Chapter-1

Nationalism in Europe

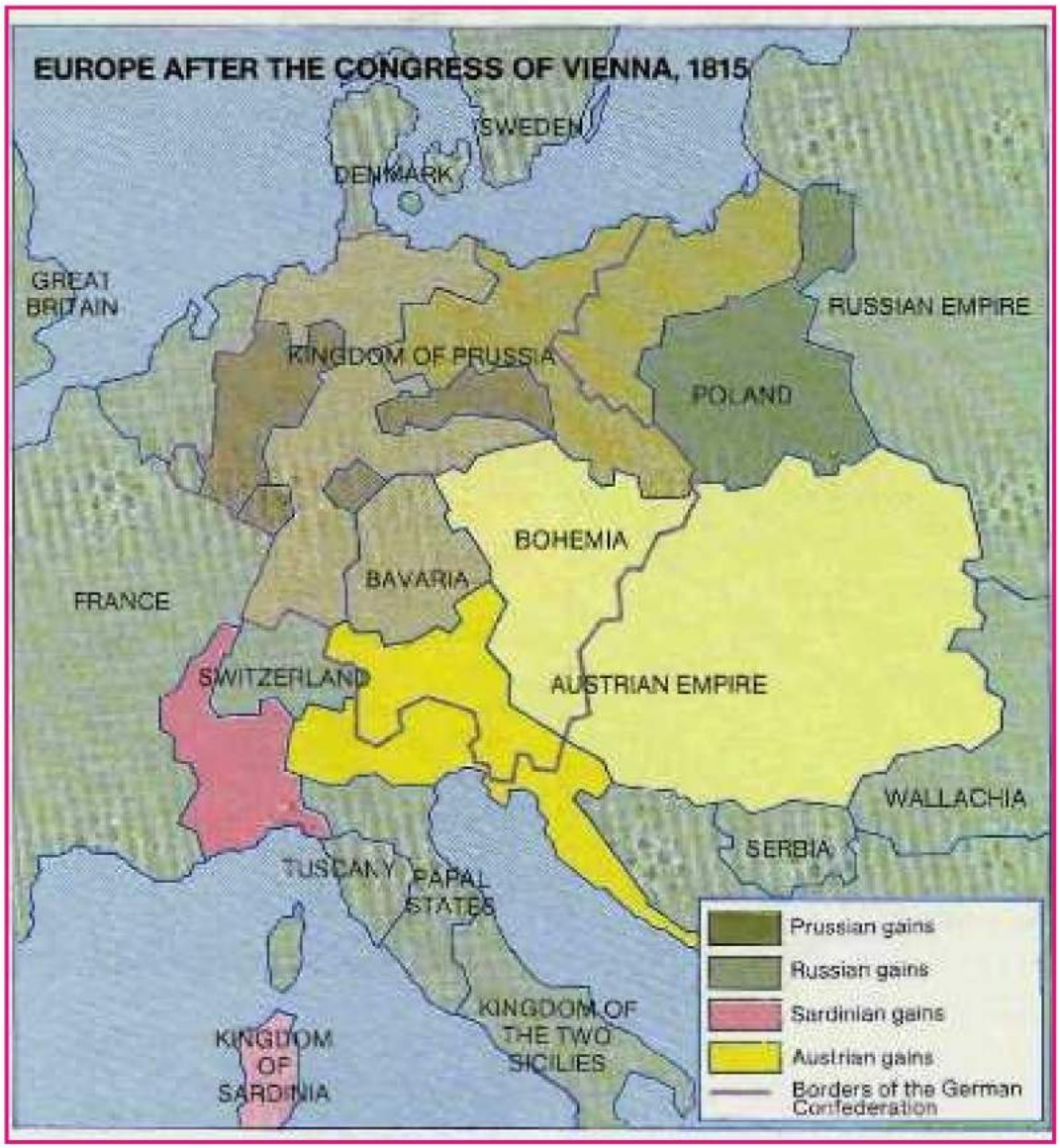
Nationalism is the outcome of the political awakening of modern world. This is a feeling that becomes the bearer of unity among the people of a definite geographical, cultural or social environment.

The feeling of nationalism in Europe had started to emerge since the age of renaissance. But it emerged in a developed form from the French Revolution, 1789. In 19th century it appeared in advanced and aggressive form. Its causes were adequate and result also remained epoch-making.



Napoleon

In the development of the feeling of nationalism in Europe, State revolution of France, thereafter Napoleon's attacks presented very important contribution. The French Revolution taking the politics out of the aristocratic environment, made it a thing of newspapers, roads and public. The message of new era reached in many states of Europe through Napoleon's campaign. Napoleon bringing the state of Germany and Italy out of the geographical boundary gave a real and political outline that paved the way for unification of Italy and Germany. On the other hand, due to Napoleon's policies, patriotic disturbance aroused in Europe against French paramount and possession. After Napoleon's downfall



the victorious allies assembled in Vienna, the Capital of Austria, in 1815. The objective of the Conference was to re-establish the system that was totally disturbed by Napoleonic wars and victories.

But the diplomats attending the conference remained incapable of observing the new powers of democracy and nationalism that had been emerging as determinant of politics in a new form.



Metternich

The Vienna conference of 1815 was hosted by Austrian Chancellor Metternich who was a great reactionary. In this conference the European powers like Britain Russia, Prussia and Austria unitedly made such a system the main goal of which was to establish the peace that was totally disturbed by Napoleon's war. The main objective of the Metternich system was to oppose republic and democracy that was contribution of the French Revolution and to establish the ancient regime. Thus through Vienna conference, the age of Napoleon came to an end and beginning of Metternich era started. Metternich divided Italy into many states to establish his impact over it. The region of Sicily and Naples was given to Ferdinand of Bourbon dynasty.

Rome and the states around it were handled over to Pope. Sovereignty of Austria was established on Lombardy and Venetia. Province of Parma, Modena and Tuscany was given to Habsburg dynasty and Geneva and Sardinia were attached to Piedmont state. The federation of 39 states sustained in Germany upon which authority of Austria was indirectly established and every possible effort was made to stop the awakening of the feeling of nationalism among them. Metternich too re-established the ambient regime in France. Thus Vienna Conference was victory of reactionist powers. But this system did not prove sustainable and soon the feeling of nationalism spread in Europe and almost all countries of Europe were influenced by it.

To establish the system prior to the revolution in France under Vienna provisions Bourbon dynasty was restored and Louis XVIII became the king of France. He understood the changed circumstances of France and did not try to impose the ancient regime over French people. He tried to maintain harmony between the reactionist and reformist powers and for this purpose the constitutional declaration was issued by the emperor on 2nd June, 1814, that continued in France till 1848. Some amendments were made in it in the regime of Charles-X but its result came as the Revolution of 1830.

Revolution of July 1830:

Charles-X was a despotic and reactionist ruler who worked to supress the emerging nationalism and democratic feelings in France. In his regime he created many stalemates in the way of constitutional democracy. He made reactionist Polygenic as the Prime Minister. Polygenic established powerful aristocracy instead of uniform civil code founded by Louis 18th and tried to adorn with special powers. The liberals felt this move Poignancy as a challenge and a conspiracy against revolution. Representation to the house and other liberals expressed serious dissatisfaction against Polygenic. As a response to this protest, Charles-X tried to strangle the liberal elements through four ordinances on 25th July, 1830. The wave of revolution spread in France against these ordinances and civil war started in France on 28th July, 1830. Consequently, Charles-X, renouncing the throne, migrated to England and thus the rule of Bourbon dynasty in France came to an end.

As a result of the revolution of July, 1830 in France, the throne was handed over to Orleans dynasty. The ruler of this dynasty Louis Philippe had got power through the liberals, journalists and the people of Paris. So his policies remained in favour of the liberals and pro constitutional republic.

Effects of 1830 revolution.

Thus the July revolution was indicator of the phenomenon that the effect of fanatic state authorities was decreasing in the country. In fact the revolution was the contribution of the principles of middle class and public sovereignty. The revolution revived the principles of the French Revolution and proved the objectives of the Vienna Congress baseless. The impact had been on entire Europe and the way the efflorescence of nationalism and patriotism appeared, paved the way of political unification of all European nations, constitutional reforms and development of nationalism. Unification of Germany and Italy happened and movement started in Greece, Poland and Hungary due to the impact of nationalism with regard to the pravating

system. Later on people started to oppose Louis Philippe, that prepared background of another revolution in France.

The revolution of 1848:

Louis Philippe was a liberal but highly ambitious king. To make his opponents happy, following the policy of 'Golden Mean' he appointed Guizot, as Prime Minister in 1840, who was a staunch reactionist. He was against any type of legal and economic reforms. He liked association of the capitalist class who had no interest in the matters of government and who were in minority also. He had neither any reformative programme nor was he getting any success in the foreign policy. During his regime hunger and unemployment were increasing in the country that caused criticism of Guizot. Under leadership of Thiers the reformists organised a great feast in Paris on 22 February, 1848. Barricades were erected on many places and Louis Philippe was compelled to leave the throne. Louis Philippe abdicated the throne on 24th February and migrated to England. After that the national assembly declaring republic gave right to vote to every male adult above 21 years and guaranteed right to job. Lamartine became the leader of republicans and Louis became the leader of reformists. Soon differences started between them and Louis-Napoleon became the monarch of France.

The revolution not only terminated the ancient regime but also influenced Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, Poland, Ireland and England. The liberals of Italy and Germany availed advantage of increasing public dissatisfaction and pushed forward the demands of establishing the nation-state through national unification that was based on the principles of constitutional democracy.

Unification of Italy:

In the beginning of 19th Century Italy was merely a geographical expression, having many independent states. For this reason



Italy before Unification



Italy after Unification

there was sense of alienation. Besides geographical problem, there were many problems to establish Italy as a nation. As the foreign nations like France and Austria had interference in Italy, their resistance in the way of unification was inevitable. Here the capital, Rome, was also in the influence of Pope. Pope's wish was that the unification of Italy would happen in his leadership from religious point of view rather than in the leadership of rulers. Besides there were many economic and administrative discrepancies.

In spite of that nationalism had been developing in Italy since the beginning of 19th century. The effect of the incidents happening in France was clearly leaving influence on Italy. Napoleonic military campaigns indirectly gave important contribution in renaissance and unification of Italy. After victory of Italy, Napoleon formed three republics out of it as Sispine Republic, Ligurian, and Transpeden. He revamped the communication system and brought the whole area under one rule. So awakening emerged there through these reasons. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 with the aims of bringing Italy into previous form under Vienna Congress 1815 two states of Italy, Piedmont and Sardinia were unified. Thus the course of Italy's unification started to be decided.

For constitutional reforms civilian movements began to start in some part of Italy from 1820. A secret group 'Carbonari' was founded by nationalist. Objective of the group was to destroy monarchy through gorilla war and to establish republic. The celebrated nationalist leader Joseph Mazzini was also associated to this party. Italy could not remain isolated from the effect of the French Revolution of 1830 and here too the civilian movements started. Mazzini using these civilian movements tried to establish a unified republic in Northern and Middle Italy. But these nationalist civilian movements were supressed by the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, and Mazzini had to leave Italy.

Mazzini:



Mazzini

Mazzini was a man of literature, supporter of republican thoughts and an able military general. But he had no better understanding of the then political circumstances. So he had more idealistic qualities than practical qualities. He did not surrender ever after his defeat. In 1831 he founded an organisation named young Italy that took important pass in formation of modern Italy. His goal was to remove the foreign interference from Italian peninsula and establishment of a united republic. By organising an organisation, young Europe, in 1834, Mazzini encouraged the national movements going on in other countries of Europe also. In 1848 when period of revolution came in Europe, including France, Metternich had also to leave Austria finally. After that Mazzini re-entered in the politics of Italy. Mazzini wanted to found a republic by unifying entire Italy while the ruler of Sardinia Piedmont, Charles Albert, wanted Coalition of all states under his leadership on the other side. Pope was staunch champion of making Italy a religion-state. Thus due to conflict of thoughts the way of unification of Italy was blocked. Later on some parts of Italy were attacked by Austria and the ruler of Sardinia, Charles Albert was defeated. The public movement was suppressed by intervention of Austria. Thus Mazzini was again defeated and he fled away.

Second phase of Unification:

The efforts made for the unification of Italy by 1848, infact, remained unsuccessful, but due to these movements, public awakening had been increasing gradually and the feeling of nationalism was intensifying. The new ruler of Sardinia-Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel belonged to nationalist thought and through his effort the work of unification in Italy continued. For implementation of his policies, Victor appointed Count Cavour as Prime Minister.

Count Cavour :

Cavour was a successful diplomat and nationalist. He believed Austria as the biggest hurdle in the unification of Italy. So, he made friendship with France for defeating Austria. Cavour declared to participate in Creamien war 1853-54 from French side while France had not made any request. Cavour got direct advantage of it. After the end of the war Piedmont was also called along with France and Austria at the Paris peace conference. The importance of Cavour increased by it. This conference declared Austrian interference in Italy, illegal. This drew the attention of entire Europe towards Italy. Thus on the basis of his diplomacy Cavour made the problem of Italy as the problem of whole Europe.

Cavour made a treaty with Napoleon-III. Under that treaty France promised to provide military support to Piedmont against Austria. In return Cavour agreed to give two states Neisse and Segway to France. France reassured Cavour that in case the state of north and middle Italy would like to unite with Piedmont on the basis of referendum, France would not oppose it. Cavour was criticized for giving assurance to give Neisse and Segway states to France. He was blamed for trifling with the national pride of Italy. However it is important to note that till then Italy had not emerged as a nation. If by losing two states, the unification of northern and middle Italy could be done, then it was a very big achievement, because in Cavour's view the unification of Italy was not possible without French support.

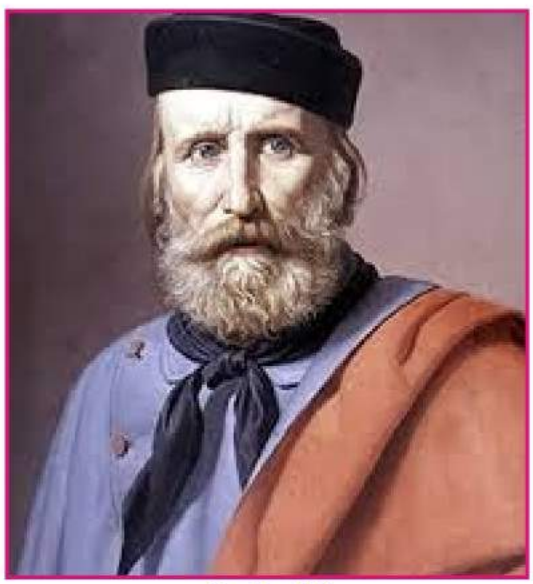
In the mean time in 1859-60 war started between Austria and Piedmont over border dispute. France sent his military in favour of Italy and for that reason the Austrian army was badly defeated. Piedmont got possession over a big Austrian state Lombardy. On the one side the war lingered and on the other hand Napoleon started worrying due to Italian nationalism because the people of North and Middle Italy on a large scale in support of Cavour were doing agitation for unification.



Count Cavour

Napoleon was not ready for this circumstance. So just after getting over Venetia Napoleon withdrew his forces. After withdrawing from war Napoleon-III accepted the matter of arbitration between Austria and Piedmont. Thus, according to treaty Piedmont's possession over Lombardy and Austria's possession over Venetia was accepted. Finally, Italy resulted in a large state. But the attention of Cavour was over unification of Northern and middle Italy. By giving temptation of Napoleon for transferring Seaway province to Linn Cavour received his assurance for keeping France passive in Austria-Piedmont war and not opposing the emergence of Italian states in Piedmont. In return Napoleon put a condition that referendum would be done in the states that would merge. As the mass of these states was in favour of Piedmont so Cavour showing diplomatic intellect, accepted the condition. Cavour, in 1860-61, barring Rome only, annexed all states of North and Middle Italy (Parma, Modena, Tuscany etc.) and ratified it by referendum. By the fear of the support of France and England to Piedmont, Austria could not take any action. On the other hand Austria had been facing the problem of

Unification of Germany. Thus, by 1862, except South Italy, Rome and Venetia, all states had merged in Rome and all accepted Victor Emanuel as their ruler.



Garibaldi

Garibaldi:

In the meantime the great revolutionary 'Garibaldi' was trying hard for the unification of Southern Italian states and establishment republic through armed revolution. By profession Garibaldi was a navigator and a supporter of Mazzini's thoughts but later on coming under the influence of Cavour he became staunch supporter of constitutional monarchy. He organised an armed force of his employees and volunteers. With the help of his army he attacked Sicily and Naples - the states of Italy. Most of the people of these states, being fed up with the despotic rule of Bourbon dynasty, became supporter of Garibaldi. He founded republican government here and took the command of power as the representative of Victor Emmanuel. In 1862 he made a plan to attack on Rome. Cavour opposed this campaign of Garibaldi and despatched army from Piedmont to protect Rome. In the meantime Garibaldi met Cavour and he abandoned the plan. Garibaldi gave over the war area of southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel without any treaty. Victor Emmanuel proposed Garibaldi to be the ruler of southern region. Garibaldi turned down the offer. He rendered all his property to nation and started life like our ordinary farmer. Due to this sense of omission and sacrifice the Character of Garibaldi was highly publicised during Indian freedom struggle and Lala Lajpat Ray wrote his biography.

Unfortunately Cavour died in 1862 and so he too could not see the unification of whole Italy. Victor Emmanuel himself did the unification of the rest of Italy in the form of Rome and Venetia. In 1870-71 war broke out between France and Prussia, it was not possible for France to give protection

to Pope. Victor Emmanuel took advantage of this situation. Pope confined himself in the fort of Vatican city. Victor Emmanuel, barring the King's palace, annexed the rest part of Rome into Italy and made it his capital. The pope immediately accepted the situation. The problem was finally solved by Mussolini when by making an agreement he accepted the position of Vatican.

Thus unification of Italy was completed till 1871 due to contributions of nationalist leaders like Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi and ruler like Victor Emmanuel.

Unification of Germany:

During the unification of Italy, similar processes were going on in German region also. Therefore, unification of both the countries completed almost along same time.



Unification of Germany (1866-71)

Germany being organised in medieval period (800 AD) under leadership of Charlemagne remained in a strengthening state for a longer period. But by the modern era to come Germany was completely a fragmented state. Comprising around 300 big and small states, political, social and religious disparities were present among them. In the north German states where the protestants were in majority, Prussia was the most powerful state and the influence was maintained. On the other hand in South Germany, Diet, the house of representatives of Catholic dominated states, was functional, where they used to meet. But they lacked sense of German nationalism, that is why there was no issue of unification before them. Literally, the credit for making background of unification of Germany goes to Napoleon Bonaparte because he winning the German provinces in 1806, formed confederation of the Rhine states and from here the sense of nationalism was growing gradually.

In the meantime in Germany, the intellectuals, farmers, and arbitrates like Hegel Count, Humboldt, Undert, Jacob Green etc. encouraged the German nationalism. Hegel played his role in the development of German nationalism by explaining his historical dialectics. The chancellor of Prussia, Bismarck, was very much impressed by Hegel. Under awakened nationalism through his poetry, Hardenberg and Novo lice put the glorious past of Germany before them. The Painters illuminated the German culture. They encouraged nationalism through their live pictures of heroes and heroines of the movement. Thus now Germany too became ready to enter the modern era by completely coming out of the feudalistic system. There was great contribution of Educational institutions and students also in the national movement of Germany. With the aim of German unification, teachers and students, founded an organisation (Bruschen Shaft' (German: Youth Association). Jena University in Wilmer state was the centre of national movement. Though Metternich, passed repressive laws 'Carlsbad Decrees', to suppress the movement, but still the strong stream of nationalism was flowing in Germany and it assisted to proceed the work of integration.

The economic condition of unification was taking form in this context. The German merchants, under Prussian leadership, formed an economic federation 'Zollverein' for business equality. It is said that the federation,

crushing the regional habits, promoted nationalist tendencies. In spite of that the Germans had not yet organised. The French Revolution of 1830 definitely encouraged a bit the German nationalist sentiments. In the states of Saxony and Hanover, democratic rebellion had started but Prussia and Austria jointly suppressed it.

The French Revolution 1848 once again provoked the German nationalism. On the other revolution ended the era of Metternich also. At that time the German nationalists called in the meeting of old parliament at Frankfurt and it was decided that Frederick William, the ruler of Prussia, will lead German nation and entire German states would be unified under him together with the theory of governance of democratic legal kingship would be adopted. But Fredrick, who was despotic ruler with conservative thought, disagreed to accept this system. Because he clearly wanted to avoid Austrian conflict. Some other southern states of Germany were also against this proposal of unification. Due to this deadlock the way of unification was disrupted. Together with this the situation of revolt emerged in German states, that Austria and Prussia supressed through their joint efforts.

Now, Prussia had understood that unification of Germany could be done only in its leadership so it began to increase its military power. In the meantime Fredrick died and his brother William took the throne of Prussia. He was a supporter of nationalist thoughts. As a result of his reforms the pace of industrial revolution in Germany became fast, and great improvement was registered in the basic infrastructures. Whereby the effort of German nation to be unified into gained in pace. Keeping in mind the objectives of unification, William appointed the great diplomat Bismarck as his Chancellor.

Bismarck:

Bismarck who was a representative of Prussia in German Diet, was from the very beginning influenced by Hegel's thoughts and had been giving regular introduction of his successful diplomacy in the German Parliament (Diet). He supported the absolute monarchy fully engaged in the effort of unification of Germany. It was his diplomatic success that all, be the liberal nationalists or the conservative nationalist, thought him the supporter of their thoughts.

Bismarck understood the importance of military power. So he adopted the 'blood and iron policy'. He meant that the unification of Germany was possible only through military means. He enforced compulsory military service in his country. Later on in 1830 he started to oppose Austria-Prussia treaty, in which Germany was not be unified under Prussia. For this reason, now the sentiment of German unification under Prussia began to gain momentum.



Bismarck

Bismarck reinforced Prussia through his policies and so now Prussia was not less than Austria in any affairs. Then Bismarck together with Austria attacked Denmark in 1864 on the issues of Schleswig and Holstein states. Because both the stats were in the possession of Denmark. After victory Schleswig came in to the control of Prussia and Austria received Holstein. As in both the states the population of Germans was fairly large, so Prussia, instigating the national sentiment, spread rebellion. To check the rebellion, the Austrian army had to cross the Prussian region but Prussia stopped Austria to do so. Though under the policy of Bismarck to wage a war with Austria was inevitable but he wanted to prove Austria aggressive so he had made a compromise with France earlier to remain France neutral in Austria-Prussia war. For this he had promised to give some areas to France. Bismarck made a treaty with the Italian under Victor Emmanuel, according to that Italy had to attack on Austrian region in Austria-Prussia war. Being upset with humiliation and insult, finally Austria declared war in Seduva against Prussia in 1866 and Austria being indulged in war from both side was badly defeated. Thus the influence of Austria from German region completely finished and two-third work of German unification was completed.

For the unification of the rest of Germany, it was necessary to wage a war with France because in terms of the southern states of Germany, France could have interfered. In the meantime the matter of throne emerged in

Spain, upon which there was natural claim of the Prince of Prussia. But France openly opposed the claim and got a written commitment from Prussia in this context. Bismarck released the matter in press distortedly. Consequently the German nationalists began to oppose it openly. Being angry to this the French ruler Napoleon declared war against Prussia on 19th June, 1870 and the French got an ignominious defeat in the battle of Sedan. Thereafter peace was maintained between the two nations through the Treaty of Frankfurt on 10th May, 1871. Thus in the very Sedon war there was downfall of a super power and emergence of another super power Germany. And finally by 1871 in the form a unified nation got place on the political map of Europe.

This nationalism not only ensured emergence of two big states rather it caused political turmoil among other nations of Europe also. Actually in its core was the sense of nationalism and the emergence of democratic thoughts. The freedom movement in Hungary, Bohemia and Greece was the outcome of this nationalism. The influence of this ended the story of downfall of Ottoman Empire. The spread of nationalism in Balkan region organised the Slavs and gave birth to Serbia.

Rise of Nationalism in Greece:

The Greek national movement can be seen in this context. There has been dignified history of Greece and by which it was considered as the main source of occidental culture.

The literary development of Greek culture and the achievement in the field of thought, philosophy, art, medical science were source of inspiration for the Greeks. Taking inspiration from it in the age of renaissance the occidental countries started their progress. But in spite of that Greece was in the control of Turkish Empire.

The wave of nationalistic spirit was awakened. From the influence of French revolution the wave of nationalistic spirit awoke among the Greeks because their identification on the basis of religion, caste and culture was same.

The Christian world was divided into Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic. Russia and Greece were supporter of Greek Orthodox.

Consequently movements were started to get it separated from Turkey. For they founded an organisation named 'Hetaerae Philike' in Odessa. The objective of this organisation was to expel the Turkish government from Greece and make it an independent country. To lead the revolution the powerful group of bourgeoisie had also emerged in Greece.

For the whole of the Europeans, Greece was synonymous with inspiration and respect and for its independence all its citizen in spite of the neutrality of the government, were ready. The great poet of England, Lord Byrne, died in Greece for the independence of Greeks. And due to this wave of sympathy for independence of Greece started to spread in whole of the Europe. Here Russia out of imperialist ambitious and religious unity was the supporter of Greece.

The situation of Greece became explosive when the Turkish rulers started to badly crush the people related to Greek freedom struggle. A rebellion started in Greece in 1821 in the leadership of Alexander Ypsilanti. The Czar of Russia, Alexander, was personally in favour of Greek nationalism but due to pressure of the reactionist ruler Metternich of Austria he did not want to come in front openly. When the new Czar Nicholas came into power, he openly supported the Greeks. In 1826 Great Britain and Russia made an agreement to mediate the Turku-Greece dispute. Charles-X of France, also started to take interest in the independence of Greece. A conference was convened in London in 1827, and in the conference England, France and Russia decided to take joint action to support Greece against Turkey. Thus the joint military of three countries assembled in the bay of Navarino against Turkey. Only the Egyptian army came in support of Turkey. The army of Egypt and Turkey was badly defeated in the war and finally the treaty of Adrianople was signed in 1829, under which in nominal sovereignty of Turkey was a matter of giving autonomy to Greece. But the Greek nationalist declined to accept the matter of the treaty. On the other hand England and France wanted Greece to make an independent country than the Russia influence over it. Consequently in 1832 Greece was declared as an independent country. The ruler of Bavaria, Otto, was declared king of independent Greece. This took the effect of Russia from Greece.

Hungary:

The form of diffusion of nationalist sentiments appears in Hungary also. Austria had full control over Hungary. National movements started here

also with the influence of 1848 revolution. The revolution was led by revolutionaries like Cosset and Francis Dick. Cosset was the supporter of Democratic thoughts. He began to access his thoughts of classless society to people, but it was banned. There was special effect of the down fall of Louis Philippe on the nationalist movement of Hungary. Cosset began to oppose the Austrian authority and demanded change in the system. Both the people of Austria and Hungary had impact of this, and it led to the movements in favour of nationalism.

Finally, on 31st March, 1848 the Austrian government accepted most of the demands of Hungary under which the demand for independent council of ministers was accepted. Only members of Hungary only were included to it. The press got freedom and national security army was founded. Feudal system was abolished and demand for convening the meeting of house of representatives (Diet) every year in the capital Budapest was also accepted. Thus these movements provided national pride to Hungary.

Poland:

In Poland too, rebellion started against the Russian government due to nationalist sentiments. There was a wide impact of the 1830 revolution on the liberals of this country. But it could not get help of England and France. So, the Russia suppressed the Polish rebellion.

Bohemia:

Bohemia, that was in the control of Austrian rule was influenced by the Hungarian development. The demand of self-government of the multi-fold Czech people was accepted but the movement took a violent form but the revolutionaries were severely subdued by Austria. Thus the achievements of revolutionary movement going on in Bohemia could not sustained.

Outcome:

The development of sentiment of nationalism in Europe started from the womb of French revolution that took a concrete shape in the form of the unification of European states. As a result of that, many big and small states emerged.

The negative aspects of nationalist tendencies came openly on the fore in the form of 'nationalism' by the end of the second half of the 19th century. Nation became everything for the people and the ruler of every nation. They became ready to cross any limit for it. As a consequence of that this sense was growing even in the small states and caste groups of Balkan region. On the other side the sense of nationalism in big European states like, Italy, Germany, France, England increased to such an extent that imperialist sentiments spread among them. Although for these imperialist tendencies, the industrial revolution in Europe was equally responsible as were the other causes. This tendency, for the first time targeted the Asian and African countries where European countries established their colonies. The base of the industrial revolution was the exploitation of these countries. Due to this tendency Ottoman empire was destroyed and the whole Balkan region turned into a battle field.

The spread of nationalism in Europe awakened not only Europe but whole of the world and therefore, the wave of nationalism aroused in the Asian and African colonies for freedom against foreign authority. In this context even in India, the message of European nationalism had started to reach. Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, was highly influenced from the French Revolution of 1789. Under this influence he also got a Jacobin club established and became himself a member of that organisation. It is also said that he had got planted a tree in Shrirangapattanam as a symbol of independence. On the other hand the leaders of the socio-religious reforms movements going on in 19th Century also began to awaken the national feelings. For example Raja Ram Mohan Roy himself took much interest in international events. Due to his thoughts for independence, humanism and nationalism he expressed deep sorrow in 1821 over the failure of the revolution of Naples and threw a dinner in 1823 over the success of the Spanish freedom movement. In India, the element of nationalism appeared from the revolution of 1857.

Thus the sense of nationalism born in Europe, first influenced Europe and Finally left impact on entire world. This changed the political map of Europe and many colonies got independence simultaneously.

EXERCISE

Objective Questions:

There are four options as the answer of the following questions. Put a tick (√) mark that you feel is the most suitable one.

1. Under which continent do Italy and Germany belong to?
   (a) North America (b) South America
   (c) Europe (d) West Asia

2. Which dynasty was restored in France under Vienna Congress?
   (a) Habsburg (b) Aralia dynasty
   (c) Bourbon dynasty (d) Tsar Royal

3. With which organisation was Mazzini associated?
   (a) Red Army (b) Carbonari
   (c) Phillik Hetaria (d) Diet

4. Which among the following was against unification of Italy and Germany?
   (a) England (b) Russia
   (c) Austria (d) Prussia

5. On which post Victor Emmanuel appointed 'Count Kavoour'?
   (a) Army Chief (b) Ambassador in France
   (c) Prime Minister (d) Home Minister

6. What was Garibaldi by profession?
   (a) Sepoy (b) Farmer
   (c) Landlord (d) Sailor

7. Who founded the German Rhine state?
   (a) Louis 18^{th} (b) Napoleon Bonaparte
   (c) Napoleon III (d) Bismarck

8. Zolverine was an organisation of -
   (a) Revolutionaries (b) Merchants
   (c) Learneds (d) Father lords

9. Who started the policy of 'blood and iron'?
   (a) Mazzini (b) Hitler
   (c) Bismarck (d) William-I

10. When was the treaty of Frankfurt signed?
   (a) 1864 (b) 1866
   (c) 1870 (d) 1871

11. Literature and knowledge of science of which country inspired Europeans?
   (a) Germany (b) Greece
   (c) Turkey (d) England

12 Which country did the treaty of Adriano in 1829?
   (a) Turkey b) Greece
   (c) Hungary (d) Poland

Fill in the blanks in the following:

1. In the ..... war there was downfall of a super power and emergence of another European Super power Germany.

2. The battle of Sandown was fought between ..... and .....

3. The French Revolution in 1848 ended the age of ..... also.

4. The castle of Vatican City where ..... lived, remained safe from Italy's .....

5. After declaring Greece an independent nation the ruler of Baberia ..... was declared emperor of Greece.

6. ..... is the capital of Hungary.

Match the following groups:

I.

Group 'A'	Group 'B'
1. Mazzini	(a) Philosopher
2. Hagel	(b) Italy
3. Bismarck	(c) Politician
4. Victor Emmanuel	(d) German Chancellor

I.

Group 'A'	Group 'B'
1. Vienna Conference	(a) 1871 A.D.
2. Downfall of Metternich	(b) 1870 A.D.
3. Unification of Italy	(c) 1848 A.D.
4. Battle of Sandown	(d) 1815 A.D.

I.

Group 'A'	Group 'B'
1. Kousuth	(a) 1863 A.D.
2. Treaty of Adrian's Pole	(b) Hungarian nationalist leader
3. Independence of Greece	(c) 1829 A.D.
4. Movement in Poland	(d) 1832 A.D.

Very short answer question (answer in 20 words):

1. What is nationalism?
2. Who was Mazzini?
3. What were the restraints in Unification of Germany
4. What is the Metternich age?

Short answer questions (answer in 60 words):

1. What were the causes of French Revolution 1848?
2. What was the role of Austria in the unification of Italy and Germany?
3. How was Napoleon Bonaparte helpful in escalation of nationalism in Europe.
4. Discuss the works of Garibaldi?
5. Unification of Germany for Bismarck was impossible without William-I. How?

Long answer questions (answer in around 150 words):

1. State the contributions of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi in the unification of Italy.
2. Explain the role of Bismarck in the Unification of Germany.
3. Discuss the causes and effects of the emergence of nationalism.
4. Give details of July 1830 revolution.
5. Give short description of Greece independence movement.

Classroom discussion:

1. Study the changes that came in the map of Europe due to nationalism.
2. Discuss with teachers the development of nationalism and explain its spread around the world.

Chapter-2

Socialism and Communism

Socialism is an ideology which adds a new dimension to the society in modern era. As a result of the industrial revolution, regular exploitation of the labourers by the capitalists was on its climax. Socialist ideology played an important role in raising the voice against this exploitation and establishing classless society. Socialism lays emphasis on the equal distribution of wealth or collective ownership in place of individual ownership. The establishment of exploitation free society is its motto. So socialist system is such an economy in which all means of production, factories and exchange are under the government. In this system the production is not meant for individual benefit but for the whole society.

The origin of socialism:

Socialism rose as a result of industrial revolution in the 18th century. Industrial revolution totally changed the economic system of all the nations. Mechanization and capitalism developed on a large scale in place of cottage industries and the lives of the labourers in all the countries gradually got hellish due to selfishness of the capitalists and anti-labourer policies of the mill-owners. Their economic and social status began to deteriorate. Labourers had no right and they were being cruelly exploited.

Thus two contradictory facts were invisible together in the countries affected with industrial revolution. Firstly, the capitalistic system was getting stronger day by day. The middle class was economically getting affluent. Secondly the economic condition of the labourers was falling rapidly. Thus a

main component of the productive process was compelled to starve. The labourers had no right to form their union. They were totally dependent on the mercy of the capitalists. Thus it can be said that the society was economically divided into two classes:

(i) Capitalist class

(ii) Labourer class

When the labourers were passing through the situation of economic misery and social fall, they got the guidelines from some important patriots, thinkers and writers. They expanded a new ideology in the social and economic sphere which is known as 'socialism'. The names of Saint Simon, Fourier, Luis Blan, Robert Owen, Karl Marx and Engels are remarkable. These great thinkers criticised the economic system of European countries and expanded new theories regarding industrial organisation and mutual relationship between the capitalists and labourers.

In the historical point of view, modern socialism is divided into two stages : Pre-Marxist socialism and Post -Marxist socialism. Marxist thinkers named them Utopian socialism and scientific socialism. The view of the Utopian socialists was idealistic and the nature of their programme was not practical. Most of the Utopian thinkers were French who believed in peaceful change instead of revolution that is to say that they were in favour of class-co-ordination in place of class struggle.

Utopian Socialists:

The first Utopian socialist who played an important role in the development of socialist ideology was a French thinker, Saint Simon. He believed that both the state and society should be organised in such a way that they use the gifts of nature together in place of exploiting one another. The society should work for the physical and moral development of the poor. He declared 'to everybody, according to his capacity and according to his work'. Further it became the basic motto of socialism.

Another main Utopian thinker was Charles Fourier. He was opponent of modern industrialism and he believed that the labourers should work in small cities and towns. He exposed a plan to make phalanxes for the farmers. But this planning failed.

Among the Utopian thinkers the only person who also participated in politics was Luis Blan. His improvement programmes were more practical. He believed that political reformation is necessary for making the economic improvement effective.



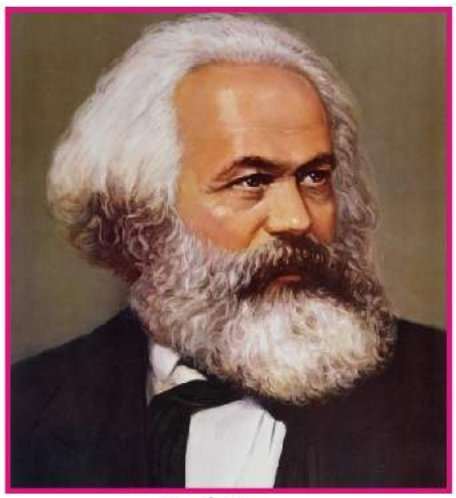
Robert Ovan

Outside of France, the main Utopian thinker was Robert Owen, a British industrialist. He established a factory at New Lunark in Scotland. In his factory he gave handsome payment facilities to the workers and felt that his profit increased by doing so. So he came into a conclusion that a satisfied worker is a true worker.

But the above mentioned thinkers unlike intellectual thinkers believed in the basic goodness of human and completeness of the world. They emphasized on class co-ordination in place of class struggle. Still these thinkers contributed a lot. Firstly, these are the first thinkers who made their efforts to solve the problems of relationship between capital and labour. Secondary, Marx got lesson from his failure and proceeded ahead of them.

Karl Marx (1818-1883):

Karl Marx was born on 5th May, 1818 in Trier city of Rhineland in Germany in a Jew family. His father Heinrich Marx was a famous lawyer who afterward adopted Christianity. Marx got education in law at the Bonn University but in 1836 he moved to Berlin University where his life got a new turn. Marx was impressed with the ideology of Hegel. He married to his childhood friend Jenny in 1843. He studied the ideologies of Montesquieu and Russo and political and social history intensively. Karl Marx met Fredrick



Karl Marx

Engels in Paris in 1844 who became a close friend of him for the whole life. Being impressed with the ideology and works of Engels, Karl Marx also began to think about miseries of the labour class and their work situation. Marx along with Engels published a 'Communist Manifesto' in 1848 which is called the mother of socialism. Marx expressed his economic social and political ideology clearly in this manifesto. Marx is one of the thinkers of the world who immensely influenced the stream of history. Marx wrote 'Das Capital' in 1867 which is called 'the Bible of the socialists'.

Doctrines of Marx:

1. Theory of dialectic materialism
2. Theory of class struggle
3. The materialist interpretation of history
4. Theory of value and surplus value
5. Establishment of stateless and classless society

Historical materialism:

Karl Marx presented the materialist interpretation of history. He said that history is the story of continuous struggle between two classes for the control over the means of production. According to him, economic powers are the root of every event and change in history. Social organisation changed with every change in production system. There are five stages in history upto

now and the sixth one is yet to come. Thus, according to Marx there are six stages of history.

(i) Age of Primitive Communism

(ii) Slave age

(iii) Feudal age

(iv) Capitalist age

(v) Socialist age

(vi) Communist age

Marx and the first international:

The establishment of the First International in 1864 was a very important event in the history of socialist movement. The credit of its establishment goes to Marx. In his inaugural speech, Marx tried to convince the workers and said 'They can achieve their freedom themselves by their own efforts. As long as the means of production are in individual hands, the improvement in machine use of science in industries and improvement in production art cannot improve the situation of workers. So their last aim should be the destruction of capitalism. In this rally, the slogan "No work without right and no right without work" was shouted.

The second International:

To unify the socialist parties of different countries under an international organisation, a conference was held on 14th July, 1889 in Paris. About 400 representatives of 20 countries participated in it. It is known as the second international. The establishment of this union signifies the rapid expansion of Marxist socialism. It was decided in this conference that the fist May will be celebrated every year as a unity day of the working class. It was also decided that they would demand to fix a working day for eight hours. It

international secretariat was set up in Brussels. Lacs of workers of Europe and America went on strike on 1st May, 1890 and staged demonstration. Since then, the first May is celebrated as International Labourers' Day all over the world. The largest achievement of the second international was movements against militarism and war and emphasis on rights of national freedom and fundamental equality.

Thus the socialist movements got a strong base at international level and the workers began to hope and believe that a new world free from exploitation and harassment would come into existence.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917:

The Russian revolution is an important incidence in the history of the 20th century. This revolution not only tried to set up democracy after dismantling the Tsarist autocracy in Russia but also ended the powers of nobles, capitalists and Zamindars in social, economic and commercial sectors and established the powers of workers and peasants.



Zaar Nikolas-II

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia took place in 1917 in a real sense. This revolution made efforts in introducing a new socio-political system - Communism and make acceptance for the powers of the proletarians.



The map of Russia

The main causes of this revolution were as follows:

1. The autocracy and disable government of Tsar:

Before 1917, the Romnov dynasty ruled over Russia. This time the emperor of Russia was called 'Tsar'. There was a drastic political structure in Russia. By the middle of the 19th century, the political structure of Europe was changed and the powers of monarchy had been restrained. But the Russian monarchy was not ready to leave its privileges. Tsar Nicholas-II believed in the divine powers of the emperor. He did not care for the miseries and happiness of the common people. The bureaucracy of Tsar was instable, insensate and disable. Appointment was not done on the basis of merit. So due to wrong advisers, the arbitrariness of the Tsar grew up and the conditions of the people got bad to worse.

2. Pitiable condition of the Peasants:

Most of the population in Russia was of peasants, but their condition was very miserable. Though Tsar Alexander II ended the agricultural slavery in 1861, but the condition of the peasants did not improve. Their farms were small and they did cultivation in old methods. They lacked capital and were supressed with the burden of taxes. In such a situation the peasants had no option except revolution.

3. Miserable condition of the workers:

The conditions of the works in Russia were very miserable. They worked more but got less. They were ill-treated. So they were not satisfied with their conditions. The workers had no political right. They could not go on strike in support of their demands. The words of Marx "the workers have nothing to lose except their chains" give a true picture of their condition.

4. Problem of industrialisation:

The Russian industrialisation was different from the capitalist industrialisation. The main industries were centred in a few areas. There was a lack of national capital. So they were dependent on the foreign capital for the development of industries. The foreign capitalists were supporting the economic exploitation. So there was dissatisfaction all around.

5. Russianisation Policy

Soviet Russia was a country of different nationalities. The people of Slav caste mainly resided there. Besides them, Fin, Paul, German, Jews and many other castes lived there. They spoke different languages and their rituals were also different. But the minority grouping Russia was annoyed with the policy of Rusianisation which Tsar Nicholas-II passed. According to it the Tsar tried to impose Russian language, education and culture on all the people of the country. This stirred the minorities. When the Polo rebelled against this policy, they were supressed brutally. Thus their fury against the monarchy was growing up.

6. Impact of Foreign Incidents:

i. **Creamien War:** The role of foreign incidents in Russian revolution was very important. At first the defeat of Russia in creamien war opened a new age of reforms in Russia. After that the Russia-Japan war in 1904-05 gave birth to the first revolution in Russia and lastly the First World War paved the way for Bolshevik revolution.

ii. **Defeat by Japan and revolution in 1905 :** Russia was badly defeated in the historical Russia-Japan war in 1905. Before it despotic Tsarist remained concealing his failure at different levels from the Russian people. But it was difficult to cancel this defeat from the people. When the rest of ragged army returned to Russia the whole country was taken aback. The confusion of greatness tattered. Russia was defeated by a small country of Asia. Really, due to this defeat, a revolution broke out in Russia in 1905. On 9th January, 1905, a mob of people was moving towards the castle in Saint Pitersburgh demonstrating on road and shouting the slogan 'Give bread'. But the military of Tsar fired on unarmed people and thousands of them were killed. So January 22 (January 9, 1905 by old calendar) is known as 'Bloody Sunday' (red Sunday on rearing this massacre, the whole of Russia stirred with sensation). A large number of peasants took part in this revolution. At last the government submitted and a representational institution 'Duma' was formed in 1905. But as soon as the revolution was



Saint Petersburg



Duma

weakened by 1905, the Russian monarchy snatched some of the rights of the Duma. Though the revolution in 1905 failed, yet it remained inflamed inside which broke out in 1917 as a great revolution.

7. Influence of Marxism in Russia and contribution of intellectuals:

An intellectual revolution could be seen in Russia before the Russian revolution. Thinkers like Leo Tolstoy (Writer - War and Peace), Dostoyevsky, and Turgenev were encouraging a new idea. There was a great influence of Marxist socialist ideology on the industrial workers of Russia. The Marxists began to work within the workers and their organisation was growing up. The first communist of Russia was Plekhanov who wanted to establish communist system in Russia after finishing the Tsarist autocracy. He set up the Russian social democratic party in 1898. It was a precedent to the communist party. Very soon the party broke down in 1903 on the issue of facilities and discipline. Consequently, the group with majority was called Bolshevik and the minority are 'Menshevik'. The Menshevik was in favour of middle class revolution, but the Bolshevik favoured the proletarian revolution. Besides it, the socialist Revolutionary party was formed in 1901 which raised the demands of the peasants. Thus, the organisations of the workers and peasants were influenced with the Marxist ideology and became a great cause of Russian revolution.

Proletariat : Such a class of society that include farmers, labours and common poor people.

8. Immediate cause : the defeat of Russia in the First World War:

The First World War continued from 1914 to 1918. Russia joined this war with the allied countries. The only aim of joining this war was that the Russian people should forget the internal discontentment and get involved in external issues. But the Russian army was getting defeated all around. They had neither good weapons nor enough food. In the midst of war, Tsar Nicholas II took the command of military in his own hand. Consequently, the court got vacant and in his absence, Jarina (the wife of Tsar Nicholas-II) and his so called preacher Rasputin (priest) got a chance to hatch conspiracy against him. Due to it, the dignity of monarchy fell down.

March revolution and end of despotic monarchy:

The workers and peasants organised a procession on the roads of Petrograd (presently Leningrad) on 7th March, 1917 (22 February, 1917 by Old Russian calendar). They shouted a slogan 'Give bread'. Next day on March 8, the women workers of textile mills led a strike demanding 'bread' in which other workers also joined. There were lots of red flag in the procession. When the military was ordered to fire on the mob, they also revolted. So their weapons were taken back. The most reliable troop of Tsar 'Preobrazhensky regiment' also revolted. The revolts of military grew up. Consequently being helpless, the Tsar left the throne on 12 March, 1917.

Date of Russian revolution:

The Julian calendar was followed in Russia by 1st February 1918. Afterward the Russian Govt. adopted Gregorian calendar which is now used everywhere the Georgian calendar is 13 days ahead from the Julian calendar. So the February revolution took place on 12th March and the October revolution on 7th November. Similarly the revolution of 1905 took place on 22 January.

It was a Russian revolution of February because it took place on 27 February, according to the Old Russian calendar. Thus the Tsarist autocracy of Romanov dynasty ended in Russian. Now the bourgeoisie government was formed for the first time on 15th March under the leadership of Lobar. But the Russians desired not only for political freedom but for economic and social freedom also. So this bourgeoisie government was contrary to the immediate situations. At last this government fell down and a government of liberal socialists was formed under the leadership of Kerensky. The main aims of this government were to establish a democratic and constitutional government, to protect the individual property, to solve the land problem by the constituent assembly and to bring a change in all the institutions through legal measures. But the Bolsheviks did not accept this government.

March 8 was declared international women's day by the United Nations Organisation in 1975.

Bolshevik revolution (November 1917):



Lenin

This very time Lenin came into the scenario of the Russian political forum. The Tsarist government expatriated him and he was leading an exiled life in Switzerland. When a revolution broke out in March, 1917, he reached Russia with the help of Germany when he reached Petrograd in 1917, the people of Russia were filled with zeal. Lenin declared that the Russia revolution had not been completed yet, so the second revolution is inevitable. He made the programmes of the Bolshevik party as famous as an 'April thesis.' Lenin gave three slogans — Land, peace and bread. Lenin decided to dethrone Kerensky government forcibly. Both the military and the public joined hands with him. The Bolsheviks took the railway station, banks, post offices, telephone centres, courts and another government buildings of Petrograd under their capture. Now the powers of government came in the hands of the Bolsheviks and Lenin was appointed President. Trotsky became the foreign minister in this government. For the first time in the world, the powers of government came into the hands of the Proletarians.

After capturing the powers of the government, the responsibilities of Lenin and Bolshevik party grew up more. There were many complicated problems before Lenin. But he made great efforts to solve these problems. At first he signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. By this treaty, Soviet Russia had to lose its one-fourth land. But Lenin came out of the First World War and concentrated on internal problems of Russia. This time the problem of civil

war rose in Russia. America, Japan, Britain and France interfered with this problem and attacked Soviet Russia. Lenin encountered these opponents boldly. A huge Red Army was formed under the leadership of Trotsky. The Red Army faced the foreign invasion courageously. On the other hand, a spy police organisation named 'Czeka' was formed to supress the internal rebels. It suddenly raided the rebellions and arrested them. Lenin thus succeeded in supressing the rebels.

Lenin established a powerful central government. Russia was the first country in the world to establish socialist government and it made its new constitution in 1918. Now the name of Russia was changed into 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)'. Lenin formed representative governments in new states. Local committees named 'Soviet' were formed at the lowest level of the political organisations. A national congress was also formed with the members of all Soviets and the working power as given to a Central Committee. Lenin was the president of this committee. It was decided that the numbers of ministerial board should be elected from this very committee.



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

According to new constitution of Lenin, franchise was given to all citizens above 18 years who earned their livelihood by productive labour. Thus right to work was made a constitutional right. Individual ownership on the means of production was polished off and the industries came under the control of workers. Banks, large industries, water, transportation and railways were nationalised. The right of Church on education was ended and education was nationalised.



Trotsky

Thus Lenin changed the rules of governance and the name of the Bolshevik party was changed into the communist party. A national flag having sickle and hammer on the red flag was prepared. Afterward this flag became the symbol of communism.

Now the re-distribution of land was the problem before Lenin. He passed on order to redistribute the land of large landholders among the peasants. Though the peasants had already captured the land, this order of Lenin gave it validity only. This step of Lenin was criticised because the state has control over the land in socialist economy. But Lenin replied that the peasants were in majority and the Bolsheviks were in minority.

To solve the problem of production, Lenin implemented strategic communism. By this, Lenin controlled the technicians of the factories and production with the help of workers. Similarly the peasants were also controlled and grains was forcibly collected from the peasants. But a great reaction came forward against strategic communism in Russia. The peasants began to burn up their corns in the fear of forcible collection. Consequently the rate of production fell down in 1920-21. A great problem of livelihood came before crores of people. Somewhere there was a situation of

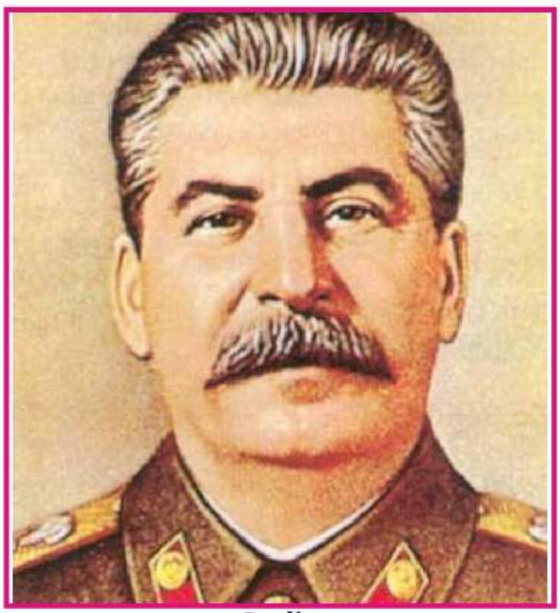
Starvation. In spite of help from the state and abroad, a large number of people began to die from hunger and thirst. Slogans against the revolution was also heard. So Lenin amended his policy which resulted in New Economic Policy (NEP).

New Economic Policy:

Lenin was not a visionary thinker but a skilful social thinker and practical politician. He obviously noticed that in present situation it was quite impossible to implement complete socialistic system or hit the capitalist world as Trotsky wanted. So he declared a new policy in 1921 in which he had to compromise with the Marxist values to a little extent. But really the aim of this policy was to take up practical measures taking lesson from past experiences. The main things of this policy were as follows:

1. A fixed tax was imposed in place of collecting grains from the peasants. The rest of the grains was of the peasants and they could use them as they liked.
2. Though theoretically the state possessed the land but practically it went into the hands of the peasants.
3. The industries having less than 20 employees could be run by individuals.
4. The industries were decentralised. A lot of rebate was provided for decision and execution.
5. Foreign capital was invited at a limit.
6. Individual property and life insurance were started by government agencies.
7. Banks were started at different levels.
8. The compulsory membership of trade union was disposed off.

By this new economic policy, Lenin controlled the shortage of production. As a result, agricultural and industrial production unexpectedly grew up. Though Lenin is criticised for this policy, he replied that going one step back after proceeding three steps is equal to be two steps ahead.



Stalin

When Lenin died in 1924, the problem of his successor came up. A serious conflict was on for power among different groups and leaders. Stalin won in this conflict. Trotsky was exiled in 1929. Almost all the leaders who played important roles in and after revolution were finished in the decade of 1930. Political democracy and the freedom of speech and press were destroyed. The conflict at the party level was not tolerated. Stalin was the Secretary General of the communist party and continued his dictatorship till his death in 1953. These incidents affected the formation of socialism in the Soviet Union badly and some characteristic which were against Marxism and humanitarian ideals of revolution rose up. Due to the curtailing of freedom, the development of art and literature was adversely affected.

But on the other hand by the tireless effort of Stalin, Russia emerged as a powerful country on the world forum. As a result of three-year planning, the development of Russian industries reached the climax. Agriculture was modernised and science developed. Before the end of the Second World War, Russia was considered a great power. Stalin along with Roosevelt and Churchill took part in the war time conferences. Thus contemptuous fearful and weak Russia emerged as a great power of the world only in three decades and the revolution took a strong root among the laborious people there.

Impact of Russian revolution:

1. After this revolution, the powers of workers i.e. proletarian class was established and it encouraged movements in other areas also.

Mikhail Gorbachev became president in 1985. He presented the conception or perestroika (reformation) and glasnost (openness)

2. After the Russian revolution, the world was divided into two ideological factions. Communist world and capitalist world. After it, Europe was also divided into two parts East Europe and West Europe. After the religious reformation movement and before the communist revolution, such a division on ideological basis had not been seen.

Soviet Union was dissolved in December 1991.

3. After the First World War, a cold war began between the capitalist world and Soviet Russia and for the four decades the emulation of weapons continued between the two lobbies.

Cold War:
This is an ideological war in which America was the leader of capitalist lobby and Soviet Russia of the communist lobby.

4. A new economic model existed as an economic planning after the Russian revolution. Further the capitalist countries also adopted this modal in a reformed way. Thus the nature of capitalism also changed.

5. This revolution encouraged freedom from colonial system in Asia and Africa because the communist government of Soviet Russia gave ideological support to the national movement in the countries of Asia and Africa.

EXERCISE

Objective type questions:

1. When did the agricultural slavery system in Russia come out of practice?
   (a) 1861 (b) 1862
   (c) 1863 (d) 1864

2. What does Tsar mean in Russia?
   (a) An utensil for drinking
   (b) A clay pot to put water
   (c) A feud of Russia
   (d) Emperor of Russia

3. Where was Karl Max born?
   (a) England (b) Germany
   (c) Italy (d) Russia

4. Where was the first experiment of the communist government started?
   (a) Russia (b) Japan
   (c) China (d) Cuba

5. Who was not a Utopian socialist?
   (a) Luis Clan (b) Saint Simon
   (c) Karl Marx (d) Robert Owen

6. Who wrote 'War and Peace'?
   (a) Karl Marx (b) Tolstoy
   (c) Dostoevsky (d) Engels

7. When did the Bolshevik revolution take place?
   (a) February, 1917 (b) November, 1917
   (c) April, 1917 (d) 1905

8. Who formed the Red Army?
   (a) Karl Marx (b) Stalin
   (c) Trotsky (d) Kerensky

9. When did Lenin die?

   (a) 1921 (b) 1922

   (c) 1923 (d) 1924

10. Which countries were involved in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk?

    (a) Russia and Italy (b) Russia and France

    (c) Russia and England (d) Russia and Germany

Fill in the gaps:

1. .....was the ruler during Russian revolution.
2. ..... led the Bolshevik revolution.
3. New Economic policy was implemented in .....
4. Robert Owen was the resident of .....
5. ..... was considered the father of scientific socialism.

Very short answer type questions (Answer in about 20 words):

1. What is capitalism?
2. What do you mean by Bloody Sunday?
3. What is October revolution?
4. What do you mean by the proletarian class?
5. What was status of Russian peasants before the revolution?

Short answer type question (Answer in about 60 words):

1. Describe any two causes of the Russian revolution?
2. To what extent was the policy of Russianisation responsible for the revolution?
3. Communism was a new economic and social system. How?
4. How was the new economic policy a compromise with Marxist ideologies?
5. How can you say that the defeat of Russia in the First World War paved the way for revolution?

Long answer type questions (Answer in about 150 words):

1. Discuss the causes of Russian revolution.
2. What do you mean by New Economic Policy?
3. Discuss the impact of Russian revolution.
4. Describe the life and ideology of Karl Marx.
5. Mention the ideologies of Utopian socialists.

Match the following:

1. Das Capital	(a) 1953
2. Czeka	(b) Karl Marx
3. New Economic Policy	(c) 1833
4. Death of Karl Marx	(d) Spy police organisation
5. Death of Stalin	(e) Lenin

Classroom discussion:

1. Discuss the need of socialism and communism in present context in your classroom in the presence of year teacher.
2. Organise a debate on the impact of socialism in Indian ruling system.

Chapter-3

Nationalist Movement in Indo-China

The meaning of Indo-china countries in south-east Asia is related to the peninsular region spread today in around 3 lakh (2.80 lakh) sq. km. covering the areas of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Its northern border touches Myanmar and China and China-sea is in its south and the region of Myanmar is in its west.



Map of Indo-China

From the very ancient time China had its influence on Annam and Takin of Vietnam and both the states were tributary states of China for centuries. Actually, whenever a powerful ruler ruled over China, he annexed these states into his territory, but whenever the control of Central power loosened, these regions became independent. In spite of Chinese dominance, the people of this region had developed language-script together with their separate cultural identification. The region had impact of the philosophy of Confucius together with the Buddhist religion.

In third century there was domination of Shih Huang T. After that the emperor of Han dynasty Wuti again captured the region. Then in 15th Century the emperor Yongle of Ming dynasty took over the region. In 19th Century the region was in the control of Manchu government.



Temple of Ankor Vat

On the other hand Laos-Cambodia had the influence of Indian culture. In fourth century A. D. Kambuj state was formed with its king of the Indian origin. Kambuj became the main centre of Indian culture. In the 12th century

Raj Suryaverma-II built Ankor temple. But in 16th century Kambuj had declined and the situation of internal conflict had emerged in the medieval period.

Thus the region was known as Indo-China because of the cultural influences of China and India over its different regions.

Advent of mercantile companies and French domination:

When Vasco de Gamma with the intention of connecting to India discovered sea route to India in 1498, the Portuguese merchants were connected to the countries of South-East Asia together with India. After making Malaka a trading centre in 1510 A. D. trading was started with Indo-Chinese countries. This was followed by the arrival of the companies of Spain, Dutch, England, and France. Among the companies, no company Barring French, tried to establish its political domination, but French regularly attempted for that. In 17th Century many French merchants and priests arrived in the region.

Advent of companies

(i) Portugal

(ii) Dutch

(iii) England

(iv) France

Just after 1747 France had started taking interest in Amman. In 1787 he got an opportunity to make treaty with the ruler of Kochin-China. But till now French had not applied its power to dominance and in the 19th Century, violent movements were going on against rising activities of French priests in Annam, Kochin-China. Still in 1862 Annam was compelled to make treaty on the basis of military power. Next year Cambodia was taken into control and in 1783 French army entered in Tonkin. And thus by the beginning of 20th century the whole Indo-China came into the control of France.

1861- Kochin-China
1863 - Cambodia
1884 - Annam
1904 - Laos

Objective of the establishment of colony by France:

The basic objective of France making Indo-China its colony was to face the mercantile competition of Dutch and British companies. The French were

proving weak in India. Main mercantile competitor of France in China was England. But from the security point of views, the Indo-China region was suitable place from where they could control the difficult situations of both sides India and China. The second objective was that raw materials for industrialisation were supplied from colonies and market was available for manufactures goods. Third objective was to make the backward societies civilized. To make the backward societies civilized was the third objective and self-declared responsibility of the developed European states.

The French started exploitation for commercial towns and sea-ports. After that they began to exploit the farmers of the interior rural areas. The basis of Tonkin's life was red valley, while Cambodian's plain of Mekong River and for the Kochi-China delta area of Mekong. Mineral resources like coal, tin, zinc, tungsten, chromium were found in the adjacent states to China. Farming of rubber was done in hilly areas. Cultivation of paddy was done in the plain areas.

Together with exploitation to increase productivity in agriculture the French for the first time made full-fledged arrangement of canals and water exit system and this agriculture sector was encouraged in the marshy field and forest. There was only outcome of the endeavour that by 1931 Vietnam became the third largest rice exporter country in the world.

One sided contract system was a type of bounded labour. Labourers had no rights while the master had unbridled power.

Works were taken on the basis of one-sided context from the labourers in rubber gardens, farms and mines. Zamindari had adopted its most corrupted form. Although the communication system in whole Indo-China from north to south remained on the fast pace and a vast network of railway lines and roads were spread, yet the condition of farmers and labourers had been deteriorating because entire system was indulged in exploitation.

As far as the matter of education was concerned, the persons till now getting education in traditional local language or Chinese language were started imparting education in French language, but the French dwellers of this region had apprehension of the positive impact of education.

Residents of Indo-China were called Colon.

So effort was being made to keep the common people out of reach of education. For this in the final yearly examination, local children were failed. There was a great difference between the life of common people and the French. By 1920s students started forming political parties. Closing of Hanoi University was the height of French exploitation.

Development of Nationalism in Indo-China:

The French colonialism in Indo-China had frequently been facing rebellions from the very early time, but in the beginning of 20th century it began to be more clamorous. Now people had started to express their resentment over petty issues. In that context in 1930 Phan Boi Chan founded a revolutionary organisation named Jan Hoi under the leadership of Duy Tan Hoi. Fan Boi Chan created a turmoil by writing a book “the history of the loss of Vietnam.”

The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 became a source of inspiration for the Indo-Chinese, simultaneously thoughts of thinkers like Rousseau and Montesquieu were inspiring them. In the meantime there was another nationalist leader Phan Chu Trinh who wanted to make republican the democratic form of nationalist movement. The students who went to China for pursuing education were supporter of this type of thoughts. Change of power in China in the leadership of Sun Yat Sen provided much encouragement to them. These students founded Vietnam Kuvan Phue hoi (Vietnam Liberation Association).

Although initially the development of early nationalism in Indo-China was limited to the cities like Kochin-China, Annam and Tonkin, but when the First World War started, thousands of people of these provinces were appointed in military and thousands of labourers were taken away to France as bounded labourers. These armies were deployed on the vanguard so their number was larger among the deceased. The people of Indo-China reacted by these development and the patriots founded an organisation named 'Vietnamese Nationalist Party' in 1914 the first meeting of which was held at Canton. But the suspicious French government supressed it. On the other hand the condition of the people had been deteriorating continuously. China had control over agriculture production, trade and fish trade of Indo-China



Ho-Ch-Minh

Jungian founded Anime party. It was fully influenced by Moscow's Canton and a party of terrorist thoughts.

still they remained isolated from main politics. These made the people angry and they launched Chinese boycott movement in 1919.

With the establishment of French domination in Indo-China special attention was paid on administration. Although only Cochin-China was under direct French administration; the other four province Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia and Laos were under the ancient monarchs for which there was provision of appointment of a residents.

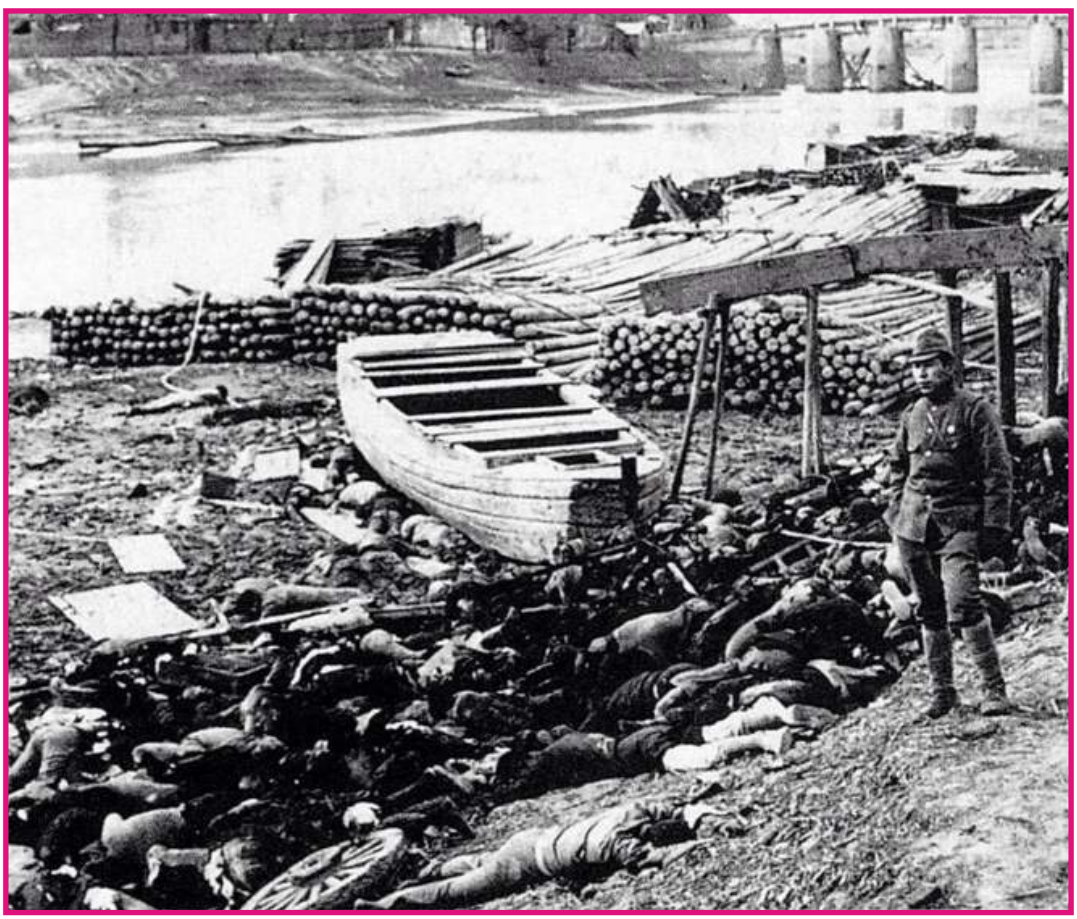
After World War-I, some liberal policies were adopted in administration. A house of representatives was constituted in Cochin-China and there was provision of election for its members. Simultaneously the local people were given importance in civil administration. To some extent the monarch tried to bring reforms in administration but the people could not happy by this nominal reforms. In these circumstances a Vietnam's student Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) founded a group of communists in Paris in 1917. Later on Ho Chi Minh went to Moscow for study and being influenced by communism, he founded 'Vietnamese Revolutionary Party' in 1925, together with make arrangement of military training for the workers. Finally, uniting all scattered revolutionary groups of Vietnam 'Vietnam Kang San Deng' (Vietnam Communist Party) was founded in 1930. It was a party following fully the violent thoughts.

The world-wide recession in the decade of 1930 contributed to the development of nationalism. Rate of rice, rubber etc. had fallen down. Employment in Indo-China was on increase. Being annoyed with this situation the farmers also accepted communism and nationalist movement flared up. On the other hand the repressive activities of the French government became more intense and cruel. Bullets were fired mercilessly over the rebels and bombs were dropped by aeroplanes.

Thousands of people lost their lives in this repressive activities. The revolt subdued but it was like dormant volcano that boiled within and thus underground movement started.

The Second World War and Vietnamese independence:

The circumstances resulting from the Second World War presented crucial way to the Vietnamese. France was defeated by Germany in 1940 and German supported government was established in France. Japan, on the basis of a treaty, got opportunity to send military to Indo-China. Taking advantage of this, Japan established its dominance first in Tonkin, then on Annam and finally in the whole Indo-China.



Japan's aggression on Indo-China

It was a kind of double government in Indo-China where the power was in the hand of Japanese under administrative guise of French. As a result of that the Vietnamese secret revolutionaries got chance and they started activities against both the Japanese and the French.

In spite of suppression, the communist group was safe and natural inclination of public was increasing towards it. The workers of whole country founded 'Vietminh' (Vietnamese Independence League) under leadership of Ho Chi Minh and started gorilla war policy by including afflicted farmers, terror-struck-traders and intellectuals.

During the second war America joined the war by its aggression on Pearl Harbour in Japan. In 1944, France came out of the control of Germany and after American's nuclear attack on Japan, under the Potsdam declaration, Japan surrendered. The Japanese army started evacuation from Vietnam and France had no strength to re-establish itself in Indo-China. Taking advantage of this situation the Vietnamese revolutionaries established democratic republic under the leadership of Vietminh, and declared independence of Vietnam on 2nd September, 1945. Ho Chi Minh was made head of the government.



Bao-Dai

Since Indo-China was divided into many states and Japanese military was evacuating Indo-China, the old monarchs of Cambodia, Laos and Annam got dignity. Bao Dai became the emperor of Annam.

But it was difficult for these emperors to endure the communist nationalists. Therefore, Bao Dai left his post on 25th August, 1945 and Vietnam became a republic.

French Policy towards Indo-China:

After Second World War, Britain, America and France engaged themselves for reestablishment of their empires in South-East Asia. France too was eager to re-establish its lost empire in Indo-China. Therefore, it made a plan for new colonial system.

Colonial plan of France: (i) The vast empire of France will be transformed into a Union comprising all related colonies (ii) Indo-China will be a self-governed part this federation (iii) A Union will be formed by inclusion of the protected states of Indo-China and Cochin-China (iv) Foreign policy and military of Indo-China Union will remain in the control of France.

France declared that 'the vast empire of France will be made a union, comprising all related colonies.' Indo-China will also be a part of this great union. Foreign policy and military of all related colonies will remain in the control of France. It was like an extensive form of commonwealth. But after evacuation of Japanese military, when French army reached Saigon, Vietnamese gorillas waged a fierce war and the French army got trapped in Saigon. Finally, Hanoi Pact was signed between France and Vietnam on 6th March, 1946.

Under the pact France accepted Vietnam as a republic in the form of independent unit, and agreed that this republic will remain in Indo-China Union and the Indo-China union will remain in French Union. The entry of French army in Tonkin was also accepted.

Due to ambitious policy of Vietnam no agreement could be done with Vietnam over formation of Indo-China Union. France wanted that the president of the former union should be a High Commissioner appointed by her and the demand of the Vietnamese leader was that all states of the union should be independent. France then established a separate government in Cochin-China and thus the Hanoi pact broke. France got support of some Vietnamese reactionists forces and by their help the newly formed government became functional. Till now the power of Ho Chi Minh was to face the French army directly. Therefore, gorilla war started again.

Taking advantage of the gorilla war, France called on Bao Dai from Paris and made him emperor of Vietnam, because France was hopeful of the support of anti-communist Vietnamese. By now the whole world had divided into two blocks, capitalist and communist. France had support of capitalist countries like America and Britain. In this situation Ho Chi Min had to face some difficulties because till now he had not formed full fledge communist government. Some non-communist nationalist forces were also in his joint fronts. But in 1949 Ho Chi Minh openly accepted the People's Republic of China as his ideal, and became a die-heart communist. Russia and China gave their recognition to Vietnam Republic in 1950, and began to provide excessive military and technical support.

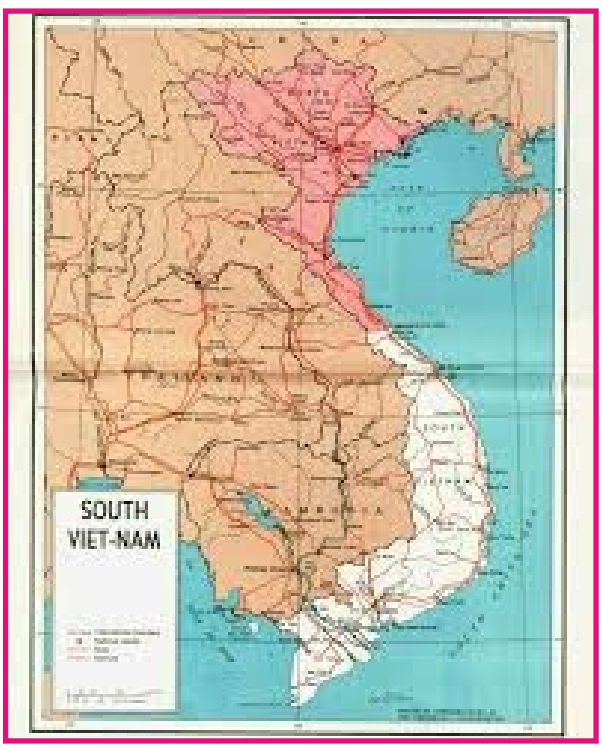


Vietnamese army firing in the war of Dine-Bien-Fu

The situation of Indo-China became very complex in 1950, because in the northern Vietnam there was government of Ho Chi Minh and the French supported Bao Dai government was in the southern Vietnam. Old monarchs were in Laos and Cambodia, that was in the French control. The demand of independence in Laos and Cambodia was increasing fast. Gorilla army attacked on southern Vietnam from Laos and Cambodia and then hid themselves in the forests. In this course the Gorilla armies made a terrible attack on Dine-Bien-Fu. France was terribly defeated in the war. Around 16,000 French armies had to surrender and the communists took control of Dine-Bien-Fu.

American Intervention:

America that was supporting France till now, adopted the policy of intervention and declared it against the communists. Since Russia was supporting one faction from the beginning, so it seemed that the third World War would start. In such circumstances, a conference was convened in Geneva in May, 1954, for a discussion over Indo-China problem that is called Geneva Agreement. Geneva Agreement separated Vietnam into two parts.



South Vietnam

Hoa Hoa was a Budhist religious revolutionary movement, started in 1939 in the leadership of Huynh Fu So. The revolutionaries held terrorist incidents including self-immolation.



North Vietnam

The northern area, of North Vietnam adjacent to Hanoi River was given to the communists and the southern area in the south was handed over to American supported government. Here a religious class was also indulged in the movement. It was Hoa Hoa. Hoa Hoa had become more violent. Nyo Dinh Diem started to subdue the movement very cruelly.

As a result of Geneva Agreement, the system of government changed in Laos and Cambodia. A form of legal monarchy was accepted there and parliamentary system was adopted. Although these were considered as neutral countries, yet the impact of communism was increasing here. On the other hand America was adamant to stop these regions from going under the communism influence.

Civil War in Laos:

The political boundary of Laos in the east touched the northern boundary of Vietnam. It had become obvious in 1954 that two provinces of northern Laos — Phongsali and Hona Fan was under domination of communists and they were prepared to escalate communism. Political instability started in Laos when by removing monarchy parliamentary system was adopted there. Both Laos and Cambodia were accepted as a complete independent country. Provision was also made, if the people want to form a government by unifying whole Vietnam through election, before mid of 1956. To look after execution of Geneva Agreement a three member international monitoring commission was constituted with India, Canada and Poland as its members.

The Geneva Agreement definitely provided some peace on immediate effect but soon Indo-China disturbance started because the Ho Chi Minh government in northern Vietnam became strong and started thinking over unification of whole Vietnam, but the condition in the southern Vietnam was contrary to it. The administration of America supported Bao Dai government was in the hands of Ngo Dinh Diem.

To have their political hold over Laos in these days in southern Vietnam three step brothers of deposed royal families together with the communists had adopted their own ways. Among them the first prince Suvann Phuma was neutral, the second prince Suphann Bong famous as Pathet Lao wanted to bring communist system in Laos by forming his own military organisation and the third prince Phoumi Nosavan was a follower of rightist. The conflict for mutual political supremacy of these three brothers caused instability in Laos. In addition to that the support and intervention of two groups — America and Russia — was escalating it more.

After election in Laos, national government was formed on 25th December, 1955 under the leadership of Suvann Phuma. Opposing it, Pathet Lao started gorilla war, but in 1957, both reached an agreement and members of the party of Pathetic Lao 'Nao-Leo-Hack-Sat' (N.L.H.S.) also got place in the government. This situation was unbearable for America. Since Pathet Lao was leftist, the agreement between both the brothers were broken due to US conspiracy, and gorilla war restarted. In the meantime the third brother General Phoumi Nosavan got opportunity. He overthrew the elected government in a coup and established a rightist government. There was another coup after three months and a military government was formed with Captain Kangli as its head. But all three brothers with their joint effort drove away Captain Kangli towards north and thus Laos indulged in a horrible civil war.

The US - Russian indirect participation in the Laos Civil War once again put the world peace in jeopardy. India, then, raised the demand to revive International Monitoring Commission according to Geneva agreement. Finally it was decided to convene a conference of 14 nations with the consent

of Russia and America over the participation of three wings of Laos. The conference held in May, 1961 and all princes gave their consent on formation of a joint cabinet, and the cabinet was formed accordingly but the foreign minister of Laos was assassinated due to US conspiracy and the civil war re-started. Since America did not like extension of communism, therefore, through election, Suvann Phuma was made Prime Minister and Suphann Bong Deputy Prime Minister. Being unsatisfied with this, Pathel Lao attacked on Laos in 1970 and captured the plain of Jars. Though America campaigned heavy bombardment in this war but the aggression of Pathet Lao could not be stopped.

Russia made America responsible for attack on Laos and its deteriorating situation. The complex situation arose only due to direct



Bombarding on Ho-chin-Minh way

Involvement of America. Thousands of south Vietnamese armies entered Laos with American army, fighter planes and bomber helicopters having objective to capture Ho Chi Minh highway. Pathetic Lao appealed Russia and Britain to put pressure on America and stop her. But China warned U.S. In the beginning, US seemed to win the war but its forces trapped after reaching Ho Chi Minh highway. They had only option, before the strong resistance of Laos, to return. Thus US could not stop escalation of left forces by its attack.

Cambodian Crisis:

After being an independent state constitutional monarchy was accepted and Narottam Sihanouk was accepted as the ruler in Cambodian in 1954. Narottam Sihanouk had been following the policy of non-alignment and neutrality in Cambodia since 1954. So Cambodia did not join South East Asian Military Organisation. America wanted its influence in this region so he was annoyed with Sihanouk and had Cambodia disturbed by instigating Thailand. Due to this diplomatic action of US, Sihanouk in 1963 refused to take any help from America. For the US, it was a matter of humiliation. In 1965, he started aggression on Vietnam including boarder villages of Cambodia. Then Sihanouk broke all diplomatic relations with the US. Later on in 1969, America made a rain of poison through aeroplanes in the boarder regions of Cambodia causing destruction of rubber farmers in around 40 thousand acres. Sihanouk demanded compensation from the US and showing inclination towards Russia began to extend diplomatic relation with Germany.



Narottam Sihanouk

In the then two block system of the world, capitalist US did not want Cambodia to have sympathy with communist countries. So, believing Cambodia's non-alignment one sided the charged Sihanouk government of having relation with northern Vietnam and Vietcong. So US wanted to overthrow Sihanouk by organizing leftists through CIA.

Due to the US conspiracy, the leftists in 1970 staged violent demonstration before the Vietnamese embassy. In this context Sihanouk had to take stern action against Vietnam.

The national parliament of Cambodia through a unanimous resolution removed Narottam Sihanouk from power on 18th March, 1970 and a new government was formed headed by General Wan Nol, with the US support.

Narottam Sihanouk by forming a government in exile in pecking, declared General Loan Nol's government illegal, dissolved the national parliament and appealed to the people to depose the present government. Sihanouk started war against new government from April, 1970, for which he got full support of the armies of Vietnam and Vietcong. Receiving the forces of Narottam Sihanouk marched towards capital Phnom Penh. The US immediately intervened in it. The US military entered Cambodia through southern Vietnam and a fierce battle started. It was a very horrible war.

This policy of the American president was being widely opposed even by the Americans. President Nixon had to announce to recall the American forces, but the Southern Vietnam made the situation worse by announcing to stay its forces in Cambodia. Now it was felt that China would intervene in the Cambodian crisis. Thus, once again the security of South East Asia was in danger. Assessing the situation Indonesia proposed to convene a meeting of Asian countries. The meeting was held at Djakarta on 16th May, 1970. Although the meeting was successful yet there was no change in the situation of Cambodia.

In the period of war between Cambodian gorillas and American army, bombardment and brutal killings, Cambodia was declared a republic on 9th October, 1970 but the fighting between the forces of Sihanouk and Loan continued. After five years, Sihanouk announced a decisive war and his red Khuneri army marched ahead winning the areas. Finally Loan had to flee. The Cambodian civil war came to an end in April, 1975. Narottam Sihanouk again became the head of the state but he took retirement from politics in 1978.

Now Cambodia's name was changed to Kampuchea. After Narottam Sihanouk, Khien Samphan and Pol Pot started to rule as per their communist thoughts. It was completely a period of terror but by forming a joint front in 1979.

Heng Samrin defeated Khein Samphan. In this situation Russia and China came on the front and China introduced its power in South East Asia by attacking on Vietnam. Although the American policy in terms of Kampuchia was not successful and could not stop the propagation of communism but her policies was surely successful in bringing two communist countries, Russia and China face to face.

Vietnamese Civil War and America:

So far two Vietnamese states had emerged out of Geneva agreement, but there was no hope for peace whatsoever, because in the northern Vietnam there was communist government and at the same time in the southern Vietnam the government was totally dedicated to capitalism. In the Geneva agreement it was mentioned that if the people wanted, the whole Vietnam would be unified through an election by middle of 1956. From that time the Vietnamese people had been raising voice for unification. It has full support of the northern Vietnam but the people of Southern Vietname missed the opportunity of peaceful efforts. Then in 1960 'Vietcong' started violent struggle against his government by organising National Liberation Army. By 1961, the situation became so worse that an emergency was declared in Southern Vietnam and civil war started there.

America that wanted to stop the influence of communism in Southern Vietnam, issued a white paper in 1961 under the heading 'Threat to peace' and held Ho Chi Minh government of northern Vietnam responsible for this civil war. In the beginning of 1962 despatched 4000 US armies Sajaon, for the help of Southern Vietnam. The reality was that the public was annoyed with the autocratic oppression and atrocities of Nio-Dinh-Dim. Due to this the army in a coup killed Nio-Dinh-Dim in 1963 and a military government was established but it was also a reactionist. Thus the coming and going of governments continued but there was no change in the policy and the struggle of Vietcong continued.

Attacking on northern Vietnam on 5th August, 1964, America destroyed its few military bases. Following it US received warnings from Russia and China but there was no effect. The war started by America was very violent, brutal and tormenting. Hazardous weapon, tanks and bomber planes were widely used and simultaneously, chemical weapons, Napalm, Orange agent and Phosphorous bombs were intensively used.

Chemical Weapons

Napalm is a kind of organic compound that mixing with gasoline in fire bombs prepared such a mixture that sticks to skin and keeps on burning. It was widely used in Vietnam.

The war was fought with northern Vietnam, Vietcong and Pro-Vietcong, Southern Vietnamese people. The innocent villagers were killed and finally the village was set to blaze. By 1967 US dropped so many bombs at Vietnam that was not dropped given in the Second World War by Germany against England.

Such type of activities of US was opposed on national and international levels. The celebrated philosopher Russell organised a court and held America guilty for Vietnam war. The effect of the war had started to be visible. There was an increase of 2 to 2.5 billion dollar in US expenditure and so imbalances began in US economy. The value of dollar in international market heavily came down. But US had made Vietnam a matter of its prestige and so continued war rejecting all efforts of agreement.

The Vietnamese, on the other hand, now were not fighting for communism or any other issue, but for their existence. Even the Vietnamese women could be seen dressed in full pants, tying children on their back and patrolling with guns in their hands. They could be seen in waging war directly or making repair works on Ho Chi Minh highway. They were motivated by remembrance of the ancient heroines. In this context, we get the story of Tri-Ayn who was venerated as a goddess that time.

In the beginning of 1968 Vietcong attacked on many American stations including eastern Pentagon, the symbol of US power and caused heavy damage to America. These attacks made it clear that morale of Vietnam was still very high and the Ho Chi minh highway, the way to supply provisions to Vietnamese was still very strong; and it was not destroyed in the bombardment. Virtually the Ho Chi Minh highway, starting from Hanoi went to Southern Vietnam by passing through the border area of Laos and Cambodia, connecting hundreds of Kucchi and metalled road to it.

Agent Orange

It was such a poison that immediately changed the leaves of the trees and caused withering of the tree. It was used for deforestation. It was named Agent Orange due to its storing are in the drums with orange stripes. The US widely used it both in fields and population along with forests. The effect of the bomb can be seen even today in the form of born disability.

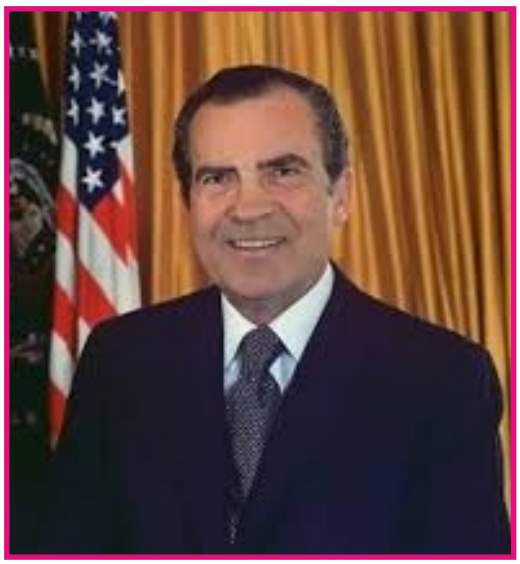
America had destroyed it more than hundred times but Vietcong and their supporters could repair it immediately. To have control over it, US had on Laos and Cambodia also but it had to return after trapping from three sides.

Now US too wanted peace talk but on their conditions. Many agencies including Commonwealth and the UNO was making efforts to start peace talk. So, peace talk began in Paris in 1968. The talk could not succeed for six months due to US obstinacy.



Ho Chi Minh Labyrinth highway

The Vietnamese were making demand to stop bombardment first and then withdrawal of American troops. In this course the Vietnamese delegation on 7th June, 1969 declared the formation of Vietcong government in the free area of Southern Vietnam. Russia and China immediately gave their recognition. In the meantime, Ho Chi Minh, father of the Vietnamese nationalism, passed away. As in his will, he had invoked in struggle till the liberation of Southern Vietnam. So the struggle continued.



President Nixon

American failure the Unification of Vietnam :

Now, in Hollywood films were made on the US tyranny, the films held American war on Vietnam justified.

On the other hand Nixon won the Presidential election and became the new President of the US. He was given the responsibility of early solution of Vietnam crisis. International pressure was on increase. In that situation the incidence of My Lai village, came into light and criticism of US army began across the world. Then Nixon announced five point programme for peace :

(i) Declaring a ceasefire — all forces of Indo-China will stay at their place,

(ii) Supervision of ceasefire will be done by international observers,

(iii) No country, in this period, will try to improve its power,

(iv) All types of war will remain suspended during ceasefire,

(v) The final goal of ceasefire will be the end of struggle in whole Indo-China.

US Conditions:

1. **Independence of Southern Vietnam**
2. **The US army will remain in that areas.**
3. **How long Vietkang continues struggle and stir terror, bombardment will continue.**

But this peace proposal was rejected and US forces restarted bombardment. However, America has realised that they had to withdraw forces. Nixon then put forward an eight point programme that was turned down by the Vietnamese. Now America began exercises to get China in her favour. An agreement was made on 24th October, 1972 among Vietcong, Northern Vietnam, America and Southern Vietnam, but Southern Vietnam raised objection and requested for a fresh negotiation which was rejected by Vietcong. This time the bombs were dropped at a large scale, the destroying power of them was estimated to be greater than that of the atom bomb used in Hiroshima. Hanoi was destroyed in this bombardment but the Vietnamese were firm on their stand. Finally, in Paris the agreement on closing the Vietnam War was signed on 27th February, 1973. The main points of the agreement was that the US forces would return within 60 days from the ceasefire, North Vietnam and South Vietnam would find out ways for unification of Vietnam through mutual discussion, America would give limitless economic support to Vietnam.

Mai Lai Village

A village in the Southern Vietnam. Presuming the people of the village as Vietcong supporter the US army besieged the village and massacred the males, making hostage to women and girls committed gang rape with them for many days, then massacred them also and set the village ablaze. An old person survived in the heap of dead bodies vindicated the incident.

Thus a protracted war with America came to an end and the unification of northern and southern Vietnam completed in 1975. Thus the war continued to seven decades with America ended. About 9855 crore dollars were spent on this war. The maximum expenditure was of America. More than 56,000 American soldiers were killed and about 3 lakh soldiers were wounded. 18000 soldiers of Southern Vietnam lost their lives. America's 4800 helicopters and 3600 planes and countless tanks were destroyed.

Besides destruction of human being and wealth, American reputation also got a serious blow. The US was utterly unsuccessful in whole Indo-China. Finally it had to withdraw its forces from Indo-China and accept the sovereignty and integrity of all countries.

EXERCISE

Objective Question:

1. **Which countries come in Indo-China region?**
   a. China, Vietnam, Laos
   b. India China, Vietnam, Laos
   c. Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos
   d. Cambodia, Vietnam, China, Thailand

2. **Where is the temple of Ankara situated?**
   a. Vietnam
   b. Thailand
   c. Laos
   d. Cambodia

3. **Who were the first merchant reaching Indo-China?**
   a. England
   b. French
   c. Portugal
   d. Dutch

4. **The French inhabiting in Indio-China were called —**
   a. French
   b. Ruler Class
   c. Colon
   d. General

5. **Narottam Sihanouk was a ruler of**
   a. Vietnam
   b. Laos
   c. Thailand
   d. Cambodia

6. **Who wrote "the History of the Loss of Vietnam?"**
   a. Ho Chi Minh
   b. Phon Y Chau
   c. Kuang
   d. Triu

7. **From which name the agreement between France and Vietnam made in March 1946 is known?**

   a. Geneva Agreement b. Hanoi Agreement
   c. Paris Agreement d. Non-Aligned Agreement

8. **Which famous philosopher organising a court held America responsible for Vietnam War?**

   a. Russell b. Ho Chi Minh
   c. Narottam Sihanouk d. Rousseau

9. **Who was the American president at the time of the end of last war in Indo-China region?**

   a. Washington b. Nixon
   c. George Bush d. Roosevelt

10. **What was a nature of Hoa-Hoa movement?**

   a. Revolutionary b. Religious
   c. Pro-imperialist d. Revolutionary religious

Fill in the blanks :

i. In 12th Century King Surya Verma had built _____.

ii. _____ agreement partitioned whole Vietnam into two parts.

iii. The other name of Ho Chi Minh was _____.

iv. _____ was badly defeated in the war of Dien Vien Phu.

v. _____ was the founder of Anaami party.

Very short answer question:

i. What was one sided contract system?
ii. Who was BaoDai?
iii. What is the meaning of Indo-China?
iv. When and between whom was the Geneva Agreement made?
v. Discuss the Hoo-Ha movement.

Short answer question:

i. Explain the escalation of French in Indo-China.
ii. Explain the chemical weapons and orange agent.
iii. Write in short note on Ho Chi Minh.
iv. Mention, what is Ho Chi Minh highway.
v. How did America enter in Indo-China? Discuss.

Long answer question:

1. What was the objective of establishing Indo-China colony?
2. What was the incident of Mai Lai village? What was its influence?
3. What was the five point programme of Nixon in connection with peace in Indo-China? What was its impact?
4. Review positive works done by French alongwith its exploitation.
5. Explain the development of nationalism in Indo-China.

Class Discussion:

1. Discuss in class on nationalism.
2. Discuss, structure construction and importance of Ho Chi Minh highway.

Chapter-4

Nationalism in India

The literal meaning of nationalism is "the rise of national consciousness." The rise of such national consciousness in which political, economic, social and cultural unification is reflected. By the first half of the 19th century, India was divided into small states. That time there was lack of factors which could bind India in unity. It also lacked equal judiciary system. The lack of national unity means the lack of feeling that could bind all the people residing in India with the same aim and concern. But in the second half of the 19th century, several factors rose in India which began to remove such shortcomings and India began to emerge as a completely organised nation. This is nationalism and the expression of this nationalism is freedom struggle.

In the 19th century, national consciousness rose on account of British ruling system. Almost all the classes of Indian people were exploited due to political economic and social changes brought about by the British rule. It aroused the feeling of dissatisfaction among the people. On the other hand, the British developed post and telegraph system, railway, printing press and equal administrative system. Though these things were developed for smooth functioning of administration, yet they played an important role in the rise of national consciousness.

Reasons of rising nationalism:

The rise of nationalism in India was the result of the conjugation of different powers and reasons which can be studied by dividing them into the followings:

Political reason:

Different factors contributed in the awakening of national consciousness in India, but all were related to administrative policies of the

British. The British rulers were the supporters of imperialistic policy. With the declaration of Queen Victoria, all the indigenous states came under the British rule. This incident gave India a national form to some extent. After that, a great wave of nationality came in India and the British made efforts to repress it.

In 1878, the then Viceroy Lord Linton passed 'Vernacular Press Act' and imposed ban on the press. In 1879, to keep weapons by Indians was declared illegal through Arms Act. The 'Albert Bill' was passed in 1883 and it enforced nationalism in India. The main aims of this bill were to hear the criminal cases of Indians and Europeans in a common court and put the privilege to an end by which the cases on Europeans were heard of only by the European judges. The Europeans opposed this bill and the government had to withdraw it. Similarly, Lord Curzon passed 'Calcutta Corporation Act' in 1899 by which the number of elected members was reduced and that of non-elected members was increased. By the 'University Act' in 1904, the control of government over Universities was protracted. Curzon divided Bengal in 1905 on the communal basis and argued that it was done for administrative purpose. It enraged the Indians and nationalism was enforced. Further the British government cancelled in it in 1911. The 'Seditions Meetings Act' was passed in 1907 to ban the meetings and in 1910 'Indian Press Act' was passed to punish those who published exciting articles.

Under the infrastructure programme of Dalhousie, railway, telegraph line and organised transportation system were started in India. These reduced the distance of different regions of India. Localisation ended, one region was joined to another. One state was connected with others and they became helpful in the development of nationalism.

English education policy played an important role in the rising of nationalism in India. It grew awareness of democracy and modern development. Indians came to know about humanism, individualism, European renaissance, French revolution and the freedom struggle of America. They got influenced with the thoughts of Montesquieu and Rousseau. Now they began to talk of the rights, being acquainted with liabilities and modern laws.

Economic reason:

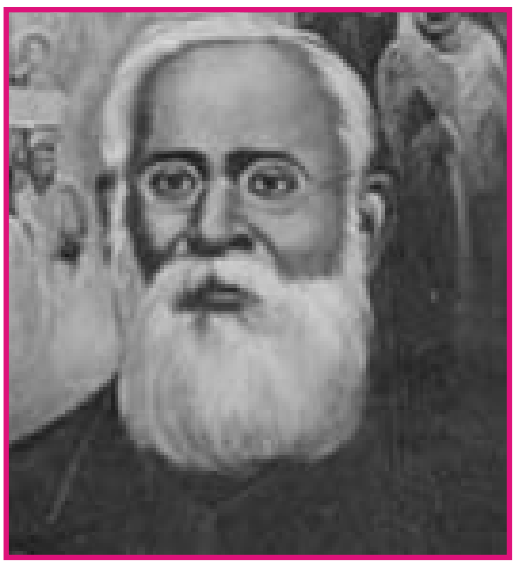
The economic policies which the British adopted in India jolted Indian agriculture and cottage industries. Due to British economic policies, the situations of farmers, workers, and other classes were getting bad to worse. The agricultural policy of the British was designed with the purpose of collecting more and more land revenue. According to permanent settlement, the Zamindars had to pay a fixed land-revenue as tax to government. The Zamindars collected more taxes that they had to pay. Whenever the farmers raised voice against the exploitation from the Zamindars or money-lenders, the government collected the cash crop (Indigo, cotton, sugarcane etc.) at its own rate and use them as raw materials in their own industries. The farmers producing cotton and indigo suffered from this policy.

Even in industrial spheres, the labourers and workers were facing several difficulties. The British imposed several types of ban on cloth made in India whereas there was no ban or tax on the cloth made in England by machine. In 1882, the government removed import tax on cotton clothes. The goods made by machines in England was brought to India and the process of industrialisation in India was very slow because the government was not in favour of industrialisation in India. So in this situation, it was quite natural for the workers to be unemployed.

In the brief discussion of agriculture and industries, we came to know that every Indian society was facing difficulties under the British rule. The feeling of dissatisfaction did not give birth to national consciousness suddenly, but this dissatisfaction rose as different aspects of revolts in different times. Since the beginning of the company rule, there rose several revolts till 1857. The revolution of 1857 compelled to think what the essential planning for success is. Indians came to the conclusion that freedom can be achieved through clarity of target, powerful institution, matured leadership, purity in the ways of struggle and well planned movement.

Social reason:

The British policy of racial difference was also an important factor in the rise of nationalism in India. The English considered themselves supreme and neglected Indians. They did not treat Indians properly even in foreign countries. Many types of legal ban were imposed on Indian/Indians in South Africa. The Indians were not allowed to travel with the Englishmen in trains in India. They ill-treated the Indians in trains, clubs, roads and hotels. This aroused the feeling of hatred among Indians for the Englishmen.



Surendranath Banerjee, First I.C.S.

The biased policy of the British in government services provoked the nationalism in India. The government tried to keep Indians aloof from the higher posts.

Most of the liabilities of governance were in the hands of the officers of Indian civil services. Theoretically, Indians, too could take part in the competitive examinations held for the selection of this service, but the selection of Indians for this service was very difficult. If anyone was selected, the British government tried to create obstacles in his appointment. They did so with Surendranath Banerji. So the educated and middle class raised strong voice against the British rule.

Religious reason:

Religious reformation movement played an important role in the awakening of nationalism in any country of the world. In the 19th century, many great-men started movements against social and religious mal-practices. The names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Tagore, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Sarswati and Ram Krishna Paramhans are remarkable among these great persons. Besides them, William Jones, Maxmuller, Charles Wilkinson and other European scholars

translated Indian religious books into English. It aroused devotion to their own religion among Indians. These reforms gave the lesson of unity, equality and freedom to the Indians and awakened new consciousness among them. As a result nationalism grew up.

The formation of All India National Congress in 1885 was the result of rising nationalism. In the beginning, this organisation asked only for reformation, but the oppressive policy of the British government enraged the members of the congress and the national movement started under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Roy (Bal Pal Lal). This very time, the first world war started in 1914 and the British government pushed India also into the war.

India's relationship with the cause and result of the First World War:

A. A brief note on the First World War: The First World War was an important incidence in the world history. It was a direct consequence of colonial and imperialistic competition of European countries. The war started in 1914 was fought for four years between the two groups : One group included France, Britain, Russia (allied countries) and America that joined them after 1917 and the other group included Germany, Austria-Hungry and Italy (Central forces). This war directly or indirectly affected the political and economic status of the whole world.



Annie Besant

B. India's relation with causes of the First World War : The First World War was fought in order to set up and protect the colonial system in the Asian countries including India and African countries. India occupied an important place among the British colonies and it was Britain's first preference to protect it at any cost even the instable environment of the First World War. As the war started, the British government declared that the aim of the British rule was gradually to form a responsible

government in India. The government imposed import tax in 1916 so that the textile industry might grow in India and the English could get its benefit.

C. Event order in India during the First World War : All the happenings in India during the world war were the consequence of the situations arousing from the war. It created a new economic and political situation in India which helped the nationalism gain maturity. As the war started some nationalist leaders like Tilak and Gandhi provided every possible help in the war effort of the British government because they had faith in the assurance of the government about Swaraj (home rule). The confusions of Indians were removed as the war went ahead. As the defence expenditure increased, the tax on Indian was also increased which caused price-hiking. The contemporary nationalist leaders began to enforce the government for Swaraj. Being inspired by Ireland, Annie Besent and Tilak started Home Rule movement in India in 1915-17. During this period of war, the revolutionary movement started in India and abroad. The revolutionary organisations spread to the whole of North India as well as in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab. On the other hand, the revolutionaries residing in America and Canada with the help of Lala Hardayal established the Gadar party in 1913 and made efforts for armed revolution in India. During the First World War, two important political events occurred in 1916. Firstly, both the groups of the congress — moderate and extremist — were unified. Secondly, the congress and the Muslim League agreed to run joint political campaign. During the war, Mahatma Gandhi appeared in politics after doing three successful Satyagrahas — Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad movements.



Lala Hardayal

D. Impact of the First World War on India : After the war the economic condition of India worsened — firstly the price rose, then the economic activities began to be mitigated and educated Indians residing in cities were unemployed. The price rising reached its climax which affected the workers, artisans and farmers most. During the war, the economy of England also came in crisis. The import from England to India stopped and Indian industries began to flourish. The group of Indian industrialists rose in this situation. But as the war ended, the situations changed. Again the influence of foreign capital increased in India. Indian industrialists wanted a huge tax on imported goods so that their domestic industry might grow up, but the government did not do so. So they realised that it could be done by making pressure through strong national movement.

The First World War strengthened nationalist feeling in Africa and Asia including India. During the war, the allied countries promised to all countries to open a new era of democracy and national self-decision. But after the war, they tried to have strong control rather than end their colonies. The implementation of Rowlett Act in 1919 in India was its example, according to which any Indian could be taken into custody without any trial. Against this very act, the *Jaliyanwala Bagh* massacre happened on 13th April, 1919 and the Marshall Law was imposed on the Punjab. The people were oppressed atrociously.

After the war, the wave of nationalism rose in India and the British government made some efforts to improve the ways of governance. It was known as Montague Chelmsford plan or Government of India Act 1919. By this proposal, the imperial legislative council was enlarged and it was ensured that most of the members should be elected. The number of members in both the houses — Legislative Assembly (Lower house) and Council of States (Upper house) was increased. But the Indian nationalists could not be satisfied with these little rebates because they had proceeded ahead. So they got mentally ready for decisive political struggle.

The direct effect of the First World War came before as Khilafat Movement. Ottoman Turkey who was a political and spiritual leader (Khalifa) of the Islamic world was defeated in the First World War. A rumour that a cruel peace treaty would be imposed on Ottoman Emperor spread and the Indian Muslims got annoyed. On the other hand, the peace between the League and the Congress (Lucknow pact) in 1916 had already paved the way for joint political campaign for both the Hindus and the Muslims. In this situation, Gandhiji drew an outline of the non-cooperation movement taking the issue of disobedience as a forthcoming political movement.

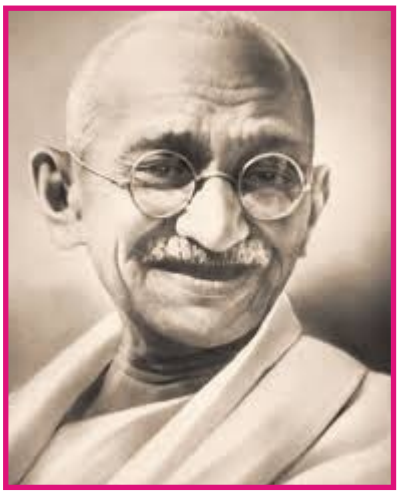
The world war reduced the dignity of the British. From the very beginning of imperialism, the Europeans initiated the ideology of racial and cultural dignity to keep their power intact. But at war time, both the lobbies made propaganda against each other and unveiled their brutal and uncivilised behaviour in colonies. Naturally the people the colonies (India) believed in both the lobbies and the fear of British dignity began to be removed.

The post war situations created the background of Gandhian age (1919-47) in the national movement. After coming back from South Africa in January, 1915, Gandhiji set up Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad for creative works. He led the farmers' movement in Champaran and Kheda and workers' movement in Ahmedabad and got national recognition as an impressive political leader. At the last phase of the First World War, he established a close relationship with the leaders of the Congress, Home Rule and the Muslim League. He started Satyagraha (non-violent protest) against the oppressive policies of the British and Rowlett Act.

Satyagrah against Rowlett Act:

To repress the growing revolutionary incidents and dissatisfaction, Lord Chelmsford appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Justice Sydney Rowlett. The committee recommended both the preventive and punitive special acts to check the revolutionary activities .On the recommendation of the committee, the Revolutionary and Arbitrary Act was

passed on the 21st March, 1919 by the central legislative council.According to this act, there was a provision to form a special court and nobody could appeal against its judgement. Anybody could be imprisoned without any evidence or warrant. The leaders like Mahatma Gandhi called it improper, against freedom and fundamental rights. To oppose this Act, a Satyagraha meeting was held in the Presidentsship of Gandhiji and they put themselves into prison. A nation-wide strike was called on 6th April, 1919. The movement became violent at many places. The last consequence of the movement was Jalianwala Bagh massacre on 13rd April, 1919.



Mahatma Gandhi

Jalianwala Bagh Massacre:

The Punjab was much affected with the world war and the people were agitated there. After the nationwide strike on 6th April, the two local leaders Dr. Satyapal and Kichalu were arrested on 9th April, 1919. These two leaders were the members of the reception committee in the annual conference of the Congress. A public meeting was called in Jalianwala bagh on 13rd April, 1919 against their imprisonment. The district Magistrate General O'Dwyer reached there and ordered firing at the peaceful meeting without any warning. About 1000 people were killed. A lot of people were wounded. After the Jalianwala bagh massacre, Marshall Law was imposed in the Punjab and an environment of terror was created there.



Jalianwala Bagh

Rabindra Nath Tagore gave up the title of 'Knight' in the protest of this massacre. Shankaran Nyre, the pro-president of the Congress resigned from the working committee of the Viceroy. Gandhiji also gave up the title 'Kaiser-e-hind'. The Jalianwala bagh massacre thus vitalized the national movement.

Khilafat Movement:

The Ottoman Empire was dissolved after the defeat of Turkey against Britain in the First World War. The Sultan of Turkey was deprived of using his power even in the rest of his provinces. They came under the control of a high commission appointed by the allied countries. Since the ruler of the Ottoman empire, the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa of the Islamic world, the Muslims of India did not like this misbehaviour with Turkey. Indian Muslims took this breach of promise as betrayal. So Indian Muslims started a strong movement in the beginning of 1920 to compel Britain to change its policy about Turkey. It was called 'Khilafat Movement'.

This movement became strong enough by getting the support of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (Amritsar Session, December, 1919). Mahatma Gandhi also became the president of All India Khilafat Movement in November, 1919. Gandhiji took it as a great opportunity for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Khilafat revolutionaries prepared a three-point requisition letter :

i. The Sultan of Turkey (Khalifa) should be given enough rights so that he could protect Islam.

ii. The Arabs should be given under the control of the Muslim empire (Khalifa).

iii. The Khalifa should be made patronage of the holy places of the Muslims.

On 17th October, 1919, Khilafat day was observed in all over India.

In the Kolkata session (September, 1920), the Indian National Congress, at the inspiration of Gandhiji, passed two resolutions against the unjust deeds and decided to start non-cooperation movement. In this session, two issues were particularly discussed firstly, the view of the British government on the issue of Khilafat and secondly, the failure of the government in punishing the officers who were indulged in the brutal murder of innocent people in the Punjab.

Nagpur session of the congress (December, 1920) approved the resolution of Calcutta session and the aim of Swaraj (Home Rule) was proposed in place of self-government. Several creative programmes were prepared in this session that enforced the Congress achieving the target.

Non-Cooperation movement (1920-22):

Non Co-operation movement was the first public movement that started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. There were three main reasons of this public movement (i) the issue of Khilafat (ii) to get justice against the brutal activities of the government in Punjab and lastly (iii) to achieve Swaraj.


Non-Cooperation Movement

Two types of programmes were adopted in this movement. Firstly, the destructive activities to weaken and defeat the British government morally under which renunciation of titles and honorary posts, boycott of government and non-government functions, boycott of government schools and colleges, boycott of legislative council elections, boycott of foreign goods and rejection of job in Mesopotamia were included.

Secondly, under the creative activities, to abide by the decision of the Panchs in place of court, to set up national schools and colleges so that the students who boycotted the government schools and colleges might continue their studies, to adopt Swadeshi, to make Charkha (spinning wheel) and Khadi popular, to collect one crore rupees for Tilak Swaraj Fund and distribute 20 lacs *Charkhas* in all over India were included.

Beginning of the movement:

The non-co-operation movement was started in 1921 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This movement got a great success in all over India. The boycott of foreign clothes and government schools and colleges continued. During the movement, some educational institutions like national schools, Jamia Millia Islamia, Aligarh Muslim University and Kashi Vidyapith were established. Great Barristers like Motilal and Chitranjan Das left their advocacies and led the movement. Prince of Wales was welcomed on 17 November, 1921 in Mumbai with nationwide strike.

The government declared the movement illegal and arrested about 30,000 revolutionaries. Gandhiji declared Civil Disobedience Movement against these arrests. But during this, the mob attacked the police station on 5th February, 1922 and killed 22 policemen, in the protest of police firing at the political procession in Chauri-Chaura in Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh. Gandhiji thought that the public were not ready for comprehensive civil disobedience movement. So Gandhiji decided to stop the movement. The British government arrested Gandhiji on March, 1922 and imprisoned him for 6 years.

The issues of Khilafat ended with the arrest of Gandhiji and sudden stay of non-cooperation movement. The unity of the Hindus and the Muslims was disturbed and communalism began to reign. Neither Swaraj was gained nor the injustice done in Punjab was solved. But in spite of these failures, this movement got a great achievement. All Indian people began to believe in the Congress and Gandhiji. The whole country became active all together. Hindi was accepted as a language to get the whole country united and the Charkha and handloom also got impetus.

Civil Disobedience Movement:

The Civil Disobedience Movement started in the leadership of Gandhiji in 1930 against the British colonial power was the second mass movement which had a very broad social base. There was a vacuum like situation in Indian national movement after the end of non-cooperation movement. But in the meantime some incidents reoccurred that gave a new

life to decaying nationalism. The causes of civil disobedience movement can be understood under these sub-headings:

(i) Simon commission : At the time of passing the act of 1919, the British government declared that these reforms would be reviewed after 10 years. But before the fixed time, the British government formed Indian statutory commission in November, 1927 which was generally called Simon Commission. It was a seven-member commission in which all the members were Englishmen. Sir John Simon was its Chairman. The aim of this commission was to think over constitutional reformation. But there was a rapid and intense reaction against it. The main reason of the protest against the Simon commission was non-inclusion of any single Indian in the Commission. The fate of decision about the self-government of India was in the hands of the foreigners. And so Indian people got agitated and greeted the Simon Commission with black flags, strike and demonstrations. They raised the Slogan "Simon, go back". The movement against the Simon Commission thus gave birth to a broad political struggle. Now once again the country was ready to struggle hard.



Simon Commission

(ii) Nehru Report : At the time of the boycott of the Simon Commission, the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indians to make a constitution which was acceptable to all groups and parties. To reply the challenge, the congress organised an all-party conference in Delhi in February, 1928. Motilal Nehru was the Chairman in this conference. This committee asked the British government for 'Dominion State' but one group of the Congress disagreed with this opinion. Though Nehru Report was not accepted, but it led several important decisions. The communal feeling which was suppressed now appeared once again. Both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha aired it. So Gandhiji initiated the civil disobedience movement.

(iii) The effect of worldwide economic depression : The economy of India was badly affected by the worldwide economic depression of 1929-30. There was unexpected price hike. The export from India reduced but the English did not stop drainage of wealth from India. Most of the industries were closed down, several capitalists suffered bankruptly. The farmers had already been suffering from poverty and the whole country was against the government. Thus it was an appropriate time for starting civil disobedience movement.

(iv) Increasing impact of Socialism : This time Marxist and socialist ideology was spreading rapidly. The congress was also under pressure. This was expressed as the rise of leftism in the congress. The leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were in favour of this. So, a new programme was needed to balance leftist pressure.

Some important parts of the "declaration of independence" were like this "We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is through Non-violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes ..... ."

(v) Growth of revolutionary movement: This time the situation of India was beyond control. 'Meerut conspiracy case' and 'Lahore conspiracy case' tempered the ideology against the government. Once again the revolutionary nationalist activities grew in Bengal. The revolutionaries under the leadership of Suryasen raided the armoury in Chatgawn in April, 1930. The nick-name of Suryasen was 'Master da'.

(vi) Demand for complete Swaraj : The annual session of the Congress was held in Lahore in December, 1929 under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru unfurled tri-colour flag at the bank of Ravi on 31st December, 1929 at midnight. It was declared to celebrate complete Independence Day on 26th January, 1930. So a wave of excitement spread all over the country.

(vii) Compromising view of Gandhiji : Before starting the movement Gandhiji put 11-point demands before Viceroy Irwin and promised to withdraw the proposed movement if the demand be fulfilled. But not to speak of fulfilling the demand, Irwin even refused to see Gandhiji. In the meantime, the government was continuing oppression. So being compelled, Gandhiji decided to start his movement with 'Dandi March.'

Dandi March (From 12th March to 6th April, 1930):



Dandi March

Gandhiji started civil disobedience movement with Dandi March. Gandhiji with his 78 followers started his historical march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi sea coast on 12th March, 1930. After 250 km of *Pada Yatra* in 24 days, they reached Dandi on April 5 and violated the law by making salt from seawater on 6th April, 1930.

The programme of movement was as follows:

I. Violation of salt laws everywhere
ii. Boycott of schools and colleges by students

iii. Foreign clothes should be burnt

iv. No taxes should be paid to the government

v. Women should protest before wine shops

vi. Lawyers should leave the court and employees their posts

vii. The people in every house should spin and make yarn

viii. Truth and non-violence should be kept above among all these programmes and only then *Poorna Swaraj* can be achieved.

Expansion of salt movement (Namak Satyagrah):

Once Gandhiji broke the salt laws, the Satyagrah of breaking salt laws started in the whole country.

C. Rajagopalachari made salt march from Trichanapalli to Vedaranya at the sea coast of Tanjaur in Tamilnadu

- K. Kelappan made the salt march from Kalikat to Pothannur in Malawar
- The social and political reforms of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan spread political consciousness among the Pathans in Peshawar. He was also known as 'Badshah Khan' or 'Frontier Gandhiji'. He established a non-government organisation named 'Khudai Khidmatgar'. He was also known as 'Lal Kurti'.
- The movement started in Sholapur in the reaction of Gandhiji arrest assumed a violent form. Thousands of mill workers took part in the strike.
- The most intense reaction of salt satyagrah took place in Dharasana. Here the movement started under the leadership of Sarojini Naidu, Imam Saheb etc. and the government tried to suppress them forcibly.
- The movement against Chaukidari and Union Board was started in Bengal.
- Movement against tax was started in different tallukas of Gujrat.
- Students started a strong movement against 'Cunningham Circular' in Assam.
- Rani Gadinalyu did a remarkable leadership in Manipur and Nagaland.

Expansion of the movement in Bihar:

Since there was no sea coast in Bihar, the movement started here against the Chaukidari tax. Ganga Prasad Roy led the movement against the Chaukidari tax in Siwan. Afterwards the movement spread to Gaya, Bhagalpur, Munger, Barh, Mokama, Barahia and Begusarai. During the civil disobedience movement, the prisoners in Chhapra jail refused to put on foreign clothes and started nangi strike. The women of Patna took active participation in the boycott of foreign clothes. Mrs. Hasan Imam led this movement and Vindhyavasini Devi took it further ahead. Chandrawati Devi started the movement against the Chaukidari tax in Gaya.

Gandhi Irwin Pact:

The expansiveness of civil disobedience movement compelled the British government to compromise. The government had to compromise with Gandhiji which is known as 'Gandhi-Irwin Pact'. It is also known as Delhi Pact which is done between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin on 5th March, 1931. According to this pact Gandhiji stopped the movement and agreed to take part in the second round table conference. Irwin also accepted some of the demands. Gandhiji participated in the second round table conference but it did not succeed. So he returned in disappointment. On the other hand the British government accelerated the wheel of suppression. Then Gandhiji again started civil disobedience movement. But it had no vigour and spirit as before and so this movement was completely taken back in 1934.

Results of Civil Disobedience Movement:

1. This movement expanded the social base of national movement. This expanded social base can be seen in the participation of women, workers and poor and illiterate people of villages and cities.
2. This movement politicised the different classes of the society. The new classes of society were filled with anti-English feelings.

3. The participation of women in the movement had a great importance. For the first time, women were seen in the effective role in the national movement. The other aspect of the women's role in this movement is the entry of women in public life.
4. The 'economic boycott' in this movement affected the economic interests of the British. The import of British clothes in India reduced and it affected the import of other goods adversely.
5. New ways of organisation were used during this movement which were not seen previously. The organisations of 'Vanar Sena' and 'Manjari Sena' were given new forms during this movement. The 'Prabhat pheri' in an organised way also had a great importance. The use of newspapers and magazines was a new way to organise the people.
6. Civil disobedience movement had a great effect also on the workers' and farmers' movement.
7. The main result of this movement was passing the India Government Act, 1935 by the British government.
8. For the first time, the British government had a talk with the congress on the basis of equality.

Thus after the First World War (1914), the national movement rolled ahead and non-cooperation movement and civil disobedience movement were done against the exploitation policy of the British. These movements gave a new dimension to the farmers' and workers' movements. Indian farmer class was also dissatisfied with the British exploitation policy. As a result, their protest began to assume the form of movement and further it became a subsidiary part of Indian independence movement.

Peasants' Movement:

In the second half of the 19th century, the Indian economy was in a bad situation due to frequent famine. Lacs of farmers and the people of weaker class were starving. The direful famines of 1876-78, 1896-97 and 1899-1900 made it clear what the consequence of oppressive land tax policy was. The farmers started movement at different places in India. Consequently, the government changed its land revenue policies and various tenancy acts were passed but they were not enough.

By the early 20 years of the establishment of the congress (1885), no remarkable work was done to solve the problems of the farmers. However, the congressmen tried to pay attention to these issues in their every session. With the rise of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics, the peasants' movement got a new direction. The main peasants' movements started at different places of India which paved the way for national movement were as follows:

Champaran Movement (1917):

The condition of indigo producing farmers in Bihar and Bengal was very miserable. Particularly in Bihar, the 'Tinkathia system' was in vogue, by which the farmers had to produce indigo in 3/20 part of their land. It was generally their most fertile land. The farmers did not want to produce indigo because it reduced the fertility of the land. Though, efforts were made to change the 'Tinkathia system' in 1908, but it did not change the adverse conditions of the farmers. Indigo farm owners compelled the farmers to sell their products to them on a fixed price which was very low. At this time German scientists began to produce artificial indigo colour and so the demand of Indian indigo reduced in the world market. Most of the indigo farm owners in Champaran began to realise that the trade of indigo would not be beneficial for them. So to keep their profit on, they started to impose the loss on the farmers. For this, they began to convince the farmers that they could be freed from the cultivation of indigo if they paid a great compensation. Besides it, they increased the *Lagan* excessively.

The farmers of Champaran were fed up with this type of tyrannical behaviour of the indigo farm owners. In the Lucknow session of the congress in 1916, Rajkumar Shukla, a farmer of Champaran attracted everyone's attention towards this problem and requested Gandhiji to visit Champaran. When Gandhiji reached Motihari (the district office of Champaran), his presence was taken as a danger for peace. The government ordered him to leave Champaran but Gandhiji realised the interests of the people there and refused to do so. Immediately, he was arrested and a case was filed against him in the district court. But Bihar government ordered the commissioner and district court to withdraw the case. Gandhiji was also prohibited from conducting any type of movement as well. But he was allowed to be familiar with the problems of the farmers. This way Gandhiji realised the problems of the farmers of Bihar and particularly of Champaran.

On the pressure of Gandhiji, the government formed 'Champaran Agrarian Committee.' Gandhiji was a member of this committee. This committee recommended to abolish the 'Tinkathia system' as well as the tax which the farmers had to pay. The increased rate of Lagan should be reduced and 25% of the tax which was illegally collected from the farmers should be paid back to them. These recommendations of the committee were passed in 1919 as 'Champaran Agrarian Act.' Though this movement was related to the problems of farmers, but most of the supporters of Gandhiji were from educated middle class, as Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Gorkah Prasad, Brajkishore Prasad and Dharnidhar Prasad played important role in Champaran Satyagrah. Local mahajans and the mukhtiyars of the villages also supported Gandhiji. Since Gandhiji made his principles of truth and non-violence the base of this movement, it is also known as Champaran Satyagrah.

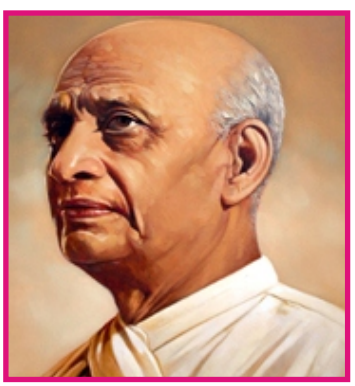
Khera Movement:

The other parts of the country also experienced peasants' movement. In the Khera district of Gujrat, Gandhiji supported the peasants' demand for the exemption of *lagan* because the kharif crops destroyed in 1917 due to heavy rains. Since, according to the lagan rule, there was no provision of the exemption in the lagan in this situation, the government rejected this demand.The government alleged that the outsiders were provoking the

farmers not to pay the lagan. But this allegation was baseless. On 22nd June 1918, Gandhiji called for movement which continued for a month. During this, the Rabi crops grew satisfactory and the government left the oppressive way. The situation was changed and Gandhiji announced to withdraw the satyagrah. By this satyagrah, the farmers of rural areas in Gujarat got courage to oppose the exploiting rules of the English.

Moplah uprising (1917:

The farmers of Malabar seacoast in modern Kerala undertook a great uprising which is known as Moplah uprising. Moplahs were local patteders and farmers who were the followers of Islam, whereas local 'Nambudari' and 'Nayer' landholders belonged to upper caste Hindus. Like another landholders they enjoyed government protection and police and court supported them. In the 19th century, the burden of lagan on Moplah farmers was increased and their rights were being controlled. This dissatisfaction created the situation of conflict among the farmers and landlords which unfortunately turned into communal violence. In 1921, a new situation was created when the congress demanded for land and revenue reforms in the interests of farmers and supported in Khilafat movement. Being encouraged in this new situation, Moplah rebellions declared one of their religious leaders, Ali Musaliar their king and began to attack government institutions. Observing the seriousness of the situation, military action was started against the rebellions in October, 1921. By December, more than ten thousand of rebellions were killed and more than fifty thousand were arrested. Thus this uprising gradually came to an end.



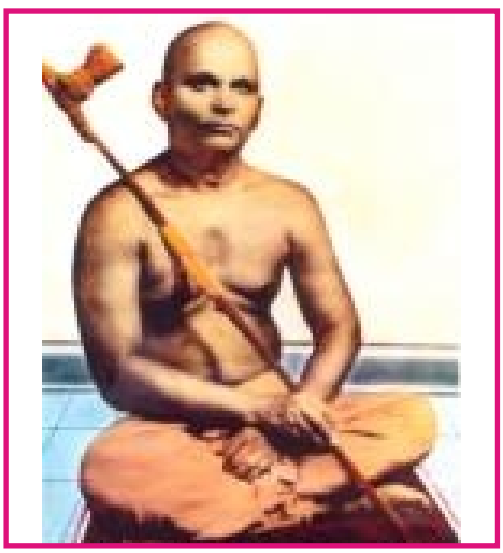
Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel

Bardoli Satyagrah:

Similarly, in 1928 the dissatisfaction among the farmers in Bardoli talluka in Surat district of Gujarat aroused against the increment in lagan. The farmers were also dissatisfied with the recommendations of 'Bardoli investigation commission' and they started a

movement against the decision of the government. Ballabh Bhai Patel played a decisive role in it. On this occasion, he was called 'Sardar'. He awakened the intellectuals towards the problems of the farmers and gave opportunity to the women to participate in the movement. A strike in railway was called on in Mumbai in the support of farmers and K. M. Munshi and Lalji Narangi resigned from the membership of Bombay Legislative Council in the support of the movement. As a result, the government had to form a new investigation committee under the leadership of Bloomfield and Marwell which accepted this increment improper and the government had to reduce the rate of lagan. Thus this movement successfully came to an end.

Formation of Kisan Sabha:



Sahjanand Sarswati

These initial movements awakened the farmers towards their rights and now they began to realise their strength. So Kisan Sabhas were formed in Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab in the decade of 1920. In 1922-23, in Bihar, Kisan Sabha was formed in Munger under the leadership of Shah Muhammad Zubair but it got a comprehensive and strong base in 1928 when Swami Sahjanand Sarswati formally established Kisan Sabha in Bihta and again in 1929 in Sonepur. This year Sardar Patel came to Bihar and it strengthened the movement. On 11th April, 1936, All India Kisan Sabha was formed in Lucknow. That time Bakast movement was started in Bihar which was accepted as a main demand in 1937 session of the congress. With this, the problems of farmers came into the mainstream of national movement.

Workers' movement:

The development of industrialisation and Marxist ideology in Europe influenced the other countries and the workers were awakened with the

industrial development even in India. In the initial years of the 20th century, Subrahmanya Aiyar advocated the formation of workers' union and on the other hand Swadeshi movement had an effect on the workers. In 1917, when the plague broke out in Ahmedabad, the workers began to leave the city, but the mill owners increased their salary to stop them. When the plague was checked, they decreased their salary. The workers were dissatisfied with it because even the bonus was inadequate for them due to the First World War and dearness. Gandhiji supported the demands of the workers and tried to mediate with the mill owners. At last, bonus was restored after his advice and its rate was fixed 35%. The communist international of the Russian revolution in 1917 and the formation of workers' organisation were such foreign events that directly influenced Indian national movement and worker class. On 31st October, 1920 the congress party formed 'All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)'. C. R. Das advised the congress to include the farmers and workers actively in national movement and support their demands.

In course of time, the popularity of the leftist ideology strengthened the workers' movement which made the British government more anxious and they assumed oppressive way against the workers. A case of treason was filed against some of the leftist leaders on the name of 'Merrut conspiracy'. In the meantime civil disobedience movement was started in 1930 which initially got the support of the workers. But in 1931, it was divided into three organisations named All India National Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sangh and United Trade Union Congress. Even after it, some of the main leaders of the national movement like Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose etc. continued to support the workers.

Tribal movement:

Tribal movement played an important role in Indian national movement. Unlike 19th century, tribal uprising in various parts of India had been a permanent factor even in the 20th century. These uprisings took place in indifferent parts of India. There was turmoil in the old Rampa region of Godawari hills in South India where uprising took place in 1916. It prepared

the background for the uprising under the leadership of Almuri Sitaram Raju in 1922-24. The tribal people started guerrilla war under the leadership of Shree Raju against the exploitation by Sahukars, and ban by the forest department on the Jhoom cultivation and the right of grazing continued for a long time. Madras government had to spend a lot of money and military power to suppress this uprising. At last, Raju was arrested on 6th May, 1924 and shot dead. This uprising was totally suppressed in September, 1924.

Khond movement took place in the feudal estate Daspulla in Orissa in 1914. It started due to succession dispute but soon it assumed a different form. The Englishmen feared that the Khond movement would spread to difficult mountain ranges of Eastern Ghats, Kalahandi and Bustar. So they tried to suppress this movement immediately. The villages of the Khonds were burnt to ashes.

This movement created the situation of war between the English and the tribal people and the rumour provoked the Oranv of Chhotanagpur region to revolt. But this movement was non-violent and it continued from 1914 to 1920. Jatra Bhagat was the leader. This movement laid emphasis on the social and educational reforms in which monism was emphasized and meat, wine and dances were prohibited.

This movement became as an inseparable part of Gandhian non-co-operation movement of 1920. The nationalist movement under the leadership of the congress was also having good impact on the tribal people and they were joining the national movement. In 1917, the Santhals in Mayurbhanj and 'Thodoi Kookies' in Manipur revolted. The guerrilla war continued for two years. The 'Pothang' system according to which the adivasis were compelled to carry the luggage of the officers without any wages and the complaint of imposing ban on the Jhoom cultivation were the main factors of this revolution.

During the civil disobedience movement, deep nationalist feeling was seen among the tribal people of north-west frontier. Similarly, during quit India movement unprecedental nationalist consciousness aroused among the tribal people of South Bihar.

INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Indian National Congress:

The beginning of Indian national movement is considered with the foundation of 'Indian National Congress' in the last phase of the 19th century. This is the first all India political institution. With the foundation of the Congress, Indian National Movement got a new direction and momentum.

Land Holders Society	-	1938
Bengal British Indian Association	-	1943
East India Association	-	1866
Indian Association	-	1876
Pune Sarvajanik Sabha	-	1870
Indian League	-	1875
Madras Mahajan Sabha	-	1884

However, it is not an unexpected incidence. Before it, the development of infrastructure in India, expansion of modern education, development of newspapers, religious reform movements, rise of middle class intellectuals and nationalist movements in Europe played important role in the awakening of national consciousness among Indians. In this context, several organisations were formed at regional level in India.

In due course of time, Indian national movement remained going ahead day by day at regional levels. At the beginning this movement was limited to educated middle class, but it further gained the sympathy of several Indian classes. This very time Indian Association was opposing the Rent Bill and the Press Act and Arms Act made by Lord Liton was being opposed strongly by Indians. The government had to withdraw the Press Act. Though there was no all India Political Institution then, the victory paved the way for Indian natinoalists. They began to think that unity is must. Ilbert Bill passed in the time of Lord Ripon was unitedly opposed by the Europeans and this victory gave Indian nationalists an opportunity to be united.

In December, 1883, Anand Mohan Bose, the secretary of Indian Association organised an all India conference named 'National Conference' in Kolkata with the aim of unification of disintegrated nationalist forces.

But on the other hand a retired British Officer, Allen Octrovian Hume began to make his efforts in this direction and formed 'Indian National Union' in 1884. Afterwards Hume continued discussing in this regard with Indian leaders and Indian Viceroy, Lord Dufrin for the year long. At last on December 25-28, 1885, a meeting of Indian National Union was called in Pune but unfortunately plague outbroke in Pune and the venue of meeting was changed. This meeting was held in Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay on Monday 28 December, 1885 and this organisation was renamed as 'Indian National Congress'. The world 'Congress' was taken from the history of North America which means 'the group of people'. Vyomeshchandra Banerjee presided over this meeting and 72 members participated in it. Its initial objectives are as follows:

i. Effort to unite different organisations indulging in the activities of national interests of India in different sectors.
ii. To make friendship and cordial relationship among the countrymen and end religious, racial and provincial conflicts.
iii. To make every possible effort for the development and strengthening of national unity.
iv. To discuss the important and necessary issues with the eminent citizens of India and prepare data for proofs regarding these.
v. To make efforts for reforms through requisitions and memorandum to the viceroy and his council.

Thus the initial objective of the congress was only to bring reforms in governance. After the division of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905, the voice of conflict began to rise within the congress and in 1907 it was divided and the congress got weaker. But the rise of Gandhiji in Indian politics strengthened Indian National Congress and it played the most important role in the freedom of India from the slavery of the British government by making national unity.

Leftism / The Communist Party:

The word 'Leftism' was first used in French revolution but in time lag after the rise of socialism or communism it became its synonym.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the communist meetings began to be initiated in Mumbai, Kolkata, Kanpur, Lahore, Madras and various other places. At that time Muzaffar Ahmad, S. A. Dange, Maulavi Barakatullah Gulam Hussain etc. were the main personalities associated with this ideology. They began to nurture leftist ideologies through their journals. But with the success of Russian revolution, the communist ideologies began to spread rapidly in India. In the mean time time M. N. Roy (Manavendra Nath Roy) formed the communist party of India in Tashkand. But they were not openly working in India. During non-cooperation movement, they got an opportunity to spread their ideology through journals and magazines. Now they began to join extreme nationalist movements. So after the drop of non-cooperation movement, the government began to suppress them and 8 persons were prosecuted under Peshawar Conspiracy case (1922-23), Kanpur conspiracy case (1924) and Meerut conspiracy case (1929-33). Then communists attracted the people's attention and they were called nationalist 'communist martyrs.' During it, they got the support of the congress because the congressmen did not let the 'public safety bill' pass, for it was against the communists. Thus the communist movement was now getting established. In 1925, a person named Satyabhakt founded the Communist Party of India. Now the leftist party of England also began to take interest in the communist party of India

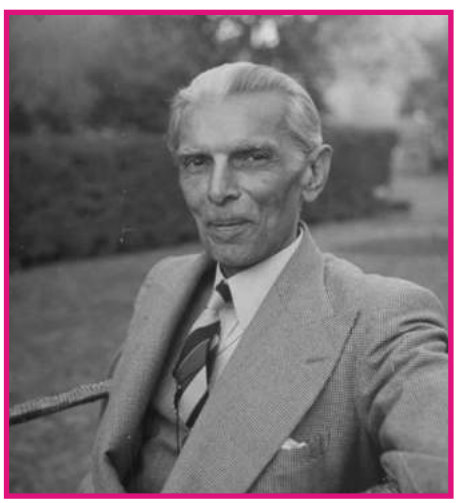
However, several organisations of the workers had been formed till now. AITUC was formed in 1920 but it was divided in 1928 and N. M. Joshi formed AITUF in 1929. Thus the influence of leftism on workers was growing. This time, effort was made to link the farmers with communism and Kisan-Mazdoor party was formed at different places. Labour Swaraj Party was the first party of the farmers and workers but in December, 1928, All India Mazdoor Kisan Party was formed at all India level. Till now an obvious impact

Subhash Chandra Bose, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jay Prakash Narayan, Achyut Patbardhan and Narendra Dev. So in October 1934, the congress socialist party was formed in Mumbai. However, though Jai Prakash Babu had already formed the Bihar Socialist Party in 1931, yet they ware accompanying the Congress.

During the civil disobedience movement the communists began to oppose the congress, because the congress was running by the support of the industrialists and capitalist who were exploiting the workers. The communits began to criticise even the leftist wing of the congress and disconnected themselves from the congress. This was the time when the socialist did not keep themselves aloof of it. Due to the communits, there was a danger of split in the congress which resulted as the formation of the Forward Block by Subhash Chandra Bose.

Muslim League:

The British were surprised to see the Hindu-Muslim unity in the revolution of 1857. After this revolution the British began to think that they can rule over India easily by dividing the Hindus and the Muslims because there is a sharp division between the both. It was the climax of the policy 'divide and rule'. This was the reason that in 1887, Lord Dufrin called the Congress a party of the Hindus and an Englishman named William Hunter emphasized much on English-Muslim friendship in his book.



Mohammad Ali Jinnah

On the other hand, the leaders of Indian National Congress and other nationalists began to take support of religion for spreading national consciousness in India. So the Muslims started thinking that the Congress wanted to form a Hindu state.

Thus a background was being prepared because some Muslim elites wanted to take their society on the path of development by taking them out of humiliation. So they began to spread education among them. Abdul Latif, Agha Khan and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan were eminent leaders. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in 1877. In 1905, Lord Curzon divided Bengal into two parts — East Bengal and West Bengal. East Bengal was named Muslim province and they were convinced that the division was in their interest, but its main objective was to weaken the emerging extreme nationalist movement. Both the Hindus and the Muslims opposed this policy so violently that Lord Hardinge withdrew it in 1911.

Now, the Hindu-Muslim unity compelled the British to make a way to keep the Muslims aloof from the Congress. Lord Minto began to practise this policy and asked his Secretary Dunlop Smith and the principal of Aligarh College, Arcwald to meet the Muslim representatives. In this context Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk with 35 Muslim leaders met them under the leadership of Agha Khan. Thus Agha Khan laid the foundation of the Muslim League.

Afterwards, the Nawab of Dhaka, Salimullah Khan suggested the name of organisation 'All India Muslim Confidency' and its first conference was convened in Dhaka on 30 December, 1906, whereas its name was changed into 'All India Muslim League' and thus an all India Muslim organisation was founded. This muslim Leage party was founded with the objective of ensuring proper representation of the Muslim in government services and on the posts of judges. Making a separate electoral college for legislative council and saving the interests of the Muslim in the appointment of the Council were its main objectives. The Englishmen took this incident as a landmark and declared that they had taken about 7 crore people in their favour. To prove it, the seeds of communalism were sown by keeping partial interests of the Muslims in mind in the reforming act of 1909. But in 1916 the Congress and the League made a compromise. The nationalist Muslim leaders like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Kichalu, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Maulana Majharul Haque alongwith the congress gave the movement a new momentum.

The Muslim League did not get adequate success in different elections and it proved that it had not a wide support among the Muslims and the Congress was the only party to lead the country. Further, the Muslim League parted with the Congress under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Zinna and asked for separate representation and constituency for the Muslims which made a route of the division of India. The English played a crucial role in it.

Swaraj Party:

The disappointment and irritation born out of the sudden withdrawal of Non-Co-operation movement was reflected in the Gaya session of the Congress (1922) in which Chitranjan Das was the president. Chitranjan Das and Motilal Nehru thought that besides constructive activities, the congress should take part in different elections in the country, and enter commercial and public meetings to create hindrance in the activities of the government. A proposal was placed in the Gaya session on this subject but it was not passed. Then Chitranjan Das and Motilal Nehru resigned from all the posts of the Congress and founded Swaraj Party. As a result of the optimum efforts of these two leaders, the first summit of the Swaraj party was held in Allahabad in 1923.

However, the main aim of the Swaraj Party was not different from Indian National Congress because both of them wanted swaraj but their ways were different. They wanted either improvement or end in the reforms Act of 1919. They entering the Dhara Sabhas wanted to keep on the non-coperative attitude with the Congress. They would go into the dhara sabhas, argue on different issues and come out raising voice against them. Their policy was to weaken the power of beaurocrates, to oppose the oppressive laws, to strengthen the national power and take part in Satyagrah after resigning the post if it be necessary.

However, the swarjists carrying their initial policies into effect got success to an extent as to reject budget proposal and get an investigation committee on the Reform Act, 1919 formed. But after the death of C. R. Das, some leaders like Kelkar, Pupul Jaykar selected the way for supporting the government. This was the time when the swarasists Hindus came nearer to the nationalist leaders because the support of Hindu Communalism was taken in the election. At the places like Varanasi, there was no difference between the Swaraj party and Hindu Mahasabha. It was the reason that Motilal Nehru sometimes had to turn to the communal appeals. The Swaraj Party probably got paralysed by 1926 and became limited due to not being stuck to their policies and not keeping themselves aloof from communalism.

Rashtriya Swayansevak Sangh (RSS):

Rashtriya Swaynsevak Sangh (RSS) was founded in 1925 on the concept of 'Hindu, Hinduism and Hindu Nation'. This party did not emerge all of a sudden, its rise was being visualized from the earlier times. This time the revival of the Hindus began to favour the dignity of the Hindu rituals. It influenced the then leadership, the leaders of religious reform movement and literature. However, in 1830, Radhakant founded Dharma Sabha in Kolkata and started the activities of religious reforms. But in 1875, Swami Dayanand Sarswati founded 'Arya Samaj' in Mumbai and raised the slogan 'Back to the Vedas'. It was the initial stage of the Hindu revival. In this age, the Vedas were being called paramount and the Sanatan form of the Hindu religion was being established.

On the other hand, the youths were not satisfied with the activities of Indian National Congress for 10-15 years and they wanted to assume aggressive nature. Some main leaders like 'Bal, Pal, and Lal' began to take support of Hindu religion in the expansion of national consciousness. Other leaders also followed the way. It was quite natural because the then Indian society was scrupulous and the public were easily convinced and awakened with the religious examples. This very time, in 1909, Lala Lalchand, a supporter of Lala Jagat Roy criticised the congress and said that every Hindu is first a Hindu and then an Indian. Now the conservatives of the Hindu religion

began to be united through Dharma Sabhas, Sanatan Dharma Sabhas and Kumbh Melas which resulted as the foundation of 'Hindu Mahasaha' in Haridwar by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

But with the rise of Mahatma Gandhi, both the communal parties were upstaged. When the non-cooperation movement was withdrawn, a conflict rose among the extreme nationalists and communalism was aggravated once again. The follower of the Hindu Mahasabha talked of the joining Hindi and the Hindus with Hindustan and so their domain was spreading. This time, Shree K. B. Hedgewar, a follower of Balgangadhar founded Rashtriya Swaynsevak Sangh (RSS) in Nagpur in 1925 with the objective to build a strong nation by making the Indian Hindu youths disciplined and morally strong. So, it started to emerge as a social institution. Here the lesson of nationhood as well as conventional Hinduism was taught.

Thus the above written facts tell us that the different administrative, economic and social policies of the British government gave birth to nationalism in India. From 1914 to 1930, Indian National Movement was at its climax in which Indian National Congress played an important role under the leadership of Gandhiji. This time Kisan Sabha and several organisations of workers were founded which started movements for their rights and further consolidated in national movement. In this very period, various parties like Communist Party, Swaraj Party and RSS were founded in India and the activities of the Congress Party and the Muslim League got momentum. After 1930, the movements done by all these parties against the British policy activated Indian national movement.

EXERCISE

Objective Question:

1. The Gadar Party was founded by _____ in _____
   (a) Gurdayal Singh, 1916
   (b) Chandrashekhar Azad, 1920
   (c) Lala Hardayal, 1913
   (d) Sohan Singh Bhakhana, 1918

2. When was the Jaliyanwala Bagh massacre happened?
   (a) 13 April, 1919 (b) 14 April, 1919
   (c) 15 April, 1919 (d) 16 April, 1918

3. In which year was the Lucknow pact signed?
   (a) 1916 (b) 1918
   (c) 1920 (d) 1922

4. In which session of the Congress was the proposal of Non-cooperation movement passed?
   (a) September 1920, Kolkata
   (b) October 1920, Ahmedabad
   (c) November 1920, Faizpur
   (d) December 1920, Nagpur

5. The Khilafat movement started in India in _____ for the support of the ruler of _____.
   (a) 1920, Turkey (b) 1920, Arabia
   (c) 1920, France (d) 1920, Germany

6. The Civil disobedience movement started in ____ with ____ march.
   (a) 1920, Bhuj (b) 1930, Ahmedabad
   (c) 1930, Dandi (d) 1930, Alba

7. In which annual session of the Congress was the proposal of Purna Swarajya passed?
   (a) 1929, Lahore (b) 1931, Karanchi
   (c) 1933, Kolkata (d) 1937, Belgawn

8. Rashtriya Swaynsevak Sangh was found in _____ by _____.
   (a) 1923, Guru Golwalakar
   (b) 1925, K. B. Hedgewar
   (c) 1926, Chitranjan Das
   (d) 1928, Lalchand

9. During which movement of the farmers did Ballav Bhai Patel get the title of 'Sardar'?
   (a) Bardoli (b) Ahmedabad
   (c) Kheda (d) Champaran

10. When was the Rampa revolts taken place?
   (a) 1916 (b) 1917
   (c) 1918 (d) 1919

Fill in the blanks:

1. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and _____ started the Home Rule movement.
2. _____ was the leader of the Khilafat movement in India.
3. _____ movement come to an end on _____ February.
4. _____ was the Chairman of the Simon Commission.
5. The movement against _____ tax was started in _____.
6. The first president of Indian National Congress was _____.
7. All India Kisan Sabha was formed on _____ April, _____.
8. _____ movement was taken place in Orissa in _____.

Very short answer type questions:

1. Why was the Khilafat movement started?
2. What do you mean by the Rollat Act?
3. What was the purpose of Dandi March?
4. What was the Gandhi-Irwin pact or Delhi pact?
5. Present a brief account of Champaran Satyagrah.

6. What do you mean by Meerut conspiracy?
7. What do you know about Jatra Bhagat? Write in brief.
8. Why was All India Trade Union Congress founded?

Match the following:

i.	Gandhian phase	(a) 5 February, 1922
ii.	Chauri-Chaura massacre	(b) 1919-1947
iii.	The first president of the Congress	(c) 1915
iv.	Withdrawal of Bengal division	(d) Kerala
v.	Hindu Mahasabha	(e) 1911
vi.	Moplah revolts	(f) Madan Mohan Malviya

Short answer type questions (Answer in 60 words):

1. How can you say that the non-cooperation movement was the first public movement?
2. What were the results of the civil disobedience movement?
3. In which situation was Indian National Congress founded?
4. Write a note on the peasants' movement of Bihar.
5. Describe the foundation of the Swaraj Party and its objectives.

Long answer type questions (Answer in 150 words):

1. Discuss the inter-relation of the First World War with Indian National Congress.
2. Describe the causes and results of the Non-cooperation movement.
3. Discuss the reasons of the civil disobedience movement.
4. Describe of the development of the workers' movement in India.
5. Discuss the contribution of Gandhiji in Indian National movement.
6. Mark the role of the leftists in Indian national movement.

Chapter-5

Economy and Livelihood

The main base of economy of any nation is agriculture and industry upon which the livelihood of people depends. In comparison to agriculture, the importance of industry has tremendously increased in modern time and there has been proportional increase in their contribution in economy. In the second half of eighteenth century, Britain became the first country of the world where mechanization started in the agriculture and industrial sectors and a new era of industrialization began.

Industrialization or establishment of industries on a large scale is the contribution of the industrial revolution where the production of goods is done through machine, rather than human labour. In industrialization production is done on a very large scale so there is need of market for its consumption. Industrialization is a stimulating agent of modernization in any country. It depends on the invention of latest new machines and technical development. Besides machines, investment and labour have a very important place as an stimulating element in industrialization. Industrialization is a system in which, generally the production is done in factories through machines. Under this system, at first in England the industrial production system took the place of cottage production system.



Cottage Industry



Mechanical Industry

By 1750 Britain was mainly an agricultural country and 80% of the population of the country lived in villages. Agriculture was the main source of their subsistence. Production of yarn, wool, glass, iron and pots of clay was done in cottage industries by farmers. The craftsmen engaged in these industries produced things either by their hands or machines developed by them. Among the industries, textile industry was the main. Together with other European countries, even in Britain cloth was produced on a large scale for international market and those were mostly produced by human operated machines. There was guild system in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The producer related to guild were famous for their expertise and speciality. They had monopoly on the trade. So, the merchants moved towards village due to increased demand. They began to take work from the farmers and labourers of the villages. They kept the farmers and labourers in their control by imparting them training. The demand of produced goods opened ways of employment in villages also and cottage industry progressed a lot and participation of women and children increased with male persons. Dyeing and printing was done in the villages of Britain. After that the finished goods was exported to colonial markets. Thus even before industrialisation, use of machines in production, the period of industrial development was going on, where human labour was used in production in cottage industries and cottage industry was developing and evaluative. This period is known as proto-industrialization.

Reasons of industrialization:

Free trade and policy of laissez faire in Britain developed the British trade very much. The demand of produced good kept on increasing. It was not possible for the traders to increase the production in the existing set-up. On the one hand the weavers sat idle for scarcity of yarn and on the other hand there was extraordinary engagement of thread spinner. A full time working weaver could

Reasons

1. Need is mother of invention
2. Invention of latest new machines
3. Abundance of coal and iron
4. Beginning of factory system
5. Availability of cheap labour
6. Transportation facility
7. Vast colonial situation



Cotton cloth producing area in Britain

use yarn of 6 thread spinners. In this situation, a change was needed where production of thread could be increased. It was that main factor that the chain of development that engaged in the beginning years of industrialisation was mostly related to cotton cloth industry.

The invention of new latest machines in the second half of eighteenth century in England brought such revolution in the industrial world that paved the way both for industrialization as well as colonization. In 1769, Richard Arkwright, a resident of Balton, invented a thread spinning machine, spinning frame that was run by water-power. In 1770, James Hargreaves, resident of Handhill, developed another spinning machine, spinning Jenny. In this machine sixteen distaffs moved by moving a wheal and so eight threads could be spinned simultaneously. In 1773, John Kay of Lanchashire invented flying shuttle, through which weavers started working very fast and demand of thread increased. Samual Crompton made spinning mule in 1779. Through this machine very thin yarn could be spinned. In 1785, Edmund Cartwright developed steam operated 'powerloom'. In this period a person named Benar prepared a machine for cloth printing. Cylindrical printing, the invention of Thomas Bell brought about a revolution in the dyeing and printing of cotton textile. Due to these inventions there was great development in the British cotton textile industry by 1820. In these industries the steam engine developed by James Watt in 1769 also had very important role.

Since the development of cloth industry depends mostly on coal and iron industry so the Britishers paid much attention on these industries. Britain had mines of coal and iron. After invention of steam engine, railway engines were made for use in Britain and to export in other countries. In 1815, Hemphery Devy invented safety lamp for the workers of mines and Henery Bessemar developed a powerful furnace that gave more encouragement to iron industry.

The invention of new latest machines developed factory system and as a result of that new centres of trade and industry emerged. The Lauchashire cotton cloth industry situated in Liverpool was made centre. Manchester also became a big centre of cotton cloth industry. After 1805, new South Wales became centre of wool production and large sheep farms were established. Silk industry and linen industry also flourished in Britain.

The need of cheap labour in industrialisation in Britain had been on the vanguard. In the last year of the eighteenth century fencing system of enclosure began. In this system the landlords (Zamindars) made larger farms by purchasing small plot of lands. The farmers who sold their lands became landless labourers.



Iron and Coal producing in Britain

To meet their livelihood, they started to go to nearby towns in search of work. Thus in the factories operated by machines countless labourers were available to work on cheap rate. Cheap labour helped in the field of production.

There was good communication facility available in Britain to transport produced goods from factory to another place and to bring the raw material to factories. Before beginning of railways, the trade was done through river ways and sea routes. The goods brought in river ships were easily taken to sea ships or coasters. Britain was the first among the navigation industry in the world and export-import of all countries were done especially through the merchant ship of Britain. Its economic advantage became helpful in intensifying the speed of industrialization.

The colonies established by Britain also gave contribution towards industrialization. It was easy for Britain to purchase raw materials on cheap rates from these colonies and to sell their produced goods here on high rates.

Colonialism:

There was tremendous increase in production through invention of machines and establishment of factories. There was need of market for consumption of produced goods for Britain and later on in the other countries of Europe where factories had set up. It encouraged colonization. In this context India emerged as a vast colony of Britain. They were attracted towards India to make trade due to abundance of resources. India was rich not only in natural and artificial resources, but it proved a very large market also.

By eighteenth century Indian industry was most developed in the world. Across the world, India was the biggest workshop that produced very beautiful and useful things. Until the invention of machines, British had control over hand-crafts, sculptural industry and trade. Wages paid to artisans was so meagre that many times they were not paid even to have minimum subsistence. The English had got production from artisan by paying them advance money through their agents. The agents were called

'*Gomashta*'. The *Gomashtas* purchased goods from artisans on arbitrary prices and exported them to England. The Charter Act passed by British parliament in 1813 abolished monopoly of East India Company over trade and the way for policy of free trade was opened.

After 1850 the British government adopted such measures to develop their industry that domestic industry closed down one after another in this period. Due to the policy of free trade adopted by the British government heavy tax was imposed for sale of Indian manufactured goods, in England. From India raw material was exported. Excise duty and transportation tax was imposed on the export of Indian goods. The English living in India were given special facilities and railway was developed to facilitate import and export. Gradually, factories were established in India by British investment. Cotton textiles were also imported. After 1850 textile import began from Manchester on large scale. Now it was impossible for the craftsmen and farmers of cottage industries to get raw material. They had to purchase raw materials on arbitrary prices. Thus the cottage industries were closed gradually and the artisans and farmers were compelled to do agriculture. When establishment of factories started in India after 1850, then these unemployed persons started migrating from villages to towns, where they were engaged as labourer. On the one side, the invention of machines started the process of industrialisation by increasing in industry as well as production, but on the other hand the cottage industry in India reached the brink of destruction. Indian historians have termed it 'deindustrialisation' for industry in India.

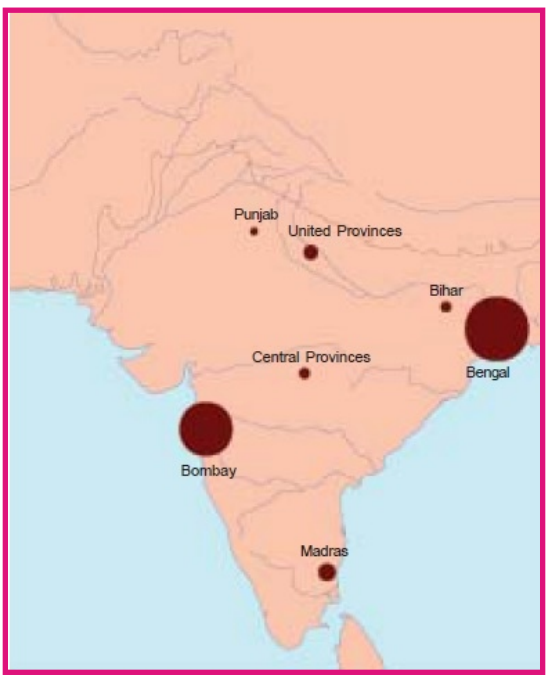
Establishment of factories in India:

Cottage industries were closed down in India due to industrial production but many big textile factories were opened with domestic and foreign investment that stopped the workshop industry. In course of establishment of factories, Dwarikanath Tagore established six joint enterprise companies in Bengal in the decade of 1830-40. At first cotton textile mill was founded in 1851 in Bombay. Here Parsis, Gujratis, and Bohra

Muslims etc. became engaged in establishing modern factories for cotton textile manufacturing. A Parsi Kavas-ji-Nana-Dabhar established first factory in 1854 and from then the history of this industry started in India.



Textile Mill in Mumbai



Large scale industrial area in India

30 factories were established from 1854 to 1880, among them 13 belonged to Parsis. From opening of Suez Canal in 1869 the import of cotton textile from England to Bombay seaport increased. In spite of that the number of cotton textile mills from 1880-1895 became more than 39. They put cotton textile industry of Manchester in exercise, and so the British government exempted import duties from the goods imported from England. So the goods of England began to be sold at comparatively cheaper rate in Indian market. That time cotton textile industry were given special encouragement by importing cheaper machines in India. During 1895 to 1914, the number of cotton textile mills increased by 144 and Indian cotton yarn was exported to China.

The first jute mill in the country was established in 1917 by a Marwari businessman Hukum Chand. In 1918 first limited company Birla Brothers was founded. In 1919, Birla Jute company, and in 1920, Jiyaji Rao textile mill was opened in Gawalior. Ghanshyam Das Birla purchased many operational English-companies and extended his business, as Keshav Rao cotton mill from Andwill and Sugar factory from Martin.



Ghanshyam Das Birla

Jamshedji Tata established Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) in 1907 at Sakchi in Bihar. Jamshedji Tata was such an Indian, who had very much knowledge of Indian industry. He established Tata Hydro-Electric Power station in 1910. Iron industry flourished after independence. The permission for opening of Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur steel factories were taken in 1955 on the basis of the agreement made with Russia, West Germany and Britain. At present there are seven steel plants in India:



Jamshed ji Tata

1. Indian Iron and Steel Company, Hirapur
2. Tata Iron and Steel Company, Jamshedpur
3. Vishweshwaraiya Iron and Steel Company, Bhadravati (Karnataka)
4. Rourkela Steel Plant, Rourkela.
5. Bhilai Steel Plant, Bhilai
6. Durgapur Steel Plant, Durgapur
7. Bokaro Steel Plant, Bokaro



Tata iron and Steel Company

The coal industry in India began in 1814 with excavation of coal in the mines of Raniganj, West Bengal. The development of this industry started with the development of Railways in 1853. Machines were brought in use to increase production. Establishment of new industries enhanced the demand of coal. Total production in 1868 was 5 lakh ton but in 1950 it increased to 3.23 crore ton. The then Bihar was the main centre of the industry.

After 1850-60, gardening industries viz Indigo, tea, coffee, rubber and jute mills were started in India. However, among these industries most of the industrialists were foreigner and had got government support. The government appointed an industrial commission in 1916 to find out sectors for related efforts to Indian finance of Indian industry and trade, so that government could give assistance. In 1921, the government appointed a revenue commission with Shri Ibrahim Rahmatullah as its head for that year. Under this commission, tin industry, paper industry, chemical industry, sugar industry etc. were established in 1924. In 1930s cement and glass industries were founded.

It was the speciality of trade from 1850 to 1914 that in this period the goods like jute and tea for export were also produced, that was advantageous for the nation. Together with these goods like coarse textile that had no more foreign competitiveness were also produced. The Indian industries got advantage during the First World War and the goods produced domestically got market within the country and outside. They also got contract in war. Raw material was available an lesser rate and they got huge rate on produced goods.

The impact of worldwide economic depression of 1929-33 was very severe on Indian industry. India was self-reliant in basic materials, but the prices had reduced to half. The rate of exportable goods were also decreased. Thus the people dependent on the industry suffered loss day by day.

During Second World War the whole demand of cotton textile produced by mills was fulfilled by Indian factories. The Indian mill owners got advantage of this opportunity and started entering the foreign market. During war, India did not have its own engineering company. It also did not have industry to produce own machines. Only that industry could have been established that build-up machines in Britain or America.

After the Second World War America became an important partner with Indian trade. Now America started supply of useful goods to India and demanded raw materials from India. It was not a matter of surprise, because there had been remarkable increase in the production capacity of America.

Before the First World War the European companies invested capital in trade. It was carried out by managing agencies, which had control over industries. Among them Bird Hagglers and Company Endrugul and Jordin Skinner and Company were the biggest ones. In India, Punjab National Bank, in 1895, Bank of India in 1906, Indian Bank in 1907, Central Bank of India in 1911, the Bank of Mysore in 1913 and joint stocks banks were founded. These banks were helpful in the development of Indian industries.

Outcome of Industrialization:

In India between 1850 and 1950 many industries like textile industry, iron industry, cement industry, coal industry were developed. Such as Jamshedpur, Sindri, Dhanbad and Dalmianagar etc. (new industrial towns) were founded in the then Bihar state. The downfall of cottage industries began due to establishment of big factories. Manually manufactured goods became costlier, its sale demised, consequently ancient industries started to disappear. In India efforts are being made to revive these artistic activities. Some important centres are towns like Agra, Banaras, Ahmedabad, Surat, Rajputana etc.

Outcome:

1. Development of towns
2. Downfall of cottage industries
3. Development of imperialism
4. Class division in society and emergence of Bourgeoisie class.
5. Emergence of factory labour class
6. Beginning of slum system.

As a result of industrialisation in England, new machines were invented with the destruction of the old weavers working on the handloom. But in India with the destruction of lacs of craftsmen and artisans there was no development of any new industry of that standard as an alternative. There was very bad impact of industrialisation on Dhaka, Murshidabad, and Surat etc. Their craftsmen and artisans made agriculture as their livelihood. Thus the balance of agriculture and industry that was going on in India was lost.

Due to industrialisation production started on large scale, and for the consumption of goods, colonial race started in Europe. The colonialism later shaped imperialism. In colonialism economic control is established over technically weaker countries and in imperialism both economic and political control are imposed.

The industrialist making investment in Indian industry with British assistance, as a result of industrialisation, became capitalist. Thus there was the emergence of three classes in society Capitalist class, Bourgeoisie class (medium class) and Labour class. Later on this very bourgeoisie class in the freedom movement of India played a very active role against the British policy of colonialism and exploitation.

Industrialisation gave birth to a new type of labour class. Although labours in India before 1850 worked in the gardens of tea, coffee and rubber, but after establishment of different industries, factory labourer class emerged. Their living standard was very low and they were exploited by the industrialists.

Slum system started with industrialisation. In towns, the labourers were faced to live in very small houses, where there was no facility of any type. Later on they started movement for proper distribution of production. Since they were badly exploited by the capitalists, they started class struggle against capitalist by forming an organisation.

Livelihood of Laborours:

Industrialisation gave birth to a new factory system that rendered the owner of cottage industries as laborour and their livelihood depended on the wages received from big industrialists. Even women and children had to work for 16 to 18 hours. That time law was in favour of mill owners. The problem of the labourers was that they were not able to come back to their cottage industry, because it was not possible to survive cottage industry against mechanism. The feeling among them became stronger that the new factories were their worst enemies, because these factories had rendered them jobless. The condition of those labourers who got job in factories was troublesome. Therefore, the labourers and jobless artisans started wandering in groups and breaking machines. In Europe even the wool mining ladies attacked on machines. On many places machines were brought to cross roads and set to fire.



Status of homeless labourers

Industrialisation has damaged the livelihood of labourers to this extent that they had no money to purchase even commodities of daily use. So, the labourers adopted way of movement. Between 1830 and 1848, the labourers organised themselves and held agitation in London for their rights. Though, 'Reform Act' was passed in 1832, but the labourers had no benefit of it. They were not even given right to franchise. Therefore, they started 'Chartist Movement' in 1838 under London working Men's Association. It can be attributed as the first organised movement of the labourers. Though the movement did not get success then but later on it got so much popularity that the members of the parliament had to endeavour themselves to fulfil the demands of the labourers. In 1918 all adult male and female were given right to vote. After the Second World War labour party formed government in England and started safeguarding the interests of the labourers.

The period after 1850, in India, was the beginning of the era of labour class. The number of labourers increased due to establishment of industries. In future, the Indian labourers had to face problem of minimum wages, longer working hours, unhygienic condition of mills, child labour, and non-payment of minimum wages to women. Besides, the Indian labourers started sharing dissatisfaction to the atrocities of administration. Therefore, they began to make plan for agitation against mill owners and colonial exploitation. In this act the textile mill owners of Lancashire supported Indian labourers and put demand before British government for the betterment of their condition. They had apprehension that due to cheap labourer the Indian industry could be their competitor. On the basis of their demand a commission was appointed in 1875 and on the basis of the report of the commission first 'Factory Act' was passed in 1881.



A woman spinning thread

Under the act, children below the age of 7 were banned to work in factory, and working hour was fixed for children below the age of 12. Working hour and wages for women were also fixed.

Still discontentment of labourers was witnessed during 1882 to 1890, when 25 strikes were registered in Madras and Bombay presidencies. The labourers were unorganised, had come from villages and wanted to make their position better by emerging themselves for some time in industry. They had returned back in situation of non-improvement of their position.

Gradually these unorganised labours began to form their organisation on national level. All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded on 31st October, 1920 with Lala Lajpat Roy as its chief. With formation of Industrial Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1920, labourers' problem got international recognition.

In 1926 'Trade Union Act' was passed, by which registered labour organisation got recognition. During grave economic depression neither the receding wages were checked by strikes nor could the retrenchment of labour be controlled. In this period the labour organisation split up. It was the time when National Movement in India was on extreme. The wave of communism arrived India from Russia and it began to play active role in the national movement. The people belonging to labour class associated with them in the national movement because the communist laid emphasis on the independent political role of labour class.

During the Second World War the labourers went on strike in Bombay, Kanpur, Kolkata, Digboi, Jharia, Jamshedpur and Dhanbad over matter of dearness allowance. During 'Quit India Movement' in 1942, the labourer opposed the colonial administration by making agitation against their mill owners. It gave support to national movement. Almost the labour parties in all places tried to associate the economic demands of labourers in industrial areas with anti-colonial struggle.

India was divided after independence and just after that unemployment increased. The labourers were hopeful that their condition will change after independence, but it could not happen, and the labour

organisation split into three parts; Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Hind Mazdoor Sangh (HMS) and United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).

The government, keeping in view the livelihood and right of the labourers passed 'Minimum Wages Act' in 1948, and rate of wages in some industries was fixed. It was given an important place in the first five year plan. In the second plan it was mentioned that minimum wages should be such by which the labour could do not only their subsistence, but should be more, so that they could maintain their happiness. In the third plan labour board was founded and Bonus commission was appointed to pay bonus.

In 1962, the central government established National Labour Commission for the betterment of the condition of labourers. Through this the labourers were provided job and effort was done to improve their wages.

Thus the government, after independence, took many measures to ameliorate the economic condition of the labourers related to industries, since they were extremely exploited by the capitalists during industrialisation.

Importance and Utility of Cottage industry:

Though the process of industrialisation badly damaged cottage industry, and greatly affected livelihood of labourers, yet even in this adverse situation the industry had been flourishing in villages and town and providing advantages to the common people. It played a leading role in the national movement, especially at the time of Swadeshi movement. Therefore, its importance cannot be neglected. Mahatma Gandhi said that small and cottage industry is according to Indian social condition. It plays a very important role in the national economy. The cottage industry ensures maximum equal distribution of industrial consumer goods, employment to greater number and national income. In the process of fast industrialisation the cottage industry proved that it is advantageous in many ways. Social, economic and related issues are solved through these industries. Faster economic development depends on its proper functioning. It is a powerful tool for socio-economic development and balanced area wise progress. Its

biggest importance is that the development of these industries provides employment opportunities on large scale; enhances skill, increases entrepreneurship *(udhmita)* and ensures better usage of available techniques. Very small capital is needed to start this industry. It pays attention on the permeation of productive capacities while in industrialization the power of production remains in the hand of few. The cottage industry checks the flow of population to cities.

The Indian manufactured goods had worldwide market after the development of modern industrial system. There was worldwide demand of nylon, chintz and cotton textile. Indian industries provided goods not only for fulfilment of local needs but they also exported the manufactured goods. Among the main items to be exported from India are cotton, silk, chintz, verities of waves and wool.

The people belonging to high class in Britain largely preferred Indian handicrafts. The items such as cloth made from handmade thin threads, tasar silk, Banarsi and Balucheri saarees, and sarees with knitted border and the famous Madrasi lungis were in great demand in the high classes of Britain. These items were not to be imitated by machines and special feature was that it was not affected by famine and unemployment because it was costly and used only by the high class persons in foreign countries.

The Indian cottage industry and handicrafts suffered downfall due to making political relationship with English and industrialisation. Since the policy of the British government was to support the import of foreign produced goods in India and export of raw materials from India. So no attention was paid on rural industry. Still during national movement, especially swadeshi movement, the demand of Khadi cloths gave encouragement to cottage industry. There was increase in demands of goods produced in cottage industry, between two world wars, and the cottage industry with factories had been playing important role in production in regional areas.

After attaining independence in 1947, there was change in the policy of the government of India towards utility and development of cottage industry. Through the industrial policy of 6th April, 1948 small and cottage industries were given special support. There were five boards constituted in 1952-53. They were related to handloom, silk, khadi, coconut fibre and rural industry. There was special mention for their support in the industrial policy of 1956 and 1977. After that an industrial policy declaration was issued on 23rd July, 1980 mentioning the agro-based industries as well as limit of small industries was enhanced.

Thus we see that after independence on the one side the government of India kicked up cottage industry and on the other hand the process of the industrialisation began to flourish. Now there was expansion in the industrial sectors like chemical and power and electricity, electronics and automatic machines were used. The beginning of nationalism in India was the outcome of the beginning of colonial exploitation under the British industrial policy in the nineteenth century. It was the cause that when mahatma Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement, the mill workers of Ahmedabad and Kheda supported the nationalists. Mahatma Gandhi endeavoured to revive cottage industry by giving emphasis on rejection of foreign goods and adopting the swadeshi one and used it as a tool against colonialism.

The workers, working in the mills across India, supported Gandhiji in the 'Quit India Movement'. Thus, industrialisation that was started under an economic process, paved the way for political and social change in India. Britain known as the leading power in industrial power lost the first position after 1950, and the countries like America and Germany went far ahead from Britain in terms of industrial development.

EXERCISE

Objective questions:

1. When was spinning Jennie invented?
   (a) 1769 (b) 1770
   (c) 1773 (d) 1775

2. Who invented safety lamp?
   (a) James Hergreaves (b) Joch Kay
   (c) Crompton (d) Hamphy Davy

3. When were cotton textile mills first established in Bombay?
   (a) 1851 (b) 1885
   (c) 1907 (d) 1914

4. In which city was the first jute mill set up in India in 1917?
   (a) Calcutta (b) Delhi
   (c) Bombay (d) Patna

5. When was coal industry started in India?
   (a) 1907 (b) 1914
   (c) 1916 (d) 1919

6. When did Jamshedji Tata set up Tata Iron and Steel Company?
   (a) 1854 (b) 1907
   (c) 1915 (d) 1923

7. When was the Tata Hydro-Electric Power station set up in India?
   (a) 1910 (b) 1951
   (c) 1955 (d) 1962

8. When did all male and female get right to vote in England?
   (a) 1838 (b) 1881
   (c) 1918 (d) 1932
9. When was 'All India Trade Union Congress' formed?
   (a) 1848 (b) 1881
   (c) 1885 (d) 1920
10. When was first 'Factory Act' passed in India?
   (a) 1838 (b) 1858
   (c) 1881 (d) 1911

Fill in the blanks:

1. Chartist movement was started in 1838 at _____.
2. Labour Union Act was passed in _____.
3. Minimum wages Act was passed in _____.
4. International labour organisation was formed in _____.
5. In the first 'Factory Act', the _____ for women and children was fixed.

Mach them:

a. Spinning Jeiny	a. Samuel Crompton
b. Flying shuttle	b. Edmond Cartwright
c. Powerloom	c. James Watt
d. Steam Engine	d. John Kay
e. Spinning Mule	e. James Hargreaves

Very short answer question (Answer in 20 words):

1. Mention any two causes of development of factory system.
2. How did bourgeoisie class emerge?
3. What were the main industries in India in the eighteenth century?
4. What do you mean by deindustrialisation?
5. When was industrial commission appointed? What were its objectives?

Short answer question (Answer in 60 words):

1. What do you mean by industrialisation?
2. How did industrialisation affect workers' livelihood?
3. How did slum system begin?
4. When was the 'Minimum Wages Act' passed and what were its objectives?
5. Coal and Iron industry kicked up industrialisation. How?

Long answer question (Answer in 150 words):

1. Explain the causes of industrialisation.
2. Throw light on the changes as a result of industrialisation.
3. What do you mean by colonialism? Industrialisation gave birth to colonialism. How?
4. Throw light on the importance and utility of cottage industry.
5. Industrialisation influenced not only economic structure but paved the way for political change also. How?

Class Discussion:

1. Find out a cottage industrial area around you. With which product is that industry associated? How many workers are engaged in it and what is the condition of the workers? Make details of it and share it with teachers in the class.

Chapter-6

Urbanisation and Urban Life

Urbanisation means the process of developing a village as a town or Kasba. There are many differences between a village and a town. The village has less population whereas the town has more. Cultivation and animal husbandry are the main sources of livelihood in the villages whereas trade and production in the town. The natural environment of the village is free from pollution but in the town it is polluted. Education, transportation, health facilities etc. are more developed in the own. The development of towns from villages is a long term process covering many centuries. According to the sociologist, urban life and modernisation are complementary to each other and the town is considered as a dominating area of modern people. The town provides unlimited possibilities to satisfy the urge of people. Before modern age, trade and religion were the main bases of the establishment of towns. These areas were located on the commercial way or ports and harbours. The religious places attracted a large number of devotees and they strengthened the urban economy.

Medieval feudal social structure and medieval moral value were at their zenith by the 13th century. In spite of many obstructions, this system remained intact till the 16th century. This system controlled, stopped and submerged the new and external forces which wanted to change it. At last a new social and political structure developed which was indebted to ancient tradition but accepted modern political and economic concepts which were facilitated by more practical and inquisitive attitude.

In this background, the urban life flourished. In due course of time, such types of cities developed in which grand parkots were created. These cities and busy industrious citizens were foresighted and harbinger of future. These cities were connected with new highways and trades started among them by the roads and waterways.

The process of urbanisation has been very long but the history of the rise of modern cities is about two hundred years old. Three historical

processes played a decisive role in the establishment of cities. Firstly, the rise of industrial capitalist, secondly the establishment of colonial rule on a vast landscape of the world and thirdly, the development of democratic values.

Thus, the attitude of advancement towards urban system developed keeping the rural and feudal system aside. So urbanisation is a modern incident as a life-style of a large part of the masses.

An established social life began from villages. In the process of this transition, permanent cultivation began in place of nomadic life based on hunting, food gathering and temporary cultivation.

Land investment and technical discoveries opened the possibilities of surplus production in agriculture which was imperative for their social existence. So the impact of permanent cultivation made money hoarding possible which created social discriminations. High division of labour originated the necessity of trade and commerce on the basis of these changes, the rise of rural life got a new dimension where people began to live a distinguished socially organised lives.

In the economic and administrative contexts, there are two main bases of rural and urban system — density of population and ratio of agriculture based economic activities. So the density of population is large in towns and cities. The village is also differentiated from towns and cities on the basis of agricultural activities at economic format. In other words, a large part of village population is associated with agricultural activities. Most of the commodities are agricultural products which are the main source of their income. So agriculture based economy was related to life subsistence economy. So the advancement of this class towards cities became possible on the basis of monetary based economy which was competitive and inspired by an industrious attitude. The process of emigration started on the basis of this very social and economic change. A large number of farmer class advanced towards cities in search of new opportunity. At the initial stage, they had immense contribution in the establishment of cities. But in the urban system, this class was neglected because they continued to keep social discriminations. Advancing in this direction, modern cities emerged and the craze of urban life increased. This is the process in which a large part of population began to settle in cities rather than in villages. The size and

and complexity of cities also changed. The city became the centre of political authority and artisans, businessmen and officers began to settle there.

The industrialisation in modern age deeply influenced the nature of urbanisation. Even after many decades of the beginning of industrialisation most of the western towns were village type towns.

If we observe the developmental phases of towns, we can see the process beginning as Kasbas. Artisans, traders, administrators and rulers used to live in Kasbas. Kasbas were influenced by rural life and they strengthened themselves by taxes and surcharges. Most of the Kasbas were fortified which separated them from villages.

Kasba : A Kasba is a small town in rural area, which was the centre of most of the local distinguished persons.

Ganj : Ganj is a small settled market. Both the Kasba and Ganj were related to textile, fruit, vegetables and milk products. They supplied stuffs to cities and army.

With the political and commercial re-organisation in the 18th century, old cities began to deteriorate and new to develop. Cities began to be transformed into metropolitans where the political and economic affairs are looked after and the population is very large.

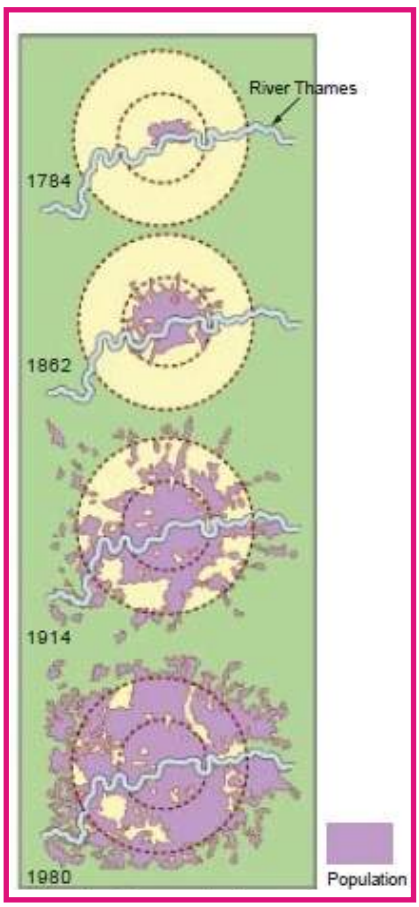
England : Industrialisation immensely influenced the nature of urbanisation. However, by 1850, most of the western cities were of village type. Initial industrial cities like Leads and Manchester were established towards the end of the 18th century. At a result of textile mills, number of emigrant workers were attracted towards the cities. In 1851, more than three-fourth of the people residing in Manchester were emigrant workers coming from rural areas.

By 1750, one of every nine persons of England and Wales resided in London. It was a giant city where population is upto 6,75,000. Even in the 19th century, the process of expansion of London continued. From 1810 to 1880, their population increased four times from 10 lacs to 40 lacs.

Although there were no large factories in London, it succeeded in attracting a large number of people. Besides the dockyard of London, there were five main industries in London (i) print and stationery industry (ii) textile and footware industry (iii) metal and engineering industry (iv) wood and furniture industry and (v) industries for manufacturing medical equipment and products for exact measurement like watches and costly metals. In the 20th century, during the First World War, the production of motorcar and electric equipment were started in London and the three-fourth of the jobs in the city were limited in those factories.

Metropolis : A Metropolis is a large and densely populated city of a province or country which is commonly the capital. In the 19th century, London was the city of clerks, shopkeepers, small professionals, skilled artisans, police-men, servants, daily wages workers, hawkers, beggars and the workers who were skilled and did physical work.

Growing interests towards cities changed the form of the old city like London. Since this city is growing as a city of emigrants, a large number of cheap and unsafe houses began to emerge in the city because the factory owners did not provide residence to the emigrant workers. It was a main consequence of emigration.



Expansion of London - the map demonstrating the population of London at four separate periods

Tenements : Tenements are large and crowded apartments, commonly situated in the area of poor people in big cities.

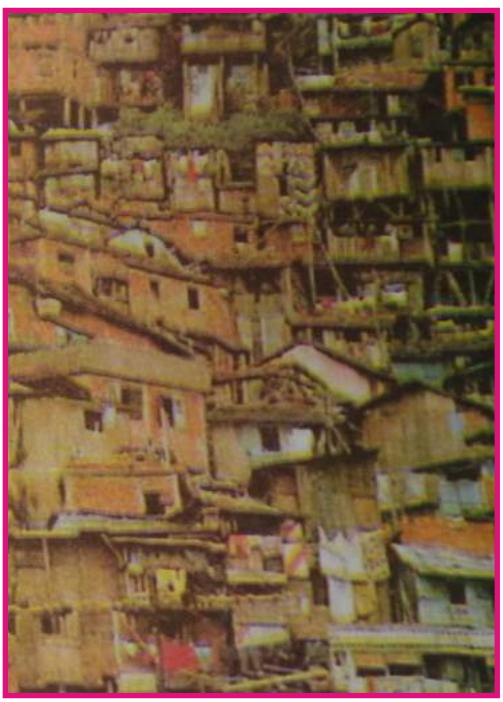


Stangers' Home — The Illustrated News 1870

Charities and night dwellings (rain baseras) for winter were built in many cities where a large number of poor people gathered in hope of food, warmth and roof.

London, on one hand, was a city of sages and rich people but, on the other, only a few people who were socially and economically privileged minorities availed of this opportunity, who could lead completely free and satisfied lives. But most of the people who lived in cities were limited to compulsions and did not avail equal freedom. So the urban life was creating conflicts and discriminating experiences. If there was affluence on the one hand, there was poverty on the other; there was external glitering on the one hand, there were dust and darkness on the other; there was opportunity on the one hand, there was dismay on the other. So as London grew larger, some negative attitudes also grew up. Criminal activities increased and social and moral values fell down.

According to David Thompson, the great effect of industrialisation was change in social and moral values. In the decade of 1870, there were at least twenty thousand criminals in London. According to Henery Mehue, a list of criminals who earned their livelihood by crimes was prepared. Besides it, the census of 1861 revealed that the number of house servants increased and among them, the number of housemaids was more. The number of child workers was also greater up, but the compulsory primary Education Act in 1870 and Factory Act in 1902 made a provision to keep the children out of industrial activities.



The slums in London

On the one hand, there was job in the cities but on the other, semi-skilled workers emerged as a lumpen who subsisted in huts. Efforts were made to provide residence facilities to the poor of the city. The house consisting only one room was dangerous because of lack of ventilation, fear of fire and social turmoil. So, planning for providing residence to workers was started to remove these apprehensions.

Efforts were made to minimise the crowded slums in London, to make the open place green, to control the population and settle the town through adequate planning. Efforts were also made to bridge up the difference between village and town by making a green belt around London. The architect and planner, Ebenezor Haward named this concept 'Garden City' where common plants and trees were planted but only medium artisan could buy their houses there.



New Ardwick — a garden city

During world wars (1919-1939), the British government took the responsibility to provide accommodation to the workers' class and about 10 lacs houses were built keeping the small families in mind. During this period, the city became so large that people could not go at their workplace on foot. So public transportation system was adopted. Thus accommodation and transportation system developed through organisation and management so that people could reach at their workplace. Now there was need of public health facilities, cleanliness, safety and police.

In the picture you can see, New Ardwick a garden city which was surrounded by greenery. A new community life was developing here. Raymond Anwit and Wary Parker designed it.

Transportation system was affected by industrial and commercial working places near residential places and a large public transportation system was developed. It directly influenced the standard of life of the persons working in the city. The change in the public transportation facilities brought social change also.

Thus the transportation facilities in the cities were improved. The underground railways by which a large number of people could reach different sides of the city solved the problems of accommodation too.

The first phase of the first underground railways in the world was dedicated to people on 10th January, 1863. The railway lines were laid between Padingle to Carrington Street in London. On the very first day, the number of passengers was about 10,000. By the year 1880, the underground railway network spread out and about four crore people annually used to travel by it.

Charles Dickens wrote in 1848 that for the underground railways, houses were demolished, roads were closed, the poor people of London were thrown to roads, but despite these obstructions underground railways became successful. By the advent of the 20th century, some metropolises like New York, Tokyo, Chicago etc. set up well-organised transportation system which connected their suburban areas.

The change in public transportation system brought social change also. Capable, skilled and safe public transportation brought a great change in urban life and also influenced the economy of the city which gave a new shape to the social system.



Advertisement of London underground for Golders Green Station, about 1900

Social change and urban life:

The social life in cities can closely be connected to modernity. In fact, it is an inter expression to each other. Cities are considered the domain of modern people.

Individualism
The principle in which individual freedom and right are given importance in place of community.

These places of dense population provides opportunities to some seers but only a few people got them. But in spite of these compulsions, cities take the principle of 'group recognition' ahead where race, religion, caste, province and group represent urban life. In fact, the gathering of more people at a small place intensifies the recognition and it arouses, on the one hand, the feeling of co-existence and antagonism on the other. If there is the feeling of co-existence on the one hand, there is process of separation on the other which resulted the transformation of mixed neighbourhood into single community. This type of mohallah were called Ghetto.

Ghetto: This word is commonly used in medieval European cities for the colonies of the Jews. These days, it points to the people living together on the basis of particular religion, race, caste or similar recognition. In the process of ghettoization single community neighbourhood takes the place of the neighbourhood of mixed characteristics. It gives a particular country form to the communal riots.

New social groups were formed in cities. The people of all classes began to advance towards large cities. The urban civilisation brought the feeding of individualism not only in men but also in women and completely changed the form and utility of the family. The family relation that had hitherto been strong began to loosened now. The movements for women's right was undertaken. Women could take part in the political activities after about 1970 through the right to vote and right to property for

married women movement. Now the social status of women was changed. Their ideological upliftment could be seen as cultural instances. In the modern age women struggled for equality and became helpful in bringing about a change in several social forms. Historical situations were helpful in the struggle of women but somewhere they created obstructions. For example, during the Second World War, women began to work in factories in western countries. Let's take another example, women got success in bringing about a change in their status through consumer advertisement sector.

In most of the urban societies, women take decision about the commodities of domestic use. So the advertisement sensitised the thinking of woman as a consumer. With the rise in population in the 19th century, a large number of men were also collected through movements like Chatidag movement (a movement for adults) and ten-hour movement (a movement for fixing working hour in factories). The rise of commercial capitalism caused the rise of business class cities. Trade at wide level, production on large scale, monetary economy, urban economy in which salary for work, cash payment for wages, dynamic and competitive economy, free enterprises, tendency to earn profit, currency, banking, exchange of credit bill, insurance, agreement, company, shares, joint stock, authority and so on had been the characteristics of capitalist system. It emerged as a new social power.

Lassiz Faire: Economic freedom in which the government had not any kind of interference and the capitalists had full freedom.

New mill owners were previously one individual capitalists. They earned property, honour and influence by their own intelligence, farsightedness and diligence. This class influenced particularly the politics of England.

Middle Class: The rise of towns strengthened the middle class. A new educated class emerged. They emerged as a class getting an average equal income and were accepted as intelligentsia. They remained working in different capacities as teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, clerks, accountants but their ideals of life value were similar and their economic

Working Class:

In modern cities, with the rise of a capitalist class, a working class also emerged. Unlike feudal system, the privileged class began to exploit the proletarians. As a result, two contradictory classes came into existence in the cities. Due to the establishment of factory system in cities, the farmer class who were almost landless began to migrate to the cities in hope of better opportunity for employment. In order to it, some industrial cities like Manchester, Lancashire, and Sheffield etc. came into existence. There was a great number of workers in these cities. But there was a lack of the feeling of public welfare. So some new problems like unemployment, negligency for health etc. came ahead. That is why the working class set up workers' organisation for serving their interests. Afterwards, the parliament enacted some rules. In 1825, the government of England had to accept the increment in workers' salary, lessening the working hours and right to work in an organised way. Since these rules were not implemented, the condition of workers could not be improved. So the workers began to unite themselves through trade union.

Colonial Indian City — Mumbai:

Contrary to the western European cities, the process of urbanisation in India was slow. In the beginning of the 20th century, only 11% people lived in cities and a great number of them lived in presidency cities which were large and multi-useful. There were large harbours, warehouses, army cantonments, educational institutions, museums and libraries in these cities. By the end of the 19th century, Mumbai began to spread fast. In the beginning, Mumbai was the part of seven islands. As the population grew up, these islands were connected together so that more room could be made. Thus a huge city came into existence. Mumbai was the commercial capital of colonial India. Since it had a main harbour, it was a centre of trade whence raw materials like cotton and opium were exported. Due to this trade, not only traders and money lenders (Mahajans) but artisans and shopkeepers also settled in Mumbai. After the opening of textile mills, a fair number of

people advanced towards this city. The first textile mill was set up in 1854 and by 1921, there were 85 textile mills in which about 1,46,000 labourer were working. By 1931, about one-fourth of the population was the resident of Mumbai and the rest were outsiders.



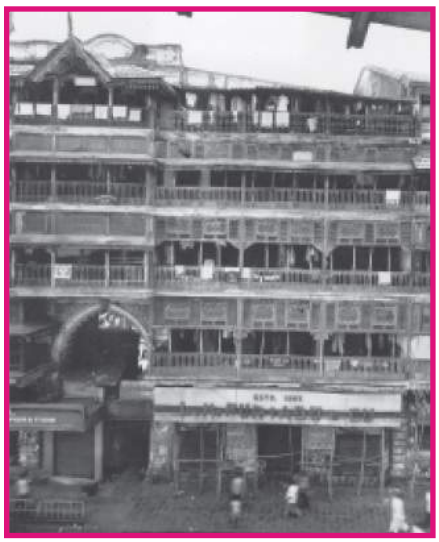
Mumbai in 1930

Like London, Mumbai was also a densely populated city. In 1840, the area of London was 155 square yard per capita whereas Mumbai had only 9.5 square yard per capita. In 1872, there lived an average of 8 people in a house in London whereas in Mumbai, there was an average of 20 people per house.

Mumbai was not developed in a well-planned way. Around 1800, Mumbai Fort area was the centre of the city and it was divided into two parts. The native people lived in one part whereas the European on the other. To the north of court population, a European sub-city and industrial belt began to rise. Similarly, there were sub-urban population and cantonment in the south. The other presidential cities also had this type of racial division.

Due to unplanned expansion of the city, the problem of settlement and water supply grew up by 1850. A great number of people came to Mumbai to work in textile mills and settled here. So the residential area of Mumbai came into pressure and about 70 percent people began to live in 'Chawls'. The 'Chawls' in Mumbai were multi-storyed building. Unlike the tenements of London, these were the individual property of traders and money-lenders.

They met the residential needs of the outsiders. These buildings consisted only the rows of rooms and there was no facility of lavatory.



A Chawl in Mumbai

The work of town planning started in London in the fear of social revolution whereas in Mumbai it was started in the fear of plague. In 1898, City of Bombay Improvement Trust was established. In 1918, the rent bill was passed to check the rising rent of the houses in Mumbai but it did not solve the residential problem. Due to lack of land, the expansion of the city created problems in Mumbai and Land Development Project was started to solve them. The first project was started in 1784. William Hornby, the governor of Mumbai, approved the proposal of making a huge coastal wall so that the lower area of the city would be saved from sea water.

By the middle of the 19th century, when the need of more land was felt for commercial purpose, the government and private companies began to make new plannings. In 1964, Bank Bericlaimation Company got the contract for developing the area from the Malabar hill to the Western coast of the last side of Kolaba. By the beginning of the 20th century, when the population increased rapidly and the land was surrounded, sea land begin to be developed.

Land Development

To make the poachy and submerged land fit for living, cultivation and other activities.

A successful land development project was started under Bombay Port Trust. The trust made a dry dockyard during 1914-1918 and made a Ballard Estate consisting of 22 acres with the soil which was dug from the dockyard. Afterwards, the famous Marine Drive was developed. The common people and non-residents coming to Mumbai have to face difficulties in their daily life. In conclusion, despite the contradiction of the city, the city always attracts the people who are in search of freedom and new opportunities which accelerate the city socially and economically.



Marine Drive, the famous place of Mumbai was made by developing the sea land in 20th century



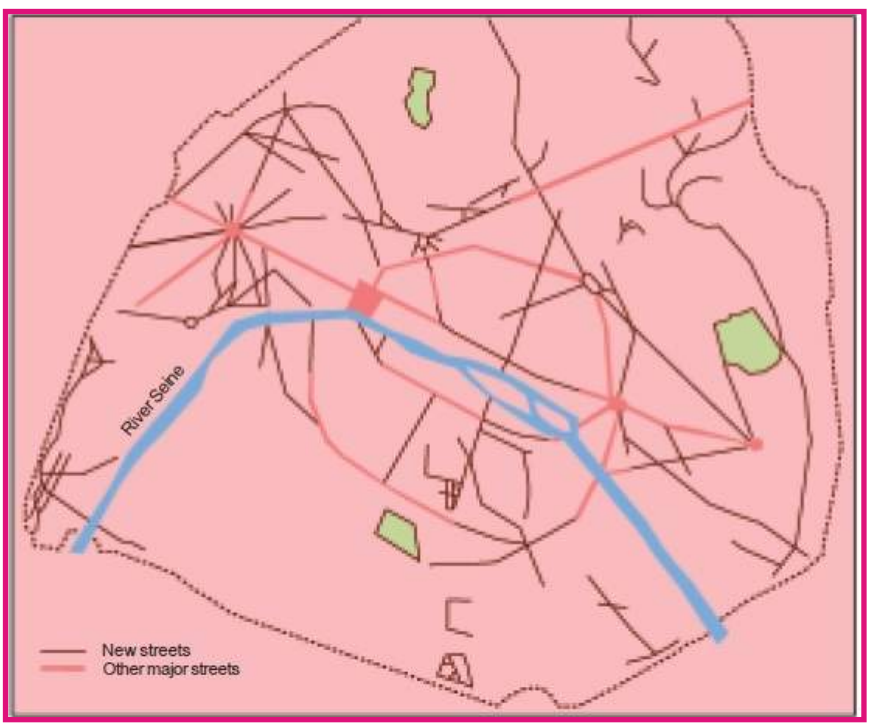
Singapore Marine

Development of Singapore City:

All the cities in Asian countries had not been developed unplanned and haphazardly. Several cities were systematically set up. The Singapore of Lee Kuan Yew is an important example. Today, Singapore is a well-planned city which presents the ideal of city development in the world. By the year 1965, Singapore was a main harbour but it was like another Asian cities. The city was constructed for the British because they ruled over there that time. Most of the population used to live in overcrowded dirty houses and filth.

When Singapore got freedom in 1965, under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, the President of People's Action Party, a large housing and development programme was started which gave this island country a new dimension. New and well-furnished houses were allotted to about 86 percent people by the government and so the government won their support. Ventilation and all types of facilities were provided in these high residential areas. These buildings changed the social life of the city. Due to outer corridor, the criminal activities reduced and some storeys were left vacant for community programmes.

The arrival of people in the city was controlled. Efforts were also made to keep a close eye on social relations to check the racial and social conflicts among Indians, Chinese and Malaites. Newspapers, magazines and other means of communication were also controlled.



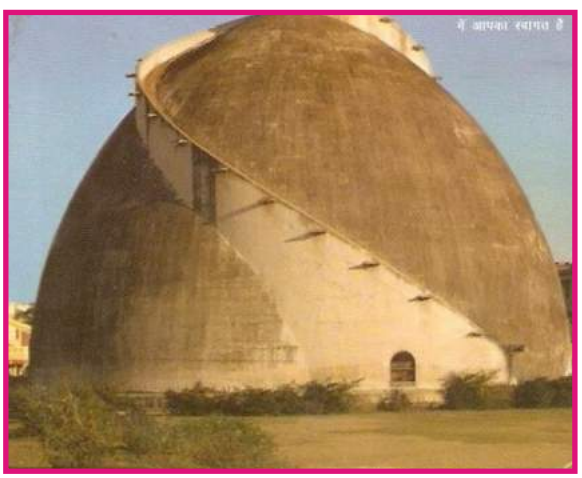
The plan of main roads of Paris made during 1850 to 1870 by Baron Haussmann

However, the citizens of Singapore got physical facilities and affluence but it is also assumed that there is lack of challenging political culture in this city. As Baron Haussmann worked for the renovation of Paris, it is an example in the direction of urbanisation. Straight and wide roads or bluebirds (shady roads) were made, open fields were left, trees and plants were planted and the police were posted all over the city. By the year of 1960, one of five working people was deputed in constructive activities. But about 350,000 people came on rods in his re-construction campaign. Some affluent people of Paris also thought that the whole city was monsterly changed. But soon this feeling was changed into pride when Paris began to be known not only as a capital of fine architect but as a centre of social and intellectual progress also.

Patliputra (Patna):

In our state the development of Patna presents an important example of the process of urbanisation. In ancient times, it was a famous metropolis by the name of Patliputra which was counted among the contemporary famous cities.

It was established in the 6th century BC by Ajatshatru, the ruler of Magadh, as an army camp. In the course of time, it became the capital of the Magadh Empire. In the Maurya regime, it was the capital of a large empire from Kandhar to Karnataka. The remains of the Mauryan castle have been found from Kumharar, Patna South. That time the population of this city was about 4 lac. Different aspects of administration and life are available in 'Indica' written by Megasthnese. He came to the court of Chandragupta as a messenger.



Golghar



Patna city situated at the bank of Ganga

The pride of this city remained intact even in the Gupta period. Fa-Hien, the Chinese traveller, described the prosperity and beauty of the huge castles of this city. In ancient times, this city was the centre of craft, art, trade, education and cultural activities but it came into deteriorating condition in early medieval period.

In the medieval age, Shershah Suri, a famous Afgan ruler revived the glory of this city. He got a fort built at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak in about 1541 because he anticipated the military importance of this place. Abdullah's writing 'Tarikh-e-Daudi' provides a comprehensive description about it. By the period of Akbar, this city had got the status of an important centre of trade. Ralph Fiech, English traveller visited this city and told that the trade of cotton, cotton clothes, sugar and opium was carried on with Bengal and other regions. Besides, these salt-petre and indigo were also exported from Patna on a large quantity. With the European traders, the Khatris of Punjab, the Jain traders of Western India, Iranian, Middle Asian, and Armenian traders were also active in this city. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the population of this city was more than three lacs whereas the cities having the population of one lac were considered important in contemporary Europe. In the Mogul period, several attractive and splendid buildings were built here which can now be seen in the middle and eastern part of the city. In 1666, the tenth and last preceptor of the Sikhs, Sri Govind Singh was born in this city and so it is considered an important religious place.

In the beginning of the 18th century, Azimushan, a Mogul prince renovated this city and named it Azimabad. That time, about one crore rupees was spent on the renovation of this city. Then, this city was eminent among important cultural centres of India.

The developmental phase of modern Patna town started in the second half of the eighteenth century with the establishment of British power in

Eastern India. The opium godown of the Britishers was already existed at a very short distance towards the west of Azimabad. A godown for storage of grains was built in 1786 at a distance of about five miles from here which is today known Golghar. The development of modern Patna began in the area between these two points.

The management of administration of patna town too developed in an order and in 1769 a British Inspector was appointed to look after the government of Bihar region, while several systems for the administration of Bihar were enacted under the Regulating Act 1774 in which the central position of Patna town continued.

Bihar was declared a separate state in the 'Delhi Durbar' in 1911. In 1912, Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal and got the status of a state and Patna became its capital. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the development of eastern Patna was started and a new administrative area emerged in which Governor's House, Secretariat, Legislative houses etc. were built.

After the freedom of the country, the population grew rapidly even in the South to Pana. The population of Patna is now more than 12 lac and the area is about 25 kilometre square. It is the largest city of Eastern India next to Kolkata and according to the density of population, it is the 14th largest city of India. At present, it is an important centre of education and trade and its status in cultural activities is also admirable.

The process of urbanisation has been very long. Leaving the rural and feudal system behind and going ahead from agricultural system, a new system came in force that emphasizes on the development of trade, commerce and industries. This developmental order aroused a new consciousness among the people and provided many facilities. But, on the other hand, it created many new problems that need to be solved now. Under this new social structure, on the one hand, there emerged mercantile middle and working class in cities and on the other, it brought the feelings of class discrimination that is contrary to the socialist ideology and it affects the democratic system also. The continuous progress and expansion of cities has influenced our life style in a positive way. It has provided better facilities for education and employment but on the other hand, it has aroused some negative attitudes like competition and opportunism. The formation of the balanced social system is possible only by the synthesis of those ideas with modernisation that we are leaving behind in urban hustle and bustle.

EXERCISE

Objective Questions:

1. Which type of attitude emerged in urban system leaving the feudal system behind?
   (i) Progressive attitude (ii) Aggressive attitude
   (iii) Orthodox attitude (iv) Exploitation attitude

2. The city is considered the _____ of modern people.
   (i) Limited area (ii) Domain area
   (iii) Extended area (iv) All of these

3. Which type of hoarding became possible due to permanent cultivation?
   (i) Wealth (ii) Knowledge
   (iii) Peace (iv) Valuable metal

4. Which type of economy came into action influenced by a competitive and industrious attitude?
   (i) Livelihood economy (ii) Money-based economy
   (iii) Inactive economy (iv) All of these

5. In modern times, industrialisation intensively influenced the form of_____.
   (i) Villages (ii) Cities
   (iii) Kasbas (iv) Harbours

6. Which of them has the largest density of population?
   (i) Village (ii) Kasba
   (iii) City (iv) Metropolis

7. The population of London from 1810 to 1880 increased from 10 lac to_____.
   (i) 20 lac (ii) 30 lac
   (iii) 40 lac (iv) 50 lac

8. When was compulsory primary education implemented in London?

(i) 1850 (ii) 1855

(iii) 1860 (iv) 1870

9. Which social class emerged as an intellectual class?

(i) Industrialist class (ii) Capitalist class

(iii) Working class (iv) Middle class

10. Which class was exploited by the capitalist class?

(i) Working class (ii) Middle class

(iii) Farmers' class (iv) All classes

Fill in the blanks:

1. Grand _____ were built in the expansion of cities.
2. London succeeded in attracting a great number of _____.
3. The residents of cities were limited to _____.
4. The craze for cities seen in _____ countries.
5. The arrangement of residence and housing system, means of public transportation, public healthcare etc. was done by _____.

Match the groups:

1. Manchester, Lancashire, Sheffield	a. City
2. Doctor	b. Commercial Capital
3. Competitive money based economy	c. Baron Haussmann
4. Mumbai	d. Middle class
5. Paris	e. Industrial city

Short answer type questions:

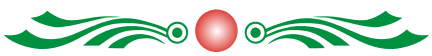
1. By which three processes were modern cities established?
2. On what differences is the classification of society done in rural and urban areas?
3. What are the two important factors of the rural and urban structure in economic and administrative contexts?
4. Mention the characteristics of economic activities related to agriculture in villages.
5. What types of activities are mainly performed in cities?
6. How are urban life and modernisation related to each other?
7. "The privileged class in cities are minorities'. How is it assumed?
8. What type of movement or effort produced a new consciousness for civil rights?
9. How did commercial capitalism contribute in the emergence of cities?
10. What was the role of the middle class in the emergence of towns?
11. In which situations did the working class move towards cities?
12. What are the problems created due to emergence of cities?

Long answer type questions:

1. Focus on the background and process of urbanisation.
2. Explain the differences between rural and urban lives.
3. What type of social change occurred in urban life?
4. Discuss the role of business class, middle class and working class in the process of urbanisation.
5. Examine the development of Mumbai as a colonial city.

Project work:

1. Select five types of buildings in your city. Try to know why it was decided to build them. How was the resources managed and who took the responsibility of construction? Mention the architectural aspects of these buildings and mark their similarities and differences with colonial architecture.
2. Collect information about the services provided by local administration. Do they provide the facilities such as water supply, housing, transportation, health and hygiene also? How are the resources for these services managed? What are the policies?



Chapter-7

Trade and Globalization

Expansion and unification of World Market in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Century

Introduction:

The concept used in the trade and commerce of world market of today's economic wold is a gift of modern age. But in the context of global market the symptoms of this system had started to register from the ancient time. The trade relation of ancient India's developed Indus valley civilization was with the civilization of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. The centres of the trade were Dilmun (modern

World market : We call world market to the market where commodities of all countries are available for common people to purchase. For example the economic capital of India 'Mumbai'.

Commercial revolution: The unprecedented development and expansion in trade sector, which reached across the country through the water and road ways. The centre of it was Europe (England).



Trade route connecting India to the world

Behrain) and Mehiha (situated on the coast of Makran) a big market (vast trade centre). Another clear evidence of a world market we get in mentioning the bigger trade centre named Alexandria. The city was the centre of the traders belonging to three continents — Africa, Europe and Asia. The city was established by the great Greece world conqueror. the emperor Alexander at the mouth of the Red sea (the northern part of modern Egypt).

Industrial revolution : Production of goods on a large scale in big factories through the machines operated by steam power. Its ccentre was England and it started after 1750.



Allexandria city and market

But with the emergence of modern period, the incidence of the geographical discoveries, renaissance and emergence of national states gave birth to commercial revolution. The feature of world market in the sense came forward only after that. It was fully expanded after industrial revolution. The revolution made the market the centre of all economic activities. At the same time, as the industrial revolution developed the character of market became global and before 20th century it had registered its presence in all the continents.

(a) Feature of world market and expansion:

From the mid 18th century, production of goods started in big factories in England. These factories were operated by steam engine. Through this process the production of goods increased tremendously. In accordance with the increased production, raw material was needed, then England drew her attention towards North America, Asia (India) and Africa. There she got raw material in abundance and a readymade market too. The success of industrial revolution depended on these two. So England endeavoured to have permanent right over these abundant raw materials. Through this a new system of government colonialism emerged. The emergence of big cities, Manchester, Liverpool, London etc. was outcome of this. Goods were produced in these cities as well as sold in foreign countries. World market of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century was of this type. The base of this feature of the world market was textile industry.

Colonialism is such a political economic system that was directly conducted in Asia and undeveloped Africa and South America by European countries. Its only one objective was exploitation of these countries.



A trade city of England

Girmitiya Labour : The labourers of the colonial countries, who were taken to their governed areas under a definite contract for a definite period. They were engaged in cash crops like sugarcane production. For sugarcane production, labourers from Bhojpuri spoken areas in India (Eastern U.P., Western Bihar) Punjab, Haryana were taken away to Jamaica, Fizi, Trinidad, Tobago, Mauritius etc. countries for sugarcane farming.

With the expansion of industrial revolution the feature of market became to be global. It gave birth to three economic tendencies trade, migration of workers and flow of capital.



Labourers are taken in big ships

Trade was limited to supply of raw materials in England and other European countries and transporting produced goods in their factories to every place in the world. Under migration of labourers we see that they were taken away from colonial countries (India) to European countries or the countries under their influence for a definite period under a contract. The wages of the labourers were very meagre and they were engaged mainly in agricultural work (in the production of cash crops, sugarcane, tea, tobacco). The labourers of this type were called the girmitia labourers.

Under the flow of capital, the European capitalists invested the huge money earned out of industrial revolution in the economy of the countries governed by them. The sectors were laying of railway tracks, digging of coal from mines, tea, coffee, rubber, cotton, etc. Through this the economy of colonies was directly connected to Europe. We call this economic system as world market.

(a) Utility of the world market:

To ensure conducting of economic activities independently it is necessary for the market to be global. The global nature of market protects the interests of the traders, workers, capitalists, the middle class and the common consumers. The farmers get a good return of their field because the market is more competitive. The skilled labourers get recognition, importance, and economic advantages through this global market. New opportunities of jobs are created in the world market. It has great importance in the expansion of modern ideology and awakening.

(b) Advantages and disadvantages of the world market:

The world market increased trade and industry very fast and the development of industries gave birth to three strong social classes, the capitalists, the workers and the strong bourgeoisie. The emergence and development of modern banking system happened after this. Industrialisation and modernisation in colonial countries like India was limited but in tune with the world market. The constructive sectors like railways, road, shipyard, mining, and gardening developed in the colonial countries. There was a tremendous change in the agricultural production sector; production of a few novel crops, such as tobacco, rubber, coffee, indigo, sugarcane etc. was result of this. A great change in agricultural sector happened in South America (that was a colony of Spain) and Mexico.

The world market created new techniques. Among these railways, steam engine, ship commissioned by steam, telegraph and big fleets were important. These techniques increased the world market and their profit manifold, as the world trade during 1820 to 1914 increased from 25 to 40 times. The 60 percent share of the whole global trade belonged to agricultural products, mining (coal) and textile. Expansion of urbanisation and remarkable increase in population were a profitable results, of global trade.

Disadvantages of world market:

Imperialism: Having victories by European countries over Asian and African regions with the help of military power and keep them in their direct control.

The expanding nature of the world market created a new era of affluence but the reality behind the affluence was very bitter. The world market gave birth to a new age of colonialism and imperialism in Asia and Africa, and simultaneously exploitation in ancient colonies such as in India intensified. The local self-reliant economy of the colonies, whose base was small and cottage industries were destroyed. The European countries destroyed these local industries under a planned policy, so that their industrial revolution would succeed. Progress in trade and closeness with world economy snatched the livelihood



A German city destroyed in the first world war

of the colonial people. It can be understood with an example of the textile industry of India (that had been the base of Indian trade and commerce since ancient times). The share of Indian textile export in 1800 was 30 percent but in 1815 it was reduced to 15 percent and by coming 1870 it was only 3 percent. Just contrary to this the export of raw cotton from India increased from 5 percent to 35 percent during 1800 to 1872.

The world market happened to be a cause of human made crisis like famine, hunger and poverty. As many famine occurred in India during 1850 to 1920 that caused death of lakhs of people. The market started imperialistic competition among the European countries that gave birth to violent nationalism. The destructive consequence of these came forward in the form of the First World War. The First World War affected the human civilization on a large scale. It created such a crisis before the world that was not foreseen by the world.

Trade and economy between the two great wars:

The First World War had completely destroyed the economy of Europe. Britain which controlled and conducted the then world economy and all its economic centres were badly destroyed. The other economic systems of Europe, Germany, France, Italy etc. were also greatly affected. On the contrary the economic system of the United States of America and colonial countries widely developed and expanded. As in India in that time, the development in textile jute mining sectors etc. became possible by the effort of Indian industrialists. Tata, Birla, Godrej, Jamuna Lal Bajaj etc. are gift of this development.

Economic depression : The situation in the economic system when development of all the three pillars of economy—agriculture, industry and trade interrupted, lakhs of people would become jobless, banks and companies could experience bankruptcy and both money and goods have no importance in the market.

After the end of the world war I, a serious effort was made by the USA to restructure the European economy. Since, at that time the USA was the only country that could reconstruct Europe. With their efforts from 1920 to 1927 there was remarkable economic progress in Europe and America. Simultaneously, on the basis of progress in technology, new industries were developed on a large scale. The American companies and government also got a great profit with the progress of America, which America invested in giving loans to European countries. The USA registered great progress in three sectors, agriculture, housing and manufacturing (motorcar industry). But this situation did not last long. By the advent of 1929, the whole world was engulfed in such an economic crisis at it had never experienced.

(a) Causes of economic depression:

The basic cause of the economic depression in 1929 was inherent in its own the economic system. In the four years of the First World War, barring Europe, market based economy continued to be expanded, its profits increased. But on the other side most of the people

New term :
Share Bazar (Market) : A place where the market value of commercial and industrial companies are determined.

suffered greatly in poverty and scarcity. The increase in the production due to progress of new technology and increasing profits created such a situation that there were very few buyers of the produced goods.

New Term :

Sattebazi : To purchase share of companies by investing capital so that they could be sold on increasing of value.

The problem of excess production of agricultural sector was going on. The excess production in agricultural sector continued even after the First World War, but the buyers of the production were very meagre. That caused fall in price of the productions. The income of farmers decreased due to falling price. So to cope with the situation they increased the production further so that the income level could be maintained by selling more goods at cheaper price. It augmented the flow of agricultural products in the market and prices further receded. Agricultural products, being dumped, began to rotten. Assessing the situation, modern economist Cadlif in his book 'the Commerce of Nation' mentioned that devaluation of agricultural products and food grains in all parts of the world was the main cause of economic crisis of 1929-32.

In the mid decade of 1920, many countries wanted to develop their totally collapsed economy due to war, by taking debt from America. As long as their condition was better, the American capitalists gave loan to Europe, but with having same signs of crisis at the domestic level they pressed for repayment of the loan. This created a grave crisis before all European countries. In this situation many European banks became bankrupt. Money value of many important countries devalued. A big crisis occurred when Europe made herself dependent on mechanical production.

After the First World War Europe lost her monopoly on this sector. She got great challenges from Canada, Russia and colonial countries. Russia and Canada produced cheaper food grains that caused destruction of agricultural based European countries.

Following signs of crisis, America started protective measures. She increased double the excise duty on the imported goods and simultaneously

fixed a limitation on the quantity of import. With the gradual spread of the crisis in other countries all states wanted to make effort to produce most of the commodities of their needs on their own.

This contracted economic nationalism broke the backbone of the market of world trade. The tendency of Satta-bazi (betting) that began in the American market during economic depression proved decisive. There was great increase in the American economic development after the 1st World War, and it attracted the capitalists of America to invest their surplus capital in Satta (betting). In the beginning they got very much profit, it was the culmination of the economic development. After that the real crisis started, that emerged through the famous share market — New York Stock Exchange (Bal street).

New term:
Protectionism : To impose high import duties on the foreign goods to protect own product from the harm of imposed goods.



Impact pf economic depression

(b) Impact of economic depression:

America had to suffer the worst impact of the depression. Due to depression the bank stopped sanctioning loans to the people and intensified the realization of debt, the farmers were ruined. All business activities came to stand still, the bank's loan were not repaid. The banks confiscated the people's goods (house, car, essential goods). The people became homeless. The economic activities being disturbed, the unemployment increased. Banks were ruined due to no payment of loans and many companies closed down. More than 4000 banks were closed till 1933 and about 110000 companies became sick.

Among the other countries affected by the economic depression, Germany and Britain were worst effected. France could make herself unaffected, because she had got a big amount from Germany in the form of war compensation. The condition of Germany remained the worst. In the age of economic development just after the First World War her condition did

not change because she had to pay the compensations for war. The two years— 1922 and 1923 were the worst, as her currency was greatly devalued in these years. There was a little improvement in the condition after 1924. From this year she got heavy loan from the United States of America. It brought a considerable reform in the economy, but the great depression of 1929 brought her back in the previous situation of 1919.

About 60 lakh of people became jobless and the whole country was indulged into anarchy. Taking advantage to this situation, Hitler enthroned himself. After 1929 Britain experienced a steep fall in production, export, employment, import and on the standard of living. About 35 lakhs people were thrown jobless. To come out of this depression, strict measure like protectionism was adopted, adverse to the market economy, that widely affected the world trade.

If we observe the impact of this great depression on India, it is obvious that by the beginning of the 20th century the global economy had integrated to a great extent. There was an immediate effect of the great depression on Indian economy also. The export-import, between 1928 to 1934 reduced to about half. The prices of agricultural products fell down immensely. The example of that is the 50% fall in the price of wheat in India between 1928 and 1934. In comparison to urban people, the villagers were more affected. Inspite of the fall in price of agricultural products, the British government was not ready to reduce the Lagaan (land tax), that caused resentment among farmers. The cultivator of the cash crops had devastating impact of this because production cost on that crops was very high and having no income in that ratio, they came under the grips of the *Mahajans* debts. For the first time, in these years, India started to export gold and this was done by Britain to compensate the shortage of gold in her country. In this context we can say that the great depression played a very important role in starting the civil Disobedience Movement.

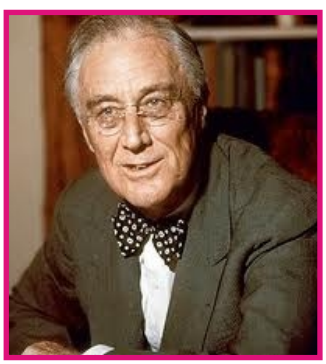
(c) Changing International relation with reference to world market:

the economic factors or economic situation had an important role in the development of international relation after 1920. Considering the depression of 1929 as base year, the economic relationship developed

between 1920 and 1945 can be understood by dividing them into two phases. The period from 1920 to 1929 was mainly the period of economic progress and development. After the first great-war, the influence of Europe over the world diminished. However her control over colonies (Asia-Africa) continued, but in this period, three countries — the United States of America, Japan and the Soviet Union (Russia) emerged as the most powerful power centres of the world. In America, the two years, just after the war was a period of economic crisis. This crisis emerged as a consequence of the receding demands. One lakh people became jobless in these two years and series of labour strikes started. The situation changed greatly after 1922. On the basis of technological development there was expansion of industries, for which the sale of 50 lakh cars in 1928-29 is an evidence. America had to see a negative consequence of this development; the economic power and authority became centralised among few persons and companies.

New term:
New-deal : A new policy related to public welfare plan in which besides economic sectors, the political and administrative policies were also regularised.

Russia and Japan also made remarkable progress in economic field from 1920 to 1929. Russia tried advertising and expanding her new economic system on the world level; to maintain her economic progress, Japan adopted an aggressive form of imperialist ambitions making China a victim for that. In this period, the expansion of national consciousness in India and other colonial countries developed in a decisive way because they had faced economic crisis after the first great-war. Secondly, the promise of Swaraj, made by the ruling countries was not fulfilled.


Franklin D. Roosevelt

The international relation that emerged after 1929 had only one objective either to stop or reduce the ill effects of economic depression. The beginning of the great depression started from America and continued till 1933. In the meantime Franklin D. Roosevelt emerged in American politics (1932). He executed 'New Deal' — the novel

economic policies in America. Under this a broad programme for public welfare started. The main objective of this was to maintain balance between agriculture and industry and simultaneously to protect human society and independence. Under public welfare loans were sanctioned for railways, roads, bridges and works related to local development so that occupation could flourish and people get jobs. In the industrial sectors regulation of trade and production, embankment in wages, fixation of working hours, checking prices hikes etc. were made. In the agricultural sector, effort was made to bring the purchasing powers of the farmers and general economic conditions to pre-war level.

Efforts were made in the European countries to come out of depression. All the governments established a very strict money control system. Agriculture dominated Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Chekoslovakia, Serbia) and British Common Wealth (the union of the countries separated from British Empire) balanced their import and export by making an agreement in Ottawa in 1932. Counries like Norway and Sweden made a regional management like Olso block. Lozano Summit was held in 1932, in which compensation amount to Germany was reduced, with a view to augment the trade. In that time the foreign minister of France, Briya, gave a suggestion for the first time to form an economic federation, in Europe, but that could not succeed. With the aim of solving the crisis on the level of League of Nations a conference was convened in 1933 in London, in which 67 countries participated. In this summit discussions were made to stabilize money and to adopt the policy of mutual trade and cooperation in international trade by abolishing the policy of protectionism. All the countries extended their support but it could not be successful in the then political situation.

New Term:

Dictatorship : The political and administrative system in which all powers are centralised in one hand. That person, taking advantages of the situation makes an image of hero among the mass.

With reference to the economic depression we see two important changes in the political situation of Europe Firstly, the attraction of socialist economic and political system established in Russia, increased across the world. Because, she was the only country, who did not have much impact of the depression. Secondly, the emergence of dictatorship system of

government in Italy and Germany. Since all the countries were intimately engaged in coping with the problems of depression, they could not see and understand the new political tendencies emerging in those two countries. The failure of democracy in Italy and Germany and the emergence of dictatorship and despotic system engulfed many other countries of Europe such as Spain, Austria, Greece etc. The political system emerged after economic depression in Europe made the second great-war inevitable through its policies.

The changes after the decades of 1950:

After the end of the second great-war, reconstruction work began on international level to solve the problems resulting from the war and to meet out the great destruction. The effort came into existence in 1945 in accordance with the decision of Yalta Conference (a palce in present Russia). The summit was organised by the United Nation Organisation. The UNO got started all these works done through its various agencies (UNESCO, WHO, International Labour Organisation, International Court of Justice) etc. but all practical work of reconstruction was done under the supervision of two powerful countries — the USA and the Soviet Union (Russia). Both these countries were of different economic systems. All post war economic international relation developed in reference to their specialities.

Taking lesson from economic experiences between two great-wars, it was decided that the market based economy cannot sustain without consumption (This lesson was got from 1929 depression). The other thing that, backbone of economic system, the target of employment can be achieved only when the government has power to control the come-and-go of goods, capital and labour. Therefore, the main objective of the international economic system after the second great war was to maintain economic stability and complete employment in industrial world. Since, it was also felt that the world peace could also be established on this basis. On the above economic thinking and objective a United Nation Monetary and Financial Convention was held in July, 1944 at 'Breton woods' — a place situated in America's Hampshair. In that conference a consensus was arrived at and thereafter IMF (International Monetary Fund) was founded. To make arrangement of money for post-war reconstruction, International Reconstruction and Development Bank (World Bank) was also founded. Both these financial institutions are known as twin offspring too. Both the

instituions started functioning formally in 1947. The influence of the USA is prevalent over these two instituions and even today she takes its considerable usage in determining her international economic policies and relations.

(a) International Economic Relation in the decades of 1945-1960:

We shall see, the international economic relation developed in the decades 1945 to 1960, dividing into three areas. After 1945, in the world, influence of two economic systems increased and both of them tried to increase their influences and policies on the world level. In this situation, in the world, a new economic and political rivalry emerged. The whole world divided mainly into blocks. First, a block of the countries of the capitalist economic system, headed by the Soviet Union, with the characteristics of state controlled economic system, and the other was the block of the capitalist countries, with their speciality of market and profit based economic system. It was headed by the United States of America. She made serious efforts of expanding her economic system in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe (Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany etc.) and newly independent countries like India. She got full success in eastern European countries like North Korea and Vietnams while in countries like India she could only bring in her influence.

The second area comes under the international economic relations developed among the countries of the capitalist economic system. This sector was completely governed by the United States of America. Its main objective was to check the increasing influence of capitalist economic system and thought. The United States of America forcibly imposed her policies in two areas of the world, the South America and the Oil rich countries of middle and West Asia (Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arab, Jordan, Yamen, Syria, and Levin). The USA, in the countries of the South American continent established her influence by going to the extent using military power, through her intelligence agency C.I.A., while she succeeded in maintaining her influence in the countries of West Middle Asia by establishing a new Jews nation, Israel, in the highly Arab populated Palestine. Actually America knew this that the source of energy named oil and gas is the backbone of the modern form of market based economy. That was lacking by most of her fellow countries of the capitalist economic system. Therefore she wanted to maintain her director

control over this sector. In present time the exploitation of this resource in most of the countries of that region is being done by the companies of the USA or her fellow nations. However, it is to be noted that in the America's established influence in that region, the contribution of America's political and administrative system was a lot. The form of the government in all these countries is monarchy or autocracy, in which the voice of people is not heard.

The other part of the second area was Western Europe (Britain, France, West Germany, Baltic country Spain). Here also emerged important economic relation in the decades from 1945 to 1960. After 1945 the important characteristic of this area was such that the influence of these countries in the world politics and economic area had become considerably weak. By 1970 all colonies established by her in Asia and Africa were seized back, by exploiting the resources of which they had established their influence over the world. With the aim of solving the problem and protecting the expansion of capitalist thought, a new age of cooperation and coordination began which came to be known as Unification (European Unification). In this direction, we see the first effort, before 1945 in the European Union thought of the foreign minister of France, Bria, but its beginning in actual form became evident in 1944, when the Netherland, Belgium and Luxemburg formed 'Benelux' union. Similarly, Brussels agreement held in 1948, in which the process of European Economic Cooperation was started through the medium of coal and steel. In the mid of these efforts the biggest step was taken; European Economic Community was founded in 1957. France, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Italy joined it. These countries established a common market. Great Britain became its member in 1960. We shall always have to keep in mind, among these efforts, that the direct influence of the USA continued in all these countries apparently because all economic assistance was provided by her in the post-war reconstruction.

After the second great war, there was a third block where new economic relation developed, that was the block of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa. With the independence of India in 1947 a new wave of independence arose in these countries and in 15 years almost all the countries got independence. Both the great economic powers of the contemporary world — The USA and the Soviet Union wanted to establish



An Iron and steel company in India

their influence on these countries. In this effort the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund provided full support to America while Russia was using its thought and political powers more. Since all the newly independent countries had completely deteriorated economically during prolonged colonial rule, so they wanted both economic and political assistance from them for the safeguard of their independence. Both the countries helped them according to their policies and economic thoughts, and simultaneously increased their influence upon them. In this effort, the multinational companies of America helped her. For this we take example of the Iron and steel industry, which was developed by America, her allied countries and Russia.

(b) Inter-relative Study of Globalisation and Modern Livelihood:

Globalisation is a worldwide accommodation process of political, economic, social, scientific and cultural life that makes a successful endeavour to unify the people in different parts of the world, at physical and psychological levels. Therefore, the similarities and uniformities in the activities done by the people in all spheres of life found on the world level, will come under globalisation. As in terms of dress and food, some basic characteristics are commonly being found in all countries of the world.

Globalisation: An international feature of all areas of life, that have inter-connected all regions of the world and the whole world has transformed into a big village.

There has been difference of opinions among the historians and the philosophers in terms of the emergence of globalisation. Some scholars are of the view that the process of globalisation, in any form, has been going on since the beginning of the human history and its features have been changed in accordance with time. While the other group of the scholars see globalisation connecting to capitalism that emerged in the modern time. From this point of view its relation is intimately connected to capitalism.

New term:

Capitalism: A system based on capital that survives on market and profit.

With reference to these scholars the advent of globalisation can be considered between 15th & 16th centuries that is obviously connected to modernisation and capitalist tendency. From the mid of 19th century, when capitalism became a world-wide system, the nature of globalisation continued to be wide. This time, the export of capital became a main feature of international economic relation and the quantity of trade also increased considerably.

The process of globalisation remained very fast from the middle of nineteenth century to the beginning of the first Great War. In this period the flow of goods, capital and labour continuously increased. The new technologies developed in the period also gave remarkable contribution to its development. But the process of globalization between 1914-1991 became slow. The whole process of globalisation remained suspended due to two great wars, socialist revolution, creation of soviet union and its block, and the end of colonialism, and emergence of many new independent countries like India and to reserve their market and resources for their independent economic development and cold war. The great depression between 1929-1930 made the whole process stagnant and stopped completely the flow of trade and capital. When after 1991 the Soviet Socialist block disintegrated, the latest new concept of capitalism developed again in a new form.

New term:

Cold war: Military conflict between the leaders of the state controlled and market controlled countries — the USA and the Soviet Union.

John Williamson of the USA was the first to use the word globalization in 1990. It was first started in Latin America by the USA as its important economic policy. The countries had become very weak economically after the decade of 1980. Gradually it became the symbol of the economic system of the world. To establish it the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund came into existence in 1995. World Trade Organisation (WTO) and large trading and industrial companies (multinational company) of the capitalist's countries extended great contribution. At the same time, the regional organisations were formed to keep their economic interests safe and protected. these organisations such as G-8, OPEC, ASEAN, European Union, G-15, G-77, SAARC etc. played a very important role in developing the process of globalisation.

Multinational Company: The companies running their business and trade in many countries simultaneously is called as multinational company. Such type of company emerged after 1920 that developed widely after the Second World War.

Interrelationship between globalization and modern livelihood:

The impact of globalization, in the present scenario, can be seen very clearly in the economic sector. After the end of the cold war the military power was left behind by economic power. Now the assessment of the power and capacity of a country began to be assessed on the basis of the property of her citizens rather than the number of arms, or the weapons available with them. The economic nature of globalisation is very important in establishing the power of economic system. Open market, free trade, open competition, expansion of multinational corporates, and privatisation of service sector are main components of the said economic globalisation. The only objective of this process is to transform



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the world into a free trade zone in which there is a big role of important international organisation and institutions as well regional federations

The present time, in which we live, the impact of economic globalisation is reflecting on the common life of the people. The changes which occurred in the area of livelihood due to globalisation, is clearly seen everywhere, in cities, towns and villages. After 1991, there has been expansion in service sectors at a very fast speed in all over the world. This has opened many new areas for livelihood. The meaning of service sector is related to the economic activities in which people pay for the different services provided to them. Such as transportation facilities (bus, aeroplane, taxi), the facilities given in the banking and insurance sectors, telecommunication and information technology (mobile, phone, computer, internet) hotel and restaurant, shopping malls in big cities (a place where all essential commodities of life are available) call centre (the place where information in terms of all activities of a company are given on phone or internet) etc. All above mentioned sectors have expanded speedily during globalisation through which people have got new opportunities for livelihood.

Whether you live in a village or town, you might have observed that many large shops have been opened to provide mobile phone and the service related to it. They all get a fair income. In this way workers of many private companies & banks (Reliance, ICICI bank, and the largest bank in private sector) will meet you canvassing to invest in beneficial schemes. This is the expansion of insurance sector. Lakhs of people from village and town are getting employment in this sector. The people living around the tourist places in India or Bihar (like Bodh Gaya), became available such as tour and travel agency (transportation facility), restaurant, rest house, residential hotel, etc.You might be observing under information and communication that private postal services (courier service), providing instant photograph



A common girl talking on mobile

through computer, to print the written materials, to provide information regarding examinations result, to give latest information etc. are the activities which are carried out simultaneously. Thousands of people in India and Bihar have got employment in this sector. Thus we can say that the economic globalisation has increased the circle of our needs accordingly and for their fulfilment new services are emerging, associating to which lakh of people are getting their livelihood. The process has also increased the life standard of the people. This is the interrelationship between globalisation and livelihood in the contemporary age.

Thus, in the modern time, under economic system, we discussed such global economic system and world market that had tremendous impact on economic and political life. After 1919, the influence of the United States of America and the Soviet Union increased immensely in world-wide economy in place of Europe that after the second Great War became decisive in the world market and political system. After 1991, under the very world market, a new economic trend 'globalisation' emerged that was directly associated with privatisation and liberalisation. Globalisation made the United States of America the central point of the economic system of the whole world. Her currency, dollar, became the standard currency of the whole world. Her companies got permission to carry out economic activities in the world. Therefore, globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation originated American central world economic system. Today, the world has become monopole and is running at the direction of the powerful country, the USA. In economic sector, globalisation gave birth to new economic imperialism, the impact of which is being felt, today all over the world.

EXERCISE

Multiple choice question:

1. From which land route trade between Asia and Europe was carried out?
   (a) Cotton route (b) Silk route
   (c) North way (d) South way

2. Which was the city that emerged as the first world market?
   (a) Alexandria (b) Dilmun
   (c) Manchester (d) Bahrain

3. In modern time, which was the biggest revolution in the economic system?
   (a) Commercial revolution (b) Industrial revolution
   (c) Communist revolution (d) Geographical discovery

4. From which region of Bihar were the Girmitia Mazdoors sent?
   (a) Eastern region (b) Western region
   (c) Northern region (d) Southern region

5. From which time did the expansion of world market start?
   (a) 15^{th} Century (b) 18^{th} Century
   (c) 19^{th} Century (d) 20^{th} Century

6. Which year did the world-wide economic crisis emerge?
   (a) 1914 (b) 1922
   (c) 1929 (d) 1927

7. Which government system emerged in Europe due to economic crisis (depression)?
   (a) Communist government system
   (b) Democratic government system
   (c) Fascist Nazist Administration
   (d) Capitalist government system

8. In which year was the Bretton woods conference held?
   (a) 1947 (b) 1948
   (c) 1944 (d) 1952

9. In which decade did globalisation start?
   (a) In the decade of 1990 (b) In the decade of 1970
   (c) In the decade of 1960 (d) In the decade of 1980

10. After the second Great War, which organisation in Europe emerged to remove the economic ill effects?
   (a) SAARC (b) NATO
   (c) OPEC (d) European Union

Fill up the blanks:

1. The first world market named Alexandria was established by _____
2. The global economic crisis started from the country,_____.
3. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was founded by_____ convention.
4. Due to economic crisis a very big social problem named _____ emerged on the world level.
5. After 1990 _____ intensified the process of globalisation

Match correctly from column 'A' to column 'B':

Column 'A'	Column 'B'
(a) Industrial revolution	Germany
(b) Emergence of Hitler	England
(c) World Economic depression	1944
(d) Establishment the World Bank	1929
(e) Beginning of Globalisation	Ancient Time
(f) Beginning of World Market	After 1990

Very short answer questions (answer in 20 words):

1. What is called World Market?
2. What is industrial revolution?
3. What do you mean by economic crisis?
4. What is called as globalisation?
5. What was the main objective of Bretton woods conference?
6. What is a multinational company?

Short answer question (answer in 60 words):

1. Explain briefly the causes of the economic crisis of 1929.
2. How did the industrial revolution expand the nature of world market?
3. Elucidate the nature of world market.
4. Explain the role of multinational companies in globalisation.
5. Focus on the efforts made after 1950 for restructuring the world economic system.
6. Explain the impact of globalisation on India.
7. Write a short note on the advantage and disadvantage of world market.

Long answer questions (answer in 150 words):

1. Explain the causes and effects of the economic crisis of 1929.
2. Focus on the economic relations developed on the world level between 1945 to 1960.
3. Explain the changes that came in the life of common masses due to globalisation.
4. Write note on the political and economic relations developed between 1919 & 1945.
5. Write an essay on the national movement in the colonial countries between the two great wars and after 1945.

Discuss in the classroom:

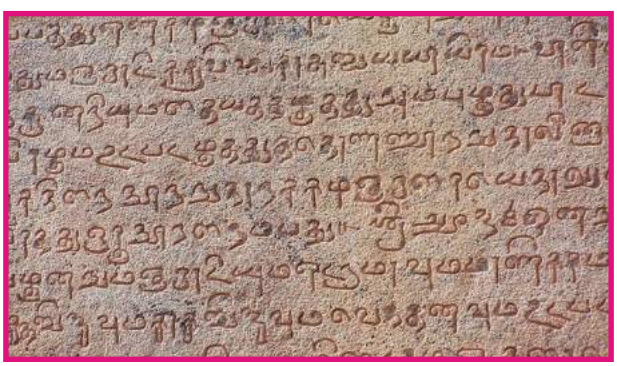
1. How did globalisation increase impact of the United states of America across the world? Explaining it with some examples, discuss with your classmates in the presence of the teacher.
2. Discuss in class regarding the things used by you that is available in the whole world. Take help of your teacher in this discussion.

Chapter-8

Press-Culture and Nationalism

In today's world we cannot imagine a modern world without press. The press has been influencing every sphere of our life any-how, directly or indirectly. Be it a field of knowledge or information, entertainment or employment, the world is being governed by press directly. In today's world we only can imagine the situation of pre-printing time, when men did not get information immediately regarding the changing events and in the lack of knowledge and information, they were deprived of the development of logical and human nature.

Since 'need is the mother of invention', the need motivated the knowledge world for invention. Though invention is not a spontaneous or one day event, but it is a story of continuous developmental phases for centuries, which brought about a revolutionary change in universal thinking. The importance of the invention of printing press in this physical world is like fire, wheel, and script that with their presence gave a new dimension to the life style of the whole world.

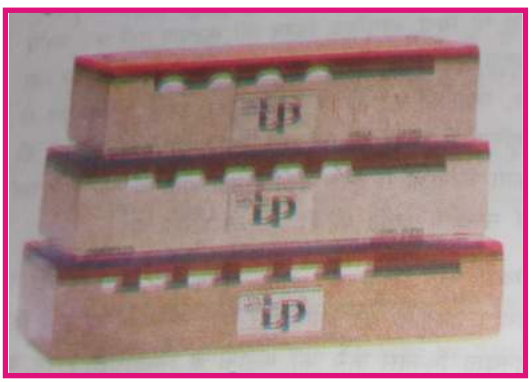


Ashoka's inscription in Brahmi script

The history of printing up to Gutenberg:

In the very early time of human civilization, whatever human being saw, wanted to display it according to their natural intelligence and experience. Before the invention of writing materials, men delineated their experiences and themes by engraving them on rocks and on the walls of caves. For this they used clay tablets as well.

Block printing: It is a technique of printing by putting paper on wood block or plate coated with ink on its surface



Wooden block

Later on they began to display their knowledge on different sheets. In 105 (A.D.) T'Sai Lun, prepared paper by using cotton and strips of muslin. Consequently, paper became a source of writing and painting. The first technique of printing developed in China, Japan and Korea. It was started around 594 (A.D.) through the medium of wooden block. By 712 the technique spread in the limited areas of China. By 760 A.D. its popularity increased tremendously in China and Japan. Now block printing was used in printing the pages of books. One page was made by affixing two pieces of papers together. By first half of the 10th century, currency notes were also printed through block painting using the wooden block. In the second half of the century its imitation was started by anti-social elements.

The credit of invention and development of printing goes to China. A Chinese man, Bi Sheng prepared clay seal in 1041. Through this seal print could be taken by joining the letter seal. It could be rearranged and assembled. This method took the place of block printing. After some time the Koreans prepared type by engraving on wood and metal. The first book through the movable type of metal was printed in Korea in the first half of the 13th century.

For a long time the Chinese monarchy was the largest producer of printed materials, because she had to get the books printed in a large number considering the demands of the aspirants of civil services. By 16th century, due to increase in the number of examinees, there was increase in the printed books in that proportion as well. By flourishing the urban culture in China till 17th century, the consumer of the printed materials was not limited to the learned and officers only, but a new class also emerged in the form of traders and affluent women. By the advent of 19th century, to meet out the demands, Shanghai became a new centre of print-culture and manual printing was replaced by machine printing.

Beginning of printing in Europe : Role of Gutenberg

Since the invention of the art of printing through movable types happened in the East, the art flourished in Europe. The main reason of this was that the Chinese, Japanese and Korean languages had more than 40 thousand letters, and it was quite difficult to make blocks of all letters to use. The art of wood block printing reached Europe, first in Rome by traders through the Samarqand-Persia-Syria route (silk route). The specimen of block printing reached Europe by Roman Missionary and Marco polo in the last of 13th century. This art was used there for printing of play card and religious pictures. Due to less number of letters of alphabet in Roman script the types made of wood and metal spread very fast. In the meantime the art of making paper reached Europe in 11th century and the first paper mill was established in Germany in 1336. In this period, due to spread of education, and the increasing activities of trade and missionaries the demand of printed material increased tremendously. To fulfil the demands there was need of fast and cheap printing technology that was finally done by Johannes Gutenberg of Strasbourg (in the decade of 1430).

Gutenberg and Printing Press:

Gutenberg was born in an agriculturist-landlord-trader family in the Menz city of Germany. He was acquainted, from his childhood, with oil and live spiller machine. Gutenberg through his knowledge and experience

organised and gathered the historical search of disintegrated printing art and started work in an organised way on making punch matrix, mould etc. For making seal he invented a new suitable alloy through lead, tin and bismuth. Lead was selected for being cheap as well as its quality of transferring ink. The use of tin was done due to its hardness and melting properties.

Bismuth metal: The characteristic of this metal is, that it expands on being cold; it was used so that it could compensate the contraction of other metals on being cold and maintain the magnitude.

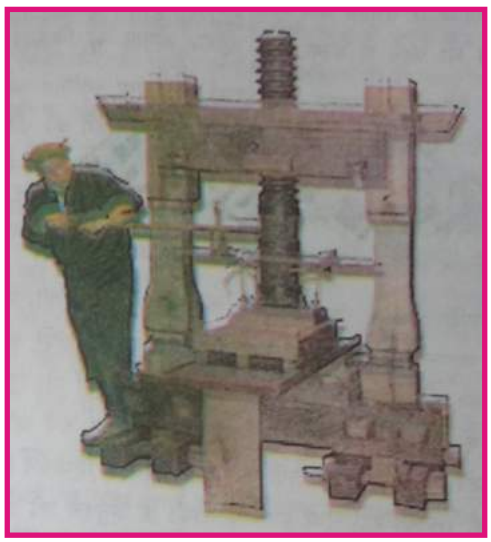
Gutenberg as per the need prepared printing ink and used hand press for the first time in printing work. In the wooden frame of this hand press two plain parts-plate and bed- were put one under another in parallel way. The composed typed matter was fixed and tightened on the bed and applying ink upon it and then putting the paper, printing was done by pressing the plates.



Gutenberg

A very clear, cheap and fast working Gutenberg's historical printing research started in 1440, when he got contract from a gold smith (money lender) named Fust for printing the Bible. It is believed that the old Bible of 42 lines and 36 lines were printed by Gutenberg, since there is no date of printing mentioned on it. Printing of the 421 lines of Bible was started by Gutenberg but it was completed by Fust and Schaeffer because both of them had taken the press of Gutenberg through legal process. After that Gutenberg printed the Bible in 36 lines in 1448 by redeveloping printing and hand press. After that Schaeffer printed a book named "Indulgence".

Despite being surrounded in controversy the printing art reached perfection. From beginning in Menz, it spread very fast in European countries and other places. Cologne, Augsburg, Vessel, Rome, Venice, Antwerp, Paris



Handpress

etc. developed as the main centre of printing. These cities, hereafter, earned their unique recognition as the centres of renaissance and business revolution. Sir William Caxton in 1475 brought print art to England and his first press was established at Westminster. Printing was started in 1544 in Portugal; thereafter it reached other places of the world in modern form.

Multi-dimensional effect of Printing Art:

As a result of increase in printing press there was unexpected increase in the production of books. By latter half of 15th century about two crores printed books entered in the European market and by 16th century the number increased upto 20 crores. This printing revolution changed the life of common people. Now the common people could associate themselves closely with information, knowledge, institution and power. Consequently change in public conciousness and vision became possible.

Due to printing art, now books were at the access of all sections of society. Being easy access to books, a new reading culture developed and a new class of readers emerged because only the literates could read books. So with the aim of increasing literacy, books were decorated with attractive pictures, folk songs and folk tales. Earlier the people who could get

knowledge through listening were now could even read books to get knowledge and information. Logical power developed among them through reading.

There was widespread dissemination of ideas through reading and learning and the door to rationalism and humanism opened. Even those who disagree with established ideas could spread their own ideas. In the minds of some people, there were many types of fear in terms of printed books, that after reading it what impact will be on the personality of the common people, it was fear that rebellious and irreligious ideas would flourish among the people and the power of precious literature will finish.

While commenting on religious prejudices, Martin Luther King , the religious reformer, wrote 95 theses. A copy of this was hanged at the door of the church of Wittenberg. Through this, Luther challenged the church for disputation. The essays of Luther became highly popular among the people (supporters of free ideas). Questions were begun to rise through the people over the power and character of Catholic Churches. Ultimately church was divided and Protestant Religious Reform Movement started. Thousands of copies of translated version of the New Testament translated by Luther were sold in a week and a second edition was to be published within three months. Luther, being grateful to printing, said "printing is the greatest award of God, the biggest gift". Thus printing created a new intellectual atmosphere and dissemination of new ideas of religious reforms movement reached to common people very fast.

Now even comparatively less educated persons became acquainted with different explanations of religion. From peasants to intellectuals started to do new explanation of the Bible. The Catholic Church became indignant with the views coming against the beliefs of Roman Catholic Church regarding God and Creators and started anti religious thoughts. In this way ban was imposed on the publishers and book-sellers of opposite ideology.

Churches of different communities started educating the people of poor class by establishing schools in rural areas. Due to this the literacy rate increased from 60 percent to 80 percent. Now the poor of villages too started

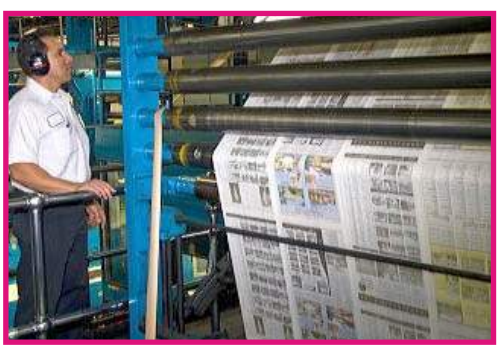
reading cheap books, chap books, calendar, vilniyothik blue and history. From the early 18th century interesting news were provided through papers and magazines. Thus the matters related to science and philosophy were not out of the reach of common masses. The books of Newton, Toms pen, Voltaire and Rousseau were largely printed and read. Consequently the thought of science, logic and rationalism got place among the popular literature.

By the middle of 18th century, due to printing revolution, the light of enlightenment and progress had spread in Europe. To fight against the despotic power transmission of moral courage had been started. Printing culture prepared a conducive situation for the French Revolution as well. Writings of the revolutionary philosophers presented criticism to the custom and tradition, superstition and despotism. Now truth was measured on the touchstone of wisdom and logic instead of tradition and custom. Attacks were being done on the autocratic power of State and the religious power of the Church. The social system based on traditions became weaker. Now critical, questioning and logical vision started developing among the people.

Printing bred a new culture to debate. Evaluation began among common people upon ancient and traditional values, institutions and rules. From testing religion and belief on the touchstone of discursiveness, humanistic viewpoint began to develop. This type of new common world gave birth to social revolution. The new literatures endeavoured to instigate common people against the autocratic monarchy.

Technical development:

By the end of 18th century press were made of metal. By the mid of 19th century Richard M. Ho had made the power generated cylindrical press successful. Through this 8000 sheets of paper could be printed in one hour. Offset press had arrived by the end of the century, through which printing in six colours simultaneously



Printing Press

was possible. From the beginning of 20th century the electrically operated printing press started to work fast. The quality of plate was improved due to its improvement technicality. Photo-electrical control was used for paper roll and colours. Now books were provided to readers in cheap rates and attractive covers and pages. Before these books, people acquired knowledge through manuscript that was not available for general students because they were very old, costly and rare.



Printed manuscript

Development of Press in India:

In India before the development of printing press there was an old and rich tradition of making handwritten manuscripts. Here creation of Sanskrit. Arabic and Persian literatures were done innumerably, decorated with beautiful pictures and filled with art of calligraphy. To give strength the pages were fastened in book shape. Still the manuscripts were very fragile and costly. Being the writing of manuscripts difficult and non availability in abundance, they were beyond the reach of common people. The invention of printing press changed the condition of India as well. In India the first press was brought by the Portuguese missionaries in 16th century. The Jesuit priests printed many books in Konkani. The Catholic priests published

first book in Tamil in 1579. The Dutch Protestants printed many books in translated versions. The beginning of newspapers in India is an important feature. The press became not only an unavoidable social institutions but played a very important role in giving a shape to the feelings of Indians against British Government and to bring awakening against their policies and exploitations and nation building through arousing patriotism.

Establishment of newspapers:

Beginning of modern Indian Press began with the publication of a newspaper by William Bolts in 1766 but being peeved with his work the East India Company send him back to England. In 1780, J. K. Hikki started publication of a newspaper ' Bengal Gazette'. Hikki also had to face punishment in an offence of criticising the Company. The government confiscated the press of Hikki. The 'India Gazette' published in 1780 was the second Indian newspaper. By the end of the 18th century in Bengal, 'The Calcutta Carrier', "The Asiatic Mirror' ' The Herald' and 'The Madras Carrier, 'The Madras Gazette' etc were began to be published. All these were weekly papers and published on different days. The speciality of these papers was that they were not competitors to one another rather than complementary. These papers were limited to Company's officers, traders and missionaries only.



J. K. Hikki

The first newspaper published by Indian was the weekly 'Bengal Gazette' of Gangadhar Bhattacharya in 1816. The British merchants took the services of a journalist named James Silk Buckingham, in 1818. By editing the 'Calcutta Journal' with great calibre he put Lord Hastings and Johns Adams



Front page of 'Amrit Bazar Patrika'

into trouble and complication. Buckingham through his journalism made press as the reflection of the masses. He inclined press to adopt critical viewpoint to give news after investigation and to provide leadership. Due to his progressive work he became a target of the company. Consequently he was sent back to England.

With the publication of newspapers 'Samvad Kaumudi' in 1821 in Bengali and 'Miratul' in Persian, in 1822, the publication of papers of progressive national movement began. The founder of these papers were

Raj Ram Mohan Roy who made it a weapon of socio-religious reforms movement as well. Roy also published Brahminical magazine in English. ' Dainik Bombay' started to be published from Bombay in Guajarati in 1822. Bangdutt was established in 1830 with the effort of Dwarikanath Tagore, Parsanna kumar Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy. The publication of 'Jam-e-Jamshed' began in 1831, 'Guftar' and Akhbar-e-Saudagar was started in 1851.



Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The British administrators did not welcome the discussion of Indian newspapers over the then social, religious and political problems and did dirty efforts to ban the press.

Characteristics of press in the changing perspective of time:

Due to lack of consciousness in the first half of the 19th century, from the common people to Zamindar had no interest in politics. As a result of that distribution of news-papers was very meagre. Journalism was a business of loss. Even the English administrators did not care for newspapers as they did not have any special impact on public opinion. However, the religious and social reform movement got strength and Indian public opinion awakened because of the criticism in newspapers related to legal decision, bias, religious interference and racial discrimination.

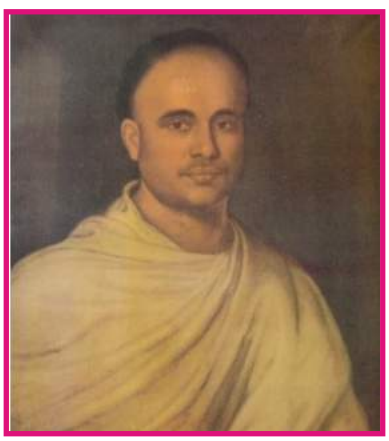
The division of the nature of newspaper, after the mutiny of 1857, can be done on the racial basis. There were two types of press : Anglo Indian Press and Indian Press. The feature and nature of Anglo-Indian Press was exotic. It

was the supporter of divide and rule policy in India. It was a terrible critic to the efforts of unity between the two communities. Through these newspapers they always charged Indian leaders to be 'unloyal' to 'the Raj'. The Anglo-Indian press had some special rights. Government news and advertisements were given to them. They had very intimate relation with the government.

The Indian newspapers were published in English and other Indian languages. The leaders, Ram Mohan Roy, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Balgangadhar Tilak, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammad Ali, and Maulana Azad etc. made the Indian press powerful and effective in 19th and 20th centuries.

In 19th century there were many newspapers that were edited by the English. The newspapers were The Times of India 1861, The Statesman 1875, the Englishman from Calcutta, the Madras Mail from Madras, and The Pioneer in 1865 from Allahabad, The Civil and Military Gazette in 1876 from Lahore had started to be published. “The Englishman” was traditional and reactionary newspaper, while 'The Statesman' was supporter of the liberal thoughts. It was a critic of both the government and the congress. The Pioneer was supporter of the government and a critic to the Indians.

The newspapers edited and published by the Indians:



Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar

Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar started the publication of 'The Som Prakash' as a weekly in Bengla. It was filled with the nationalist ideologies. It supported tremendously the cause of Indigo farmers, Owing to its activities, Lord Litton proclaimed Vernacular Press Act. After some years Vidyasagar took over 'the Hindu Patriot' also. Its London Correspondent Surrender Nath Tagore and Manmohan Ghosh, started publication of 'the Indian Mirror' between 1874-75. It was the only north Indian daily edited by Indians. Keshavchandra Sen started publication of a Bangla daily 'Sulabh Samachar'.

The publication of 'English-Bangla' weekly 'The Amrit Bazar Patrika' from 1868 in the editorship of Motilal Ghosh has special place in the history of press. To avoid the implications of Lord Litton's Vernacular Press Act overnight the paper was started to be published in English.

'Bangawasi' was started in 1881 in the editorship of Rajendra Nath. Its circulation figure reached 8500 copies. Surendra Nath Banerjee achieved success in making 'Bangali', an effective paper of nationalist and political thoughts. The publication of Bangwasi Aryavarta, Uchitvakta, Bharat Mitra etc. started from Kolkata. 'Hindustan' in Hindi was taken out from Kalakand (U.P.). It was the supporter of the liberal thoughts.

Bharatendu Harish Chandra has a very important place in the field of Hindi Journalism. 'Kavi Vachan Sudha' began to be published in his editorship from Banaras in 1867. The editorial notes of the paper was related to political and social topics. That had been supporting to strengthen the socialist ideologies. 'Harishchandra' the monthly magazine of Bharatendu was published in 1872. It was also filled with the sense of patriotism and social reforms. Among the journals, nurturing the nationalist thoughts, the Hindi 'Pradeep' of Balkrishna Bhatt, and Bharat Jeevan of Ram Krishna Verma have a very special place. The English monthly 'Hindustan Review' was published by Sachidanand Sinha in 1899. The point of view of this monthly was political.

By the last two decades of 19th century, the horizon of national movement was expanding gradually. Consequently the new wave of national movement and foundation of congress widely influenced the development of press and circulation of the newspapers.

From Bombay in 1881 'Maratha' in English and 'Kesari' in Marathi began in the editorship of Gangadhar Tilak. Both the papers were influenced with the ideology of extreme nationalism. They had a wide impact on the masses. M. G. Ranadey started 'Indu Prakash' in 1862 while Firoz Shah Mehta started the publication of 'Bombay Chronicle' in 1913.

The work of spreading extreme nationalist in Bangal was done through the 'Jugantar' and 'Vandematram' of Arvind Ghosh and Virendra Ghosh.

The Hindu published in 1878 from Madras as a weekly, assumed the form of a daily in 1881. The viewpoint of this paper was liberal.

Dr. Annie Besant also used newspapers as a means of promulgating the national movement. She took 'The Madras Standard' in her control and giving it a new name ‘The New India’, made the slogan of Home Rule accessible to the masses.

Mahatma Gandhi was not only a successful politician but also a great journalist. He promulgated his ideologies and nationalist movement through 'Young India' and 'Harijan'. He made the government acquainted with his political philosophy and programmes and trained the mass of India for a great movement. The Indian press being influenced with the personality of Gandhi became to be fearless. Through the plain and simple essays of Gandhi, the regional journalism, together with the common masses, got support to associate with the movement.

Newspapers not only gave a new dimension to the nationalist movement but influenced and supported education, economic development, industrialisation and labour movement in India.

Motilal Nehru became the editor of 'The Independence' in 1919. Shiv Prasad Gutpa took charge as the editor of Hindi daily 'the Aaj' and K. M. Pannikar started the editing of 'The Hindustan Times' in 1922. Later, the editorship of The Hindustan Times came in the hands of Madan Mohan Malviya, and finally G.D. Birla took the paper in 1927 in his hand. Due to expansion of socialist communist ideologies, Marathi weekly revolution was representing works and peasants party of India. The English weekly, the 'New Spark' and 'The Congress Socialist' were the supporters of communist and socialist ideologies respectively.


The Bombay Chronicle

INSURANCE

LEASE OF MAHATMA & CONGRESS LEADERS ORDERI

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Ban Of Illegality On Working Committee Removed

VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

SOME EVENTS OF EVENTFUL YEAR

he March Of Events

Gandhiji and Jawahar Lal in the then newspaper

In 1930 M. N. Roy started English weekly 'The Independent'. 'The Free Press Journal' was started under the editorship of S. S. Sadanand. The publication of 'Swaraj' from Madras and 'Nawajivan' from Gujrat also started.

Urdu journalism also developed between 1910-20. The publication of 'Al Hilal' in 1912 and 'Al Bilagh' in 1913 was from Calcutta under the editorship of Maulana Azad. Mohammad Ali started 'The Comrade' in English and 'Hamdard' in Urdu. The publication of 'Pratap' began in Kanpur from 1910 in the editorship of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. It was a great supporter of militant nationalism and farmer worker. 'The Gaadar' was published from San Fransisco in 1913 by Hardayal. It was a paper filled with secular and democratic feelings. It was also published in Punjabi from January, 1914. The paper remained very active in arousing the sense of patriotism among the Indians living abroad.

As far as the relation of Urdu press with the nationalist movement is concerned, it was a terrible critic of British Raj during the mutiny of 1857 and thereafter. But the increasing influence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in national politics, prompted it to make new provision for the relation of Muslims with the congress supported national movement and British Raj. Although the Urdu Press generally did not agree with the ideologies of Syed Ahmad. The papers published in the editorship of Maulana Azad, Mohammad Ali and Abdul Bari were full of nationalist feelings. The subscribers from among these were much more than the Aligarh journal of Sir Syed.

Role and Impact of press in National movements:

The press directly influenced every aspect of national movement be it political, social, economic or cultural. The national leaders, revealing the exploitation policies of British Raj, worked for awakening the masses. The work of showing right path and raising voice fearlessly against imperialism was done through the medium of press.

Before the beginning of Indian National Movement, the papers were representing the public opinion in the country. The patriots did not adopt journalism as a means of profit or business point of view, yet they took it as a mission. The papers took the responsibility of imparting political lesson on their own. The position of the most of the papers was different from the solicitation policies of the congress. The papers were supporting the masses to take part in the political matters. In the papers, all the year round, the resolutions passed in the annual sessions of congress was discussed. This intensified the publicity of national consciousness. Criticism of the discriminatory policy of the Britishers was done by Bharatendu in these words "What is the reason that the Hindu magistrates could not punish the English, but the English to Hindu? Only discrimination!"

The press performed the job of voicing great discontentment towards new education policy. It also raised voice against the economic exploitation carried out in the country by the Britishers. Giving incisive description of the economic plight, a paper wrote that by imposing taxes (tikas par tikas) on trade and commerce and getting high salaries the government authorities have taken away all money from here to foreign land. Here is not enough money to bear the common expenditure. The Secretary of State to England get five times more salary than the Governor General of India…. but India is not a Kamdhenu (milk cow), this is a must for the English to know." 'Bharat Mitra' opposed the export of rice from India. There were differences of thoughts among the papers over the miserable economic condition of India. For this miserable condition, the Indian press held the exploitation policy of the Britishers responsible while the Anglo Indian press viewed the British Raj capable to take India out of this situation. In the eye of the most of the papers the real problem of India was more economic, than political. Evocation was made by the newspapers to stop the money drain from India. In the newspapers, strong criticism was made against the transfer of capital to Shimla in summer season. They too, supported Swadeshi. As a newspaper wrote, Swadeshi will be more profitable for Muslims than Hindus.

In the field of social reforms, the press continuously published critical essays related to social orthodoxy, traditions, superstition and the impact of English culture. The social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Keshav Chandra Sen etc. made press their weapon to make public opinion.

The editors always adopted positive attitude towards the Indian Kings. Whenever their rights were transgressed by the high authorities, the press criticised it. The press sensitized the kings towards their moral generation and responsibilities of their subjects also. The press made strong criticism against the Kings of Kuch Bihar, Patiala, Rampur for their negligence of public interest and indulging in entertainment and addiction. Few newspapers welcomed the steps of Lord Curzon to ban the foreign trips of Kings due to extravagance.

The press reviewed extensively the foreign policy of India. The press openly criticised, Burma War, policy towards Sikkim and Tibbet, Afghanistan War, policy towards Turkey, the incidents of South Africa (Boar War) description of Russia Japan war and the policy of government. Criticising the Gladaston's Barma related policies, the press made it clear that the war was fought in the interests of British imperialism rather than the protection of Indians.

The efforts of Gandhi made in South Africa were mentioned in Indian press. Initially the Indian press were happy over Boar victory against Britishers. The Press viewed the defeat of Russia, in Russia-Japan war (1904-1905) as an opportunity in augmenting self-confidence and nationalism. Due to increasing impact of Russia in central Asia, the English were extremely frightened. In this situation, by praising the Russian administration by the Indian press, efforts were being made to exert pressure over the Britishers.

With regard to Turkey the press played a tremendous role in expressing the feelings of Indian Muslims before the government and the people. Although the opinions of some other including Sir Syed were different. On the issues of Armenia and Balkan (1912) the Muslim Press 'Zamindar', 'Al Hilal', 'Touheed', 'Hamdard', 'Comrade' etc. using their full power, aroused national feelings across the country against the Britishers.

The role of press remained very important in giving a new direction to the country's national movement and nation building also. The press by reviewing the policies of the government and forming public opinion, paved the way to oppose government in a democratic way. With regard to remaining the social evils and maintaining political and cultural unity, work

was done among the people across the county. The press also did a job to certify the freedom movement with the foreign political events. The ban over newspapers by Vernacular Press Act of Litton too, stirred the national movement and the masses. Division of Bengal by Lord Curzon gave new life both to the Indian press and national movement.

In this period, both the press, Hindu-Muslim, made efforts to bring unity among the Hindus and the Muslims against the Christians. 'Nizamul Mulk' and 'Akhbar-e-Aam' called upon to make an organised opinion against the Christian government. The Muslim press adopted a logical view point towards communal riots also and did not accept recklessly the instigating policies of the government. The press played a commendable role in maintaining the communal harmony taking favour of the Ganga-Jamuni culture (the composite culture) of India.

After Surat split (1907) due to ideological difference in Congress, the leaders of the moderate group used press as a means to convey their ideologies to the people. On the other hand the press did work for disseminating the ideologies of extremist nationalism under the leadership of Bal-Lal-Pal. The important national leaders of both sides were founder as well as editor of many papers. The great leaders like Firoz Shah Mehta, Tilak, Annie Besant and Gandhi wanted to attain public opinion for national movement through editorials in the newspaper. The papers of Indian languages, making emotional relations with the common masses, prepared them in favour of national movement. Thus the Indian press made very important contribution in spreading nationalism. The press intensified the process of national movement and nation building, tying all India into one thread, bridging the gap among different communities and making public opinion against exploitation.

Ban against press:

With publication of newspapers in India, the review of government policies had been started. Initially, under the company governance, there was no modal code of conduct for the newspapers. It was based on the company's

free will to decide punishment towards newspaper or editor in case of the task not suited to the company. As such the papers were at the mercy of the company. Due to the pre-supervision policy, the company returned the editor back to England, for not being flexible. But they could not do such with the Indian editors. Thus, new Acts were passed to control the newspapers.

1. The censorship of Press Act 1799:

Lord Wellesley with the apprehension of French attack, imposed censor on press. Under this Act, the newspaper had to clearly publish the name of the editor, publisher and proprietor. Before printing any material it was to be submitted to the government's secretary of censorship. In 1807, the Act was imposed on magazines, pamphlets and books also. Some relaxation was given in the period of Hastings and by 1818 pre-censorship was completely stopped.

2. The Licencing Regulations of 1823:

John Adams, becoming the Governor-General in 1823 expressed his reactionary views in this act. According to this, licence had to be obtained to establish a printing press. The penalty for printing or publishing without the requisite license was Rs. 400 or imprisonment thereof. Magistrate were authorised to confiscate the printing press without permission. The Governor-General had right to cancel the license. Under this act the 'Mirat-ul-Uroos' of Raja Ram Mohan Roy had to be closed down and J. S. Verkinghum had to displace in England.

3. The liberation of Indian Press 1835:

William Bentinck was liberal towards press but by repealing the ordinance of 1823, Charles Metcalfe, earned the epithet of 'Liberator of the Indian Press'. Macaulay was of the view that if the government has infinite power in emergency, there is no need of such laws in peaceful time. Under this Act the publisher could do his job peacefully by giving information regarding the place of publishing. The law continued till 1856 and consequently the number of newspapers in country increased unexpectedly.

4. The licencing Act, 1857:

According to 1857 Act, licencing was again imposed. It was imposed for one year only as emergency provision.

5. The Registration Act 1867:

Under this Act, Metcalfe's Act was replaced, pertaining to regularise the printing presses. By this Act every book or newspaper was required to print legibly on it the name of the printer or publisher and the place of publishing. Further, within one month of the publication, a copy of the book had to be supplied to the government. Provisions for short term and full-term punishments were made for the sedition mongers due to Wahhabi rebellion.

6. The Vernacular Press Act 1878:



Lord Litton

After 1857, even the press was divided into the government and the governed. The English press always supported the government. But the Vernacular Press openly aroused national feelings against imperialist policies. The news of famine and extravagance by the government created great discontentment among the masses. Litton knew this that the reason of resentment was the policies of 'Macaulay and Metcalfe'. Consequently, he endeavored to bring the press in his control through the Vernacular Press Act. By this Act the District Magistrate could permit a press to publish a newspaper on bond and security on the condition that no instigating news against the crown will be published. For this the decision of the Magistrate will be final. A Vernacular newspaper could get exemption from the operation of the Act by submitting proofs of the paper to the government censor.

The Act proved to be gagging and discriminatory. It was successful in controlling the language and emotion of newspapers. The new Secretary to India Lord Cranewook deleted the clause in September, 1878. Press Commission was appointed in its place, with responsibility to publish a true and beneficial newspaper. Lord Ripen who was a real liberal ruler, repealed

this Act. But according to the Act, 1898, provision was made that increasing resentment among army and motivating to act against the government, could be punished. The Vernacular Act worked at catalyst in the sense of nationalism and public resentment.

7. The Newspaper Act, 1908:

The sense of militant nationalism was flaring up against the policies of Lord Curzon. To repress it the Newspapers Act was enacted in 1908. According to it the government could confiscate property connected thereto of newspapers which published objectionable material which served as incitement of murder or acts of violence. His government was empowered to annul any declaration made by the printer under Registration Act, 1867. The newspaper publishers were given the option to appeal to the High Court within 15 days of forfeiture of the press.

8. The Indian Press Act, 1910:

The Act revived the worst features of Lord Lytton's Press Act 1878. The government was empowered to forfeit the security money and cancel the registration. In case of re-publishing objectionable materials, the government had power to confiscate the printing press and all copies of the book. During the 1st world war, under India security rule, there was no permission to do political movement and independent public criticism. At the recommendation of the press committee, 1921, headed by Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed.

9. The Indian Press (Emergency Provisions) Act 1931:

According to this Act all orders passed in 1910 were re-enforced. Under this, provisions were made to award stringent punishment to those who were found guilty for instigating crime directly or indirectly. This Act was brought to supress all the activities that could harm the sovereignty. During the Second World War, pre-censorship was reinforced and one time the publication of all news related to the Congress activities were declared illegal. All these powers were terminated in 1945.

10. The Press Examination Committee:

The Committee constituted in March, 1947, recommended, in reference to the fundamental rights elucidated by the Constituent Assembly, to repeal the Press Act 1931, Princely State Act (Unity against resentment), and Native State Security Act 1934.

11. The Press (Objectionable Matters) Act, 1951:

In 1951, the government required amendment in Article 19(2) of constitution and to pass the Press Act. Through this, all Acts till date, were repealed. The Act empowered the government to demand and forfeit security from presses and newspapers for publication of 'objectionable matter'. The printers were allowed to solicit examination through jury. This act continued till 1956.

In view of the protest against this Act, by various journalist organisations, the government constituted a Press Commission under the Chairmanship of Justice G. S. Rajadhiyaksh. The commission submitted many suggestions, including the formation of All India Newspaper Council in 1954, that were accepted.

Role of Press in India after Independence:

On the global level, printing from its beginning to freedom movement in India, passed through different situations before reacheding due to its utility (importance or use) in such position, that all activities related to knowledge world are being influenced by it. Today, journalism is directly influencing, literature recreation, superstition, chat, humour, cartoons, all practices, science , administration, politics etc.

In today's modern time press is the repository of rich consciousness of literature and society and newspapers and journals are accounts of mobility. In post-independence India, even if the purpose of newspaper and journal is business, but it has played an important role in arousing the literary and cultural interests. In the context of happenings of day to day incidence, the newspapers and journals, by using new and simple terminologies have made contribution in the development of philology. By arousing consciousness in society, the press initiated revolution in social, religious, political and in daily life. The press always raises the issues of social evils such as dowry system, widow marriage, girl-killing, child marriage, and thus has always helped in removing these evils as well as superstition prevalent in the society.

In today's changing time the press has become a source of healthy entertainment. Even in today's fast and stressful life it entertains the readers by publishing prominently the news from cinema to sports world. The press through mutual chat, humour, cartoons, question-answer, Phooljhadi, Qahqahen, to Kaanv- Kaanv, provides subtle message to society and entertainment also.

Today the press is going to be a symbol of creativity in society. It introduces society to the latest achievements, scientific researches, scientific equipments and services. The journalists bring before the society the boon and bane of science through the medium of incidents. So that the common people should also think in the context of world welfare.

Today the press in the form of the fourth estate, stands like a vigilant watchdog to protect the constitutional values. Together with providing positive direction to present politics it also attempts to knock over the corrupt system.

Thus we see that the press passing through different situations from the first stage of its development to till date, and being the protector of all traditions and value is playing its important role is a main source for understanding the present social, scientific and political activities.



Indian team playing cricket

EXERCISE

Objective questions:

1. Which newspaper was edited by Mahatma Gandhi?
   (a) Common weal (b) Young India
   (c) Bangali (d) Bihari

2. Which paper changed its language overnight to be exempt from the Vernacular Press Act?
   (a) Hanjan (b) Bharat Mitra
   (c) Amrit Bazar Patrika (d) Hindustan Review

3. Who carried away the modal of block printing to Europe in the 13th century?
   (a) Marco Polo (b) Nikitin
   (c) Tsing (d) Megasthenese

4. In which country was Gutenberg born?
   (a) America (b) Germany
   (c) Japan (d) England

5. Which book was printed first by Gutenberg?
   (a) The Quran (b) The Gita
   (c) The Hadees (d) The Bible

6. Who was the carrier of art of printing to England?
   (a) Hamilton (b) Caxton
   (c) Edison (d) Smith

7. Who said, 'Printing is the greatest gift of God?'
   (a) Mahatma Gandhi (b) Martin Luther
   (c) Prophet Muhammad (d) Jesus Christ

8. Rousseau, the philosopher, belonged to?
   (a) France (b) Russia
   (c) America (d) England

9. Where in the world was printing started first?
   (a) India (b) Japan
   (c) China (d) America

10. Civil Services Examination of which country increased the demand of printed books (materials)?
   (a) Egypt (b) India
   (c) China (d) Japan

Fill in the blanks:

1. _____ was defeated in the Russia-Japan war in 1904-05.
2. Firoz Shah Mehta edited _____.
3. The Vernacular Press Act was passed in _____.
4. _____ earned the epithet of the 'liberator of Indian newspaper'.
5. Al-Hilal was edited by_____.

Match the following:

1. J. K. Hikki	a. Samvad Kaumudi
2. Ram Mohan Roy	b. Bengali
3. Bal Gangadhar Tilak	c. Bangal Gazette
4. Keshav Chandra Sen	d. Maratha
5. Surendra Nath Banerjee	e. Sulabh Samachar

1. Write in 20 words about the following:

a.	Printing Press	b.	Gutenberg
c.	The Bigle	d.	Silk route
e.	Maratha	f.	Young India
g.	The Vernacular Press Act	h.	Sir Syed Ahmad
i.	Protestantism	j.	Martin Luther

2. Answer the following questions in 60 words:

(a) How did Gutenberg develop printing machine?

(b) How did printing reach Europe?

(c) What do you mean by Inquisition? Why was it needed?

(d) What is manuscript? What is its usage?

(e) Lord Lytton intensified the national movement. How?

3. Long answer questions (Answer in 150 words):

(a) How did printing revolution influence the modern world?

(b) Trace the development of press in India in the 19th century.

(c) Write the characteristics of Indian press.

(d) How did Indian press influence the national movement?

(e) Trace the developmental journey of printing machine. How did it reach the present form?

Class discussion:

1. Visit a nearby printing press with your teacher to understand the technique of printing.
2. Make a comparative study with your teacher in class regarding modern newspapers and the previous newspapers.