride in their tradition and culture.

Contribution of Annie Besant

In India the movement became further popular with the election of Annie Besant (1847–1933) as its president after the death of Olcott. She played a role in Indian nationalist politics, and formed the Home Rule League demanding home rule to India on the lines of Ireland. Annie Besant spread Theosophical ideas through her newspapers called *New India* and *Commonweal*.



Annie Besant

5.3 Anti-Caste Movements

(a) Jyotiba Phule

Jyotiba Govindrao Phule was born in 1827 in Maharashtra. He opened the first school for “untouchables” in 1852 in Poona. He launched the Satyashodak Samaj (Truth-Seekers Society) in 1870 to stir the non-Brahman masses to self-respect. Phule opposed child marriage and supported widow remarriage. Jyotiba and his wife Savitribai Phule devoted their lives for the uplift of the depressed classes and women. Jotiba opened orphanages and homes for widows. His work, *Gulamgiri* (Slavery) is an important text that summarized many of his radical ideas.



Jyotiba Phule and Savitribai Phule

(b) Narayana Guru

Born to poor parents in Kerala, Narayana Guru (1854–1928) evolved into a poet and

scholar in Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit. Disturbed by the terrible caste tyranny, that the lower caste people suffered, he dedicated his whole life for the betterment of the oppressed. He set up the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam, an organization to work for the uplift of the “depressed classes”. He established a grand temple at Aruvipuram and dedicated it to all. Thinkers and writers such as Kumaran Asan and Dr Palpu were influenced by his ideas and carried forward the movement.



Narayana Guru

(c) Ayyankali

Ayyankali was born in 1863 at Venganoor in Thiruvananthapuram then in the princely state of Travancore. The discrimination he faced as a child turned him into a leader of an anti-caste movement and who later fought for basic rights including access to public spaces and entry to schools.



Ayyankali

Inspired by Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali founded the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangam (Association for the Protection of the Poor) in 1907.

5.4 Islamic Reforms

After the suppression of great revolt of 1857 Indian Muslims looked to Western culture with suspicion. The community feared that Western education, Western culture and Western ideas would endanger their religion. Therefore only a small section of Muslims accepted the new avenues for modern education.

Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan

Born in Delhi into a noble Muslim family, Sayyid Ahmed Khan thought that lack

of education, especially modern education, had harmed the Muslims greatly and kept them backward. He exhorted the Muslims to accept Western science and take up government services. He founded a scientific society and translated many English books, especially science books into Urdu. He believed that the interest of the Muslims would be best served if they bonded with the British Government rather than pitch in with the rising nationalist movement. So he advised the Muslims to take to English education and to concentrate on it.



Aligarh Movement

Sayyid Ahmed Khan's movement, the "Aligarh movement," is so called because it was centred around the Aligarh Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental college founded by him in 1875, which is a landmark in the history of Indian Muslim education. The college was raised to the status of a university in 1920.

Deoband Movement

Deoband was a revivalist movement organized by the orthodox Muslim Ulema. The Ulema under the leadership of Muhammad Qasim Wanotavi (1832-80) and Rashid Ahmad Gangotri (1828-1905) founded the school at Deoband in the Saharanpur district of the U.P. in 1866. The school curricula shut out English education and western culture. The instruction imparted was in original Islamic religion and the aim was moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim community.

Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan became the new Deoband leader. The Jamait-ul-Ulema (council of theologians) led by him gave a concrete shape to Hassan's ideas of protection of the religious and political rights of the Muslims in the overall context of Indian unity.

5.5 Parsi Reform Movement

In the middle of the nineteenth century the reform activities began in Mumbai. Furdunji

Naoroji founded the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (Parsis' Reform Society) in 1851. *Rast Gofar* (The Truth Teller) was the main voice of the movement. Behrramji Malabari organized a campaign for legislation against the practice of child marriage. The community produced many leaders such as Pheroza Shah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha who played a big role in the early Congress.

5.6 Sikh Reform Movement (Nirankaris and Namdharis)

Among the Sikhs of Punjab too there were attempts to reform. Baba Dayal Das, founder of the Nirankari Movement, stressed the worship of God as Nirankar (formless). Rejection of idols, rejection of rituals associated with idolatry, reverence for the authority of Guru Nanak and of the Adi Granth formed the essence of his teachings. He reiterated the prohibition on meat-eating, and liquor consumption.

The Namdhari Movement, founded by Baba Ram Singh, was another socio-religious movement among the Sikhs. The Namdharis insisted on wearing the symbols of Sikhism except the kirpan (sword). Instead Baba Ram Singh wanted his followers to carry a lathi. It considered both men and women equal and accepted widow remarriage. It prohibited the dowry system and child marriage.

In the wake of the gathering influence of Arya Samaj and the Christian missionaries, the Singh Sabha of Amritsar was established. Its main objective was to restore the purity of Sikhism. With the support of British, it established Khalsa College for the Sikhs in Amritsar. Singh Sabha was a forerunner of Akali Movement.

5.7 Social Reformers of Tamilnadu

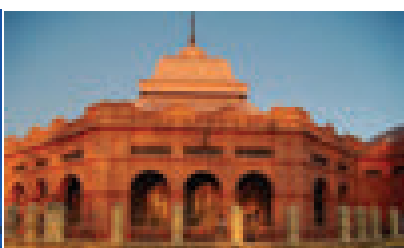
(a) Ramalinga Swamigal

Popularly known as Vallalar, Ramalinga Swamigal or Ramalinga Adigal (1823-1874),

was born in Marudhur, a village near Chidambaram. After his father's death, his family moved to his brother's house at Chennai. Despite having no formal education he gained immense scholarship. Ramalinga emphasised the bonds of responsibility and compassion between living beings. He expressed the view that 'those who lack compassion for suffering beings are hard-hearted, their wisdom clouded'. He showed his compassion and mercy on all living beings including plants. This he called *jeevakarunya*. He established the Samarasa Vedha Sanmarga Sangam in 1865 and it was renamed "Samarasa Suddha Sanmarga Satya Sanga" which means "Society for Pure Truth in Universal self-hood". Ramalinga also established a free feeding house for everyone irrespective of caste at Vadalur (1867), in the wake of a terrible famine in south India in 1866. His voluminous songs were compiled and published under the title *Thiruvarutpa* (Songs of Grace).



Ramalinga
Adigal



Vadalur Satya Gnana Sabha

Ramalinga bore witness to hunger and poverty in the country: "I saw poor people, emaciated with hunger and terribly weary, going to every house, yet their hunger was not removed, and my heart suffered intensely. Those who suffer with relentless disease, I saw them in front of me and my heart trembled. I saw those people, poor and of unmatched honor, their hearts weary, and I grew weak."

b. Iyothee Thassar

Pandithar Iyothee Thassar (1845–1914) was a radical Tamil scholar, writer, *siddha* medicine practitioner, journalist and socio-political activist. Born in Chennai, he was fluent in Tamil, English, Sanskrit and Pali languages. He campaigned for social justice and worked for the emancipation of the "untouchables" from the caste clutches. He worked for the construction of a casteless identity and castigated caste hegemony and untouchability. He considered education as an important tool for empowerment and became the driving force behind the establishment of several schools for the "untouchables" in Tamil Nadu.



Iyothithassar

Pandithar Iyothee Thassar founded the *Advaidananda Sabha* to raise the voice for the temple entry of the "untouchables". In 1882, John Rathinam and Iyothee Thassar established a movement called, *Dravida Kazhagam* and launched a magazine called *Dravida Pandian* in 1885. He founded the *Dravida Mahajana Sabha* in 1891 and organised the First Conference of the association at Nilgiris.

Pandithar Iyothee Thassar was disappointed with the Hindu dharma, which served as the basis for propagating and validating caste in Hindu society. Influenced by the Theosophist organizer, Colonel H.S. Olcott, he went to Sri Lanka in 1898 and converted to Buddhism. In the same year, he founded the Sakya Buddhist Society at Madras to construct the rational religious philosophy through Buddhist religion.

He started a weekly journal, *Oru Paisa Tamilan*, in 1907 and published it until his demise in 1914.

SUMMARY

- The foundation of Brahma Samaj by Ram Mohan Roy and the role played by Maharishi Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen in carrying forward the Brahma Samaj activities after Roy's death are discussed.
- The contribution of M.G. Ranade and Prarthana Samaj with which he was associated are examined.
- The attempts made by Arya Samaj under the aegis of Swami Dayanand Saraswati to reform Hinduism as well as to win converts to the Hindu fold are highlighted.
- The radical reformer Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and his strivings for women's cause are described.
- The role of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and his disciple Swami Vivekananda in the transformation of Hinduism is explained.
- The work done by Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Iyothethassar in Tamilnadu to obtain social justice for the marginalized and the deprived sections of the population is reviewed.

GLOSSARY

Alleged	stated but not proved	சொல்லப்படும்
Ecstatic	in a state of extreme happiness	பரவசமான
Voluminous	bulky	அதிகப் பரிமாணமுள்ள
Reiterated	repeat a statement for emphasis	வலியுறுத்துதல்
Idolatry	the practice of worshipping idols	உருவ வழிபாடு
Tract	a small booklet	சிறு நூல்
Revelation	disclosure	திருவெளிப்பாடு



EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer

- In which year was Sati abolished?
a) 1827 b) 1829 c) 1826 d) 1927
- What was the name of the Samaj founded by Dayanand Saraswati?
a) Arya Samaj
b) Brahma Samaj
c) Prarthana Samaj
d) Adi Brahma Samaj
- Whose campaign and work led to the enactment of Widow Remarriage Reform Act of 1856?
a) Iswarchandra Vidyasagar
b) Raja Rammohan Roy
c) Annie Besant
d) Jyotiba Phule
- Whose voice was Rast Goftar?
a) Parsi Movement
b) Aligarh Movement
c) Ramakrishna Mission
d) Dravida Mahajana Sabha



5. Who was the founder of Namdhari Movement?
 - a) Baba Dayal Das b) Baba Ramsingh
 - c) Gurunanak d) Jyotiba Phule
6. Who was the founder of Widow Remarriage Association?
 - a) M.G. Ranade
 - b) Devendranath Tagore
 - c) Jyotiba Phule
 - d) Ayyankali
7. Who was the author of the book *Satyarthaprakash* ?
 - a) Dayananda Saraswathi
 - b) Iyothee Thassar
 - c) Annie Besant
 - d) Swami Shradanatha

II Fill in the blanks

1. _____ founded the Samarasa Vedha Sanmarga Sangam.
2. The founder of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was _____.
3. Gulumgir was written by _____.
4. Ramakrishna Mission was established by _____.
5. _____ was the forerunner of Akali Movement.
6. *Oru paisa Tamilan* was started by _____.

III Choose the correct statement

1. i) Raja Rammohan Roy preached monotheism
ii) He encouraged idolatry
iii) He published tracts condemning social evils
iv) Raja Rammohan Roy was supported by Governor General William Bentinck
 - a) i) is correct
 - b) i) and ii) are correct
 - c) i), ii) and iii) are correct
 - d) i), iii) and iv) are correct

2. i) Prarthana Samaj was founded by Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang
ii) Prarthana Samaj encouraged inter-dining and inter-caste marriage
iii) Jyotiba Phule worked for the upliftment of men.
iv) Prarthana Samaj had its origin in the Punjab.
 - a) i) is correct
 - b) ii) is correct
 - c) i) and ii) are correct
 - d) iii) and iv) are correct
3. i) Ramakrishna Mission was actively involved in social causes such as education, health care, relief in time of calamities.
ii) Ramakrishna emphasised the spiritual union with god through ecstatic practices.
iii) Ramakrishna established the Ramakrishna Mission
iv) Ramakrishna opposed the Partition of Bengal
 - a) i) is correct b) i) and ii) are correct
 - c) iii) is correct d) i), iii) or iv) correct
4. **Assertion:** Jyotiba Phule opened orphanages and homes for widows
Reason: Jyotiba Phule opposed child marriage and supported widow remarriage
 - a) Assertion is correct but reason is not apt to the assertion
 - b) Assertion is correct and the reason is apt to the assertion
 - c) Both are wrong
 - d) Reason is correct but assertion is irrelevant

IV Match the following

1. *Oru paisa Tamilan* - Widows Remarriage Reform Act
2. Thiruvartupa - Nirankari
3. Baba Dayal Das - Adi Bramo Samaj
4. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar - Journal
5. Debendranath - Songs of Grace

V Answer briefly

1. Mention the four articles of faith laid down by Maharishi Debendranath Tagore?
2. Discuss Mahadev Govind Ranade's contribution to social reforms.
3. Write a note on reforms of Ramalinga Adigal.
4. List the social evils eradicated by Brahmo Samaj.
5. Highlight the work done by Jyotiba Phule for the welfare of the poor and the marginalized.

VI Answer in detail

1. Discuss the circumstances that led to the Reform movements of 19th century.
2. Evaluate the contributions of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda to regenerate Indian society.
3. Write an essay on the role played by the 19th century reformers towards the cause of Women.

VII Activity

1. Role-play by students on Reformers and their Reforms of the 19th century India.

2. Debate Social evils of 19th century with those of present day.

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2. Manickam, S., "Depressed Class Movement in South India," in Manikumar K.A. (ed.), *History and Society*, Tirunelveli, 1996.
3. V. Geetha and S.V. Rajathurai, *Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium from Iyothee Thass to Periyar*, Calcutta, 1998.
4. Mohan, P. Sanal (2013), "Religion, Social Space, and Identity: The Prathyaksha Raksha Daiva Sabha and the Making of Cultural Boundaries in Twentieth Century Kerala", in Joan Mencher(ed.), *Life as a Dalit: Views from the Bottom on Caste in India*, SAGE Publications.

**INTERNET RESOURCES**

1. <https://www.deccanherald.com>.
2. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/timesofindia.com>

**ICT CORNER****Social and Religious Reform Movements in the 19th Century****Steps**

- Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Type '**History of modern India**' in the search box
- Explore the Timeline Events with Pictorial Descriptions.

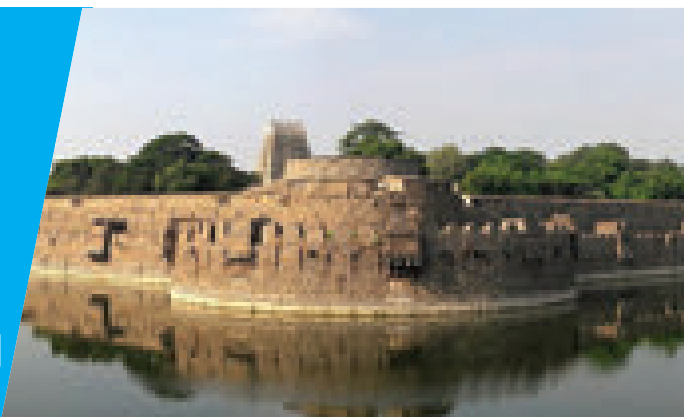
Website URL:

<https://www.timetoast.com/categories>



Unit - 6

Early Revolts against British Rule in Tamil Nadu



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- Palayakkarar system and the revolts of Palayakkarars against the British
- Velunachiyar, Puli Thevar, Kattabomman and Marudhu Brothers in the anti-British uprisings
- Vellore Revolt as a response to British pacification of south India



Introduction

After defeating the French and their Indian allies in the three Carnatic Wars, the East India Company began to consolidate and extend its power and influence. However, local kings and feudal chieftains resisted this. The first resistance to East India Company's territorial aggrandisement was from Puli Thevar of Nerkattumseval in the Tirunelveli region. This was followed by other chieftains in the Tamil country such as Velunachiyar, Veerapandiya Kattabomman, the Marudhu brothers, and Dheeran Chinnamalai. Known as the Palayakkarars Wars, the culmination of which was Vellore Revolt of 1806, this early resistance to British rule in Tamilnadu is dealt with in this lesson.

6.1 Resistance of Regional Powers against the British

(a) Palayams and Palayakkarars

The word “palayam” means a domain, a military camp, or a little kingdom. Palayakkarars

(Poligar is how the British referred to them) in Tamil refers to the holder of a little kingdom as a feudatory to a greater sovereign. Under this system, palayam was given for valuable military services rendered by any individual. This type of Palayakkarars system was in practice during the rule of Pratapa Rudhra of Warangal in the Kakatiya kingdom. The system was put in place in Tamilnadu by Viswanatha Nayaka, when he became the Nayak ruler of Madurai in 1529, with the support of his minister Ariyanathar. Traditionally there were supposed to be 72 Palayakkarars.

The Palayakkarars were free to collect revenue, administer the territory, settle disputes and maintain law and order. Their police duties were known as Padikaval or Arasu Kaval. On many occasions the Palayakarars helped the Nayak rulers to restore the kingdom to them. The personal relationship and an understanding between the King and the Palayakkarars made the system to last for about two hundred years from the Nayaks of Madurai, until the takeover of these territories by the British.

Eastern and Western Palayams

Among the 72 Palayakkarars, created by the Nayak rulers, there were two blocs, namely the prominent eastern and the western Palayams. The eastern Palayams were Sattur, Nagalapuram, Ettayapuram, and Panchalamkurichi and the prominent western palayams were Uthumalai, Thalavankottai, Naduvakurichi, Singampatti, Seithur.

6.2 Palayakkarars' Revolt 1755-1801

(a) Revolt of Puli Thevar 1755-1767

In March 1755 Mahfuzkhan (brother of the Nawab of Arcot) was sent with a contingent of the Company army under Colonel Heron to Tirunelveli. Madurai easily fell into their hands. Thereafter Colonel Heron was urged to deal with Puli Thevar as he continued to defy the authority of the Company. Puli Thevar wielded much influence over the western palyakkarars. For want of cannon and of supplies and pay to soldiers, Colonel Heron abandoned the plan and retired to Madurai. Heron was recalled and dismissed from service.



Puli Thevar

Confederacy and Alliance with Enemies of the British

Three Pathan officers, Nawab Chanda Sahib's agents, named Mianah, Mudimiah and Nabikhan Kattak commanded the Madurai and Tirunelveli regions. They supported the Tamil playakkarars against Arcot Nawab Mohamed Ali. Puli Thevar had established close relationships with them. Puli Thevar also formed a confederacy of the Palayakkars to fight the British. With the exception of the Palayakkarars of Sivagiri, all other Maravar Palayams supported him. Ettayapuram and Panchalamkurichi also did not join this confederacy. Further, the English succeeded

in getting the support of the rajas of Ramanathapuram and Pudukottai. Puli Thevar tried to get the support of Hyder Ali of Mysore and the French. Hyder Ali could not help Puli Thevar as he was already locked in a serious conflict with the Marathas.

Kalakadu Battle

The Nawab sent an additional contingent of sepoy to Mahfuzkhan and the reinforced army proceeded to Tirunelveli. Besides the 1000 sepoy of the Company, Mahfuzkhan received 600 more sent by the Nawab. He also had the support of cavalry and foot soldiers from the Carnatic. Before Mahfuzkhan could station his troops near Kalakadu, 2000 soldiers from Travancore joined the forces of Puli Thevar. In the battle at Kalakadu, Mahfuzkhan's troops were routed.

Yusuf Khan and Puli Thevar

The organized resistance of the palayakkarars under Puli Thevar gave an opportunity to the English to interfere directly in the affairs of Tirunelveli. Aided by the Raja of Travancore, from 1756 to 1763, the palyakkarars of Tirunelveli led by Puli Thevar were in a constant state of rebellion against the Nawab's authority. Yusuf Khan (also known as Khan Sahib or, before his conversion to Islam, Marudhanayagam) who had been sent by the Company was not prepared to attack Puli Thevar unless the big guns and ammunition from Tiruchirappalli arrived. As the English were at war with the French, as well as with Hyder Ali and Marathas, the artillery arrived only in September 1760. Yusuf Khan began to batter the Nerkattumseval fort and this attack continued for about two months. On 16 May 1761 Puli Thevar's three major forts (Nerkattumseval, Vasudevanallur and Panayur) came under the control of Yusuf Khan.

In the meantime, after taking Pondicherry the English had eliminated the French from the picture. As a result of this the unity of palyakkarars began to break up as French

support was not forthcoming. Travancore, Seithur, Uthumalai and Surandai switched their loyalty to the opposite camp. Yusuf Khan who was negotiating with the palayakkarars, without informing the Company administration, was charged with treachery and hanged in 1764.

Fall of Puli Thevar

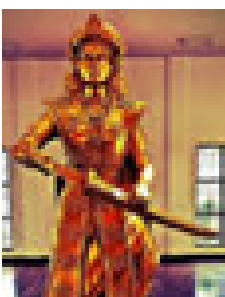
After the death of Khan Sahib, Puli Thevar returned from exile and recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764. However, he was defeated by Captain Campbell in 1767. Puli Thevar escaped and died in exile.

Ondiveeran: Ondiveeran led one of the army units of Puli Thevar. Fighting by the side of Puli Thevar, he caused much damage to the Company's army. According to oral tradition, in one battle, Ondiveeran's hand was chopped off and Puli Thevar was saddened. But Ondiveeran said it was a reward for his penetration into enemy's fort causing many heads to roll.

(b) Velunachiyar (1730–1796)

Born in 1730 to the Raja Sellamuthu Sethupathy of Ramanathapuram, Velunachiyar was the only daughter of this royal family. The king had no male heir. The royal family brought up the princess Velunachiyar, training her in martial arts like *valari*, stick fighting and to wield weapons. She was also adept in horse riding and archery, apart from her proficiency in English, French and Urdu.

At the age of 16, Velunachiyar was married to Muthu Vadugar, the Raja of Sivagangai, and had a daughter by name Vellachinachiar. In 1772, the Nawab of Arcot and the Company troops under the command of Lt. Velunachiyar Col. Bon Jour stormed the Kalaiyar Kovil Palace. In the ensuing battle Muthu Vadugar was killed. Velunachiyar escaped with her



Velunachiyar

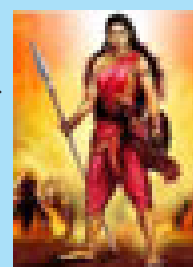
Gopala Nayak, the Palayakkarar of Virupachi: Gopala Nayak spearheaded the famous Dindigul League, which was formed with Lakshmi Nayak of Manaparai and Poojai Nayak of Devadanapatti. He drew inspiration from Tipu Sultan who sent a deputation to show his camaraderie. He led the resistance against the British from Coimbatore and later joined Oomaidurai, Kattabomman's brother. He put up a fierce fight at Aanamalai hills where the local peasants gave him full support. But Gopala Nayak was overpowered by the British forces in 1801.

daughter and lived under the protection of Gopala Nayak at Virupachi near Dindigul for eight years.

During her period in hiding, Velunachiyar organised an army and succeeded in securing an alliance with not only Gopala Nayakar but Hyder Ali as well. Dalavay (military chief) Thandavarayanar wrote a letter to Sultan Hyder Ali on behalf of Velunachiyar asking for 5000 infantry and 5000 cavalry to defeat the English. Velunachiyar explained in detail in Urdu all the problems she had with East India Company. She conveyed her strong determination to fight the English. Impressed by her courage, Hyder Ali ordered his Commandant Syed in Dindigul fort to provide the required military assistance.

Velunachiyar employed agents for gathering intelligence to find where the British had stored their ammunition. With military assistance from Gopala Nayak and

Kuyili, a faithful friend of Velunachiyar, is said to have led the unit of women soldiers named after Udaiyaal. Udaiyaal was a shepherd girl who was killed for not divulging information on Kuyili.



Kuyili

Kuyili is said to have walked into the British arsenal (1780) after setting herself on fire, thus destroying all the ammunition.

Hyder Ali she recaptured Sivagangai. She was crowned as Queen with the help of Marudhu brothers. She was the first female ruler or queen to resist the British colonial power in India.

(c) Rebellion of Veerapandya Kattabomman 1790-1799

Veerapandya Kattabomman became the Palayakkarar of Panchalamkurichi at the age of thirty on the death of his father, Jagavira Pandya Kattabomman. The Company's administrators, James London and Colin Jackson, had considered him a man of peaceful disposition. However, soon several events led to conflicts between Veerapandya Kattabomman and the East India Company. The Nawab, under the provisions of a treaty signed in 1781, had assigned the revenue of the Carnatic to the Company to be entirely under their management and control during the war with Mysore Sultan. One-sixth of the revenue was to be allowed to meet the expenses of Nawab and his family. The Company had thus gained the right to collect taxes from Panchalamkurichi. The Company appointed its Collectors to collect taxes from all the palayams. The Collectors humiliated the palayakkarars and adopted force to collect the taxes. This was the bone of contention between the English and Kattabomman.



Kattabomman

Confrontation with Jackson

The land revenue arrear from Kattabomman was 3310 pagodas in 1798. Collector Jackson, an arrogant English officer, wanted to send an army to collect the revenue dues but the Madras Government did not give him permission. On 18 August 1798, he ordered Kattabomman to meet him in Ramanathapuram. But Kattabomman's



attempts to meet him in between proved futile, as Jackson refused to give him audience both in Courtallam and Srivilliputhur. At last, an interview was granted and Kattabomman met Jackson in Ramanathapuram on 19 September 1798. It is said that Kattabomman had to stand for three hours before the haughty Collector Jackson. Sensing danger, Kattabomman tried to escape, along with his minister Sivasubramanianar. Oomaithurai suddenly entered the fort with his men and helped the escape of Kattabomman. At the gate of the Ramanathapuram fort there was a clash, in which some people including Lieutenant Clarke were killed. Sivasubramanianar was taken prisoner.

Appearance before Madras Council

On his return to Panchalamkurichi, Kattabomman represented to the Madras Council about how he was ill-treated by the collector Jackson. The Council asked Kattabomman to appear before a committee with William Brown, William Oram and John Casamajor as members. Meanwhile, Governor Edward Clive, ordered the release of Sivasubramanianar and the suspension of the Collector Jackson. Kattabomman appeared before the Committee that sat on 15 December 1798 and reported on what transpired in Ramanathapuram. The Committee found Kattabomman was not guilty. Jackson was dismissed from service and a new Collector S.R. Lushington appointed. Kattabomman cleared almost all the revenue arrears leaving only a balance of 1080 pagodas.

Kattabomman and the Confederacy of Palayakkarars

In the meantime, Marudhu Pandiyar of Sivagangai formed the South Indian Confederacy of rebels against the British, with the neighbouring palayakkarars like Gopala Nayak of Dindigul and Yadul Nayak of Aanamalai. Marudhu Pandiyar acted as its leader. The Tiruchirappalli Proclamation had been made. Kattabomman was interested in this confederacy. Collector Lushington

prevented Kattabomman from meeting the Marudhu Brothers. But Marudhu Brothers and Kattabomman jointly decided on a confrontation with the English. Kattabomman tried to influence Sivagiri Palayakkarars, who refused to join. Kattabomman advanced towards Sivagiri. But the Palayakkarars of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company. So the Company considered the expedition of Kattabomman as a challenge to their authority. The Company ordered the army to march on to Tirunelveli.

The Siege of Panchalamkurichi

In May 1799, Lord Wellesley issued orders from Madras for the advance of forces from Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur and Madurai to Tirunelveli. Major Bannerman commanded the troops. The Travancore troops too joined the British. On 1 September 1799, an ultimatum was served on Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman's "evasive reply" prompted Bannerman to attack his fort. Bannerman moved his entire army to Panchalamkurichi on 5 September. They cut off all the communications to the fort. Bannerman deputed Ramalinganar to convey a message asking Kattabomman to surrender. Kattabomman refused. Ramalinganar gathered all the secrets of the Fort, and on the basis of his report, Bannerman decided the strategy of the operation. In a clash at Kallarpatti, Sivasubramanianar was taken a prisoner.



Panchalamkurichi Fort

Execution of Kattabomman

Kattabomman escaped to Pudukottai. The British put a prize on his head.

Betrayed by the rajas of Ettayapuram and Pudukottai Kattabomman was finally captured. Sivasubramanianar was executed at Nagalapuram on the 13 September. Bannerman made a mockery of a trial for Kattabomman in front of the palayakarars on 16 October. During the trial Kattabomman bravely admitted all the charges levelled against him. Kattabomman was hanged from a tamarind tree in the old fort of Kayathar, close to Tirunelveli, in front of the fellow Palayakkars. Thus ended the life of the celebrated Palayakkarars of Panchalamkurichi. Many folk ballads on Kattabomman helped keep his memory alive among the people.

(d) The Marudhu Brothers

Periya Marudhu or Vella Marudhu (1748–1801) and his younger brother Chinna Marudhu (1753-1801) were able generals of Muthu Vadugar of Sivagangai. After Muthu Vadugar's death in the Kalaiyar Kovil battle Marudhu brothers assisted in restoring the throne to Velunachiyar. In the last years of the eighteenth century Marudhu Brothers organised resistance against the British. After the death of Kattabomman, they worked along with his brother Oomathurai. They plundered the granaries of the Nawab and caused damage and destruction to Company troops.



Marudhu Brothers

Rebellion of Marudhu Brothers (1800–1801)

Despite the suppression of Kattabomman's revolt in 1799, rebellion broke out again in 1800. In the British records it is referred to as the Second Palayakkar War. It was directed by a confederacy consisting of Marudhu Pandyan of Sivagangai, Gopala Nayak of Dindugal, Kerala Varma of Malabar and Krishnappa Nayak and Dhoondaji of Mysore. In April 1800 they meet at Virupachi and decided to organise an uprising against the Company. The uprising, which broke out in Coimbatore in June 1800, soon spread to Ramanathapuram and Madurai. The Company got wind of it and declared war on Krishnappa Nayak of Mysore, Kerala Varma of Malabar and others. The Palayakars of Coimbatore, Sathyamangalam and Tarapuram were caught and hanged.

In February 1801 the two brothers of Kattabomman, Oomathurai and Sevathaiah, escaped from the Palayamkottai prison to Kamudhi, from where Chinna Marudhu took them to Siruvayal his capital. The fort at Panchalamkurichi was reconstructed in record time. The British troops under Colin Macaulay retook the fort in April and the Marudhu brothers sought shelter in Sivagangai. The English demanded that the Marudhu Pandyars hand over the fugitives (Oomathurai and Sevathaiah). But they refused. Colonel Agnew and Colonel Innes marched on Sivagangai. In June 1801 Marudhu Pandyars issued a proclamation of Independence which is called Tiruchirappalli Proclamation.

Proclamation of 1801

The Proclamation of 1801 was an early call to the Indians to unite against the British, cutting across region, caste, creed and religion. The proclamation was pasted on the walls of the Nawab's palace in Tiruchirappalli fort and on the walls of the Srirangam temple. Many palayakkars of Tamil country rallied together to fight against the English. Chinna Marudhu collected nearly 20,000 men to challenge the English army. British reinforcements were

rushed from Bengal, Ceylon and Malaya. The rajas of Pudukkottai, Ettayapuram and Thanjavur stood by the British. Divide and rule policy followed by the English spilt the forces of the palayakkarars soon.

Fall of Sivagangai

In May 1801, the English attacked the rebels in Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli. The rebels went to Piranmalai and Kalayarkoil. They were again defeated by the forces of the English. In the end the superior military strength and the able commanders of the English Company prevailed. The rebellion failed and Sivagangai was annexed in 1801. The Marudhu brothers were executed in the Fort of Tirupathur near Ramanathapuram on 24 October 1801. Oomathurai and Sevathaiah were captured and beheaded at Panchalamkurichi on 16 November 1801. Seventy-three rebels were exiled to Penang in Malaya. Though the palayakkarars fell to the English, their exploits and sacrifices inspired later generations. Thus the rebellion of Marudhu brothers, which is called South Indian Rebellion, is a landmark event in the history of Tamil Nadu.

Carnatic Treaty, 1801

The suppression of the Palayakkarars rebellions of 1799 and 1800–1801 resulted in the liquidation of all the local chieftains of Tamilnadu. Under the terms of the Carnatic Treaty of 31 July 1801, the British assumed direct control over Tamilagam and the Palayakkar system came to an end with the demolition of all forts and disbandment of their army.

(e) Dheeran Chinnamalai (1756–1805)

Born as Theerthagiri in 1756, Dheeran was well trained in silambu, archery, horse riding and modern warfare. He was involved in resolving family and land disputes in the



Dheeran Chinnamalai

Kongu region. As this region was under the control of the Mysore Sultan, tax was collected by Tipu's Diwan Mohammed Ali. Once, when the Diwan was returning to Mysore with the tax money, Theerthagiri blocked his way and confiscated all the tax money. He let Mohammed Ali go by instructing him to tell his Sultan that "Chinnamalai", who is between Sivamalai and Chennimalai, was the one who took away taxes. Thus he gained the name "Dheeran Chinnamalai". The offended Diwan sent a contingent to attack Chinnamalai and both the forces met and fought at the Noyyal river bed. Chinnamalai emerged victorious.

After Tipu's death Dheeran Chinnamalai built a fort and fought the British without leaving the place. Hence the place is called *Odanilai*. He launched guerrilla attacks and evaded capture. Finally the English captured him and his brothers and kept them in prison in Sankagiri. When they were asked to accept the rule of the British, they refused. So they were hanged at the top of the Sankagiri Fort on 31 July 1805.

6.3 Vellore Revolt 1806

Before reducing all palayakkarars of south Tamilnadu into submission the East India Company had acquired the revenue districts of Salem, Dindigul at the conclusion of the war with Tipu in 1792. Coimbatore was annexed at the end of the Anglo-Mysore War in 1799. In the same year the Raja of Thanjavur whose status had been reduced to that of a vassal in 1798 gave up his sovereign rights over that region to the English. After the suppression of resistance of Kattabomman (1799) and Marudhu Brothers (1801), the British charged the Nawab of Arcot with disloyalty and forced a treaty on him. According to this Treaty of 1801, the Nawab was to cede the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Tirunelveli to the Company and transfer all the administrative powers to it.

(a) Grievances of Indian Soldiers

But the resistance did not die down. The dispossessed little kings and feudal chieftains continued to deliberate on the future course of action against the Company Government. The outcome was the Vellore Revolt of 1806. The objective conditions for a last ditch fight existed on the eve of the revolt. The sepoys in the British Indian army nursed a strong sense of resentment over low salary and poor prospects of promotion. The English army officers' scant respect for the social and religious sentiments of the Indian sepoys also angered them. The state of peasantry from which class the sepoys had been recruited also bothered them much. With new experiments in land tenures causing unsettled conditions and famine breaking out in 1805 many of the sepoys' families were in dire economic straits. The most opportune situation came with the sons and the family members of Tipu being interned in Vellore Fort. The trigger for the revolt came in the form of a new military regulation notified by the Commander-in-Chief Sir John Cradock.

According to the new regulations, the Indian soldiers were asked not to wear caste marks or ear rings when in uniform. They were to be cleanly shaven on the chin and maintain uniformity about how their moustache looked. The new turban added fuel to fire. The most objectionable addition was the leather cockade made of animal skin. The sepoys gave enough forewarning by refusing to wear the new turban. Yet the Company administration did not take heed.

(b) Outbreak of the Revolt

On 10 July 1806, in the early hours, guns were booming and the Indian sepoys of the 1st and 23rd regiments raised their standard of revolt. Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the garrison, was the first victim. Colonel McKerras of the 23rd regiment was killed next. Major Armstrong who was passing the Fort heard the sound of firing. When he stopped to enquire he was showered with bullets. About a dozen other officers were killed within an hour or so.



Among them Lt. Elly and Lt. Popham belonged to His Majesty's battalion.

Gillespie's Brutality

Major Cootes, who was outside the Fort, informed Colonel Gillespie, the cavalry commandant in Arcot. Gillespie reached the fort along with a squadron of cavalry under the command of Captain Young at 9.00 am. In the meantime, the rebels proclaimed Fateh Hyder, Tipu's eldest son, as their new ruler and hoisted the tiger flag of Mysore sultans in the Fort. But the uprising was swiftly crushed by Col. Gillespie, who threw to winds all war ethics. In the course of suppression, according to an eyewitness account, eight hundred soldiers were found dead in the fort alone. Six hundred soldiers were kept in confinement in Tiruchirappalli and Vellore awaiting Inquiry.

(c) Consequences of Revolt

Six of the rebels convicted by the Court of Enquiry were blown from the guns; five were shot dead; eight hanged. Tipu's sons were ordered to be sent to Calcutta. The officers

and men engaged in the suppression of the revolt were rewarded with prize money and promotion. Col. Gillespie was given 7,000 pagodas. However, the commander-in-chief Sir John Cradock, the Adjutant General Agnew and Governor William Bentinck were held responsible for the revolt, removed from their office, and recalled to England. The military regulations were treated as withdrawn.

(d) Estimate of Revolt

The Vellore Revolt failed because there was no immediate help from outside. Recent studies show that the organising part of the revolt was done perfectly by Subedars Sheik Adam and Sheik Hamid and Jamedar Sheik Hussain of the 2nd battalion of 23rd regiment and two Subedars and the Jamedar Sheik Kasim of the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment. Vellore Revolt had all the forebodings of the Great Rebellion of 1857. The only difference was that there was no civil rebellion following the mutiny. The 1806 revolt was not confined to Vellore Fort. It had its echoes in Bellary, Walajabad, Hyderabad, Bengaluru, Nandydurg, and Sankaridurg.

SUMMARY

- Prominent Palayakkarars of Tamil country and their resistance to the rule of East India Company are discussed.
- The wars waged by Puli Thevar, Velunachiyar, Veerapandya Kattabomman, followed by Marudhu brothers of Sivagangai and Dheeran Chinnamalai against the British are elaborated.
- The reasons for the Vellore Revolt and the ruthless manner in which it was suppressed by Gillespie are detailed.

GLOSSARY

protege	dependent, a person who receives support from a patron	பிறர் ஆதரவில் இருப்பவர்
aggrandizement	the act of elevating or raising one's wealth, prestige and power	செல்வாக்கை வளர்த்தல், ஆக்கிரமிப்பு செய்தல்
defiant	resisting, disobedient	பணிய மறுக்கும்

tranquillity	harmony, peace, free from disturbances	அமைதி
treachery	disloyalty, betrayal, breach of trust	வஞ்சித்தல்
audacious	daring, fearless	பயமற்ற, துணிவுமிக்க
ultimatum	a final dominating demand	இறுதி எச்சரிக்கை
bounty	payment or reward – something given liberally	கொடை
cockade	an ornament, especially a knot of ribbon worn on the hat	தொப்பியை அணிசெய்யும் குஞ்சம்
cognizance	notice, having knowledge of	கவனம்
trounce	crush, defeat	தோற்கடி
interned	imprisoned	சிறைப்படுத்தல்



EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer



- Who was the first Palayakkarars to resist the East India Company's policy of territorial aggrandizement?
 - Marudhu brothers
 - Puli Thevar
 - Velunachiyar
 - Veerapandya Kattabomman
- Who had established close relationship with the three agents of Chanda Sahib?
 - Velunachiyar
 - Kattabomman
 - Puli Thevar
 - Oomai thurai
- Where was Sivasubramanianar executed?
 - Kayathar
 - Nagalapuram
 - Virupachi
 - Panchalamkurichi

- Who issued the Tiruchirappalli proclamation of Independence?
 - Marudhu brothers
 - Puli Thevar
 - Veerapandya Kattabomman
 - Gopala Nayak
- When did the Vellore Revolt breakout?
 - 24 May 1805
 - 10 July 1805
 - 10 July 1806
 - 10 September 1806
- Who was the Commander-in-Chief responsible for the new military regulations in Vellore fort?
 - Col. Fancourt
 - Major Armstrong
 - Sir John Cradock
 - Colonel Agnew
- Where were the sons of Tipu Sultan sent after the Vellore Revolt?
 - Calcutta
 - Mumbai
 - Delhi
 - Mysore

II Fill in the blanks

1. The Palayakkarars system was put in place in Tamil Nadu by _____.
2. Velunachiyar and her daughter were under the protection of _____ for eight years.
3. Bennerman deputed _____ to convey his message, asking Kattabomman to surrender.
4. Kattabomman was hanged to death at _____.
5. The Rebellion of Marudhu Brothers was categorized in the British records as the _____.
6. _____ was declared the new Sultan by the rebels in Vellore Fort.

III Choose the correct statement

1. i) The Palayakkarars system was in practice in the Kakatiya Kingdom.
ii) Puli Thevar recaptured Nerkattumseval in 1764 after the death of Khan Sahib.
iii) Yusuf Khan who was negotiating with the Palayakkarars, without informing the Company administration was charged with treachery and hanged in 1764.
iv) Ondiveeran led one of the army units of Kattabomman.
a) (i), (ii) and (iv) are correct
b) (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
c) (iii) and (iv) are correct
d) (i) and (iv) are correct
2. i) Under Colonel Campbell, the English Army went along with Mahfuzkhan's army.
ii) After Muthu Vadugar's death in Kalaiyar Kovil battle, Marudhu Brothers assisted Velunachiyar in restoring the throne to her.
iii) Gopala Nayak spearheaded the famous Dindigul League.

iv) In May 1799 Cornwallis ordered the advance of Company armies to Tirunelveli.

- a) (i) and (ii) are correct
- b) (ii) and (iii) are correct
- c) (ii), (iii) and (iv) are correct
- d) (i) and (iv) are correct

3. **Assertion (A):** Puli Thevar tried to get the support of Hyder Ali and the French.

Reason (R): Hyder Ali could not help Puli Thevar as he was already in a serious conflict with the Marathas.

- a) Both (A) and (R) are correct, but (R) is not the correct explanation of (A)
- b) Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- c) Both (A) and (R) are correct and (R) is the correct explanation of (A)
- d) (A) is wrong and (R) is correct

IV Match the following

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Theerthagiri | - Vellore Revolt |
| 2. Gopala Nayak | - Ramalinganar |
| 3. Bannerman | - Dindigul |
| 4. Subedar Sheik Adam | - Vellore Fort |
| 5. Col. Fancourt | - Odanilai |

V Answer the questions briefly

1. What were the duties of the Palayakkarars?
2. Identify the Palayams based on the division of east and west.
3. What was the significance of the Battle of Kalakadu?
4. What was the bone of contention between the Company and Kottabomman?
5. Highlight the essence of the Tiruchirappalli Proclamation of 1801.

VI Answer in detail

1. Attempt an essay of the heroic fight Veerapandya Kattabomman conducted against the East India Company.

2. Highlight the tragic fall of Sivagangai and its outcome.
3. Account for the outbreak of Vellore Revolt in 1806.

VII Activities

1. Teacher can ask the students to prepare an album of patriotic leaders of early revolts against the British rule in Tamil Nadu. Using their imagination they can also draw pictures of different battles in which they attained martyrdom
2. Stage play visualising the conversation between Jackson and Kattabomman be attempted by students with the help of teachers.



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Unit - 7

Anti-Colonial Movements and the Birth of Nationalism



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- The nature of tribal and peasant revolts against the British
- Contributory factors for the outbreak of the Great Rebellion of 1857 and the subsequent changes in the British approach to governing India
- Factors leading to the formation of the Indian National Congress and the perspectives of the early nationalists
- Divide and rule policy of the British behind the Partition of Bengal (1905) and the launch of Swadeshi movement in Bengal
- Background for the launch of Home Rule Movement



Introduction

On 23 June 1757 the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-daulah was defeated by the East India Company at the Battle of Plassey. The battle was orchestrated by Robert Clive, commander-in-chief of the East India Company, who managed to get the clandestine support from Mir Jafar, the uncle of Siraj-ud-daulah and the chief of the Nawab's army. Clive was helped by the Jagat Seths (moneylenders from Bengal) who were aggrieved by Siraj-ud-daulah's policy. Between 1757 and 1760, the company received ₹ 22.5 million from Mir Jafar, who became the new *Nawab* of Bengal. The same money was later invested to propel the industrial revolution in Britain, which rapidly mechanised the British textile industry. On the other hand, India was led to the path of de-industrialisation and forced to create a market for the products manufactured in Britain. The plunder of India by the East India Company continued for another 190 years.

In this lesson the story of resistance and a varied range of response against the British rule in the Indian subcontinent from the early and mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century are outlined.

7.1 Peasant and Tribal Resistance

While the urban elite of India was busy responding to the western ideas and rationality by engaging in various socio-religious reform movements, a far more aggressive response to the British rule emerged in rural India. The traditional elite and peasantry along with the tribals revolted. They were not necessarily seeking the removal of British but rather the restoration of the pre-colonial order.

There were nearly a hundred peasant uprisings during British rule. They can be classified into the following categories:

- a. **Restorative rebellions** – Agitation of this type relates to attempts to restore old order and old social relations.
- b. **Religious Movements** – Such agitations were led by religious leaders who fought for the liberation of the local populace by restructuring society on certain religious principles.
- c. **Social Banditry** – The leaders of such movements were considered criminal by the British and the traditional elite but were looked upon by their people as heroes or champions of their cause.
- d. **Mass Insurrection** – Usually leaderless and spontaneous uprising.

Changes in the Revenue System

The East India Company restructured the Mughal revenue system across India in such a manner that it increased the financial burden on the peasants. There was no widespread system of private ownership of the land in pre-British India.

Subletting of Land

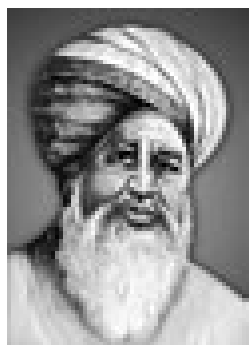
The practice of letting out and subletting of land complicated the agrarian relations. The zamindar often sublet land to many subordinate lords who in return collected a fixed amount of revenue from the peasant. This increased the tax burden on the peasants.

(a) Peasant Uprising

Peasant revolts began to erupt in the early 19th century and continued till the very end of British rule in India.

Farazi Movement

Farazi movement was launched by Haji Shariatullah in 1818. After the death of Shariatullah in 1839, the rebellion was led by his son Dudu Mian who called upon the peasants not to pay tax. It gained popularity on a simple doctrine that land



Haji Shariatullah

and all wealth should be equally enjoyed by the common folk. Dudu Mian laid emphasis on the egalitarian nature of religion and declared that “Land belongs to God”, and collecting rent or levying taxes on it was therefore against divine law. Large numbers of peasants were mobilised through a network of village organisations. After the death of Dudu Mian in 1862, the movement was revived in the 1870s by Noah Mian.

Wahhabi Rebellion in Barasat

The Wahhabi rebellion was an anti-imperial and anti-landlord movement. It originated in and around 1827, in the Barasat region of Bengal. It was led by an Islamic preacher Titu Mir who was deeply influenced by the Wahhabi teachings. He became an influential figure among the predominately Muslim peasantry oppressed under the coercive zamindari system.



Titu Mir

(b) Tribal Uprising

Under colonial rule, for the first time in Indian history, government claimed a direct proprietary right over forests. The British rule and its encouragement of commercialisation of forest led to the disintegration of the traditional tribal system. It encouraged the incursion of tribal areas by the non-tribal people such as moneylenders, traders, land-grabbers, and contractors. This led to the widespread loss of adivasi land and their displacement from their traditional habitats.

Tribal resistance was therefore, a response against those who either introduced changes in the peaceful tribal life or took undue advantage of the innocence of the tribal people.

(i) Kol Revolt

One major tribal revolt, the Kol uprising of 1831-32, took place in Chota Nagpur and Singbhum region of present day Jharkhand and Odisha, under the leadership of Bindrai and Singhrai. The Raja of Chhota Nagpur had

leased out to moneylenders the job of revenue collection. The usury and forcible eviction of tribals from their land led to the resentment of Kols. The initial protest and resistance kols was in the form of plunder, arson and attacks on the properties of outsiders. This was followed by the killing of moneylenders and merchants. The tribal leaders adopted varied methods to spread their message such as the beating of drums accompanied by a warning to all outsiders to leave. The British suppressed the rebellion with great violence.

(ii) Santhal Hool (Insurrection)

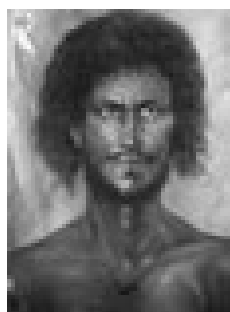
Santhals, scattered in various parts of eastern India, when forced to move out of their homeland during the process of creation of zamins under Permanent Settlement, cleared the forest area around the Rajmahal Hills. They were oppressed by the local police and the European officers engaged in the railway construction. Pushed out of their familiar habitat, the Santhals were forced to rely on the moneylenders for their subsistence. Soon they were trapped in a vicious circle of debt and extortion. Besides this, Santhals also felt neglected under the corrupt British administration and their inability to render justice to their legitimate grievances.

Outbreak

Around 1854 activities of social banditry led by a person named Bir Singh was reported from different places. These were directed against mahajans and traders.



Sidhu



Kanu

In 1855, two Santhal brothers Sidhu and Kanu proclaimed that they had received a

divine message from the God, asking them to lead the rebellion.

By July 1855 the rebellion has taken the form of open insurrection against the mahajans, the zamindars and the British officials. They marched with bows, poisoned arrows, axes and swords taking over the Rajmahal and Bhagalpur by proclaiming that the Company rule was about to end. In response villages were raided and properties destroyed by the British. In 1855 an act was passed to regulate the territories occupied by the Santhals. The Act formed the territory into a separate division called Santhal Pargana division.

(c) Munda Rebellion

One of the prominent tribal rebellions of this period occurred in Ranchi, known as Ulugulan rebellion (Great Tumult). The Munda people were familiar with the co-operative or collective farming known as *Khuntkatti* (joint holding) land system. It was totally eroded by the introduction of private ownership of land and the intrusion of merchants and moneylenders. The Munda people were also forcefully recruited as indentured labourers to work on plantations. In the 1890s tribal chiefs offered resistance against the alienation of tribal people from their land and imposition of *bethbegari* or forced labour.

The movement received an impetus when Birsa Munda declared himself as the messenger of God. Birsa claimed that he had a prophecy and promised supernatural solutions to the problem of Munda people and the establishment of *Birsait* Raj. The Munda leaders utilised the cult of Birsa Munda to recruit more people to their cause. A series of night meetings were held and a revolt was planned. On the Christmas day of 1889, they resorted to violence. Buildings were burnt down and arrows were shot at Christian missionaries and Munda Christian converts. Soon police stations and government officials were attacked. Similar attacks were carried out over the next few months. Finally the resistance was crushed and Birsa Munda was arrested in February 1900 who later died in jail. Birsa

Munda became a folk hero who is to this day celebrated in many folk songs. The Munda rebellion prompted the British to formulate a policy on Tribal land. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (1908) restricted the entry of non-tribal people into the tribal land.

7.2 The Great Rebellion of 1857

In 1857, British rule witnessed the biggest challenge to its existence. Initially, it began as a mutiny of Bengal presidency sepoys but later expanded to the other parts of India involving a large number of civilians, especially peasants. The events of 1857–58 are significant for the following reasons:

1. This was the first major revolt of armed forces accompanied by civilian rebellion.
2. The revolt witnessed unprecedented violence, perpetrated by both sides.
3. The revolt ended the role of the East India Company and the governance of the Indian subcontinent was taken over by the British Crown.

(a) Causes

1. Annexation Policy of British India

In the 1840s and 1850s, more territories were annexed through two major policies:

The Doctrine of Paramountcy. British claimed themselves as paramount, exercising supreme authority. New territories were annexed on the grounds that the native rulers were inept.

The Doctrine of Lapse. If a native ruler did not have male heir to the throne, the territory was to 'lapse' into British India upon the death of the ruler. Satara, Sambalpur, parts of the Punjab, Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed by the British through the Doctrine of Lapse.

2. Insensitivity to Indian Cultural Sentiments

In 1806 the sepoys at Vellore mutinied against the new dress code, which prohibited

Indians from wearing religious marks on their foreheads and having whiskers on their chin, while proposing to replace their turbans with a round hat. It was feared that the dress code was part of their effort to convert soldiers to Christianity.

Similarly, in 1824, the sepoys at Barrackpur near Calcutta refused to go to Burma by sea, since crossing the sea meant the loss of their caste.

The sepoys were also upset with discrimination in salary and promotion. Indian sepoys were paid much less than their European counterparts. They felt humiliated and racially abused by their seniors.

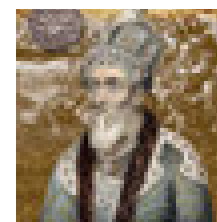
(b) The Revolt

The precursor to the revolt was the circulation of rumors about the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle. There was strong suspicion that the new cartridges had been greased with cow and pig fat. The cartridge had to be bitten off before loading (pork is forbidden to the Muslims and the cow is sacred to a large section of Hindus).

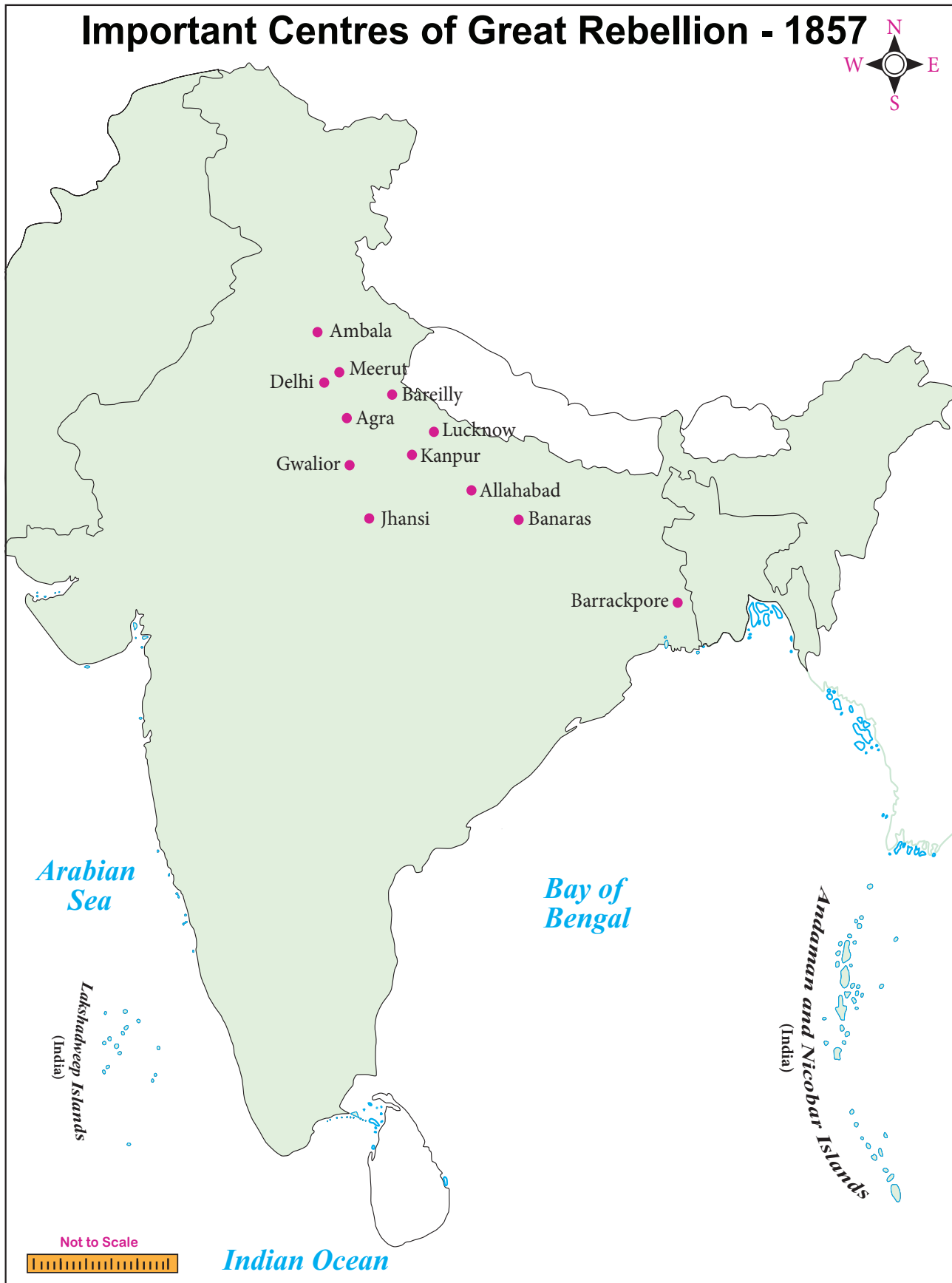
On 29 March a sepoy named Mangal Pandey assaulted his European officer. His fellow soldiers refused to arrest him when ordered to do so. Mangal Pandey along with others were court-martialled and hanged. This only fuelled the anger and in the following days there were increasing incidents of disobedience. Burning and arson were reported from the army cantonments in Ambala, Lucknow, and Meerut.

Bahadur Shah Proclaimed as Emperor of Hindustan

On 11 May 1857 a band of sepoys from Meerut marched to the Red Fort in Delhi. The *sepoys* were followed by an equally exuberant crowd who gathered to ask the Mughal



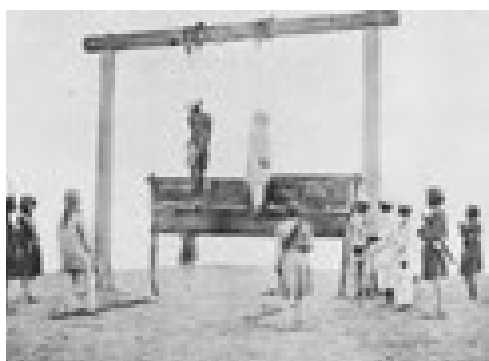
Bahadur Shah II



Emperor Bahadur Shah II to become their leader. After much hesitation he accepted the offer and was proclaimed as the Shahenshah-e-Hindustan (the Emperor of Hindustan). Soon the rebels captured the north-western province and Awadh. As the news of the fall of Delhi reached the Ganges valley, cantonment after cantonment mutinied till, by the beginning of June, British rule in North India, except in Punjab and Bengal, had disappeared.

Civil Rebellion

The mutiny was equally supported by an aggrieved rural society of north India. Sepoys working in the British army were in fact peasants in uniform. They were equally affected by the restructuring of the revenue administration. The sepoy revolt and the subsequent civil rebellion in various parts of India had a deep-rooted connection with rural mass. The first civil rebellion broke out in parts of the North-Western provinces and Oudh. These were the two regions from which the *sepoys* were predominately recruited. A large number of Zamindars and Taluqdars were also attracted to the rebellions as they had lost their various privileges under the British government. The talukdar-peasant collective was a common effort to recover what they had lost. Similarly, artisans and handicrafts persons were equally affected by the dethroning of rulers of many Indian states, who were a major source of patronage. The dumping of British manufactures had ruined the Indian handicrafts and thrown thousands of weavers out of employment. Collective anger against the British took the form of a people's revolt.



Hanging the rebels in a public place



Blowing mutinous sepoy from the guns

Prominent Fighters against the British

The mutiny provided a platform to aggrieved kings, nawabs, queens, and zamindars to express the anti-British anger. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II, provided leadership in the Kanpur region. He had been denied pension by the Company. Similarly, Begum Hazrat Mahal in Lucknow and Khan Bahadur in Bareilly took the command of their respective territories, which were once ruled either by them or by their ancestors.

Another such significant leader was Rani Lakshmi Bai, who assumed the leadership in Jhansi. In her case Dalhousie, the Governor General of Bengal had refused her request to adopt a son as her successor after her husband died and the kingdom was annexed under the Doctrine of Lapse. Rani Lakshmi Bai battled the mighty British Army until she was defeated.

Bahadur Shah Jafar, Kunwar Singh, Khan Bahadur, Rani Lakshmi Bai and many others were rebels against their will, compelled by the bravery of the sepoy who had defied the British authority.

(c) Suppression of Rebellion

By the beginning of June 1857, the Delhi, Meerut, Rohilkhand, Agra, Allahabad and Banaras divisions of the army had been restored to British control and placed under martial law.

(d) Causes of Failure

There is hardly any evidence to prove that the rebellion of 1857 was organised and planned. It was spontaneous. However, soon

after the siege of Delhi, there was an attempt to seek the support of the neighboring states. Besides a few Indian states, there was a general lack of enthusiasm among the Indian princes to participate in the rebellion. The Indian princes and zamindars either remained loyal or were fearful of British power. Those involved in the rebellion were left with either little or no sources of arms and ammunition. The emerging English-educated middle class too did not support the rebellion.

One of the important reasons for the failure of the rebellion was the absence of a central authority. There was no common agenda that united the individuals and the aspirations of the Indian princes and the various other feudal elements fighting against the British.

In the end, the rebellion was brutally suppressed by the British army. The rebel leaders were defeated due to the lack of weapons, organisation, discipline, and betrayal by their aides. Delhi was captured by the British troops in late 1857. Bahadur Shah was captured and transported to Burma.

e) India Becomes a Crown Colony

The British Parliament adopted the Indian Government Act, in November 1858, and India was pronounced as one of the many crown colonies to be directly governed by the Parliament. The responsibility was given to a member of the cabinet, designated as the Secretary of State for India.

Changes in the Administration

British rule and its policies underwent a major overhaul after 1857. British followed a cautious approach to the issue of social reform. Queen Victoria proclaimed to the Indian people that the British would not interfere in traditional institutions and religious matters. It was promised that Indians would be absorbed in government services. Two significant changes were made to the structure of the Indian army. The number of Indians was significantly reduced. Indians were restrained from holding

important ranks and position. The British took control of the artillery and shifted their recruiting effort to regions and communities that remained loyal during 1857. For instance, the British turned away from Rajputs, Brahmins and North Indian Muslims and looked towards non-Hindu groups like the Gorkhas, Sikhs, and Pathans. British also exploited the caste, religious, linguistic and regional differences in the Indian society through what came to be known as “Divide and Rule” policy.

7.3 Peasant Revolts under Crown

(a) Indigo Revolt 1859-60

Before synthetic dyes were created, natural indigo dye was highly valued by cloth makers around the world. Many Europeans employed peasants to grow the indigo, which was processed into dye at the planters factories. The dye was then exported to Europe. The peasants were forced to grow the crop. The British planter gave the cultivator a cash advance to help pay for the rent of the land and other costs. This advance needed to be repaid with interest. The planters forced the peasant grow indigo, rather than food crops. At the end of the season, the planters paid the cultivators low prices for their indigo. Moreover, the small amount the peasant earned was not enough to pay back the cash advance with interest. So they fell into debt. However, the peasants again would be forced to enter into another contract to grow indigo. The peasants were never able to clear their debts. Debts were often passed from father to son.

The Indigo Revolt began in 1859. The rebellion began as a strike, as the peasants of a village in Bengal’s Nadia district refused to grow any more indigo. The movement quickly spread to the other indigo-growing districts of Bengal. The revolt then turned violent. The peasants, both Hindu and Muslim, participated in the revolt, and women—armed with pots and pans—fought alongside the men. Indian journalists in Calcutta wrote articles about the brutality of the planters. The 1860 play

Nil Darpan (“Mirror of the Indigo”) by Dina Bandhu Mitra, did much to draw attention in India and Europe to the plight of the indigo growers.

(b) Deccan Riots 1875

Heavy taxation ruined agriculture. Famine deaths increased. The first recorded incident of rioting against the moneylenders in the Deccan was in May 1875, in Supa a village near Poona. Similar cases of riots were reported from close to 30 villages in Poona and Ahmadnagar. The rioting was directed mostly at the Gujarat moneylenders. Under British rule peasants were forced to pay revenue directly to the government. Also, under a new law moneylenders were allowed to attach the mortgaged land of the defaulters and auction it off. This resulted in a transfer of lands from the cultivators to the non-cultivating classes. Trapped in the vicious cycle of debt and unable to pay the outstanding amount the peasant was forced to abandon cultivation.

7.4 The Foundation of Indian National Congress (1870 – 1885)

(a) Rise of Nationalism

The second half of the 19th century saw the emergence of national political consciousness among a new social class of English educated Indians. The Indian intelligentsia played a critical role in generating a national consciousness by exposing a large number of people to the idea of nation, nationalism and various democratic aspirations. The flourishing of print media both in the vernacular and in English played a significant role in circulating such ideas.

Even though they were numerically small they had a national character and capacity to establish contacts on an all India scale. They were working as lawyers, journalists, government employees, teachers or doctors. They took the initiative to float political outfits, such as Madras Native Association (1852) East

India Association (1866), Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), The Bombay Presidency Association (1885) and many others.

(b) Economic Critique of Colonialism

One of the most significant contributions of early Indian nationalists was the formulation of an economic critique of colonialism.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, and Romesh Chandra Dutt, played a significant role in making this criticism about colonial economy. They clearly understood that the prosperity of the British lay in the economic and political subjugation of India. They concluded that colonialism was the main obstacle to the Indian’s economic development.

(c) Objectives and Methods

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was intended to establish an all India organisation. It was the culmination of attempts by groups of educated Indians politically active in three presidencies:



A.O. Hume

Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. A.O. Hume lent his services to facilitate the formation of the Congress. Womash Chandra Banarjee was the first President (1885) Indian National Congress.

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held on 28 December 1885. The early objectives were to develop and consolidate sentiments of national unity; but also professed loyalty to Britain. The techniques included appeals, petitions and delegations to Britain, all done within a constitutional framework. Some of the key demands were the following:

- creation of legislative councils at provincial and central level
- increasing the number of elected members in the legislative council
- separating judicial and executive functions
- reducing military expenditure
- reduction of Home Charges

- extension of trial by jury
- holding civil services exams in India as well as in England.
- police reforms
- reconsideration of forest laws
- promotion of Indian industries and an end to unfair tariffs and excise duties.

(d) Militant Nationalism

The methods of moderate leaders failed to yield any substantive change in the British attitude towards the moderate demands of early Indian nationalists. They were criticised by a group of leaders known as “extremists”. Instead of prayers and petitions, these militants were more focused on self-help.

7.5 Partition of Bengal

Partition of Bengal in 1905 was the most unpopular of all. The partition led to widespread protests all across India, starting a new phase of the Indian national movement.



Lord Curzon

The idea of partition was devised to suppress the political activities against the British rule in Bengal by creating a Hindu-Muslim divide.

(a) Hindu–Muslim Divide

It was openly stated that the objective of partition was to curtail Bengali influence and weaken the nationalist movement. By placing Bengal under two administrative units Curzon reduced the Bengali - speaking people to a linguistic minority in a divided Bengal. Curzon assured Muslims that in the new province of East Bengal Muslims would enjoy a unity, which they never enjoyed since the days of the Mughals.

Instead of dividing the Bengali people along the religious line partition united them. The growth of regional language newspapers played a role in building a sense of proud Bengali identity.

(b) Anti- Partition Movement

With the failure to annul the partition moderate leaders were forced to rethink their strategy and look for new techniques of protest. The boycott of British goods was one such method. However, the agenda of Swadeshi Movement was still restricted to secure an annulment of partition and the moderates were very much against utilising the campaign to start a full-fledged passive resistance. The militant nationalists, on the other hand, were in favour of extending the movement beyond Bengal and to initiate a full-scale mass struggle.

The day Bengal was officially partitioned – 16 Oct 1905 – was declared as a day of mourning. Thousands of people took bath in the Ganga and marched on the streets of Calcutta singing Bande Mataram.

(c) Boycott and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905–1911)

Boycott and swadeshi were always interlinked to each other and part of the wider plan to make India self-sufficient. Four major trends can be discerned during the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.

1. The Moderate Trend
2. Constructive Swadeshi
3. Militant Nationalism
4. Revolutionary terrorism



Swadeshi Movement

Constructive Swadeshi

The constructive programmes largely stressed upon self-help. It focused on building

alternative institutions of self-governance that would operate free of British control. Swadeshi shops sprang all over the place selling textiles, handlooms, soaps, earthenware, match and leather goods.

Passive Resistance

From 1906 the Swadeshi Movement took a turn. Under this new direction, the swadeshi programme included four points: boycott of foreign goods, boycott of government schools and colleges, courts, titles and government services, development of Swadeshi industries, national schools, recourse to armed struggle if British repression went beyond the limits of endurance.

Militant Nationalism

Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab, Bala Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra and Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal were three prominent leaders during the Swadeshi period and were referred to as Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate. Punjab, Bengal, and Maharashtra emerged as the hotbed of militant nationalism during the Swadeshi Movement. In South India Tuticorin became the most important location of Swadeshi activity with the launch of a Swadeshi Steam Navigation company by V.O. Chidambaranar.



Lal-Bal-Pal

Swaraj or Political Independence

One of the common goals of the extremist leaders was to achieve *Swaraj* or Self Rule. However, the leaders differed on the meaning

of *Swaraj*. For Tilak *Swaraj* was the attainment of complete autonomy and total freedom from foreign rule.

7.6 Home Rule Movement (1916–1918)

The Indian national movement was revived and also radicalised during the Home Rule Movement (1916-1918), led by Lokamanya Tilak and Annie Besant. World War I and Indian's participation in it was the background for the Home Rule League. When Britain declared war against Germany in 1914, the moderate and liberal leadership extended their support to the British cause. It was hoped that, in return, the British government would give self-government after the war. Indian troops were sent to several theatres of World War. But the British administration remained non-committal to such goals. What was seen as a British betrayal to the Indian cause of self-government led to a fresh call for a mass movement to pressurise the British government.

(a) Objectives of the Home Rule Movement

- To attain self-government within the British Empire by using constitutional means.
- To obtain the status of dominion, a political position accorded later to Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand.
- To use non-violent constitutional methods to achieve their goals.

(b) Lucknow Pact (1916)

The Home Rule Movement and the subsequent reunion of moderate and the



Signatories of Lucknow Pact

militant nationalists opened the possibility of fresh talks with the Muslims. Under the Lucknow Pact (1916), the Congress and the Muslim League agreed that there should be self-government in India as soon as possible. In return, the Congress leadership accepted the concept of separate electorate for Muslims.

(c) British Response

As the demand for Swaraj was raised by Tilak and Annie Besant that gained

popularity, the British used the same old ploy to isolate the leaders by repressing their activities.

In 1919 the British government announced the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which promised gradual progress of India towards self-government. This caused deep disappointment to Indian nationalists. In a further blow the government enacted what was called the Rowlatt Act which provided for arbitrary arrest and strict punishment.

SUMMARY

- The latter half of nineteenth century British India was replete with revolts of peasants and tribals against colonial political and economic domination.
- The great rebellion of 1857 was the culmination of various anti-British tendencies led by the depossessed feudal chieftains with an agenda to restore the Pre-colonial order.
- Even though the leaders of the Revolt lacked vision and were guided by local ambitions, it was a progressive act in terms of their effort to resist and challenge a despotic alien government.
- The Indian National Movement, building public opinion against the exploitative and oppressive British rule, inspired the younger generation to become part of the future militant anti-colonial struggles.
- The Swadeshi Movement helped to enhance the participation of masses in nationalist politics.

GLOSSARY

orchestrated	organized to achieve a desired effect	நினைத்ததை நிறைவேற்ற போடப்பட்ட திட்டம்
clandestine	secret	இரகசிய
restorative	re-establishing	மீட்கின்ற
subletting	property leased by one lessee to another	கீழ்க்குத்தகைக்கு விடுதல், உள் குத்தகைக்கு விடுதல்
egalitarian	equal rights for all people	அனைத்து மக்களுக்கும் சமமான
coercive	forcible	வலுக்கட்டாயமாக
extortion	the practice of taking something from an unwilling person by physical force	தாக்குதல் மூலம் பணம், பொருள் பறித்தல்
disgruntled	dissatisfied, frustrated	நிறைவில்லாத, திருப்தியற்ற
abysmal	extremely bad, deep and bottomless	மிக மோசமான, படுபாதாளமான



EXERCISE



I Choose the correct answer

- Which one of the following was launched by Haji Shariatullah in 1818 in East Bengal?
 - Wahhabi Rebellion
 - Farazi Movement
 - Tribal uprising
 - Kol Revolt
- Who declared that "Land belongs to God" and collecting rent or tax on it was against divine law?
 - Titu Mir
 - Sidhu
 - Dudu Mian
 - Shariatullah
- Who were driven out of their homeland during the process of creation of Zamins under Permanent Settlement?
 - Santhals
 - Titu Mir
 - Munda
 - Kol
- Find out the militant nationalist from the following.
 - Dadabhai Naoroji
 - Justice Govind Ranade
 - Bipin Chandra pal
 - Romesh Chandra
- When did the Partition of Bengal come into effect?
 - 19 June 1905
 - 18 July 1906
 - 19 August 1907
 - 16 October 1905
- What was the context in which the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed?
 - Kol Revolt
 - Indigo Revolt
 - Munda Rebellion
 - Deccan Riots

- Who set up the first Home Rule League in April 1916?
 - Annie Basant
 - Bipin Chandra Pal
 - Lala Lajpat Rai
 - Tilak
- Who drew the attention of the British to the suffering of Indigo cultivation through his play *Nil darpan*?
 - Dina Bandhu Mitra
 - Romesh Chandra Dutt
 - Dadabhai Naoroji
 - Birsa Munda

II Fill in the blanks

- _____ was an anti-imperial and anti-landlord movement which originated in and around 1827.
- The major tribal revolt which took place in Chotanagpur region was _____.
- The _____ Act, restricted the entry of non-tribal people into the tribal land.
- Chota Nagpur Act was passed in the year _____.
- W.C. Bannerjee was elected the president of Indian National Congress in the year _____.

III Choose the correct statement

- The Company received ₹ 22.5 million from Mir Jafar and invested it to propel the industrial revolution in Britain.
 - Kols organized an insurrection in 1831-1832, which was directed against government officers and moneylenders.
 - In 1855, two Santhal brothers, Sidhu and Kanu, led the Santhal Rebellion.
 - In 1879, an Act was passed to regulate the territories occupied by the Santhals.
 - (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
 - (ii) and (iii) are correct
 - (iii) and (iv) are correct
 - (i) and (iv) are correct

2. (i) One of the most significant contributions of the early Indian Nationalists was the formulation of an economic critique of colonialism.
- (ii) The early Congress leaders stated that the religious exploitation in India was the primary reason for the growing poverty.
- (iii) One of the goals of the moderate Congress leaders was to achieve Swaraj or self-rule.
- (iv) The objective of Partition of Bengal was to curtail the Bengali influence and weaken the nationalist movement.
- (i) and (iii) are correct
 - (i), (iii), and (iv) are correct
 - (ii) and (iii) are correct
 - (iii) and (iv) are correct
3. **Assertion (A):** Under colonial rule, for the first time in Indian history, government claimed a direct proprietary right over forests.

Reason (R): Planters used intimidation and violence to compel farmers to grow indigo.

- Both (A) and (R) are correct, but R is not the correct explanation of A
 - Both (A) and (R) are wrong
 - Both (A) and (R) are correct and R is the correct explanation of A
 - (A) is wrong and (R) is correct
4. **Assertion (A):** The Revolt of 1857 was brutally suppressed by the British army.

Reason (R): The failure of the rebellion was due to the absence of Central authority.

- Both (A) and (R) are wrong
- (A) is wrong and (R) is correct
- Both (A) and (R) are correct and R is the correct explanation of A
- Both (A) and (R) are correct, but R is not the correct explanation of A

IV. Match the following

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1. Wahhabi Rebellion | - | Lucknow |
| 2. Munda Rebellion | - | Peshwa Baji Rao II |
| 3. Begum Hazarat Mahal | - | Titu Mir |
| 4. Kunwar Singh | - | Ranchi |
| 5. Nana Sahib | - | Bihar |

V Answer the following questions briefly

- How are the peasant uprisings in British India classified?
- Name the territories annexed by the British under the Doctrine of Lapse.
- What do you mean by drain of wealth?
- Highlight the objectives of Home Rule Movement.
- Summarise the essence of Lucknow Pact.

VI Answer in detail

- Discuss the causes of the Revolt of 1857?
- How did the people of Bengal respond to the Partition of Bengal (1905)?

VII Activity

- Identify the Acts passed in British India from 1858 to 1919, with a brief note on each.
- Mark the important centres of 1857 Revolt on an outline map.
- Prepare an album with pictures of frontline leaders of all the anti-colonial struggles launched against the British.



REFERENCE BOOKS

- Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2000)
- Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004)
- Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India (1885-1947)* (New Delhi: Pearson, 2014).



INTERNET RESOURCES

1. <https://www.brittanica.com>



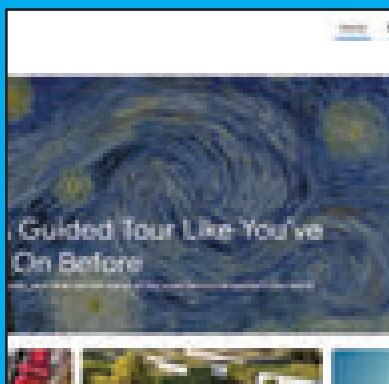
ICT CORNER

Anti-Colonial Movements and the Birth of Nationalism

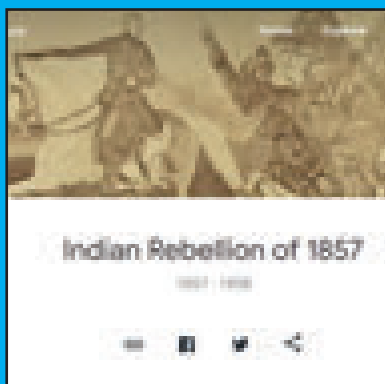
Through this activity you will visualize the Great Rebellion of 1857



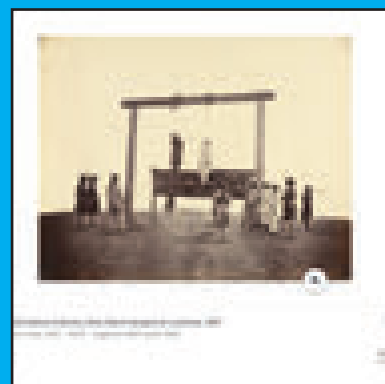
- Step-1** Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
- Step-2** Type 'Rebellion of 1857' into search box
- Step-3** Scroll down and click explore the picture collections



Step-1



Step-2



Step-3

Website URL:

<https://artsandculture.google.com/>

- * Pictures are indicatives only.
- * If browser requires, allow Flash Player or Java Script to load the page



Unit - 8

Nationalism:
Gandhian Phase
 Learning Objectives


To acquaint ourselves with

- Gandhian phase of India's struggle for independence
- Gandhi's policy of ahimsa and satyagraha tried and tested for mobilisation of the masses in India
- Non-violent struggles in Champaran and against the Rowlatt Act
- The Non-Cooperation Movement and its fallout
- Emergence of radicals and revolutionaries and their part in the freedom movement
- Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Issue of separate electorate and the signing of Poona Pact
- First Congress Ministries in the provinces and circumstances leading to the launch of Quit India Movement
- Communalism leading to partition of sub-continent into India and Pakistan

Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa after fighting for the civil rights of the Indians there for about twenty years. He brought with him a new impulse to Indian politics. He introduced satyagraha, which he had perfected in South Africa, that could be practiced by men and women, young and old. As a person dedicated to the cause of the poorest of the poor, he instantly gained the goodwill of the masses. In this lesson we shall see how Gandhi transformed the Indian National Movement.

8.1 Gandhi and Mass Nationalism

(a) Evolution of Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 into a well to do family in Porbandar, Gujarat. His father Kaba Gandhi was the Diwan of Porbandar and later became the Diwan of Rajkot. His mother Putlibai, influenced the young Gandhi. After passing the matriculation examination, Gandhi sailed to England in 1888 to study law. After becoming a barrister in June 1891 Gandhi returned to India as a firm believer in British sense of justice and fair play.

On returning to India, Gandhi's attempt to practice in Bombay failed. It was during this time that a Gujarati firm in South Africa, sought the services of Gandhi for assistance in a law-suit. Gandhi accepted the offer and left for South Africa in April 1893. Gandhi faced racial discrimination for the first time in South Africa. On his journey from Durban to Pretoria, at the Pietermaritzburg railway station, he was physically thrown out of the first class compartment. Gandhi was determined to fight.

Gandhi called a meeting of the Indians in the Transvaal and exhorted them to form an association to seek redress of their grievances. He continued to hold such meetings, petitioned to the authorities about the injustices which were in violation of their own laws. Indians in the Transvaal had to pay a poll tax of £ 3, could not own land except in areas marked for them, and could not move outdoors after 9 p.m. without a permit. He launched a struggle against such unjust laws.

Gandhi was introduced to the works of Tolstoy and John Ruskin. He was deeply influenced by Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, Ruskin's *Unto this Last* and Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*. Gandhi's ideas were formed due to a blend of Indian and Western thought. Despite being deeply influenced by Western thinkers he was highly critical of Western civilisation and industrialisation. Inspired by Ruskin, Gandhi established the Phoenix Settlement (1905) and the Tolstoy Farm (1910). Equality, community living and dignity of labour were inculcated in these settlements. They were training grounds for the satyagrahis.

Satyagraha as a Strategy in South Africa

Gandhi developed satyagraha (devotion to the truth, truth-force) as a strategy, in which campaigners went on peaceful marches and presented themselves for arrest in protest against unjust laws. He experimented with it for fighting the issues of immigration and racial discrimination. Meetings were held and

registration offices of immigrants were picketed. Even when the police let loose violence no resistance was offered by the satyagrahis. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested. Indians, mostly indentured labourers turned hawkers continued the struggle despite police brutality. Finally, by the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement the poll tax on indentured labourers was abolished.

8.2 Gandhi's Early Satyagrahas in India

Gandhi regarded Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom he had met on previous visits to India, as his political guru. On his advice, Gandhi travelled the length and breadth of the country before plunging into politics. This enabled him to understand the conditions of the people. It is on one of these journeys through Tamil Nadu that Gandhi decided to discard his following robes and wear a simple dhoti.

(a) Champaran Satyagraha

In Champaran in Bihar the *tinkathia* system was practiced. Under this exploitative system the peasants were forced by the European planters to cultivate indigo on three-twentieths of their land holdings. Towards the end of nineteenth century German synthetic dyes had forced indigo out of the market. The European planters of Champaran, while realising the necessity of relieving the cultivators of the obligation of cultivating indigo, wanted to turn the situation to their advantage. They enhanced the rent and collected illegal dues as a price for the release of cultivators from the obligation. Resistance erupted. Rajkumar Shukla, an agriculturist from Champaran who suffered hardships of the



Champaran Satyagraha

system, prevailed on Gandhi to visit Champaran. On reaching Champaran, Gandhi was asked by the police to leave immediately. When he refused he was summoned for trial. The news spread like wild fire and thousands swarmed the place in support of Gandhi. According to Gandhi, "The country thus had its first object-lesson in Civil Disobedience". He was assisted by Brajkishore Prasad, a lawyer by profession, and Rajendra Prasad, who became the first President of independent India. The Lieutenant Governor eventually formed a committee with Gandhi as a member which recommended the abolition of the *tinkathia* system, thereby ending the oppression of the peasants by the Indigo Planters.

The success of Champaran satyagraha, followed by his fruitful intervention in Ahmedabad mill strike (1918) and the Kheda Satyagraha (1918) helped Gandhi establish himself as a leader of mass struggle. Unlike earlier leaders, Gandhi demonstrated his ability to mobilise the common people across the country.

(b) Rowlatt Satyagraha and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

The Government of India Act 1919, however, caused disappointment, as it did not transfer real power to the Indians. Besides, the government began to enforce the permanent extension of war time restrictions. The Rowlatt Act was enacted which provided for excessive police powers, arrest without warrant and detention without trial. Gandhi called it a 'Black Act' and in protest called for a nationwide satyagraha on 6 April 1919. It was to be a non-violent struggle with fasting and prayer, and it was the earliest anti-colonial struggle spread across the country. The anti-Rowlatt protest was intense in Punjab, especially in Amritsar and Lahore. Gandhi was arrested and prevented from visiting Punjab. On 9 April two prominent local leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were arrested in Amritsar.

General Dyer's Brutality

On 13 April 1919 a public meeting was arranged at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. As it happened to be Baisaki day (spring harvest festival of Sikhs) the villagers had assembled there in thousands. General Reginald Dyer, on hearing of the assemblage, surrounded the place with his troops and an armoured vehicle. The only entrance to the park that was surrounded on all sides by high walls was blocked, and firing took place without any warning. The firing lasted for ten minutes till the troops ran out of ammunition. According to official report 379 were killed and more than thousand injured. Unofficial estimates put the toll at more than a thousand. After the incident martial law was declared and many people in the Punjab especially Amritsar were flogged and forced to crawl on the streets. The brutality enraged Indians. Rabindranath Tagore returned his knighthood. Gandhi surrendered his Kaiser-i-Hind medal.



(c) Khilafat Movement

The First World War came to an end in 1918. The Caliph of Turkey, who was considered the head of Muslims of the world, was given a harsh treatment. A movement was started called Khilafat Movement led by the Ali brothers, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Gandhi supported the movement and saw in it an opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims. He presided over the All India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi in November 1919. Gandhi supported Shaukat Ali's proposal of three national slogans, Allaho Akbar, Bande Mataram and Hindu-Musslamanki Jai. The Khilafat Committee meeting in Allahabad on 9 June 1920 adopted Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation programme. Non-Cooperation was to begin on 1 August 1920.

8.3 Non-Cooperation Movement and Its Fallout

The Indian National Congress approved the non-cooperation movement in a special session held in Calcutta on September 1920. It was subsequently passed in the Nagpur Session held on December 1920, Chaired by Salem C.Vijayaraghavachariar. The programme of non-cooperation included:

1. Surrender of all titles of honours and honorary offices.
2. Non-participation in government functions.
3. Suspension of practice by lawyers, and settlement of court disputes by private arbitration.
4. Boycott of government schools by children and parents.
5. Boycott of the legislature created under the 1919 Act.
6. Non-participation in government parties and other official functions.
7. Refusal to accept any civil or military post.
8. Boycott of foreign goods and spreading the doctrine of Swadeshi.

(a) No-Tax Campaign and Chauri Chaura Incident

Gandhi announced a no-tax campaign in Bardoli in February 1922. These movements greatly enhanced Gandhi's reputation as a national leader, especially the peasants. Gandhi made a nation-wide tour. Wherever he visited there was a bonfire of foreign cloth. Thousands left government jobs, students gave up their studies in large numbers and the lawyers gave up thriving practices. Boycott of British goods and institutions were effective. The boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit to India was successful.

On 5 February 1922 a procession of the nationalists in Chauri Chaura, a village near Gorakhpur in present-day Uttar Pradesh provoked by the police turned violent. The police finding themselves outnumbered shut themselves inside the police station. The mob

burnt the police station 22 policemen lost their lives. Gandhi immediately withdrew the movement.

(b) Swarajists

Meanwhile Congress was divided into two groups viz. pro-changers and no-changers. Some of the Congressmen led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das wanted to contest the elections and enter the legislature. They argued that the national interest could be promoted by working in the Legislative Councils under Dyarchy and wrecking the colonial government within. They were called the pro-changers. Staunch followers of Gandhi like Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajaji and others, known as no-changers, wanted to continue non-cooperation with the government. Despite the opposition C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party on 1 January 1923, which was later approved by a special session of the Congress. Swaraj Party members were elected in large numbers to the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Legislative Councils. They effectively



C.R. Das



Motilal Nehru

Dyarchy, a system of dual government introduced under the Government of India Act 1919, divided the powers of the provincial government into Reserved and Transferred subjects. The Reserved Subjects comprising finance, defence, the police, justice, land revenue, and irrigation were in the hands of the British. The Transferred Subjects that included local self-government, education, public health, public works, agriculture, forests and fisheries were left under the control of Indian ministers. The system ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

used the legislature as a platform for propagation of nationalist ideas. In Bengal, they refused to take charge of transferred subjects, as they did not want to cooperate with the government. They exposed the true nature of the colonial government. However, the Swaraj Party began to decline after the death of its leader C.R. Das in 1925.

(c) Constructive Programme of Gandhi

After the Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi felt that the volunteers and the people had to be trained for a non-violent struggle. As a part of this effort he focused on promoting Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability. He exhorted the Congressmen, "Go throughout your districts and spread the message of Khaddar, the message of Hindu-Muslim unity, the message of anti-untouchability and take up in hand the youth of the country and make them the real soldiers of Swaraj." He made it compulsory for all Congress members to wear khaddar. The All India Spinner's Association was formed.

(d) Boycott of Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission. Composed of seven members headed by Sir John Simon it came to be widely known as the Simon Commission. It was an all-white commission with no Indian member. Indians were angered that they had been denied the right to decide their own constitution. All sections of India including the Congress and the Muslim League decided to boycott the commission. Wherever



"Go back Simon" Demonstration

the Commission went there were protests, and black flag marches with the slogan 'Go Back Simon.' The protesters were brutally assaulted by the police. In one such assault in Lahore, Lal Lajpat Rai was seriously injured and died a few days later.

(e) Nehru Report

The Simon boycott united the different political parties in India. An all party conference was held in 1928 with the objective to frame a constitution for India as an alternative to the Simon Commission proposals. A committee under the leadership of Motilal Nehru was formed to outline the principles on the basis of which the constitution was to be drafted. The committee's report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended,

- Dominion status for India.
- Elections of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of joint and mixed electorates.
- Reservation of seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature and in provinces where they are in a minority and for the Hindus in North-West Frontier Province where they were in a minority.
- Provision of fundamental rights, and universal adult franchise.

Jinnah proposed an amendment to the reservation of seats in the Central Legislature. He demanded that one-third of the seats be reserved for Muslims. Tej Bahadur Sapru supported him and pleaded



Jinnah

that it would make no big difference. However, it was defeated in the All Party Conference. Later he proposed a resolution which came to be known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points. However, it was also rejected. Jinnah who was hailed as Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity thereafter changed his stand and began to espouse the cause of a separate nation for Muslims.

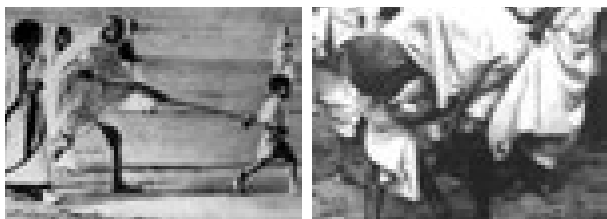
8.4 The Struggle for Poorna Swaraj and Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement

Meanwhile some congressmen were not satisfied with dominion status and wanted to demand complete independence. In the Congress session held in Lahore in December 1929 with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President, Poorna Swaraj was declared as the goal. It was also decided to boycott the Round Table Conference and launch a Civil Disobedience Movement. 26 January 1930 was declared as Independence Day and a pledge was taken all over the country to attain Poorna Swaraj non-violently through civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Indian National Congress authorised Gandhi to launch the movement.

(a) Salt Satyagraha Movement

A charter of demands presented to the Viceroy Lord Irwin with an ultimatum to comply by 31 January 1930 included:

- Reduction of expenditure on army and civil services by 50%
- Introduction of total prohibition of liquor
- Release of all political prisoners
- Reduction of land revenue by 50%
- Abolition of salt tax.



Gandhi's Dandi March

When the Viceroy did not respond to the charter of demands, Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The inclusion of abolition of salt tax was a brilliant tactical decision. At the break of dawn on 12 March 1930 Gandhi set out from Sabarmati Ashram with 78 of its inmates. The procession became larger and larger when hundreds joined them along

the march. At the age of 61 Gandhi covered a distance of 241 miles in 24 days to reach Dandi at sunset on 5 April 1930. The next morning, he took a lump of salt breaking the salt law.

Salt Satyagraha in Provinces

In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajaji led a similar salt march from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranyam. Salt marches took place in Kerala, Andhra and Bengal. In the North West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan led the movement. He organized the Khudai Khidmatgar, also known as the Red Shirts.



Rajaji making salt in Vedaranyam

The British enacted the first forest act in 1865. This act restricted the access of the forest dwellers to the forest areas to collect firewood, cattle fodder and other minor forest produce such as honey, seeds, nuts, medicinal herbs. The Indian Forest Act of 1878 claimed that original ownership of forests was with the state. Waste lands and fallow lands were included as forest. Shifting cultivation practiced by the tribal people, was prohibited. Alienation of forests from local control was stiffly resisted by the aggrieved adivasis (tribals) and the nationalists.

The most striking evidence of continuing struggles of the tribal groups was the one waged by Alluri Sitarama Raju in Rampa. Raju's efforts at fighting corrupt officials to protect the interests of Rampa tribals prompted the British to target his life. A special Malabar Police team was sent to quell the uprisings (1922-24) of Rampa Adivasis. Alluri Sitarama Raju attained martyrdom for the cause of forest dwellers.

Gandhi was arrested at midnight and sent to Yeravada Jail. Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other leaders were swiftly arrested. Soon other forms of protests such as boycott of foreign cloth, picketing of liquor shops, non-payment of taxes, breaking of forest laws etc. were adopted. Women, peasants, tribals, students, even children and all sections participated in the nation-wide struggle. It was the biggest mass movement India had ever witnessed.

(b) Round Table Conferences

In the midst of the movement the First Round Table Conference was held at London in November 1930. Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, proposed a federal government with provincial autonomy. The Congress did not attend it as its leaders were in jail. The Conference closed without any decision on the question.

(c) Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Lord Irwin held talks with Gandhi which resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1931. The British agreed to the demand of immediate release of all political prisoners not involved in violence, return of confiscated land and lenient treatment of government employees who had resigned. It also permitted the people of coastal villages to make salt for consumption and non-violent picketing. The Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and attend the conference. Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference which began on 7 September 1931. Gandhi refused to accept



Second Round Table Conference - London

separate electorates for minorities. As a result, the second conference ended without any result.

(d) Renewal of Civil Disobedience Movement.

On returning to India, Gandhi revived the Civil Disobedience Movement. This time the government was prepared to meet the resistance. Martial law was enforced and Gandhi was arrested on 4 January 1932. Soon all the Congress leaders were arrested too. Protests and picketing by the people were suppressed with force.

In the meantime, the Third Round Table Conference was held from 17 November to 24 December 1932. The Congress did not participate in the conference as it had revived the Civil Disobedience Movement.



Call for Civil Disobedience

(e) Communal Award and Poona Pact

On 16 August 1932, Ramsay MacDonald, announced the Communal Award. It provided separate electorates to the minorities, viz. Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and women and the “depressed classes”. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, strongly argued for the separate electorate, as it, according to him, would give them political representation and power. On 20 September 1932, Gandhi went on a fast unto death against the separate electorates for the depressed classes. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad and others held talks with Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah the leaders of the depressed classes. After intense negotiations

an agreement was arrived between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Known as the Poona Pact, its main terms were:

- The principle of separate electorates was abandoned. Instead, the principle of joint electorate was accepted with reservation of seats for the depressed classes.
- Reserved seats for the depressed classes were increased from 71 to 148. In the Central Legislature 18 percent of the seats were reserved.

(f) Campaign Against Untouchability

Gandhi devoted the next few years towards abolition of untouchability. His engagement with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made a big impact on his ideas about the caste system. He shifted his base to the Satyagraha Ashram at Wardha. He undertook an all-India tour called the Harijan Tour. He started the Harijan Sevak Sangh to work for the removal of discriminations. He worked to promote education, cleanliness and hygiene and giving up of liquor among the depressed class. An important part of the campaign was the Temple Entry Movement. 8 January 1933 was observed as 'Temple Entry Day'.



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

8.5 Beginnings of Socialist Movements

Inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded at Tashkent, Uzbekistan in October 1920. M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherjee, and M.P.T. Acharya were some of its founding members. The British government in India made vigorous efforts to suppress the communist movement by



M.N. Roy

foisting a series of cases in the 1920s. In a further attempt to eliminate the threat of communism M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, M. Singaravelar among others were arrested and tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case of 1924.

(a) Foundation of Communist Party

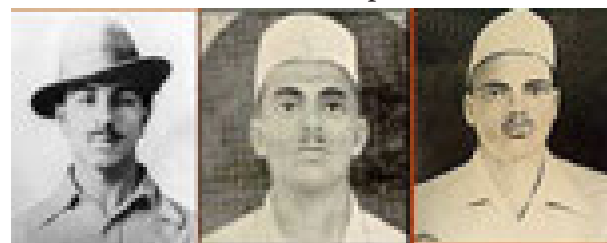
The communists used it as a platform to propagate their views and to expose the 'true colour of British rule in India'. In an attempt to form a party an All India Communist Conference was held at Kanpur in 1925. Singaravelar gave the Presidential Address. It led to the founding of the Communist Party of India in Indian soil. Their efforts eventually led to the establishment of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1928.



S.A. Dange

(b) Revolutionary Activities

The youths who were disillusioned with the sudden withdrawal of the Non Cooperation Movement by Gandhi took to violence. In 1924 Hindustan Republican Army (HRA) was formed in Kanpur to overthrow the colonial rule by an armed rebellion. In 1925 Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan and others held up a train carrying government money and looted in Kakori, a village near Lucknow. They were arrested and tried in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Four of them were sentenced to death while the others were sentenced to imprisonment.



Bhagat Singh Rajguru Sukhdev

Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and their comrades reorganized the HRA in Punjab. Influenced by socialist ideas they renamed it as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in 1928. Sanders, a British police officer, responsible for

the lathi charge that led to Lala Lajpat Rai's death was assassinated. Bhagat Singh along with B.K. Dutt threw a smoke bomb inside the Central Legislative Assembly in 1929. They shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad' and 'Long Live the Proletariat'. He along with Rajguru was arrested and sentenced to death. Bhagat Singh's daring and courage fired the imagination of the youth across India, and he became popular across India.

In April 1930, the Chittagong Armoury Raid was carried out by Surya Sen and his associates. They captured the armories in Chittagong and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. They survived for three years raiding government institutions. In 1933 Surya Sen was caught and hanged after a year.



Surya Sen

(c) Left Movement in the 1930s

By the 1930s the Communist Party of India had gained strength in view of the economic crisis caused by world-wide Great Depression. Britain transmitted the effects of Depression to its colonies. The effects of Depression were reflected in decline in trade returns and fall in agricultural prices. The governmental measures included forcible collection of land revenue which in real terms had increased two-fold due to a 50% fall in agricultural prices, the withdrawal of money in circulation, retrenchment of staff and expenditure on developmental works.

Jayaprakash
NarayanAcharya
Narendra DevMinoo
Masani

In this context, the Communist Party, fighting for the cause of peasants and industrial

workers hit by loss of income and wage reduction, and problems of unemployment gained influence and was therefore banned in 1934. The Congress, as a movement with a wide spectrum of political leanings, ranging from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, welded together by the goal of Swaraj, emerged as a powerful organisation. In 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Minoo Masani.

'Real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority, when abused.'
- M. K. Gandhi

8.6 First Congress Ministries under Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act 1935 was one of the important positive outcomes of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The key features of the Act were provincial autonomy and dyarchy at the centre. The Act provided for an all India Federation with 11 provinces, 6 Chief commissioner's provinces and all those Princely states which wished to join the federation. The Act also provided autonomy to the provinces. All the subjects were transferred to the control of Indian ministers. Dyarchy that was in operation in provinces was now extended to the central government. The franchise, based on property, was extended though only about ten percent of the population enjoyed the right to vote. By this Act Burma was separated from India.

(a) Congress Ministries and their Work

The Government of India Act 1935 was implemented with the announcement of elections in 1937. The Congress immensely benefitted because of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress called off its programme of boycott of legislature and contested elections. It emerged victorious in

seven out of the eleven provinces. It formed ministries in 8 provinces – Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces, North West Frontier Province. In Assam it formed a coalition government with Assam Valley Muslim Party led by Sir Muhammad Sadullah. The Congress Ministries functioned as a popular government and responded to the needs of the people. The salaries of ministers were reduced from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 500 per month. Earlier action taken against nationalists were rescinded. They repealed the Acts which vested emergency powers in the government, lifted the ban imposed on political organisations except the Communist Party, and removed the restrictions on the nationalist press. Police powers were curbed and reporting by the CID on political speeches discontinued. Legislative measures were adopted for reducing indebtedness of the peasantry and improving the working conditions of the industrial labour. Temple entry legislation was passed. Special attention was paid to education and public health.

(b) Resignation of Congress Ministries

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. The colonial government of India entered the War on behalf of the Allies without consulting the Congress ministries. The Congress ministries resigned in protest. By 1940 he was demanding a separate state for the Muslims.

(c) National Movement during the Second World War, 1939–45

In 1939 Subhas Chandra Bose became the President of the Congress by defeating Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the candidate of Gandhi. When Gandhi refused to cooperate, Subhas Chandra Bose resigned his post and started the Forward Bloc.



Pattabhi Sitaramayya

8.7 Developments leading to Quit India Movement

(a) Individual Satyagraha

In August 1940 Viceroy Linlithgow made an offer in return for Congress' support for the war effort. Hence Gandhi declared limited satyagraha which would be offered by a few individuals. Vinobha Bhave was the first to offer satyagraha on 17 October 1940. The satyagraha continued till the end of the year. During this period more than 25,000 people were arrested.



Vinobha Bhave

(b) Cripps Mission

On 22 March 1942, the British government sent a mission under Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps. The negotiations between the Cripps Mission and the Congress failed as Britain was not willing to transfer effective power immediately. The Cripps Mission offered:

1. Grant of Dominion Status after the War
2. Indian Princes could sign a separate agreement with the British implying the acceptance for the demand of Pakistan.
3. British control of defence during the War.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the proposal. Gandhi called the proposals as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank.

(c) "Do or Die" Call by Gandhi

The outcome of the Cripps Mission caused considerable disappointment. Popular discontent was intensified by war time shortages and steep rise in prices. The All India Congress Committee that met at Bombay on 8 August 1942 passed the famous Quit India Resolution demanding an immediate end to British rule in India. Gandhi gave a call to do or die. Gandhi said, 'We shall either free India or die in the

attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery.” A non-violent mass struggle under Gandhi was to be launched. But early next morning on 9 August 1942 Gandhi and the entire Congress leadership was arrested.

(d) Role of Socialists

With Gandhi and other prominent leaders of the Congress in jail, the Socialists provided the leadership for the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan and Ramanand Misra escaped from prison and organised an underground movement.



Aruna Asaf Ali Women activists like Aruna Asaf Ali played a heroic role. Usha Mehta established Congress Radio underground which successfully functioned till November 1942.

(e) People's Response

As news spread to different parts of India, a spontaneous protest broke out everywhere. The people protested in whatever form that they could, such as hartals, strikes, picketing. The government suppressed it with brute force. People attacked government buildings, railway stations, telephone and telegraph lines and all that stood as symbols of British authority. This was particularly widespread in Madras. Parallel governments were established in Satara, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces and Bengal.

(f) Subhas Chandra Bose and INA

Subhas Chandra Bose who had left the Congress was now under house arrest. He wanted to strike British hard by joining its enemies. In March 1941, he made a dramatic escape from his house in disguise and reached Afghanistan. Initially he wanted to get the support of Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union joined the Allied



Powers which included Great Britain, he went to Germany. In February 1943, he made his way to Japan on a submarine and took control of the Indian National Army. The Indian National Army Captain Lakshmi Sahgal headed it (Azad Hind Fauj) had earlier been organized by Gen. Mohan Singh with Indian prisoners of war with the support of Japanese in Malaya and Burma. Bose reorganised it into three brigades: Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and a women's brigade named after Rani of Jhansi. Subhas Chandra Bose formed the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. He gave the slogan 'Dilli Chalo'. INA was deployed as part of the Japanese forces. However, the defeat of Japan stopped the advance of INA. The airplane carrying Subhas Chandra Bose crashed bringing to an end his crusade for freedom.



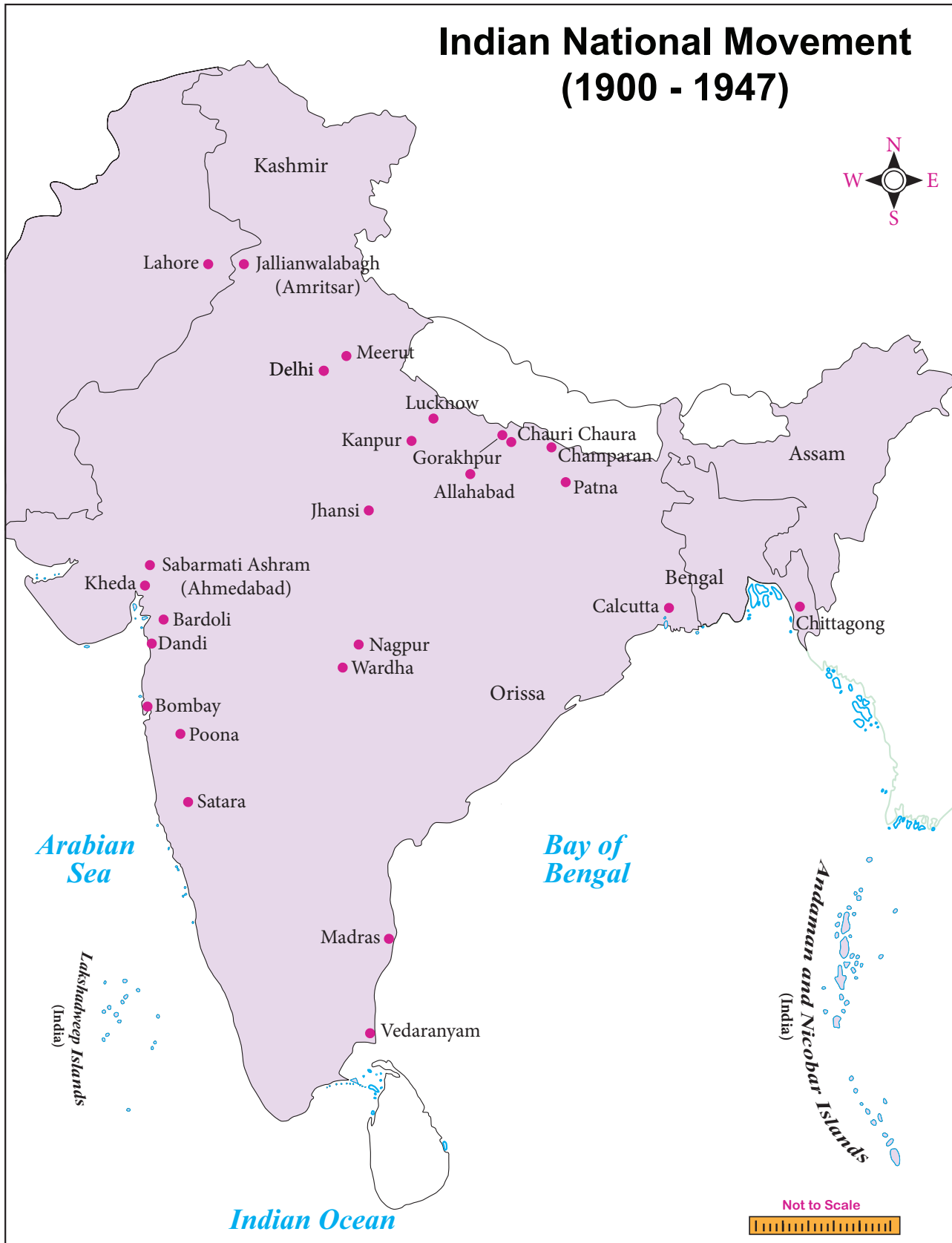
Subhas Chandra Bose's INA

The British government arrested the INA officers and put them on trial in the Red Fort. The trial became a platform for nationalist propaganda. The Congress set up a defence committee comprising Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. Though the INA officers were convicted they were released due to public pressure. The INA exploits and the subsequent trials inspired the Indians.

8.8 Towards Freedom

(a) Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The Royal Indian Navy ratings revolted at Bombay in February 1946. It soon spread



to other stations involving more than 20,000 ratings. Similar strikes occurred in the Indian Air Force and the Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur. Thus the British hegemonic control ceased even in the armed forces.



Royal Indian Navy Revolt

(b) Negotiating Independence: Simla Conference

The Wavell Plan was announced on 14 June 1945. It provided for an interim government, with an equal number of Hindus and Muslims in the Viceroy's Executive Council. All portfolios, except war portfolio, was to be held by Indian ministers. However, in the Simla Conference, the Congress and the Muslim League could not come to an agreement. Jinnah demanded that all the Muslim members should be from the Muslim League and they should have a veto on all important matters. In the provincial elections held in early 1946 the Congress won most of the general seats and the Muslim League won most of the seats reserved for the Muslims thus bolstering its claim.

(c) Cabinet Mission

In Britain, the Labour Party had won a landslide victory and Clement Atlee became the Prime Minister. He declared that he wanted to transfer power at the earliest. He sent a Cabinet Mission comprising Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander. Rejecting the demand for Pakistan, it provided for a Federal government with control over defence, communications

and foreign affairs. The provinces were divided into three groups viz. Non-Muslim Majority Provinces, Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northwest and the Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northeast. A Constituent Assembly was to be elected and an interim government set up with representation for all the communities. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan. However, both interpreted it differently.

(d) Direct Action Day Call by Muslim League

Difference arose between Congress and Muslim League when the former nominated a Muslim member. The League argued it was to be the sole representative of the Muslims and withdrew its approval. Jinnah declared 16 August 1946 as the 'Direct Action Day'. Hartals and demonstrations took place which soon turned into Hindu-Muslim conflict. It spread to other districts of Bengal. The district of Noakhali was the worst affected.

(e) Mountbatten Plan

The interim government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was formed in September 1946. After some hesitation the Muslim League joined it in October 1946. Its representative Liaquat Ali Khan was made the Finance Member. In February 1947, Clement Atlee declared that power would be transferred by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten was sent as Viceroy to India with the specific task of transfer of power. On 3 June 1947 the Mountbatten Plan was announced. It proposed:

- Power would be transferred on the basis of dominion status to India and Pakistan.
- Princely states would have to join either India or Pakistan.
- Boundary commission was to be set up under Radcliffe Brown and the award

would be announced after the transfer of power.

- Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would vote on whether they should be partitioned.



(f) Independence and Partition

The Mountbatten Plan was given effect by the enactment of the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947 by the British Parliament. The Act abolished the sovereignty of the British Parliament over India. India was partitioned into two dominions – India and Pakistan. On 15 August 1947 India won independence.



Arrival of refugees in the wake of Partition

SUMMARY

- Gandhiji's experiments with truth, ahimsa and satyagraha in South Africa and his evolution as a mass leader are explained.
- His call for Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movements and the fallout of these mass struggles in the form of legislation such as Government of India Act, 1919 and Government of India Act, 1935 and Independence Act, 1947 are detailed.
- Role played by Socialists and Communists and Revolutionaries represented by Bhagat Singh, Subhas Chandra Bose and outcome of their activities are highlighted.
- Use of religion for political mobilisation by Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League leading to partition is discussed.

A-Z GLOSSARY

satyagraha	passive political resistance advocated by Mahatma Gandhi	அறப்போர், சத்தியாகிரகம்
constitutionalist	adherent of constitutional methods	அரசியல் சட்ட விதிகளைப் பின்பற்றுபவர்
discrimination	unjust or differential treatment of different categories of people, especially on grounds of caste, creed, etc	ஜாதி, கொள்கை போன்றவற்றின் அடிப்படையில் வேறுபாடு காட்டுகிற
exhort	strongly encourage or urge to do something	வற்புறுத்து, நற்செயலுக்கேவு
communalism	allegiance to one's own ethnic, religious or caste group rather than to wider society	வகுப்புவாதம்
dominion	self-governing territory	தன்னாட்சியுரிமையுடைய குடியேற்ற நாடு
electorate	all the people in a country or area who are entitled to vote in an election	வாக்காளர் தொகுதி
ultimatum	a final demand or statement of terms	கடைசி அறிவிப்பு, இறுதி எச்சரிக்கை
alienation	Isolation	தனிமைப்படுத்தல்
conspiracy	a secret plan by a group to do something unlawful or harmful	கூட்டுச்சதி செய்தல், சதித்திட்டம்



EXERCISE



I Choose the correct answer

- Who was arrested during the anti-Rowlatt protests in Amritsar?
 - Motilal Nehru
 - Saifuddin Kitchlew
 - Mohamed Ali
 - Raj Kumar Shukla
- In which session of the Indian National Congress was Non-Cooperation approved?
 - Bombay
 - Madras
 - Calcutta
 - Nagpur
- Which among the following was declared as 'Independence Day'?
 - 26th January 1930
 - 26th December 1929
 - 16th June 1946
 - 15th January 1947
- When was the first Forest Act enacted?
 - 1858
 - 1911
 - 1865
 - 1936
- On 8 January 1933 which day was observed _____?
 - Temple Entry Day
 - Day of Deliverance
 - Direct Action Day
 - Independence Day
- Which Act introduced Provincial Autonomy?
 - 1858 Act
 - Indian Councils Act, 1909
 - Government of India Act, 1919
 - Government of India Act, 1935

II Fill in the blanks

- Gandhi regarded _____ as his political guru.
- Khilafat Movement was led by _____.

- Government of India Act 1919 introduced _____ in the provinces.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement in North West Frontier Province was led by _____.
- Ramsay Macdonald announced _____ which provided separate electorates to the minorities and the depressed classes.
- _____ established Congress Radio underground during the Quit India Movement.

III Choose the correct statement

- The Communist Party of India was founded in Tashkent in 1920.
 - M. Singaravelar was tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case.
 - The Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Mino Masani.
 - The Socialists did not participate in the Quit India Movement.
 - (i) and (ii) are correct
 - (ii) and (iii) are correct
 - (iv) is correct
 - (i), (ii) and (iii) are correct
- Assertion:** The Congress attended the First Round Table Conference.
Reason: Gandhi-Irwin Pact enabled the Congress to attend the Second Round Table Conference.
 - Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
 - A is correct but R is wrong
 - A is wrong but R is correct
 - Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation
- Assertion:** The Congress Ministries resigned in 1939.
Reason: The Colonial government of India entered the war without consulting the elected Congress ministries.
 - Both A and R are correct but R is not the correct explanation
 - A is correct but R is wrong

- c) Both A and R are wrong
 d) Both A and R are correct and R is the correct explanation

IV Match the Following

- Rowlatt Act - Surrender of titles
- Non Cooperation Movement - Dyarchy
- Government of India Act, 1919 - M.N. Roy
- Communist Party of India - Direct Action Day
- 16th August 1946 - Black Act

V Answer the following briefly

- Describe the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.
- Write a note on the Khilafat Movement.
- Why did Gandhi withdraw the Non Cooperation Movement?
- Why was Simon Commission boycotted?
- What is Poorna Swaraj?
- Write a note on Bhagat Singh.
- What are the terms of the Poona Pact?

VI Answer in detail

- Examine the factors that led to the transformation of Gandhi into a mass leader.

- Critically examine the Civil Disobedience Movement as the typical example of Gandhian movement.
- Discuss the reasons behind the partition of India.

VII Activity

- Students can be asked to mark the important places of Gandhian Movement in a map and write a sentence or two about what happened there.
- Students can be divided into groups and asked to debate the views of Gandhi, Jinnah, B.R. Ambedkar, Revolutionaries and Communists.



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ICT CORNER

Nationalism: Gandhian Phase

- Step-1** Open the Browser and type the URL given below (or) Scan the QR Code.
Step-2 Click on 'Chronology/Time line' and Select 'Family tree of Mahatma Gandhi'
Step-3 Click on 'Glimpses of Gandhi' in the Left side menu and click on 'Next or Previous' to see events in life of Gandhi

Website URL:

<https://www.mkgandhi.org/main.htm>



B376_10_SOCIAL_EM

Unit - 9

Freedom Struggle
in Tamil Nadu
 Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with:

- Anti-colonial struggles in Tamil Nadu
- Contribution of Christian missionaries to the development of education and amelioration of the depressed classes
- Challenge of the Justicites to the Congress in Tamil Nadu
- Militant mass movement of the Congress in Tamil Nadu



Introduction

Tamil Nadu showed the lead in resisting colonial rule. As early as the late eighteenth century the Palayakarars, resisted the English attempts to establish their political hegemony in Tamil Nadu. Even after the defeat of the Palayakarars, an uprising was organised by Indian sepoys and officers in Vellore Fort in 1806 that had its echoes in several cantonments in south India. Thanks to the introduction of Western education and eventual emergence of educated Indian middle class, the struggle against the British took the constitutional path. The freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu was unique, because from the beginning it was not only a struggle for independence from the English rule but also a struggle for independence from social disability imposed by the obnoxious caste system. In this lesson we shall study the role played by nationalists wedded to diverse ideologies in Tamil Nadu.

9.1 Early Nationalist
Stirrings in Tamil Nadu

(a) Madras Native Association

The Madras Native Association (MNA) was the earliest organisation to be founded in south India to articulate larger public rather than sectarian interests. It was started by Gazulu Lakshminarasu, Srinivasanar and their associates in 1852. It consisted primarily of merchants. The objective was to promote the interests of its members and their focus was on reduction in taxation. It also protested against the support of the government to Christian missionary activities. It drew the attention of the government to the condition and needs of the people. One of the important contributions of the MNA was its agitation against torture of the peasants by revenue officials. These efforts led to the establishment of the



Gazulu
Lakshminarasu

Torture Commission and the eventual abolition of the Torture Act, which justified the collection of land revenue through torture. However, by 1862, the Madras Native Association had ceased to exist.

(b) Beginnings of the Nationalist Press: The Hindu and Swadesamitran

The appointment of T. Muthuswami as the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court in 1877 created a furore in Madras Presidency. The entire press in Madras criticized the appointment of an Indian as a Judge. The press opposed his appointment and the educated youth realized that the press was entirely owned by Europeans. The need for a newspaper to express the Indian perspective was keenly felt. G. Subramaniam, M. Veeraraghavachari and four other friends together started a newspaper *The Hindu* in 1878. It soon became the vehicle of nationalist propaganda. G. Subramaniam also started a Tamil nationalist periodical *Swadesamitran* in 1891 which became a daily in 1899. The founding of *The Hindu* and *Swadesamitran* provided encouragement to the starting of other native newspapers such as *Indian Patriot*, *South Indian Mail*, *Madras Standard*, *Desabhimani*, *Vijaya*, *Suryodayam* and *India*.



T. Muthuswami



G. Subramaniam

(c) Madras Mahajana Sabha

Madras Mahajana Sabha (MMS) was the earliest organisation in south India with clear nationalist objectives. On 16 May 1884 MMS was started by M. Veeraraghavachari, P. Anandacharlu, P. Rangaiah and few others. P. Rangaiah became its first president. P. Anandacharlu played an active role as its secretary. The members met periodically, debated public issues in

closed meetings, conducted hall meetings and communicated their views to the government. Its demands included conduct of simultaneous civil services examinations in England and India, abolition of the Council of India in London, reduction of taxes and reduction of civil and military expenditure. Many of its demands were adopted later by the Indian National Congress founded in 1885.

(d) Moderate Phase

Provincial associations such as the Madras Mahajana Sabha led to the formation of an all-India organisation, the Indian National Congress. Leaders from different parts of India attended several meetings before the formation of the Congress. One such meeting was held in December 1884 in Theosophical Society at Adyar. It was attended by Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang, Surendranath Banerjee and other prominent leaders apart from G. Subramaniam, Rangaiah and Anandacharlu from Madras.



Dadabhai Naoroji



Gokhale

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in 1885 at Bombay. Out of a total of 72 delegates 22 members were from Madras.

The second session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, with Dadabhai Naoroji in the Chair. The third session was held at Makkis Garden, now known as Badruddin Tyabji the Thousand lights, in Madras in 1887 with



Prominent Nationalists of Tamil Nadu in the Moderate phase

The early nationalists believed in constitutional methods. Their activities consisted of conducting hall meetings and deliberating the problems of the country in English. When, at the time of Partition of



V.S. Srinivasa Sastri



P.S. Sivasamy



G.A. Natesan

Bengal, Tilak and other leaders adopted popular methods such as mass public meetings, and used vernacular languages to address the larger public, the early nationalists came to be known as moderates. The distinguished Tamil Moderates from Madras: V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.S. Sivasamy, V. Krishnasamy, T.R. Venkatramanar, G.A. Natesan, T.M. Madhava Rao, and S. Subramaniam.

Badruddin Tyabji as president. Out of the 607 all India delegates of 362 were from Madras Presidency.

Tamil Nadu was then part of the Madras Presidency which included large parts of the present-day states of Andhra Pradesh (Coastal districts and Rayalaseema), Karnataka (Bengaluru, Bellary, South Canara), Kerala (Malabar) and even Odisha (Ganjam).

to propagate Swadeshi ideals. *Swadesamitran* and *India* were prominent journals. The extremist leader Bipin Chandra Pal toured Madras and delivered lectures which inspired the youth. Students and youth participated widely in the Swadeshi Movement.



V.O. Chidambaranar

9.2 Swadeshi Movement

The partition of Bengal (1905) led to the Swadeshi Movement and changed the course of the struggle for freedom. In various parts of India, especially Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra popular leaders emerged. They implemented the programme of the Calcutta Congress which called upon the nation to promote Swadeshi enterprise, boycott foreign goods and promote national education.

(a) Response in Tamilnadu

V.O. Chidambaranar, V. Chakkaraiyar, Subramania Bharati and Surendranath Arya were some of the prominent leaders in Tamilnadu. Public meetings attended by thousands of people were organised in various parts of Tamilnadu. Tamil was used on the public platform for the first time to mobilise the people. Subaramania Bharati's patriotic songs were especially important in stirring patriotic emotions. Many journals were started

Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company

One of the most enterprising acts in pursuance of *swadeshi* was the launching of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company at Thoothukudi by V.O. Chidambaranar. He purchased two ships *Gallia* and *Lavo* and plied them between Thoothukudi and Colombo.



Tirunelveli Uprising

V.O.C joined with Subramania Siva in organising the mill workers in Thoothukudi and Tirunelveli. In 1908, he led a strike in the European-owned Coral Mills. It coincided with the release of Bipin Chandra Pal. V.O.C and Subramania Siva, who organised a public meeting to celebrate the release of Bipin, were arrested. The two leaders were charged with sedition and

sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Initially V.O.C. was given a draconian sentence of two life imprisonments. The news of the arrest sparked riots in Tirunelveli leading to the burning down of the police station, court building and municipal office. It led to the death of four people in police firing. V.O.C. was treated harshly in prison and was made to pull the heavy oil press. To avoid imprisonment Subramania Bharati moved to Pondicherry which was under French rule. Bharati's example was followed by many other nationalists such as Aurobindo Ghosh and V. V. Subramanian.



Bipin Chandra Pal



Bharati

(b) Revolutionary Activities in Tamil Nadu

Pondicherry provided a safe haven for the revolutionaries. Many of these revolutionaries in Tamil Nadu were introduced and trained in revolutionary activities at India House in London and in Paris. M.P.T. Acharya, V.V. Subramanian and T.S.S. Rajan were prominent among them. Revolutionary literature was distributed by them in Madras through Pondicherry. Radical papers such as *India*, *Vijaya* and *Suryodayam* came out of Pondicherry.



V.V. Subramanian



Aurobindo Ghosh

Ashe Murder

In 1904 Nilakanta Brahmachari and others started Bharata Matha Society, a secret

society. The objective was to kill British officials and thereby kindle patriotic fervour among the people. Vanchinathan of Senkottai, was influenced by this organisation. On 17 June 1911 he shot dead Robert W.D'E. Ashe, Collector of Tirunelveli in Maniyachi Junction. After this he shot himself.

(c) Annie Besant and the Home Rule Movement

While the extremists and revolutionaries were suppressed with an iron hand, the moderates hoped for some constitutional reforms. However, they were disappointed with the Minto-Morley reforms as it did not provide for responsible government.

Thus when the national movement was in its ebb, Annie Besant, an Irish lady and leader of the Theosophical Society, proposed the Home Rule Movement on the model of Irish Home Rule League. She started Home Rule League in 1916 and carried forward the demand for home rule all over India. G.S. Arundale, B.P. Wadia and C.P. Ramaswamy assisted her in this campaign. They demanded home rule with only a nominal allegiance to British Crown. She started the newspapers *New India* and *Commonweal* to carry forward her agenda. She remarked, "Better bullock carts and freedom than a *train deluxe* with subjection". Under the Press Act of 1910 Annie Besant was asked to pay hefty amount as security. She wrote two books, *How India wrought for Freedom* and *India: A Nation and a pamphlet on self-government*.

9.3 Non-Brahmin Movement and the Challenge to Congress

(a) The South Indian Liberal Federation

The non-Brahmins organised themselves into political organisations to protect their interests. In 1912 the Madras Dravidian Association was founded. C. Natesanar played an active role as its secretary. In June 1916 he

established the Dravidian Association Hostel for non-Brahmin students. On 20 November 1916 a meeting of about thirty non-Brahmins was held under the leadership of P. Thyagarayar, Dr. T.M. Nair and C. Natesanar at Victoria Public Hall in Chennai. The South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF) was founded to promote the interests of the non-Brahmins.

Justice Ministry

The Congress boycotted the elections of 1920. The Justice Party won 63 of 98 elected seats in the Legislative Council. A. Subburayalu of the Justice Party became the first chief minister. After the 1923 elections, Raja of Panagal of the Justice Party formed the ministry.



A Subbarayalu



Raja of Panagal

(b) Government's Repressive Measures: Rowlatt Act

A draconian Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, popularly known as the Rowlatt Act, after the name of Sir Sidney Rowlatt, who headed the committee that recommended it was passed in 1919. Under the Act anyone could be imprisoned on charges of terrorism without due judicial process. Indians were aghast at this. Gandhi gave voice to the anger of the people and adopted the Satyagraha method that he had used in South Africa.

Rowlatt Satyagraha

On 18 March 1919 Gandhi addressed a meeting on Marina Beach. On 6 April 1919 *hartal* was organised to protest against the "Black Act". Protest demonstrations were held at several parts of Tamil Nadu. Processions



S. Satyamurthy

from many areas of the city converged in the Marina beach where there was a large gathering. They devoted the whole day to fasting and prayer in the Marina beach. Madras Satyagraha Sabha was formed. Rajaji, Kasturirangar, S. Satyamurthy and George Joseph addressed the meeting. A separate meeting of workers was addressed by V. Kalyanasundaram (Thiru. V. Ka) B.P. Wadia and V.O.C. An important aspect of the movement was that the working classes, students and women took part in large numbers.

George Joseph: George Joseph, a barrister and eloquent speaker, played a leading role in organising and publicising the cause of Home Rule League in Madurai. Though born in Chengannur (Alappuzha district, Kerala State), he chose to settle down in Madurai and practice as a people's lawyer. He was fondly called "Rosaappu Durai" by the people of Madurai for the services he rendered to the affected communities.



(c) Khilafat Movement

Following the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre General Dyer who was responsible for it was not only acquitted of all charges but rewarded. After the First World War the Caliph of Turkey was humiliated and deprived of all powers. To restore the Caliph the Khilafat Movement was started. Muslims who had largely kept from the nationalist movement now joined it in huge numbers. In Tamil Nadu Khilafat Day was observed on 17 April 1920, with a meeting presided over by Maulana Shaukat Ali. Another such conference was held at Erode. Vaniyambadi was as the epicenter of Khilafat agitation.

9.4 Non-Cooperation Movement

Tamil Nadu was active during the Non-cooperation Movement. C. Rajaji and

E.V. Ramaswamy (EVR, later known as Periyar) provided the leadership. Rajaji worked closely with Yakub Hasan, founder of the Madras branch of the Muslim League. As a result, the Hindus and the Muslims cooperated closely during the course of the movement in Tamil Nadu.



Yakub Hasan

(a) No Tax Campaigns and Temperance Movement

As part of the non-cooperation movement, in many places, cultivators refused to pay taxes. A no-tax campaign took place in Thanjavur. Councils, schools and courts were boycotted. Foreign goods were boycotted. There were a number of workers' strikes all over region, many of them led by nationalist leaders. One of the important aspects of the movement in Tamil Nadu was the temperance movement or movement against liquor. In November 1921 it was decided to organise civil disobedience. Rajaji, Subramania Sastri and EVR were arrested. The visit of Prince of Wales on 13 January 1922 was boycotted. In the police repression two were killed and many injured. The Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn in 1922 after the Chauri Chaura incident in which 22 policemen were killed.

(b) Swarajists–Justicites Rivalry

Following the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Congress was divided between 'no-changers' who wanted to continue the boycott of the councils and 'pro-changers' who wanted to contest the elections for the councils. Rajaji along with other staunch Gandhian followers opposed the council entry. Along with Kasturirangar and M.A. Ansari, Rajaji advocated the boycott of the councils. Opposition to this led to the formation of the Swaraj Party within the Congress by Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru. In Tamil Nadu the Swarajists were led by S. Srinivasanar and S. Satyamurti.

(c) Subbarayan Ministry

In Madras provincial elections held in 1926, the Swarajists won the majority of the elected

seats. However, it did not accept office in accordance with the Congress policy. Instead they supported an independent, P. Subbarayan to form the ministry. The Swarajists did not contest the 1930 elections leading to an easy victory for the Justice Party. The Justice Party remained in office till 1937.



P. Subbarayan

(d) Simon Commission Boycott

In 1927 a statutory commission was constituted under Sir John Simon to review the Act of 1919 and to suggest reforms. However, to the great disappointment of Indians, it was an all-white commission with not a single Indian member. So the Congress boycotted the Simon Commission. In Madras, the Simon Boycott Propaganda Committee was set up with S. Satyamurti as the president. The arrival of Simon Commission in Madras on 18 February 1929 black flags were waved against the Commission.

Agitation for Removal of Neill Statue (1927)

James Neill of the Madras Fusiliers (infantry men with firearms) was brutal in wreaking vengeance at Kanpur ('the Cawnpur massacre', as it was called) in which many English women and children were killed in the Great Rebellion of 1857. Neill was later killed by an Indian sepoy. A statue was erected for him at Mount Road, Madras. Nationalists saw this as an insult to Indian sentiments, and organised a series of demonstrations in Madras. The statue was finally moved to Madras Museum when Congress Ministry, led by C. Rajaji, formed the government in 1937.

9.5 Civil Disobedience Movement

(a) Towards Poorna Swaraj

The Madras session of the Indian National Congress in 1927 declared complete independence as its goal. In the 1929 Lahore

session of the Congress, Poorna Swaraj (complete independence) was adopted as the goal and on 26 January 1930 the national flag was hoisted by Jawaharlal Nehru on the banks of river Ravi as the declaration of independence.

(b) Salt March to Vedaranyam

When the Viceroy did not accept the demands put forward by Gandhi, he launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. Rajaji organised and led a salt satyagraha march to Vedaranyam. The march started from Tiruchirappalli on 13 April 1930 and reached Vedaranyam in Thanjavur district on 28 April. A special song was composed for the march by Namakkal V. Ramalinganar with the lines, "A War is ahead *sans* sword, *sans* bloodshed... Join this march." Despite a brutal crackdown by the police, the marching *satyagrahis* were provided a warm reception along the route. On reaching Vedaranyam 12 volunteers under the leadership of Rajaji broke the salt law by picking up salt. Rajaji was arrested. T.S.S. Rajan, Rukmani Lakshmi pathi, Sardar Vedarathnam, C. Swaminathar and K. Santhanam were among the prominent leaders who participated in the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha.



Vedaranyam Salt March Memorial

(c) Widespread Agitations in Tamil Districts

The *satyagrahis* under the leadership of T. Prakasam and K. Nageswara Rao set up a camp at Udayavanam near Madras. However, the police arrested them. It led to

a hartal in Madras. The clashes with the police in Tiruvallikeni which lasted for three hours on 27 April 1930 left three dead. Volunteers who attempted to offer *salt Satyagraha* in

Rameswaram were arrested. Mill workers struck work

across the province. Woman participated enthusiastically. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi was the first woman to pay penalty for violation of salt laws. Police used brutal force to suppress the movement. Bhashyam, popularly known as Arya, hoisted the national flag atop Fort St. George on 26 January 1932.



Rukmani Lakshmi pathi

Martyrdom of Tirupur Kumaran

On 11 January 1932 a procession carrying national flags and singing patriotic songs was brutally beaten by the police in Tirupur. O.K.S.R. Kumaraswamy, popularly Tirupur Kumaran, fell dead holding the national flag aloft. He is hailed as *Kodikatha Kumaran*.



Tirupur Kumaran

(d) First Congress Ministry

In the 1937 election the Congress emerged victorious. The Justice Party was trounced. Congress victory in the elections clearly indicated its popularity with the people.

Rajaji formed the first Congress Ministry. He introduced prohibition on an experimental basis in Salem. To compensate for the loss of revenue he introduced a sales tax. When the British involved India in the Second World War without consulting the elected Congress ministries, the latter resigned.



C. Rajaji

(e) Anti-Hindi Agitation

One of the controversial measures of Rajaji was the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools. This was considered to be a form of Aryan and North Indian imposition detrimental to Tamil language and culture, and therefore caused much public resentment. E.V.R. led a massive campaign against it. He organised an anti-Hindi Conference at Salem. It formulated a definite programme of action. The Scheduled Castes Federation and the Muslim League extended its support to the anti-Hindi agitation. Natarajan and Thalamuthu, two of the enthusiastic agitators died in prison. A rally was organised from Tiruchirappalli to Madras. More than 1200 protestors including E.V.R. were arrested. After the resignation of the Congress Ministry, the Governor of Madras who took over the reigns of administration removed Hindi as compulsory subject.

9.6 Quit India Struggle

On 8 August 1942 the Quit India resolution was passed and Gandhi gave the slogan 'Do or Die'. The entire Congress leadership was arrested overnight. K. Kamaraj while returning from Bombay noticed that at

every railway station the police waited with a list of local leaders and arrested them as they got down. Kamaraj gave the police the slip and got down at Arakkonam itself. He then worked underground and organised people during the Quit India Movement.



K. Kamaraj

Undying Mass Movement

All sections of the society participated in the movement. There were a large number of workers strike such as strikes in Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras Port Trust, Madras Corporation and the Electric Tramway. Students of various colleges took active part in the protests. Many young men and women also joined the INA. The Quit India Movement was suppressed with brutal force.

The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, the negotiations initiated by the newly formed Labour Party Government in England resulting in India's independence but sadly with partition of the country into India and Pakistan has formed part of the Lesson in Unit VIII.

SUMMARY

- Contributions of Madras Native Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha and the nationalist press to the growth of nationalism in Tamil Nadu are discussed.
- Swadeshi phase of the Indian National Movement in Tamil Nadu, with focus on role played by V.O.C., Subramania Siva, Subramania Bharathi, is detailed.
- Non-cooperation Movement, E.V.R.'s differences with the Congress, the birth of Swaraj Party at the national level and the Self-Respect Movement in the Tamil region are examined.
- Tamil Nadu's participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement organised to protest the disappointment over Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences are dealt with.
- The elections under Government of India Act, 1935 and the formation of first Congress Ministry in Madras under Rajaji are outlined.

 **GLOSSARY**

hegemony	leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others	மேலாதிக்கம்
obnoxious	extremely unpleasant	விரும்பத்தகாத, வெறுக்கப்படுகிற
consensus	a general agreement	கருத்து ஒருமைப்பாடு, முழு இசைவு
hypocrisy	insincerity/two-facedness, dishonesty, lip service	பாசாங்கு, போலிமை
sedition	inciting or causing people to rebel against the authority of a state or monarch	ஆட்சிக்கு எதிரான
demonstration	a protest meeting or march against something	பொது ஆர்ப்பாட்ட நிகழ்ச்சி
picket	a blockade of a workplace or other venue	மறியல்
boycott	refuse to cooperate with or participate in	புறக்கணி
brutal	savagely violent	கொடுமைமிக்க, இரக்கமற்ற
patriotic	having devotion to and vigorous support for one's own country	நாட்டுப்பற்று
repression	action of subduing someone or something with force	அடக்குமுறை

**EXERCISE**

YL5QU1

I Choose the correct answer

- Who was the first President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha?
 - T.M. Nair
 - P. Rangaiah
 - G. Subramaniam
 - G.A. Natesan
- Where was the third session of the Indian National Congress held?
 - Marina
 - Mylapore
 - Fort St. George
 - Thousand Lights
- Who said "Better bullock carts and freedom than a *train de luxe* with subjection"?
 - Annie Besant
 - M. Veeraraghavachari
 - B.P. Wadia
 - G.S. Arundale
- Who among the following were Swarajists?
 - S. Satyamurti
 - Kasturirangar
 - P. Subbarayan
 - Periyar EVR
- Who set up the satyagraha camp in *Udyavanam* near Madras?
 - K. Kamaraj
 - C. Rajaji
 - K. Santhanam
 - T. Prakasam
- Where was the anti-Hindi Conference held?
 - Erode
 - Madras
 - Salem
 - Madurai

II Fill in the blanks

- _____ was appointed the first Indian Judge of the Madras High Court.
- Nilakanta Brahmachari started the secret society named _____.
- The Dravidian Association Hostel for non-Brahmin students was established by _____.
- _____ formed the first Congress Ministry in Madras.
- _____ was the founder of the Madras branch of the Muslim League.
- _____ hoisted the national flag atop Fort St. George on 26 January 1932.

III Choose the correct statement

- Madras Native Association was founded in 1852.
 - Tamil nationalist periodical *Swadesamitran* was started in 1891.
 - The Madras Mahajana Sabha demanded conduct of civil services examinations only in India
 - V.S. Srinivasanar was an extremist.
 - (i) and (ii) are correct
 - (iii) is correct
 - (iv) is correct
 - All are correct
- EVR did not participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement.
 - Rajaji worked closely with Yakub Hasan of the Muslim League.
 - Workers did not participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement.
 - Toddy shops were not picketed in Tamil Nadu.
 - (i) and (ii) are correct
 - (i) and (iii) are correct
 - (ii) is correct
 - (i), (iii) and (iv) are correct

IV Match the Following

- MNA - Anti-Hindi agitation
- EVR Periyar - Removal of Neill Statue
- S.N. Somayajulu - Salt Satyagraha
- Vedaranyam - Torture Commission
- Thalamuthu - Vaikom Hero

V Answer the questions briefly

- List out the contribution of the moderates.
- Write a note on the Tirunelveli Uprising.
- What is the contribution of Annie Besant to India's freedom struggle?

VI Answer in detail

- Discuss the response to Swadeshi Movement in Tamil Nadu.
- Examine the origin and growth of Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu.
- Describe the role of Tamil Nadu in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

VII Activity

- Students can be asked to write a sentence or two about the important places of freedom struggle in Tamil Nadu.
- Role Play: Students can be divided into groups and asked to debate the views of the Moderates, Extremists, Revolutionaries, Annie Besant's supporters, Justice Party, and British Government.



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Unit - 10

Social Transformation in Tamil Nadu



Learning Objectives

To acquaint ourselves with

- To acquire knowledge about the social transformation of modern Tamil Nadu
- To know the different social reform movements in Tamil Nadu
- To understand the ideas of the social reformers



Introduction

Europeans established their political power over Indian subcontinent in the latter half of the eighteenth century. While they were concerned with annexing India, by the beginning of the nineteenth century they were reordering Indian society. New revenue settlements were made. Influenced by British Utilitarian ideas and evangelicals they also tried to impose their cultural superiority over the Indian people.

This caused a reaction among the Indians. During the nineteenth century, educated Indians from different parts of the country began to feel the humiliation and responded by seeking their socio-cultural identity from their past. However, they understood some merits in the colonial arguments and were ready to reform. It resulted in the social and religious reform movements in modern India. This particular historical development is also identified as the Indian renaissance.

Renaissance is an ideological and cultural phenomenon. It is closely tied to modernity,

rationalism and the progressive movement of the society. Critical thinking is at its root. This ideology of humanism stimulated creative energy in all spheres of social life and knowledge such as language, literature, philosophy, music, painting, architecture, etc.

10.1 Tamil Renaissance

The cultural hegemony of colonialism and the rise of humanism brought several changes in the socio-cultural life of the Indian subcontinent. Modern Tamil Nadu too experienced such a historical transition. Tamil language and culture played a significant role in their identity construction. The introduction of printing press, linguistic research on Dravidian languages, etc... underpinned the process of Tamil renaissance. Although religious literature was taken up predominantly for publication in the early years after the advent of printing technology, things began to change gradually. Works that can be described as secular were taken up for publishing.

Advent of the Printing Technology

Tamil was the first non-European language that went into print. As early as in 1578, Tamil book, *Thambiran Vanakkam*, was published from Goa. In 1709, a full-fledged printing press had been established



Ziegenbalg

thanks to Ziegenbalg in Tranquebar. *Thirukkural* was one of the earliest Tamil literary texts to be published in 1812. This led the resurgence of interest among Tamil scholars in publishing the more ancient Tamil classics around that period.

In the nineteenth century, Tamil scholars like C.W. Damotharanar (1832–1901), and U.V. Swaminathar (1855–1942) spent their lifetime in the rediscovery of the Tamil classics. C. W. Damotharanar collected and edited different palm-leaf manuscripts of the Tamil grammar and literature. His editions included such texts as *Tolkappiyam*, *Viracholiyam*, *Iraiyanar-Akapporul*, *Ilakkana Vilakkam*, *Kaliththokai* and *Chulamani*. U.V. Swaminathar, a student of Meenakshisundaranar, took efforts to publish the classical texts such as *Civakachinthamani* (1887), *Paththupattu* (1889), *Chilapathikaram* (1892), *Purananuru* (1894), *Purapporul-Venpa-Malai* (1895), *Manimekalai* (1898), *Ainkurunuru* (1903) and *Pathitrupathu* (1904).



C.W. Damotharanar



U.V. Swaminathar

The publication of these ancient literary texts created an awareness among the Tamil people about their historical tradition, language, literature and religion. Modern Tamils founded

their social and cultural identity on the ancient Tamil classics, collectively called the Sangam literature.

In 1816, F.W. Ellis (1777–1819) who founded the College of Fort St George, formulated the theory that the south Indian languages belonged to a separate family which was unrelated to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Robert Caldwell (1814–1891) expanded this argument in a book titled, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, in 1856. He established the close affinity between the Dravidian languages in contrast with Sanskrit and also established the antiquity of Tamil.



Robert Caldwell

Tamil intellectuals of this period identified the fundamental differences between Tamil/Dravidian/Egalitarian and Sanskrit/Aryan/Brahmanism. They argued that Tamil was a language of Dravidian people, who are non-Brahmin and their social life was casteless, gender-sensitised and egalitarian. Tamil renaissance contributed to the origin and growth of Dravidian consciousness in the Tamil country. These ideas are exemplified in the Tamil invocation song in the play, *Manonmaniam* written by P. Sundaranar (1855–1897).



P. Sundaranar



Thiru. Vi. Ka



Bharatidasan

Ramalinga Adigal (1823–1874), popularly known as Vallalar, questioned the existing

Hindu religious orthodoxy. Abraham Pandithar (1859–1919) gave prominence to Tamil music and published books on the history of Tamil music. C.W. Damotharanar, U.V. Swaminathar, Thiru Vi. Kaliyanasundaram (1883–1953), Parithimar Kalaignar (1870-1903), Maraimalai Adigal (1876–1950), Subramania Bharathi (1882–1921), S. Vaiyapuri (1891–1956), and the poet Bharatidasan (1891–1964), in their own ways and through their writings, contributed to the revival of Tamil literature. Meanwhile, M. Singaravelar (1860–1946) an early pioneer in Buddhist revival, promoted communism and socialism to counter the colonial power. Pandithar Iyothethassar (1845–1914) and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy (1879–1973) held high the radical philosophy to defend the rights of the socially underprivileged and marginalised section of the people.

V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (Parithimar Kalaignar)

V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (1870-1903), born near Madurai, was professor of Tamil at the Madras Christian College. He was one of the earliest scholars to identify the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil, Parithimar Kalaignar and adopted a pure Tamil name for himself: Parithimar Kalaignar. He was the first to argue that Tamil is a classical language, and demanded that the University of Madras should not call Tamil a vernacular language. Influenced by Western literary models, he introduced the sonnet form in Tamil. He also wrote novels and plays, and a number of essays on science. Tragically, he died at the young age of 33.



Maraimalai Adigal

Maraimalai Adigal (1876–1950) is considered the father of Tamil linguistic purism and the founder of Tani Tamil Iyakkam (Pure Tamil Movement). He wrote commentaries

on the Sangam texts, Pattinappalai and Mullaipattu. As a young man, he worked in a journal, *Siddhanta Deepika*. Later he served as a Tamil teacher in the Madras Christian College for many years. He was inclined towards non-Brahmin movement. His teachers such as P. Sundaranar and Somasundara Nayagar were key influences in his life.



Maraimalai Adigal

Tani Tamil Iyakkam (Pure Tamil Movement)

Maraimalai Adigal promoted the use of pure Tamil words and removal of the Sanskrit influence from the Tamil language. The movement made a great impact on Tamil culture especially in language and literature. His daughter Neelambikai, played an important role in its foundation. He changed his own name Vedachalam and took on the pure Tamil name of Maraimalai Adigal. His journal *Jnanasagaram* was renamed *Arivukkadal* and his institution, *Samarasa Sanmarga Sangam*, was re-christened as *Pothu Nilai Kalakam*. Neelambikai compiled a dictionary that provided pure Tamil equivalents to Sanskrit words that had crept into Tamil vocabulary.

10.2 Rise of the Dravidian Movement

The Dravidian movement emerged as a defence of the non-Brahmins against the Brahmin dominance. An organisation called The Madras Non-Brahmin Association was founded in 1909 to help the non-Brahmin students. In



Dr. C. Natesanar

1912 C. Natesanar, a medical doctor, founded the Madras United League, later renamed

as Madras Dravidian Association to support Dravidian uplift. The organisation focused on educating and supporting non-Brahmin graduates and conducting regular meetings to share their grievances. Meanwhile, Natesanar founded a hostel, the Dravidian Home, at Triplicane (Madras) in July 1916 to address the lack of hostels for the non-Brahmin students which hindered their educational development. In addition, the home had a literary society for the benefit of non-Brahmin students.

10.3 South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party)

On 20 November 1916 around 30 prominent non-Brahmin leaders including Dr. C. Natesanar, Sir Pitti Theyagarayar, T.M. Nair and Alamelu Mangai Thayarammal came together to form the South Indian Liberation Federation (SILF). In the meantime, at a meeting held in the Victoria Public Hall the Non-Brahmin Manifesto was released in December 1916. The manifesto articulated the voice of the non-Brahmin communities.

The association started publishing three newspapers: *Dravidian* in Tamil, *Justice* in English and *Andhra Prakasika* in Telugu, to propagate the ideals of the Party.

The first election, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was held in 1920 after the introduction of the Dyarchy form of government in the provinces. The Justice Party won the election and formed the first-ever Indian cabinet in Madras. A. Subbarayalu became the Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency and the party formed the government during 1920–1923 and 1923–1926. In the context of



Sir Pitti Theyagarayar

T.M. Nair

Congress Party boycotting the legislature, the Justice Party continued to remain in office till 1937 elections were held. In the 1937 elections the Indian National Congress contested the elections for the first time and trounced the Justice Party.

Programmes and Activities

The Justice Party is the fountain head of the non-Brahmin Movement in the country. The Justice Party government widened education and employment opportunities for the majority of the population and created space for them in the political sphere.

The Justices removed the legal hindrances restricting inter-caste marriages and broke the barriers that prevented Depressed Classes from the use of public wells and tanks. The Justice Party government ordered that public schools accommodate the children of the Depressed Classes. Hostels were established for the students belonging to this social group in 1923. In the meantime, the Madras legislature under the Justice Party government was the first to approve participation of women in the electoral politics in 1921. This resolution created space for woman and thus facilitated Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar to become the first woman legislator in India in 1926.



The Justice Party worked towards legislating provisions for communal representation – reservations for various communities. Two Communal Government Orders (16 September 1921 and 15 August 1922) were passed to ensure equitable distribution in appointments among various castes and communities as a part of achieving social justice. The Justice Party rule established the Staff Selection Board in 1924 for the selection of government officials and encouraged all the communities to share the administrative powers. In 1929, the Government of British India adopted the

pattern and established the Public Service Commission.

The Justice Party further concentrated on reforms in religious institutions. The Justice Party introduced the Hindu Religious Endowment (HRE) Act in 1926 and enabled any individual, irrespective of their caste affiliation, to become a member of the temple committee and govern the resources of the religious institutions.

10.4 Self-Respect Movement (*Suyamariyathai Iyakkam*)

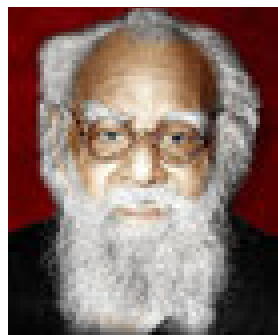
The Self-Respect movement advocated a casteless society devoid of rituals and differences based on birth. The movement declared rationality and self-respect as the birthright of all human beings and held these as more important than self-rule. The movement declared illiteracy as a source for women's subordination and promoted compulsory elementary education for all.

The movement demanded women's emancipation, deplored superstitions, and emphasised rationality. The movement also advocated self-respect marriage.

The Self-Respect Movement championed not only the cause of the non-Brahmin Hindus, but also that of the Muslims. The Self-Respect Movement extolled the lofty principles of Islam such as equality and brotherhood.

Periyar E.V.R.

Periyar E.V. Ramasamy (1879–1973) was the founder of the Self-Respect Movement. He was the son of a wealthy businessman in Erode, Venkatappa and Chinna Thayammal. Though possessing little formal education, he engaged in critical discussions with scholars, who used to be patronised by his devout father. As a young man, he once ran away from home and spent many months



Periyar E.V.R.

in Varanasi and other religious centres. The firsthand experience of orthodox Hindu religion led to his disillusionment with religion. On his return, he took care of his family business for some years. His selfless public service and forthrightness made him a popular personality. He held different official positions of Erode that included the Chairmanship of Municipal Council (1918–1919).

As president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Periyar proposed a resolution regarding the rights of “Untouchables” to temple entry. In the name of “caste dharma” the “lower caste”



people were denied access to the temples and the streets surrounding the temple. In Vaikom (a town in the then Princely State of Travancore and in present day Kerala), people protested against this practice. In the initial stages George Joseph of Madurai played big role. After the local leaders were arrested Periyar led the movement and was imprisoned. People hailed him as *Vaikom Virar* (Hero of Vaikom). In the meantime, he was disturbed by the caste-based discrimination in the dining hall at the Cheranmadevi *Gurukulam* (school), which was run by V.V.Subramaniam (a Congress leader) with the financial support of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. Periyar was disappointed when, despite his objections and protests against this discrimination, the Congress continued to support the iniquitous practice in the Gurukulam.



Thanthai Periyar Memorial (Vaikom, Kerala)

Periyar started the Self-Respect movement in 1925. Periyar understood the relevance of mass communication in spreading rationalist thought. He started a number of newspapers and journals such as *Kudi Arasu* (Democracy) (1925), *Revolt* (), *Puratchi* (Revolution) (1933), *Paguththarivu* (Rationalism) (1934), and *Viduthalai* (Liberation) (1935). *Kudi Arasu* was the official newspaper of the Self-Respect Movement. Usually, Periyar wrote a column and expressed his opinion on social issues in each of its issues. He frequently wrote columns under the pseudonym of *Chitraputtiran*.

Periyar had a close relationship with Singaravelar who is considered the first communist of south India and a pioneer of Buddhism. In 1936, Periyar got Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's *Annihilation of Caste* translated into Tamil immediately after it was written. He also supported Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for scheduled castes.

In 1937, in opposition to the Rajaji's government's move to introduce compulsory Hindi in schools, he launched a popular movement to oppose it. The anti-Hindi agitation (1937–39) had a big impact on Tamilnadu's politics. Periyar was imprisoned for his role in the movement. When he was still in jail, Periyar was elected the president of the Justice Party. Thereafter the Justice Party merged with the Self-Respect Movement. It was rechristened as Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) in 1944.

Rajaji, the Chief Minister of Madras State (1952–54), introduced a vocational education programme that encouraged imparting school children with training in tune with their father's occupation. Periyar criticised it as Kula Kalvi Thittam (caste-based education scheme) and opposed it tooth and nail. His campaigns against it led to the resignation of Rajaji. K. Kamaraj became Chief Minister of the Madras State. Periyar died at the age of ninety four (1973). His mortal remains were buried at Periyar Thidal, Madras.

Periyar, a Feminist

Periyar was critical of patriarchy. He condemned child-marriage and the devadasi

system (institution of temple girls). Right from 1929, when the Self-respect Conferences began to voice its concern over the plight of women, Periyar had been emphasising women's right to divorce and property. Periyar objected to terms like "giving in marriage". This, he said, treats woman as a thing. He wants it substituted by "*valkaithunai*," (companion) a word for marriage taken from the Tirukkural. Periyar's most important work on this subject is *Why the Woman is Enslaved?*

Periyar believed that property rights for women would provide them a social status and protection.

In 1989, Government of Tamil Nadu fulfilled the dream of radical reformers by the introduction of the Hindu Succession Tamil Nadu Amendment Act of 1989, which ensured the equal rights to ancestral property for women in inheritance. This Act became a trendsetter and led to similar legislation at the national level.

Rettaimalai Srinivasan

Rettaimalai Srinivasan (1859–1945), was born in 1859 at Kanchipuram. He fought for social justice, equality and civil rights of the marginalised in the caste order. He was honoured with such titles as Rao Sahib (1926), Rao Bahadur (1930) and Divan Bahadur (1936) for his selfless social services. His autobiography, *Jeeviya Saritha Surukkam* (A Brief Autobiography), published in 1939, is one of the earliest autobiographies.



Rettaimalai Srinivasan

Rettaimalai Srinivasan who had experienced the horrors of untouchability worked for the progress of the deprived castes. He founded the Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1893. He served as president of the Scheduled Castes' Federation and the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes' Federation.

A close associate of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, he participated in the first and second Round Table Conferences held in London (1930 and 1931) and voiced the opinions of the marginalised sections of the society. He was a signatory to the Poona Pact of 1932.

M.C. Rajah

Mylai Chinnathambi Raja (1883–1943), popularly known as M.C. Rajah, was one of the prominent leaders from the “depressed class”. Rajah started his career as a teacher and wrote different textbooks for schools and colleges. He was one of the founding members of the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Party). He became the first elected Legislative Council Member (1920–26) from the depressed classes in Madras province. He functioned as the Deputy Leader of Justice Party in the Madras Legislative Council.

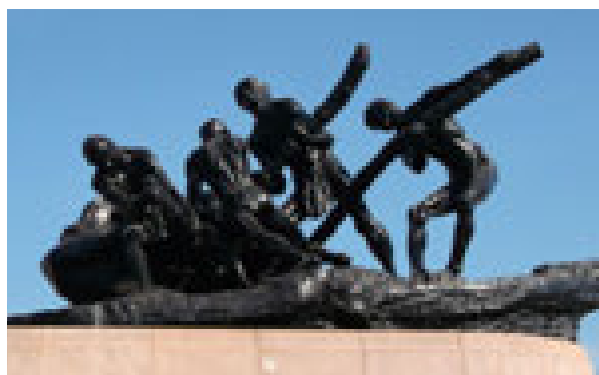


M.C. Rajah

In 1928, he founded the All India Depressed Classes Association and was its long time leader.

10.5 Labour Movements in Tamil Nadu

The First World War (1914–18) provided stimulus to industrial growth in India. These industries, catering to war time needs, had employed a huge number of workers. At the end of the War there were retrenchments across the industries, as the war time requirements receded. Combined with high prices, this gave a momentum to the labour movement. B.P. Wadia, M. Singaravelar, Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram and others initiated the formation of labour unions in the Madras Presidency. In 1918, India’s first organised trade union, the Madras Labour Union, was formed.



Labour Statue in Marina Beach

The first All India Trade Union Conference (AITUC) was held on 31 October 1920 in Bombay. The delegates discussed several resolutions. These included a demand for protection from police interference in labour disputes, the maintenance of an unemployment register, restriction on exporting foodstuffs, compensation for injuries, and health insurance.

M. Singaravelar (1860–1946), was a pioneer in the labour movement activities in the Madras presidency. He was born in Madras and graduated from the Presidency College, University of Madras. He advocated Buddhism



Singaravelar

in his early life. He knew many languages, including Tamil, English, Urdu, Hindi, German, French and Russian and wrote about the ideas of Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and Albert Einstein in Tamil. He organised the first ever celebration of May Day in 1923. He was one of the early leaders of the Communist Party of India. He published a Tamil newspaper, *Thozhilalan (Worker)* to address the problems of the working class. He was closely associated with Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement.

10.6 Language Agitation before Indian Independence

In general, language is a dominant symbol of identity and it is associated with culture and sentiments of any society. Tamil regained its

prominence in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Maraimalai Adigal's Pure Tamil Movement, the language reforms of Periyar and Tamil Isai Movement helped to galvanise the Tamil language. Tamil renaissance that led the Dravidian consciousness made a great intervention in the development of modern Tamil language and its art forms. Agamic temples did not permit rituals in Tamil. Tamil songs had a marginal place in musical concerts. Abraham Pandithar systematically studied the history of Tamil music and attempted to reconstruct the ancient Tamil musical system. He founded the Tanjore Sangitha Vidya Mahajana Sangam in 1912 and it became the kernel of the Tamil Isai Movement (Tamil Music Movement). The movement gave importance to the singing of Tamil compositions in music concerts. The first Tamil Isai Conference was held in 1943, to discuss the status of Tamil music.

The implementation of Hindi as a compulsory language in Tamil Nadu, at various points of time, was seen as a threat to Tamil language and culture. Periyar declared that the introduction of Hindi over Tamil would deny the Dravidians of their job opportunities. Maraimalai Adigal pointed out that the Tamil language would suffer with the introduction of Hindi. The anti-Hindi campaigners considered it an ideological battle against Brahminism and the hegemony of Sanskrit over Tamil.

10.7 Women's Movements

There were several streams of women's movements and organisations established in the early twentieth century to address the question of women empowerment in Madras Presidency. Women's India Association (WIA) and All India Women's Conference (AIWC)

are the important among them in Tamil Nadu. WIA was started in 1917 by Annie Besant, Dorothy Jinarajadasa and Margaret Cousins at Adyar, Madras. The Association published pamphlets and bulletins in different languages to detail the problems of personal hygiene, marriage laws, voting rights, child care and women's role in the public. In the meantime, WIA formed the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) in 1927 to address the problem of women's education and recommended that the government implement various policies for the uplift of women.

Women's liberation was one of the important objectives of the Self-Respect Movement. Self-respecters led by Periyar E.V.R. worked for gender equality and gender sensitisation of the society.



Muvalur
Ramamirtham

The movement provided a space for women to share their ideas. There were several women activists in the movement. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar, Nagammai, Kannamma, Nilavathi, Muvalur Ramamirtham, Rukmani Ammal, Alarmelmangai Thayammal, Nilambikai, and Sivakami Chidambaranar are prominent among them.

There was a custom of dedicating young girls to the Hindu temples as a servant of God, known as *devadasi*. Though intended as a service to god it soon got corrupted leading to extensive immorality and abuse of the women. Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar, was in the forefront of the campaign pressing for a legislation to abolish this devadasi system. The Madras Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act 1947 was enacted by the government.

In 1930, Muthulakshmi Ammaiyar introduced in the Madras Legislative Council a Bill on the "prevention of the dedication of women to Hindu temples in the Presidency of Madras". The Bill, which later became the Devadasi Abolition Act, declared the "pottukattu ceremony" in the precincts of Hindu temples or any other place of worship unlawful, gave legal sanction to devadasis to contract marriage, and prescribed a minimum punishment of five years' imprisonment for those found guilty of aiding and abetting the devadasi system. The Bill had to wait for over 15 years to become an Act.

SUMMARY

- Nineteenth century India encountered a process of introspection among Indian intellectuals due to the colonial intervention and the rise of rationalism. This led to the Indian renaissance.
- In Tamil Nadu, the proliferation of the printing press acted as a catalyst for the publication and spread of secular ancient Tamil literature.
- Tamil scholars in the nineteenth century worked hard to publish Tamil classics.
- The transformation not only revived Tamil language and literature. It challenged the prevailing caste hierarchy.
- The Justice Party established in 1916 voiced the problems of non-Brahmin in the Madras Presidency.
- Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, the pioneer of the Self-Respect Movement, critiqued fundamentalism and promoted rationalism among people.
- Ultimately, the rational ideas of Tamil Nadu became a model for constructive developments of the modern Indian state.

GLOSSARY

evangelical	Christian groups that believe that the teaching of the Bible and persuading others to join them is extremely important	சுவிசேஷர்கள், நற்செய்தியாளர்
hegemony	leadership or dominance, especially by one country or social group over others	மேலாதிக்கம்
resurgence	renewal, revival	எழுச்சி
linguists	a person skilled in languages	மொழியியலாளர்கள்
marginalised	a person, group concept treated as insignificant or sidelined	ஒதுக்கப்பட்ட
irked	irritated, annoyed	எரிச்சலூட்டும்
debunking	expose the falseness or hollowness of (a myth, idea or belief)	ஒழித்துக்கட்டும்
trounced	defeat heavily in a contest	படுதோல்வியுறச் செய்தல்
critiquing	evaluate in a detailed and analytical way	விமர்சிப்பது
iniquitous	grossly unfair and morally wrong	அநீதியான
pseudonym	a fictitious name, especially one used by an author	புனைபெயர்
rechristened	give a new name to	பெயரிடப்பட்டு



EXERCISE

I Choose the correct answer

1. _____ established a full-fledged printing press in 1709, at Tranquebar.
 - a) Caldwell
 - b) F.W. Ellis
 - c) Ziegenbalg
 - d) Meenakshisundaram
2. _____ founded Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1893.
 - a) Rettaimalai Srinivasan
 - b) B. R. Ambedkar



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- c) Rajaji
- d) M. C. Rajah
3. India's first organised trade union, the Madras Labour Union was formed in _____.
 - a) 1918
 - b) 1917
 - c) 1916
 - d) 1914
4. _____ was established by the Justice Party Government for the selection of Government officials.
 - a) Staff Selection Board
 - b) Public Service Commission
 - c) Provincial Staff Recruitment Board
 - d) Staff Selection Commission

5. _____ was the first elected Legislative Council Member from the depressed class in Madras Province.
- M. C. Rajah
 - Rettaimalai Srinivasan
 - T.M. Nair
 - P. Varadarajulu

II Fill in the blanks

- _____ was the first non-European language that went into print.
- The College of Fort St. George was founded by _____.
- _____ is considered the father of Tamil linguistic purism.
- _____ was the first to approve participation of women in the electoral politics.
- The name Suriyanarayana Sastri changed in Tamil as _____
- _____ gave prominence to Tamil music.
- The first Woman Legislator in India was _____.

III Choose the correct statement

- (i) Thirukkural was one of the earliest Tamil literary texts to be published in 1812.
(ii) Maraimalai Adigal collected and edited different palm leaf manuscripts of the Tamil grammars and literature.
(iii) Robert Caldwell established the close affinity between the Dravidian languages in contrast with Sanskrit and also established the antiquity of Tamil.
(iv) Thiru.Vi. Kalyanasundaram was an early pioneer in Trade union movement.
- (i) and (ii) are correct
 - (i) and (iii) are correct
 - (iv) is correct
 - (ii) and (iii) are correct

2. **Assertion (A):** The Justice Party continued to remain in government from 1920-1937 in Madras Presidency.

Reason (R): The Congress Party boycotted the Madras Legislature during this period of Dyarchy.

- Both A and R are correct
- A is correct, but R is not the correct explanation
- Both A and R are wrong
- R is correct, but it has no relevance to A

IV Match the following

- Dravidian Home - Maraimalai Adigal
- Thozhilalan* - Rettaimalai Srinivasan
- Tani Tamil Iyakkam - Singaravelar
- Jeeviya Saritha Surukkam - Natesanar

V Answer briefly

- Write a note on Tamil Renaissance.
- Highlight the contribution of Caldwell for the cause of South Indian languages.
- List out the personalities who contributed to the revival of Tamil literature through their writings.
- Discuss the importance of Hindu Religious Endowment Act passed by the Justice ministry?
- Name the newspapers published by the South Indian Liberal Foundation.
- Estimate Periyar as a feminist

VI Answer in detail

- Attempt an essay on the foundation and development of Tamil Renaissance in the 19th Century.
- Describe the background for the formation of the Justice Party and point out its contribution to the cause of social justice.

3. Estimate Periyar E.V.R's decisive contribution to the social transformation of Tamil Nadu.

VII Students Activity

1. Students can be taught to distinguish between Labour Movement and Trade Union Movement. Project work on the activities of local trade union organisations may be done by students.
2. Students can compile the activities of the local writers' associations or women's collectives.



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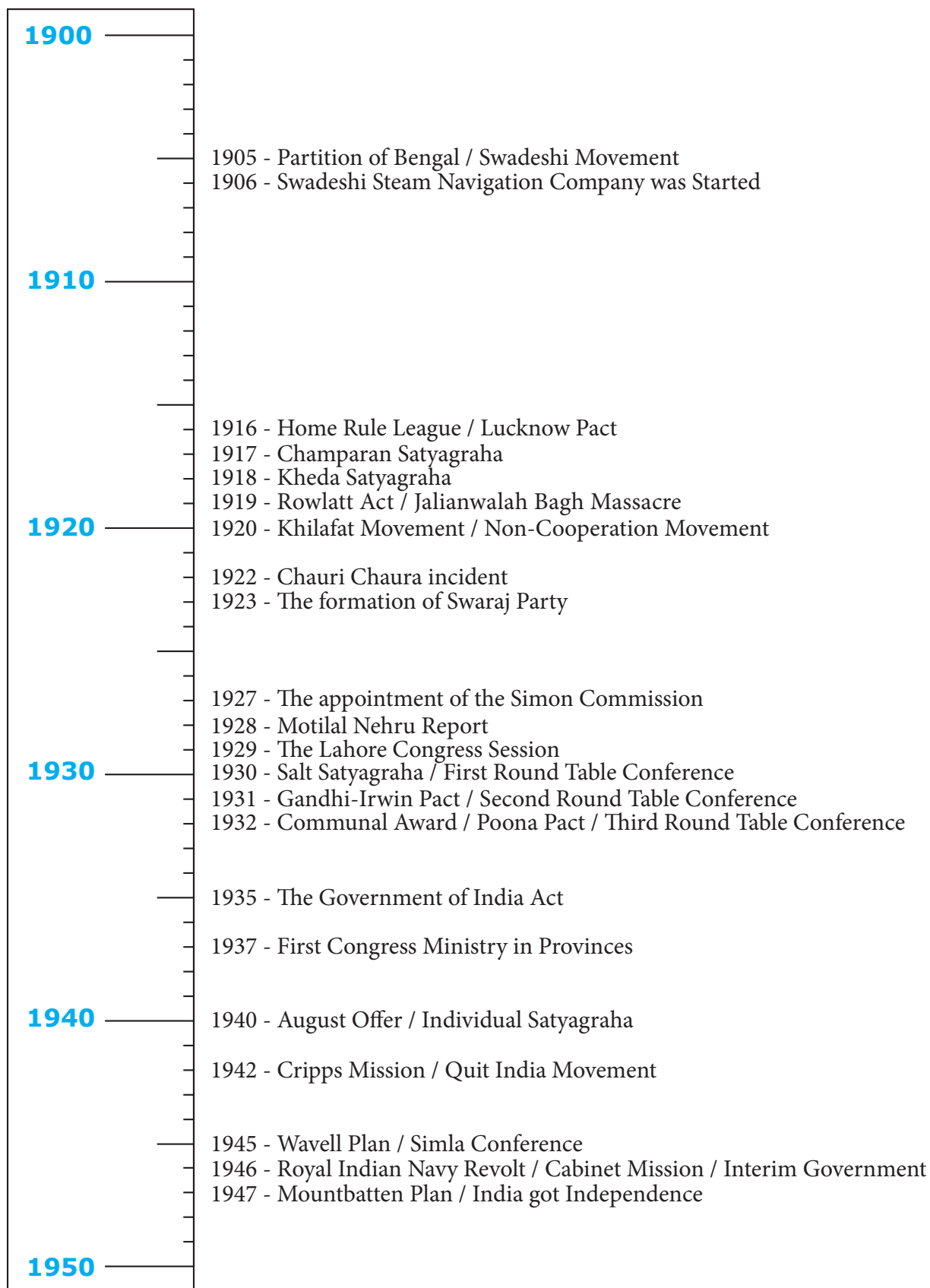
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TIME LINE

1 unit = 10 years

Important Events of Indian National Movement (1900-1947)



TIME LINE

1 unit = 10 years

Important Events of World History (1900-1950)

