PG HT S1-04 (DSE)

TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP-2020)

SEMESTER-I

HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONS

HISTORY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the frist Elective Course in the First Semester of MA Programme in History. The title of this course is History of Revolutions. The course contains a total of 14 units. The course is designed to make the learners familiar with world history and the general trends in the 20th century that has made tremendous impact on humanity.

The first and second Unit is titled *Concept and Nature of Revolution and Revolutions and Ideologies* respectively which throws light on the various ideas, ideologies and concepts that shape our understanding of Revolution.

The third Unit titled *The Glorious Revolution in England* discusses the causes, events and the consequences of the Glorious Revolution of England.

The fourth Unit *The American War of Independence* discuses the origin, of the American War of Independence and its impact.

The Units from five to seven titled *the French Revolution, The French Revolution and its Aftermath and Revolutions in Nineteenth Century France* respectively discusses the Revolution in Fraance from 1789 to 1848.

The eigth and ninth Unit titled *The Russian Revolution of 1905 and The Russian Revolution 1917* discusses the events centred in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

The tenth and eleventh unit titled *China in Early 20th Century - I and China in Early 20th Century-II* highlights the events in China and the leaders who led the Revolutions.

The twelfth unit *Mexican Revolution* discusses the causes, course of the Revolution in Mexico and its impact.

The thirteenth unit *Cuban Revolution d*iscuses the Revolution in Cuba and the significance it holds in world history.

The fourteenth unit titled *Iranian Revolutions* discusses the events in Iran and the intervention of USA leading to disastrous consequences

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: “LET US KNOW”. These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with “ACTIVITY” will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit.

UNIT - 1 : CONCEPT AND NATURE OF REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Definition of Revolution

1.4 Nature and Characteristics of Revolution

- Elements of Revolution
- Types of Revolution
- Stages of Revolution

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Readings

1.7 Answer sto check your progress

1.8 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Dear Learner, after going through this unit, you will able to-

- Define Revolution and analyze the nature of Revolution, identify its key characteristics
- Explain how historical Revolutions have shaped the contemporary world by examining the nature of political revolution.
- Discuss the diverse forms, types and stages of Revolution, as a concept and historical phenomenon its complexity and importance in understanding societal transformations, both nationally and internationally.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

How do we define Revolution? In 1970, the Chinese leader Zhou Enlai said that the outcome of the French Revolution was unclear - 200 years is too soon to determine its long-term effects! Revolutions are complex and nuanced and can shift the global balance in fundamental ways - from England's Glorious Revolution in the 1600s to the United States, France,

Haiti, Russia, China, and the modern independence movements in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Most revolutionaries rose to protest a failure of Thomas Hobbes' Social Contract - these instigators felt their government no longer served the needs of its people or had become unresponsive and oppressive. The protesters use different methods- from relatively peaceful civil disobedience in India; to extreme violence in France, Russia, China, and Cambodia; to subversive terrorist tactics against colonialism in the United States, Latin America, Vietnam, and the modern Middle East.

Although the jury is still out, several revolutions created stable representative governments, such as in India, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Did China and Russia create stable governments, or did the autocratic leaders simply stifle discontent? As Zhou Enlai said, history will decide. Many countries elected or appointed a series of failed leaders who prompted counter-revolutionaries to rise in civil wars and subsequent revolutions. This occurred in France, Haiti, Latin America, and the Middle East. Many of the revolutions we study in this course were direct responses to colonialism and European imperialism, such as in the United States, Haiti, Latin America, Southeast Asia, Vietnam, India, and the Middle East.

Revolutions come in many forms: political, social, agricultural and scientific.

1.3 DEFINITION

Revolution is a determining historical phenomenon, shaping how the world is today. It's all about making big and transformative changes. We use the term for various historical consensus like the "Neolithic revolution", "Industrial revolution" or the "Sexual revolution." In history, it means a movement, usually involving violence, to get rid of an old system and completely change how a society works. Think about the French Revolution in the 18th century, where they got rid of the king and tried to change everything in society. Since then, people have seen revolution as a way to radically overcome the past, thinking that true progress can only happen through such big and total changes.

People have been dealing with tough times and unfair treatment throughout history. Most of the time, they respond by enduring it with strength, giving up, praying, or hoping for something better. When people do rebel against those in power, it's usually isolated and easy for those in charge to stop. So, revolutions are not common-much less frequent than instances of unfairness and suffering. Revolutions happen when rulers become weak and isolated, elites turn against the government, and people believe they are part of a big, united, and just group that can make a change together.

Experts in politics and history define revolution in different ways. Most agree that it involves a forceful change in government, a lot of people participating, and changes in how things work. Some say revolutions must happen suddenly or involve violence. Others think it's about poor people struggling against the rich or the regular folks against the privileged. But in reality, revolutions are diverse. Take the Chinese Communist Revolution, where Mao Zedong spent over twenty years rallying the peasants and fighting the ruling government before taking charge. Recent "colour" revolutions, like the People Power Revolution in the Philippines or the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, happened quickly but without violence. Even anti-colonial revolutions, like the American Revolution, involved people from all classes against colonial power, with not much change in wealth or status.

In the twentieth century, experts mostly focused on the observable parts of conflicts and how institutions change. They didn't pay much attention to the personal and emotional side of revolutions. But in recent years, those studying revolutions realized that the ideas and stories about social justice are crucial for getting people to join and making revolutions successful.

So, we can define revolution best by looking at both the big groups of people getting involved and how things in society change. It's not just about overthrowing a government through a lot of people (whether military or civilian) but doing it for social justice and creating new ways of running things.

Revolution has played a pivotal role in shaping the modern world. This term denotes radical, transformative change, encompassing a wide

range of phenomena from industrial revolutions to social and political upheavals. In its historical context, revolution refers to a movement, often marked by violence, aimed at overthrowing an existing regime to bring about fundamental changes in societal institutions. The French Revolution of the 18th century, which sought to overhaul the monarchy and reconstruct society, established revolution as synonymous with radical transformation. Modernity was often believed to be attainable only through such violent and total upheavals.

LET US KNOW



[The term "Color Revolution," coined in the early 2000s, is primarily employed to characterize a series of largely non-violent protests in Serbia, Georgia, Kyrgystan and Ukraine, leading to attempted or successful changes in government and societal structures in post-Soviet states. The overarching goal of these revolutions was to institute Western-style liberal democracy and eradicate corruption within these nations. For more on Color Revolutions Please check the link given in 'Further Readings'

1.4 NATURE OF REVOLUTION

In the grand tapestry of human history, the Revolution stands as a formidable and dynamic character, shaping the very essence of the modern world. Personifying radical, transformative change, Revolution takes on various forms, from the mechanized strides of the "industrial revolution" to the profound shifts in societal norms witnessed during the "sexual revolution." As a historical figure, the Revolution embodies a movement, often brimming with violence, aimed at toppling established regimes and ushering in a complete metamorphosis of fundamental societal institutions.

The 18th-century French Revolution, a pivotal moment, saw the dethroning of monarchy and a bold attempt to reconstruct society from its pinnacle to its foundation. Post this upheaval, the term "revolution" became synonymous with a radical break from the past. Many embraced the notion that true modernity could only be realized through such violent and all-

encompassing transformations.

In the 20th century, the Russian Revolution of 1917, led by the charismatic Vladimir Lenin and fueled by Marxist Communism, served as a beacon of inspiration for revolutionaries worldwide. Karl Marx's belief in the necessity of revolution to propel societies from one historical stage to the next, solidified the perception of revolution as a universal and inevitable force in world history. The Russian Revolution, spanning over half a century, became a model for political upheaval and socio-economic change, influencing revolutionaries from China's Sun Yat-sen to Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh.

The late 20th-century Iranian Revolution introduces yet another archetype of revolution. In 1979, an Islamist movement sought to radically transform a state and society perceived as excessively secular and tainted by western values. The Iranian Revolution centred on nationalist and Islamic values, standing as another testament to modern, revolutionary change.

Across the Asian landscape, the 20th century unfolded as an age of revolution, with Euro-American imperialism in the 19th century catalysing radical change. The Asian experience varied, from India's nationalist anti-colonial movement to China's Republican Revolution of 1911, fueled by the humiliation of the Opium Wars. Japan, transforming into an industrial powerhouse, and Southeast Asian societies, becoming colonies of Western powers, added diverse chapters to the revolutionary narrative.

Imperialism not only stirred the quest for independent nationhood but also fueled a desire for internal transformation. Revolutionaries in Asia sought not just to break free from colonial shackles but also to reshape their societies from within. In this pursuit, old hierarchies were condemned, and new, more equal social relations were championed.

The multifaceted nature of these revolutionary experiences underlines the vital role of political and social revolution in shaping modern Asian history. Recent years have seen re-evaluations of revolutionary outcomes with the dismantling of regimes and shifts towards market economies. Despite these revisions, the undeniable importance of revolution as both a goal and a

historical process persists, leaving an indelible mark on the formation of modern Europe, Asia and the world at large.

The nature of revolution is shaped by contrasting visions, each depicting a different perspective on the upheavals that transform societies. The heroic vision sees revolution as a noble struggle where oppressed masses rise under leaders, overthrowing unjust rulers to attain freedom and dignity. Rooted in Greek and Roman traditions and championed by figures like Thomas Paine and Jules Michelet, this view justifies violence as a necessary means to dismantle the old order and establish a new one rooted in social justice. Modern proponents, such as Marx, Lenin, and Mao, extend this vision, predicting the inevitable triumph of the poor over the rich.

In contrast, another vision portrays revolutions as eruptions of popular anger of the masses leading to chaos. Reformers, even through well-intentioned, may unwilingly unleash uncontrollable violence, with the masses demanding blood. This perspective, articulated by English critics like Burke, Carlyle, and Dickens, warns that revolutionary leaders, driven by unrealistic visions and personal glory, can inadvertently destroy the very civilization they aim to reform. Critics of later revolutions, particularly the Russian and Chinese ones, emphasize the human toll of radical transformations pursued by leaders like Stalin and Mao.

In reality, historical revolutions display a spectrum of outcomes. Some are nonviolent, while others result in bloody civil wars. Some lead to democracies and increased liberty, while others give rise to brutal dictatorships. Today, political leaders focus on understanding the root causes and evolution of revolutions, as evidenced by unexpected uprisings in places like Iran, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the Arab world. These events not only shocked rulers but also unsettled the international order, emphasizing the complex and diverse nature of revolutions.

1.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF REVOLUTION

Understanding the characteristics of Revolution allows learners of history to analyze revolutions in a nuanced manner, considering

the interconnectedness of social, political, and economic factors. Moreover, learners can explore the role of ideologies, leadership, and the broader societal context in shaping the course and outcomes of revolution.

Profound Social Change:

Revolutions are marked by profound and often rapid transformations in societal structures and norms. They bring about significant shifts in the way people live, interact, and organize themselves. Social hierarchies may be challenged, leading to the change in the definition of roles, relationships, and social institutions.

Political Upheaval:

Revolutions typically involve a radical change in the political landscape. Existing political systems may be overthrown, and new forms of governance or political ideologies may emerge. The struggle for political power and establishing new political structures are central aspects of revolutionary movements.

Economic Restructuring:

Economic grievances often serve as catalysts for revolutions. Revolutionary movements may seek to address issues such as economic inequality, exploitation, or lack of access to resources. Revolutionary changes may involve the restructuring of economic systems, redistribution of wealth, or the framing of new economic policies.

Mass Mobilization and Participation:

Revolutions are characterized by the active involvement of a broad cross-sections of society. Mass mobilization plays a crucial role, with diverse groups coming together to demand change. Grassroots movements, civil society organizations, and ordinary citizens often contribute to the collective effort to bring about transformation.

Ideological Foundations:

Revolutionary movements are frequently guided by ideologies that articulate the desired goals and principles of the change sought. These ideologies may be rooted in political, social, or economic theories. Concepts such as liberty, equality, justice, and human rights often form the ideological

basis for revolutionary struggles.

- **ELEMENTS OF REVOLUTION**

The Revolutionary (ies):

Revolutionary is an individual or group who has a desire to pursue a revolutionary change in society. These persons are driven and committed to the cause for change in the state/society. They, at most times, are the initiator or sustainers of a revolutionary movement. Likewise, they are a rallying point for revolutionary activities. A few examples of leaders are- Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela,etc.

The Revolutionary Ideas:

Revolutionary ideas entail the dominant views that form the ideological foundation of the revolutionary groups. It covers the idea of the change that is clamoured for and how that change should be achieved. It can be said to be the revolution in mind. For example Mahatma Gandhi's "Non-Violent", The American Revolution's "Non-Taxation without Representation" etc.

The Revolutionary Movement:

A revolutionary movement is an action done by a group of persons who are joint together in a platform. They have, as their core objective, a desire or commitment to bring about a change to the established system. They are violent in their operation or non-violent. Some examples may be the Red Card Movement (Nigeria), The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) etc.

The Revolutionary Warfare:

Revolutionary warfare is a campaign of violence by a revolutionary movement representing an alternative to a current regime. Such occurs by mobilizing sufficient elements of the population to threaten the established system. It usually results from the failure of peaceful means to change a revolutionary condition. For example, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND).

4 - **TYPES OF REVOLUTION**

Revolutions are tagged with various labels as a form of typological

nomenclature. Said typological nomenclature emerged for their instigators, core issues, agenda or purpose, which lead to the Revolution.

(i) Aristocratic Revolution

Such Revolution occurs from a crack in the unison of the aristocratic (privileged and entrenched elites) class of society. In such a situation, factions are formed, and one of them emerge to challenge the established order. The cause here could be the loss of privileges from the current system or other reasons. For example, The Meiji Revolution.

(ii) Bourgeois Revolution

Here, this Revolution emerges from the non-aristocratic or noble, wealthy elites of society. This class is composed of wealthy entrepreneurs, merchants, individuals who have the resources to form a potent political force. The Bourgeois seeks to open up the space of political participation from the hands of a privileged elite few. Hence, they seek expanded power in a change of unfair conditions that inhibit them.For example The French Revolution, of 1789, the Orange Revolution, etc.

(iii) Proletarian Revolution

A proletarian Revolution is one championed mostly by the working class or as Karl Marx terms it as the "Have Nots." Here, the group that leads such Revolution are usually radical. They seek to unseat an unjust economic or political order, that keeps them subservient, exploited and downtrodden. For example, The Bolshevik Revolution

(iv) Peasant Revolution

Peasant Revolution occurred, in situations where peasants (serfs or subservient class, tied to the land), considered as the lowest class in society, rise to overthrow their landlord or landed masters. For example, the Red Turban Revolution.

(v)Coup d'etat

Coup D'etats are seen controversially as a type of Revolution. However, that is not without challenge to its suitability in being termed as such. A Coup is a forceful action aimed at the overthrow of the political

leadership of a system. It usually involves a small group within the government structure. Not necessarily linked to fundamental change. For example the January 15th, 1966 coup in Nigeria, the 1999 coup d'etat in Pakistan etc.

- **Stages of Revolution**

Scholars and historians of revolutionary events from their observations haven deduced that Revolutions do not occur in isolation, some events or actions lead up to what is termed as Revolutions. Several stages have been proposed by scholars based on their perspectives. And so, one of the most prominent scholar Crane Brinton in his book "The Anatomy of a Revolution", presented four stages of a revolution.

1. The Incubation Stage: In this stage, the symptoms of a revolution can be seen before the outbreak of the Revolution. Such symptoms include economic crisis, government injustices, weak rulers. Also, it consist of intellectual opposition, class division and antagonism, defeat or recruitment of armed forces by revolutionaries.

2. The Moderate Stage: The Revolution, at this stage, has begun with its peaceful attributes. A call for a change is made or requested. Also, at this stage, participants try to reach a compromise and seek reforms to the issues being clamoured for by the revolutionaries.

3. The Crisis Stage: The failure of the repeated pleas and calls to reach a satisfactory agreement, leads to an escalation of violence. Violence increases and more radical elements on both side rise up. And so, revolutionary warfare occurs, especially in its more violent forms at this stage.

4. The Recovery Stage: At this stage, the Revolution is at its winding down phase. Here, hostilities are brought to an end. In this stage, the revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries have achieved success, or the parties come to a mutual conclusion

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 1: State the heroic vision of a Revolution.

.....

Q 2: State the viewpoints of Burke, Carlyle, and Dickens on the nature of Revolution.

.....

Q 3: What is meant by Coup d'etat?

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we have discussed the nature of political revolution, identify commonalities and differences among these events, and understand how they individually and collectively transformed the modern world. Some key points are-

- Revolution, a complex and multifaceted concept, has played a significant role in shaping the modern world.
- Causes leading to Revolutions include economic exploitation, political repression, and social and religious reform movements.
- Profound social change is a hallmark of revolutions, leading to significant shifts in societal structures and norms.
- Mass mobilization and participation play a crucial role in revolutionary movements.
- Ideological foundations guide revolutionary goals, emphasizing concepts like liberty, equality, justice, and human rights.



1.6 FURTHER READINGS

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1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q 1: The heroic vision sees revolution as a noble struggle where oppressed masses rise under leaders, overthrowing unjust rulers to attain freedom and dignity.

Ans. to Q 2: They critiqued that driven by unrealistic visions and personal glory, revolutionary leaders, can inadvertently cause destruction of the very system they aim to reform.

Ans. to Q 3: Coup d'etat is the overthrowing of a government with the use of force.

1.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Very Short Questions (Answer each within 50 words)

Q 1. Who coined the term "Color revolution," and state its context?

Q 2. According to Crane Brinton's stages of revolution, what occurs during the "Moderate Stage"?

Q 3. Name one characteristic shared by both Aristocratic and Bourgeois

Revolutions.

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q 1. Briefly explain the concept of guerrilla warfare and its historical relevance in the context of revolutions.

Q 2. Explain the significance of mass mobilization and participation in the revolution. Provide an example of a historical revolution where this factor played a crucial role.

Q 3. State some factors that make societies vulnerable to Revolutions.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1. Define the term "Revolution" in the context of historical and social change.

Q 2. Discuss the multifaceted nature of revolutions, drawing examples from different historical contexts. Analyze the commonalities and differences among the various revolutions.

Q 3. Examine the role of ideologies in shaping the Revolutionary Movements.

*** ***** ***

UNIT - 2 : REVOLUTION AND IDEOLOGIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Intellectuals

2.4 Idea of progress

2.5 Empowerment of the People

2.6 Revolutions as Resistance

2.7 Let Us Sum Up

2.8 Further Readings

2.9 Answers to Check your progress

2.10 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the role of ideologies in shaping revolutionary movements
- gain an understanding of how ideologies such as Marxism, liberalism, etc
- explore the contributions of intellectuals-philosophers, writers, activists, and scholars-to revolutionary movements, and
- Examine the concepts of empowerment, resistance, and progress as central themes in revolutionary movements.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the definition, nature and characteristics of a revolution. In this particular Unit, we will focus on the ideologies that result in the revolution, shape the revolution and often times add fuel to the revolution.

Revolutions are an instrument of change and often an attempt to promote equality and combat oppression. It is not merely a spontaneous eruption of discontent but often a product of ideological ferment. Both revolutionaries and scholars of revolution frequently use a particular concept known as ideology. This term is commonly found in the speeches and writings of many activists and thinkers. It refers to sets of ideas shared by a group, often related to political beliefs, but also encompassing broader interpretations of society and humanity. Ideologies serve as blueprints for change, providing frameworks through which grievances are articulated, collective identities are formed, and visions of alternative societies are envisioned.

Revolutionary movements throughout history have been driven by powerful ideologies, articulated by intellectuals, and fueled by aspirations for progress, empowerment, and resistance against injustice. Ideologies such as Marxism, liberalism, and nationalism have provided the intellectual framework for revolutionary movements, articulating grievances, envisioning alternative futures, and mobilizing support. A revolution is ultimately an act of resistance-a rejection of existing injustices and an assertion of collective agency and dignity, manifesting in various forms such as nonviolent protest, armed struggle, and cultural resistance. In conclusion, revolution is a complex and dynamic process driven by ideologies, intellectual discourse, aspirations for progress, empowerment of people, and acts of resistance. By understanding these interconnected themes, we gain insight into the transformative potential of revolutionary movements and their enduring impact on societies worldwide.

Revolutionary movements, thus, have been intertwined with ideologies, intellectual discourse, and aspirations for progress throughout history. Some of the classic examples of revolutionary ideologies are-

Marxist Ideology:

One of the most influential revolutionary ideologies is Marxism, developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. Marxism posits that history is a series of class struggles, with the bourgeoisie

exploiting the proletariat in capitalist societies. According to Marx, this exploitation generates inherent contradictions that ultimately lead to the overthrow of the ruling class and the establishment of a classless society.

Marxist revolutions, such as the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and numerous others across the globe, have sought to realize the vision of a socialist or communist society, where the means of production are owned collectively and economic inequality is eradicated. While the practical outcomes of Marxist revolutions have varied, their enduring legacy lies in their critique of capitalism and their advocacy for social and economic justice.

Liberalism and Nationalism:

In addition to Marxism, liberal and nationalist ideologies have also played pivotal roles in shaping revolutionary movements. Liberal revolutions, such as the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789, championed ideals of individual liberty, equality before the law, and representative government. These revolutions sought to overthrow monarchical rule and establish constitutional democracies based on principles of popular sovereignty and human rights.

Similarly, nationalist revolutions, like the movements for independence in India, Algeria, and numerous other colonized territories, were driven by aspirations for self-determination, cultural identity, and political sovereignty. Nationalist leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Ho Chi Minh mobilized their populations to resist colonial oppression and assert their right to govern themselves.

Contemporary Ideologies:

In the contemporary era, a myriad of ideologies continues to animate revolutionary movements around the world. From environmentalism and feminism to anti-globalization and indigenous rights, these ideologies reflect diverse concerns and aspirations, from ecological sustainability and gender equality to social justice and cultural autonomy.

For example, the Arab Spring uprisings that swept across the Middle

East and North Africa in 2010-2011 were fueled by a combination of demands for political reform, economic opportunity, and social justice. While the outcomes of the Arab Spring varied across different countries, the uprisings underscored the enduring relevance of ideologies in mobilizing popular discontent and challenging entrenched authoritarian regimes.

2.3 INTELLECTUALS

Intellectuals include philosophers, writers, activists, and scholars, play pivotal roles in revolutionary movements. They act as catalysts for change by critiquing existing systems, disseminating revolutionary ideas, and mobilizing support. Intellectuals contribute to revolutions through their capacity to articulate grievances, formulate alternative visions, and inspire collective action. From Voltaire and Rousseau during the French Revolution to Antonio Gramsci and Frantz Fanon in the 20th century, intellectuals have shaped revolutionary discourse and catalyzed transformative movements.

Philosophical Thinkers

Throughout history, philosophers have exerted a profound influence on revolutionary thought and action. Figures like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose 'Social Contract Theory' inspired the French Revolution, and John Locke, whose ideas on 'Natural Rights' and government by consent shaped the American Revolution, articulated principles that galvanized revolutionary movements and laid the groundwork for new political orders.

Similarly, existentialist philosophers like Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre critiqued totalitarianism and advocated for individual freedom and responsibility, inspiring resistance movements against oppressive regimes in Nazi-occupied Europe and colonial Algeria.

Literary Figures

Writers and literary figures have also played instrumental roles in revolutions, using the power of language and storytelling to mobilize support and critique injustice. The literary figures and writers articulate the faults of the old society and make a powerful case for social change through their

pen. They create a portrait of the injustices of the old regime and of the absolute necessity and inevitability of change that is capable of motivating and uniting diverse groups to support the revolution through their literary works.

Authors like Leo Tolstoy, whose novel "War and Peace" explored themes of war, peace, and social change, and Chinua Achebe, whose novel "Things Fall Apart" examined the impact of colonialism on African societies, contributed to revolutionary consciousness by shedding light on the human condition and the quest for dignity and freedom.

Political Activists and leaders

Political activists and organizers have been at the forefront of revolutionary movements, mobilizing masses, organizing protests, and challenging oppressive regimes. Figures like Mahatma Gandhi, who led India's nonviolent struggle for independence against British colonial rule, and Nelson Mandela, who fought against apartheid in South Africa, exemplify the transformative power of grassroots activism and civil disobedience in effecting revolutionary change. During the revolution, visionary leaders continue to inspire and guide the revolutionary forces. Such visionary leaders include Thomas Jefferson, Robespierre, Francisco Madero, V. I. Lenin, Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Vaclav Havel, Ayatollah Khomeini and so on.



LET US KNOW

The Cuban Revolution, led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, not only resulted in the overthrow of the Batista regime in 1959 but also led to significant social reforms, including the establishment of universal healthcare and literacy campaigns that dramatically improved education levels in Cuba.

Scholars and Theorists

Scholars and theorists also play essential roles in revolutions by

analyzing social conditions, critiquing existing systems, and formulating alternative visions. Thinkers like Frantz Fanon, whose writings on colonialism and decolonization inspired anti-colonial movements in Africa and beyond, and Bell Hooks, whose feminist theory highlighted the intersections of race, class, and gender oppression, have contributed to revolutionary praxis by illuminating structures of power and advocating for social justice.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The 'Social Contract Theory' is associated with which political thinker.

.....

Q 2: Who is Frantz Fanon?

.....

Q 3: Fidel Castro played a major role in which Revolution?

.....

2.4 IDEA OF PROGRESS

Central to many revolutionary ideologies is the idea of progress-the belief in the possibility of social, political, and economic improvement. The notion of progress serves as both a motivating force and a guiding principle for revolutionary movements, inspiring individuals to challenge oppressive regimes and strive for a better future. Whether through technological advancement, social reform, or cultural liberation, revolutions are often driven by a belief in progress as a transformative force capable of emancipating societies from injustice and inequality.

Technological / Material Progress

Technological or material advancements have often been heralded as agents of progress, promising to improve living standards, enhance productivity, and expand human capabilities. From the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries to the digital revolution of the 21st century, technological innovations have transformed societies, reshaped economies,

and fueled aspirations for progress and prosperity.

Social and Political Progress:

Progressive movements have sought to advance social and political change by challenging entrenched inequalities, expanding rights and freedoms, and promoting inclusivity and diversity. Movements for civil rights, women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and disability rights have all pushed for greater equality, justice, and recognition of human dignity, challenging prevailing norms and institutions in the pursuit of progress.

Economic Progress:

Economic progress is often equated with rising living standards, increased wealth, and reduced poverty. However, the pursuit of economic progress has also led to exploitation, environmental degradation, and widening disparities between rich and poor. Critiques of capitalism and calls for alternative economic systems, such as socialism, communism, and participatory economics, reflect broader concerns about the sustainability and equity of economic progress.

2.5 EMPOWERMENT OF THE PEOPLE

Revolutionaries often seek to empower marginalized and oppressed populations, mobilizing them to challenge entrenched power structures. Empowerment involves not only raising consciousness and mobilizing support but also fostering solidarity, building organizational capacity, and enabling active participation in political processes. Empowered individuals and communities become agents of change, driving revolutionary movements forward and shaping their trajectories through collective action and resistance.

Education and Awareness:

Education and awareness play crucial roles in empowering people to understand their rights, articulate their grievances, and organize for change. Literacy campaigns, community workshops, and grassroots organizing efforts help to build critical consciousness and political engagement, equipping individuals and communities with the knowledge and skills to advocate for their interests and challenge injustice.



LET US KNOW

The French Revolution saw the introduction of the metric system, which was intended to standardize measurements and promote efficiency. It replaced the old system of measurements based on body parts and local customs, leading to the widespread adoption of the metric system across the globe.

Grassroots Organizing:

Grassroots organizing is essential for mobilizing communities, building coalitions, and amplifying voices that are often marginalized or silenced. Community-based organizations, labor unions, and social movements serve as vehicles for collective action, providing spaces for people to come together, share their experiences, giving space to raise voices and strategize for social change.

Leadership Development:

Leadership development from among the masses is crucial for nurturing the next generation of activists and organizers, empowering individuals to become agents of change within their communities. As the revolution progresses, new leaders naturally step forward based on their circumstances and abilities. Additionally, pre-structured programs that teach leadership skills, provide mentorship and offer workshops to develop abilities like communication and negotiation play a crucial role. These initiatives help budding leaders gain the confidence and tools they need to inspire and

unite others, driving significant and positive transformations.

2.6 REVOLUTION AS RESISTANCE

At its core, revolution is an act of resistance-a rejection of existing social, political, and economic arrangements perceived as unjust or oppressive. Whether against colonial rule, authoritarian regimes, or systemic inequalities, revolutions embody acts of defiance and defiance against entrenched power. Resistance takes various forms, including protests, uprisings, strikes, and armed struggle, as individuals and groups assert their agency and challenge the status quo.

Nonviolent Resistance:

Nonviolent resistance has been a powerful tool for challenging oppression and effecting social change, offering a means of resistance that is both morally principled and strategically effective. Movements like the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, and the Arab Spring uprisings in the Middle East have demonstrated the power of non-violent tactics such as Civil Disobedience, boycotts, and mass mobilization in challenging entrenched power and effecting political transformation.



LET US KNOW

The Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia (1989) is named for its peaceful nature, with protesters in Prague holding mass demonstrations and strikes against the Communist regime. The revolution resulted in the resignation of the entire Communist leadership and the peaceful transition to democracy, marking a significant moment in the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.

Armed Struggle:

Armed struggle has been another means of resistance employed by revolutionary movements facing violent repression and state-sponsored

violence. Guerrilla warfare, armed insurrection, and revolutionary warfare have been used by liberation movements, and revolutionary armies to challenge colonial rule, overthrow dictatorships, and pursue the path of national liberation and self-determination.

Cultural Resistance:

Cultural resistance involves challenging dominant narratives, symbols, and representations through artistic expression, cultural production, and collective memory. Artists, writers, musicians, and filmmakers have used their creative talents to critique power, amplify dissent,incite and inspire solidarity, contributing to movements for social justice, cultural autonomy, and political change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Why is the Velvet Revolution called so?

.....

Q 5: How do Revolutions empower people? Share one example.

.....



2.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have been able to understand that

- Revolutionary movements are complex phenomena shaped by ideologies, intellectual discourse, aspirations for progress, empowerment of people, and acts of resistance.
- Ideologies provide the intellectual framework for revolutionary movements, articulating grievances, and envisioning alternative futures.
- Intellectuals play pivotal roles in shaping revolutionary thought and mobilizing support through their insights, analyses, and visionary leadership.
- The idea of progress serves as a guiding principle for revolutionary

change, inspiring individuals and communities to challenge injustice, confront oppression, and strive for a better future.

- Empowerment of people is essential for mobilizing marginalized populations, building solidarity, and enabling collective action, fostering a sense of agency and empowerment among disenfranchised communities.



2.8 FURTHER READINGS

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2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q 1: Rousseau

Ans. to Q 2: Political Philosopher

Ans. to Q 3: Cuban Revolution

Ans. to Q 4: It is called so due to its peaceful nature of protests.

Ans. to Q 5: Through literary workshops held during the time of Revolutions, the masses get the opportunity to listen to the greatest minds and make themselves aware of their situations and thus empower themselves.



2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1. What are the key roles that intellectuals play in revolutionary movements?

Q 2. What is the core argument of Marxism as a guiding revolutionary ideology?

Q 3. What are some forms of resistance employed by revolutionaries to challenge oppressive power structures?

Q 4. How does the idea of progress motivate individuals and masses to engage in revolutionary change?

Q 5. What are some of the historical and global influences on revolutionary ideologies and movements?

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1. What is the central role of ideologies in shaping revolutionary movements?

Q 2. How do intellectuals contribute to the mobilization and direction of revolutionary action?

Q 3. What forms of resistance are commonly employed by revolutionaries?

Q 4. How does the concept of progress motivate revolutionary aspirations?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300 words)

Q 1. In what ways do revolutionary ideologies such as Marxism, liberalism, and nationalism shape the goals, tactics, and outcomes of revolutionary movements throughout history? Discuss with reference to specific examples.

Q 2. How have intellectuals, including philosophers, writers, and activists,

influenced the trajectory of revolutionary movements? Discuss with historical examples.

Q 3. Analyze the effectiveness, ethics, and implications of different forms of resistance in challenging oppressive power structures and effecting social change.

Q 4. Evaluate the role of the idea of progress in revolutionary movements, considering its potential benefits and limitations.

*** ***** ***

UNIT - 3 : THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Background

- Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

3.4 Causes for the Outbreak of the glorious Revolution

3.5 Impact - The Bill of Rights (1689)

3.6 Let Us Sum Up

3.7 Further Readings

3.8 Answers to CheckYour Progress

3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Understand the events leading up to the Glorious Revolution
- Examine the causes of the Glorious Revolution
- Discuss the significance of the Glorious Revolution

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in this Unit we shall discuss about the Glorious Revolution, which took place in 1688-89 .It is regarded as one of the swiftest upheavals in history, marked by rapid and decisive developments within a matter of a few weeks. The Glorious Revolution is also known as the 'Bloodless Revolution' because of the peaceful nature of the revolution. It ushered in a new era of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary supremacy in England in an age that was characterized by a rise in absolutist tendencies across Europe. It went on to influence political developments

across the world.

England, since the English Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century, had largely been a Protestant state with simmering anti-Catholic sentiments. When James I and Charles I attempted to revive traditions associated with Catholicism, it resulted in discord and Civil War in the 1640s. In 1688, religious differences and conflict over issues of governance once again manifested in a confrontation between the monarchy and the parliament, remembered as the Glorious Revolution. The Revolution retained the monarchy with the Protestant Queen Mary and her Dutch husband William of Orange on the English throne but considerable constraints were put on royal authority by the Parliament. The Bill of Rights, which upheld Parliament's and the English people's civil liberties, was accepted by the country's new monarchs.

3.3 BACKGROUND

To understand the Glorious Revolution, it is necessary to have an overview of the English Civil War and the Republic under Oliver Cromwell.

- **Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War**

The 17th century was the age of absolute monarchies in Europe where kings claimed their divine right to rule. Contrary to other European nations, England was different in the sense that in addition to the monarchy, it had a Parliament, with an elected House of Commons (with limited franchise), whose broad consensus with the monarchy was necessary for the smooth functioning of the country. The Parliament's role as a balance to royal authority had been established under the Magna Carta in 1215.

Complications started when King James VI of Scotland succeeded his cousin Queen Elizabeth of England as the first Stuart monarch of England King James I in 1566. In addition to being disliked for his Scottish origins, James I openly relayed his opinion regarding the supremacy of the monarchy,

terming the Parliament as nothing but "cries, shouts, and confusion." James I indulged in frivolous activities and introduced questionable ways of raising money without any substantial economic development in the kingdom. These issues soured the relationship between the king and the Parliament. The Parliament transformed from being a debating society to an organization that viewed itself as safeguarding the rights of the English people. A war in Habsburg Spain brought the Monarchy and the Parliament into direct confrontation over the issue of Parliament's right to discuss and influence foreign policy. While James I favoured providing funds for the conflict, the Parliament refused it, laying the groundwork for the biggest constitutional crisis in English history. The Parliament also opposed a marriage alliance between the future heir of England Charles and the daughter of Phillip IV of Catholic Spain. James disagreed and denied the Parliament the right to speak in matters of foreign affairs, marriage alliances being an important part of foreign policy in those days. James was a Protestant but being born of the Catholic Queen Mary of Scots, he was believed to have Catholic sympathies. The marriage alliance did not work out but Charles married another devout Catholic, Henrietta Maria of the illustrious Medici family of France. There was a secret agreement that James would one day allow English Catholics to freely practice their religion. Thus, religious differences helped accentuate and define the political crisis.

Charles I ascended the throne in 1625 and was even more intolerant of divergent political and religious views. The king's court aesthetics influenced by the religious themes of the Catholic Reformation under the influence of Henrietta Maria were viewed with suspicion. English society was suspected of a plot to reintroduce Catholicism as the official religion. The families of landowners who had bought religious properties during the Reformation were now concerned that would be taken back by a Catholic church. Over a dispute regarding customs duties, Charles dissolved the parliament in 1629 and ruled without it for eleven years. In these years, he resorted to controversial means of raising funds and autocratic rule which incited rebellion in Scotland. Facing financial problems and military mutinies, Charles was forced to convene Parliament twice in 1640, but soon dissolved it when it refused to fund the war without addressing existing grievances.

Charle's defiance of Parliament precipitated a constitutional crisis, about how England was to be governed.

The Parliamentarians saw themselves as the protector of fundamental English liberties granted by the Magna Carta. The king's strengthening of the armed forces with Catholic Irish troops led people in England to shatter stained glass windows that were representative of the Roman papacy. When the English army suffered defeat in Scotland, the Parliament tried and executed Charle's advisors and denounced as illegal most unpopular royal acts during the previous eleven years. Parliament proclaimed that in the future the king would have to summon it every three years and only the Parliament itself can dissolve it. Soon after, the Catholic majority in Ireland also revolted, massacring hundreds of Protestants there. As tensions grew, the king and the Parliament failed to arrive at a consensus on how to deal with the growing violence. In November 1641, Parliament called for religious and administrative reforms. Wealthy nobles on the other hand began to rally around the King, fearing that reform would weaken their position. Fighting began when the king attempted a failed coup against Parliament in January 1642. Charles fled London when people had become more forceful in their support of the Parliament. Parliament's soldiers came to be known as 'Roundheads' and the King's soldiers as 'Cavaliers.'

Oliver Cromwell emerged as the main leader of the Parliamentarians during the Civil War. He was an outstanding general, responsible for the strengthening of the New Model Army that fought for the Parliament. The Parliament itself was divided into two new groups - Presbyterians and Independents. The moderate Presbyterians who constituted a majority were opposed to the authority of bishops were willing to negotiate with the king and sought a settlement that would maintain a structured church system. The Independents were radical Puritans who wanted a decentralized church structure and pushed for broader political reforms to protect individual rights. The rise of Cromwell, who belonged to the Independent group, marked the ascendancy of this group within Parliament. Cromwell purged the New Model Army of Presbyterian commanders and replaced them with Independents. In 1648, the parliament too was purged of Presbyterians and some independents, leaving a much smaller 'Rump Parliament.' The House of

Lords was dismissed. A high Court was appointed to try the king on charges of high treason. The Civil War ended with the execution of King Charles I, the first monarch to be tried and executed by his subjects. The monarchy was abolished in 1649. Cromwell brutally suppressed the Irish Revolution that had been going on for years and defeated the Scots, uniting the British Isles for the first time. He went on to dissolve the Rump Parliament in 1653, establishing a new Parliament called the Barebones Parliament. This too was dissolved six months later and Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector, giving him almost unlimited power. England became a military dictatorship. Oliver Cromwell's 'republic' was relatively stable but turned out to be as oppressive as the Stuart monarchy it replaced. Cromwell faced opposition due to financial burdens from the wars he started with other European powers and his attempts to enforce Puritan lifestyle codes. The superb military commander failed to be a good civilian administrator. Although he never accepted the crown, he developed quasi-monarchical tendencies like the right to name his successor by accepting the terms of the "Humble Petition and Advice" in 1657. With the death of Oliver Cromwell in September 1658, his successor Richard Cromwell was unable to control the chaos emerging out of the war with Spain and dissent within the Parliament from royalist forces. Several military successors failed.

The upper classes now began to feel that the restoration of the Stuart Monarchy was the only way left to steer England out of the chaos prevalent since the Civil War. A royalist army general George Monck dissolved the Parliament. An alliance of Presbyterians and Royalists returned to the Parliament after fresh elections, giving Parliament a moderate majority to bring about the restoration of the monarchy. Charles II, the heir to the executed king was invited from the Netherlands to assume the throne of England on April 23, 1661.

The new king pledged not to rule despotically as the earlier rulers did, and to respect the parliament. Although the monarchy was restored, it presented quite a contrast to the pre-civil-war regime. The powers of the crown to bypass the parliament in all matters were severely curtailed. The restoration was well accepted and welcomed after the chaos of the Civil

Wars and the failed constitutional experiments of the Interregnum. Still, in some ways, the restoration harked back to times before the conflict. The Church of England once again became the established Church and refused toleration of other religions. The king chronically short of money, again depended on Parliament for funds. Thus, despite the seeming calm, the conditions were brewing for another constitutional crisis that would be termed the Glorious Revolution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Fill in the blanks:

Q1: The monarchy was abolished in the year_____

Q2: During the Civil War, the king's soldiers came to be known as _____

Q3: 17th century was the age of _____ in Europe, in general.

Q4: The Parliament's soldiers during the Civil War were known as _____

3.4 CAUSES FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION :

Religion once again served as the main bone of contention. Charles II was a realist who had accepted the irreversibility of the changes made since 1640, but he also retained an inclination towards Catholics on a personal level. Charles II even maintained a secret treaty called the Treaty of Dover with the French in which he promised to re-establish the Catholic religion in England. He favoured Catholics in his administration and appeared to be seeking the support of Dissenters to form a United Front against the Church of England. Consequently, Parliament enacted a series of laws targeting Dissenters between 1661-66 known as the Clarendon Code. Other laws were passed requiring the office holders to adhere to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. While Charles was a realist, his brother and heir to the throne - James was an open convert to Catholicism



LET US KNOW

Dissenters were those protestants in England who refused to conform to the established Anglican Church of England. There were many different groups of protestants subsumed within this broad term 'Dissenters.'

By the 1670s, the English Parliament witnessed the emergence of two distinct factions, reminiscent in some ways of the pre-Civil War division. Members of Parliament who were in favour of the divine right of monarchy were called Tories and those MPs who championed parliamentary supremacy and religious tolerance came to be known as Whigs. Whig leaders devised a strategy to exclude James from the line of succession due to his Catholic faith precipitating the 'Exclusion Crisis' (1678-81), during which the Tories supported James as the legitimate heir. In 1679, Charles dissolved Parliament in response to attempts by some Members of Parliament to name his illegitimate son as heir. In the three subsequent elections, the Whigs capitalized on Catholic animosity to win a majority of seats in the Parliament. The Habeas Corpus Act, passed by Parliament in 1679, was a manifestation of Whig ascendancy. This act compelled the government to give people who were arrested a speedy trial by defining the legal rights of those who were charged with crimes, greatly curtailing the powers of the monarchy. It was a landmark victory for the English House of Commons in its century-long struggle to preserve constitutional authority over England's government. In response, Charles II attempted to rule without the Parliament and proclaimed his Catholicism on his deathbed.

Charles II left the crown in an exceptionally strong position. The succession of James II (1685-89) meant that a proclaimed Catholic was now the head of the Anglican state of England. Initially, people accepted it. But soon, James began dismissing non-Catholic advisors. He also did not denounce the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France, 1685 which ended the toleration of Huguenots (French Protestants) further inducing anxiety

among English Protestants about James' true intentions. Although he never imposed Catholicism in England, James fostered dreams of establishing monarchical absolutism. He issued indulgences in 1687 granting Catholics religious toleration and they were appointed to crucial posts in the army, universities, and even posts within the Anglican church. This alienated James' supporters in parliament - the Tories (who were advocates of monarchical rule but also were staunch supporters of Anglicanism).

The people of England were tolerant of James since his daughter - Mary who was in line to ascend the throne was a Protestant. But the situation changed in 1687, when James's wife Mary Beatrice became pregnant and if she had a son, he would ensure the Catholic line of succession. Mary's Dutch husband, William of Orange - the Chief executive of the Netherlands began preparations for invading England to claim his wife's throne, without James or the general English people knowing about it. In April 1688, James II ordered the Anglican clergy to read the Declaration of Indulgences (1687) from the pulpit in their congregations. 7 bishops refused and petitioned against the order in court. Meanwhile, a son - James Francis Edward (Prince of Wales), was born and baptized as a Catholic. A few days later, on 30th June, the Seven Bishops were acquitted by the jury handing a blow to the king's authority.

The same day, a group of 7 Tories and Whigs, known as 'the Immortal Seven' sent an invitation to William of Orange to come over to restrain James. To maintain their positions of power and influence, both Whigs and Tories felt that a strong monarchy had to be accepted. William seized the opportunity to invade England with its pretext. The European international politics of the time favoured William. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had deeply angered the Dutch and they feared that the reintroduction of Catholicism in England would weaken the Dutch Republic's defences against Catholic France. They saw England as a crucial ally in their resistance against Louis XIV's expansive goals, in addition to a vested interest in the improvement of trade relations between England and the Dutch Republic. Thus, William of Orange managed to project himself as the Defender of

Protestantism against the Roman Catholic powers. James did not expect such a transgression from his nephew and son-in-law. James was ill-prepared for an invasion of that extent and his Catholic contemporaries in Europe were tied up in their affairs to offer reinforcements. James offered as a last-minute offer to summon a free Parliament and allow William's supporters to sit, but riots broke out against his rule and Catholics. Seeing the enthusiasm with which the Dutch Prince was welcomed in England, James II fled to France, where his cousin Louis XIV was ruling. The Parliament declared the throne to be vacant.

In January 1689, an English Convention Parliament convened amidst deep division to oversee the transfer of the crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Radical Whigs proposed that William become an elected king, deriving his authority from the people. The Tories advocated that Mary be proclaimed as queen, with William serving as her regent. Faced with William"s ultimatum of leaving England unless he was crowned king, the Protestant Mary and William of Orange were crowned the joint rulers of England. By the Coronation Oath Act, William and Mary agreed to govern 'according to the statutes of Parliament, and the laws and customs of the same,' to maintain 'the protestant reformed religion, established by law.' This political takeover that once again established the dominance of the Anglican Church of England came to be known as the Glorious Revolution, ending half a century of conflict.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Choose the correct option for the following questions:

Q 5: The English king James II fled to the court of:

a. Louis XVI

b. William of Orange

c. Louis XIV

d. Habsburg Spain

Q6: William of Orange was a:

a. Dutch man

b. French man

c. Spaniard

d. Portuguese

Q7: Mary, the daughter of the Catholic king of England James II was a:

a. Protestant

b. Catholic

.

3.5 IMPACT - THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1689)

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, while not as violent and long-lasting as the English Civil War, has been more significant in shaping England's constitutional development in the long run.

The English kingdom headed by the Catholic James and the polity headed by the Protestant William and Mary had notable continuities, but they also had important differences. Under James, England had maintained a largely neutral and at times friendly stance towards France. But William's accession greatly reshaped England's foreign policies and alliances, reflective of William's broader ambitions of countering French domination in Europe through his control of England. But for the English people, the main concerns were domestic - to prevent the return of James II and Catholicism, and to preserve the political concessions guaranteed by the Revolutionary Settlement.

The Bloodless Revolution was followed by a series of Acts passed by the Parliament to formulate constitutional arrangements based on English historical experience. The relationship between the crown and the parliament was redefined through a series of Acts, passed between 1689 and 1701. The Parliament enacted a Bill of Rights in 1689, putting an end to prolonged constitutional conflicts. As propounded by the famous English philosopher

John Locke, the Bill of Rights recognized the natural rights of men to life, liberty, and property. It reasserted the Parliament's authority safeguarded property owners' rights to self-governance and granted the accused some rights under the rule of law. It clarified Parliament's financial authority over the government by outlining the constraints on the monarch's powers to raise money and diminished royal control over the army. Regular legislative sessions, free and fair elections, and the preservation of free speech within Parliament-now known as legislative Privilege-were all firmly established by the Bill. It provided for a fair trial by jury for anybody accused of a crime, and it prohibited disproportionate fines and unusually harsh penalties. Lock wanted a separation of state and religion but it was unacceptable to most including William and hence not included in the Bill of Rights. Finally, it was declared that Parliaments were to be held frequently. The Bill of Rights received the acceptance of the ruling monarchs at a time when representative bodies were inconceivable across most of Europe. Lock invoked the idea of the 'Original contract' according to which William and Mary derived their right to rule not from any divine right to rule, but rather from the choice of the people - the only foundation of lawful government. He espoused the right to prevent and if need be, to resist tyranny.

These foundational ideas are still important today and are often brought up in court across the world. The American colonists' aspirations for independence were heightened by news of the Glorious Revolution, and therefore the United States Bill of Rights, which was drafted in 1789, was modelled after the Bill of Rights 1689. Its contents are cited in international human rights treaties such as the European Convention on Human Rights and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, demonstrating its enduring significance.

Some degree of religious toleration was introduced in England through the Toleration Act of 1689. It permitted Protestant Dissenters to conduct public worship in licensed meeting houses and were allowed to maintain their preachers. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church remained the official Church of England and governmental roles were restricted to Anglicans

exclusively. Catholics were barred from the throne and ruling monarchs were forbidden from marrying Catholics until 2015! There was a notable expansion in the size of the administrative apparatus in the decades following the Revolution. Compared to bureaucratic structures in other European countries, Britain's government remained relatively cost-effective. Nevertheless, concerns about mismanagement and corruption persisted in the Parliament.

The years after the Glorious Revolution did not witness steady progress toward the strengthening of constitutional monarchy. Many gains were reversed during the rule of authoritarian monarchs. Moreover, while the Glorious Revolution can be termed a victory for the Parliament, the Parliament itself was self-serving and unrepresentative of the general populace. The Revolution was mostly led by the propertied classes (gentry and benefited the propertied classes in the immediate aftermath. Common people did not experience any immediate benefit or representation. But the Parliamentary culture that had taken root now would eventually offer scope for the common man to participate in the affairs of the state and use it to their benefit. Today, many historians regard the English Bill of Rights as the first step in England's conversion from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. - a watershed moment Thus, the most lasting legacy of the Glorious Revolution was the idea of representation or Parliamentary democracy that would gradually expand to include ever-increasing groups of the population in various places across the globe at different points in time.

LET US KNOW



The nature and significance of the Glorious Revolution have been subjected to various historiographical debates over the years. The Whig interpretation of history, led by Macaulay, depicts the Glorious Revolution as having saved Britain from tyranny and steering it towards political freedom, stability, and economic progress. They

credit the Glorious Revolution for the establishment of parliamentary government and religious tolerance, thus avoiding a bloody uprising like the French Revolution in England. The Whig interpretation was challenged by Christopher Hill challenged in 194. He argued that 1640 was the true starting point of revolutionary change. Marx considered 1688 a commercially motivated palace coup. Modern historians, led by Jonathan Israel, view the Revolution as a strategic invasion by William of Orange rather than a popular uprising because, despite the involvement of former Republicans, the Revolution resulted in a conservative settlement, not fulfilling all societal demands.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q8: In which year was the Bill of Rights was passed?

.....

Q9: What is the other name for the Glorious Revolution?

.....

Q10: What was the United States Bill of Rights modelledlel after?

.....



2.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learned that:

- The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 emerged against the backdrop of the English Civil War where tensions between the monarchy and Parliament over issues of religious tolerance and the balance of power reached a breaking point. The rise of factions within Parliament, such as the Tories and Whigs, foreshadowed the later political divisions.

- The Glorious Revolution of 1688 saw Protestant Queen Mary and her Dutch husband William of Orange ascend to the English throne, supported by Parliament.
- While retaining the monarchy, Parliament imposed significant constraints on royal authority, cementing the country's status as a constitutional monarchy. The Bill of Rights was established, safeguarding civil liberties, and further limiting royal powers.
- Overall, the Glorious Revolution represented a pivotal moment in British history, marking the transition to a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy while shaping subsequent political developments both in England and abroad.
- Historians have divergent opinions on the nature of the Glorious Revolution.



3.7 FURTHER READINGS

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3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q 1: 1649

Ans to Q 2: Cavaliers

Ans to Q 3: Absolute monarchies

Ans to Q 4: Roundheads

Ans to Q 5: c. Louis XIV

Ans to Q 6: a. Dutchman

Ans to Q 7: b. Protestant

Ans to Q 8: 1689

Ans to Q 9: Bloodless Revolution

Ans to Q 10: The English Bill of Rights 1689



3.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Very Short Questions (Answer each question in about 50 words

Q1. William of Orange belonged to which country?

Q2. Who assumed leadership of England after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1649?

Q.3 In which year did the Bloodless Revolution take place?

Q.4 What is the Clarendon Code?

Q.5 Name the first European monarch to have been executed by his subjects.

Q.6 When was the English Bill of Rights enacted?

Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1 Write short notes on:

(a) William of Orange

(b) Oliver Cromwell

(c)James II

Q.2. Who were the Whigs and Tories in the English Parliament?

Q3: What is meant by the Rump Parliament in English history?

Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1. What was the Glorious Revolution? What is its significance in history?

Q. 2 What factors led to the invitation of William of Orange to intervene in English affairs, and how did international politics help his cause?

Q.3 How did the religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants influence the events leading up to the Glorious Revolution?

Q.4 How did the Acts passed after the Glorious Revolution reshape the relationship between the monarchy and Parliament?

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UNIT- 4:THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Origin

4.4 Course of the War

4.5 Treaty of Paris

4.6 Impact of the War- The Bill of Rights

4.7 Let Us Sum Up

4.8 Further Readings

4.9 Answers to CheckYour Progress

4.10 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After carefully going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the beginning of colonialism by different European powers in the Americas
- Examine the causes of the American war of independence
- Assess different events and incidents of the war, and
- Analyze the effects of the American War of Independence.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Glorious Revolution in England. In this Unit, we will be exploring another historical event- The American War of Independence, also known as the Revolutionary War. This event marked a pivotal moment in history as the thirteen American colonies sought to break free from British rule. The conflict had profound consequences, shaping the birth of a new nation and influencing the

development of democratic principles. Columbus's desire to reach India or eastern Asia led him to a new land, claiming it for Spain. He landed in Caribbean islands and named them 'West Indies'.

Despite thinking he reached Asia, Geographer Amerigo Vespucci's exploration of the entire continent resulted in naming the continent America after his name. Europeans referred to the native inhabitants as 'Red Indians' or 'Native Indians'. The discovery sparked a race among European powers to exploit America's resources, leading to colonies by Spain, England, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden. For example, Spain had established her colony in Florida. French settlers established colonies in Northern America which were called New France (Canada) and Louisiana (U.S.A). Thirteen British colonies along the eastern U.S. coast, notably Jamestown in Virginia being the first, founded in 1607 and Georgia(1732) being the last. Trade and religion were the primary drivers of emigration among the populations of Europe and Britain. For instance, the Virginia Company founded the Jamestown settlement as a business endeavor. Numerous colonies flourished due in part to the religious fervor of the Pilgrim Fathers, who fled persecution in England, leading to various settlements over the next fifty years.



LET US KNOW

Quakers- Quakers are people who belong to the Religious Society of Friends, a historically Protestant Christian set of denominations.)

Different European settlements were established in America which resulted in the gradual decline and displacement of natives. The Pilgrim Fathers arrived in America, establishing colonies in New England with a focus on achieving civil and religious autonomy from their homeland. The Mayflower Compact served as the foundation for their new government. Meanwhile, southern colonies like Virginia and Georgia thrived due to the expansion of tobacco and cotton cultivation, featuring English Squire

landlords employing slaves. Pennsylvania and Maryland, influenced by Quakers and Catholics respectively, saw development. William Penn founded Pennsylvania, emphasizing freedom of worship, while Lord Baltimore established Maryland for Catholics, welcoming Protestants. The Dutch established New Amsterdam as a trading post, but in 1664, the English defeated them and renamed the settlement New York. New Jersey emerged from part of New York, and Delaware, initially a Swedish venture, fell under English control. Connecticut, founded for religious and political freedom, and New Hampshire, established by Bostonians, rounded out the colonies.With the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island all other colonies had governors who were appointed by the king or proprietors. Each governor was assisted by a council. Each colony had an assembly consisting of elected representatives who voted for local taxes and local laws. The colonies faced threats from the French and Native Americans, requiring British protection. By the mid-18th century, the population of the thirteen colonies reached about 1.5 million, and their self-governance included the ability to levy taxes without external interference.



LET US KNOW

Mayflower Compact- an agreement to establish a government, entered into by the Pilgrims in the cabin of the Mayflower on November 11, 1620

4.3 ORIGIN

In 1763, a shift in English colonial policy occurred after the Seven Years' War. Despite gaining Canada from France in the Treaty of Paris, Britain, strained by the war, imposed heavy duties on its manufactured goods due to domestic constraints. This compelled a transition from a lenient colonial policy to a somewhat stricter one.

American colonies were always under the threats of the French. After

the Seven Years' War, when Britain gained control of Canada from the French, the colonists felt relieved as they no longer worried about a French attack on their colonies. The colonists gained confidence and began expressing their views. However, King George III's government resisted granting significant independence to the colonies. Facing financial troubles, Britain attempted to exploit the colonies, leading to conflicting views when taxing them to address the deficit. British native industrialists played a role in achieving this through their campaigning efforts.

Arguments emerged regarding Britain's protection during the Seven Years' War, with colonists asserting they had funded and fought the war themselves. Numerous individuals argued that the British government lacked the authority to tax the colonies as they had no representation in the British parliament. They expressed this sentiment through the phrase "No Taxation without Representation." However, King George III, enforcing mercantilist regulations, secured parliamentary sanction for new taxes, deploying troops to America for strict trade regulation enforcement.

Settlers were prohibited from moving beyond traditional borders, causing dissatisfaction among fur traders and small farmers. Business interests were also disrupted as hopes of purchasing western lands at a lower cost were thwarted.

English policies impeded the economic expansion of the colonies. They were required by laws to solely utilize British ships for international trade. Cotton, sugar, and tobacco products were the only ones that could be shipped to England. Import duties were levied heavily on goods from other colonies and beyond England. The colonies were prohibited from establishing industries such as iron, steel, and textiles, forcing them to import goods from England. Policies were implemented to restrict the growth of the colonies' industry and trade.

Sugar Act (1764): In 1764, the British Parliament enacted the Sugar Act, imposing taxes on molasses imported by the colonists. The colonists tried to smuggle molasses but their activities were curbed. There was considerable resentment among the colonists, since the tax was imposed by the British government. The tax was also imposed to make the colonists contribute towards meeting the expenses of British troops stationed in the

colonies.

Stamp Act (1765): The Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1765 by the British Prime Minister George Grenville. Stamping was made necessary for all official documents, wills, and licenses by affixing revenue stamps. Widespread protests ensued, with some escalating into violence. Stacks of stamps and effigies of stamp collectors were set on fire, and riots erupted in New England and New York. English nobles, who had acquired the majority of land in North America, also limited the colonists' ability to purchase land in the west, aiming to keep them as long-term tenants.

The Townshend Act (1767): The Townshend Act of 1767, proposed by Charles Townshend under Pitt's ministry, imposed duties on colonial imports like glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea. The New York Assembly's suspension fueled protests in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, leading to a boycott of British goods. The non-importation agreement and Sons of Liberty activities influenced the repeal of the Stamp Act earlier. Townshend's death led to Lord North taking charge, repealing all Townshend duties except on tea to disrupt colonial unity. The presence of Customs Commissioners in Boston triggered the "Boston Massacre" according to Samuel Adams. The British also refer to the event as "Incident on King Street." The event happened on March 5, 1770. It refers to the killing of five Americans who were demonstrating against British taxes.

Tea Act (1773): The British Parliament passed the Tea Act of 1773, compelling American businesses to pay taxes on British tea, and it is seen as the catalyst for the Boston Tea Party. The Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773, retained the tea tax for two reasons: Firstly, the British government wanted to retain its right to tax the colonies despite constant opposition from the colonies who raised slogans like "No taxation without representation," and "taxation without representation is tyranny." Secondly, Lord North tried to help the East India Company to sell the colonists its substantial tea inventory in order to get rid of it. Samuel Adams and followers, disguised as Mohawk Indians, dumped tea chests into the water in protest. King George III and Lord North retaliated with measures like withdrawing

the Massachusetts colony's charter, quarantining Boston harbor, banning political meetings, and trying colonists accused of crimes in England. The Quebec Act added to tensions, viewed negatively by colonists interested in western lands. More British troops were deployed to Massachusetts.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The 'Boston Massacre' is referred to by the British as_____ .

Q 2: How were the colonists affected by the 'Sugar Act"?

.....

Q 3: When was the 'Stamp Act' passed?

.....

4.3 COURSE OF THE WAR

The colonists, angered by British retaliation, saw Virginia's colonial assembly leading the way by calling for a Continental Congress in response to the oppressive actions of the British government. The First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in September 1774, which brought together members from 13 colonies with notable figures like George Washington, John and Samuel Adams, and John Jay playing significant roles. They petitioned King George III to address their grievances, established a "Continental Association" to halt trade with Britain, and planned to reconvene the following spring.

Despite appeals from figures like Lord Chatham and Edmund Burke in Britain, the king disregarded their request for fair treatment and labeled their activities as mutiny. Colonial militias and British soldiers first engaged in clashes in the year 1775 at Lexington and Concord, which marked the beginning of the war. The people of Massachusetts prepared "minutemen" for battle by gathering weapons and ammo. British General Thomas Gage dispatched troops from Boston to Concord to seize ammunition that minutemen were storing. Minutemen were killed in fighting that broke out

when the army got to Lexington. As British forces moved closer to Concord, the ammo depot was destroyed. The colonists fired upon the British troops, resulting in 250 casualties on their way back. As word of the British atrocities spread, war soon broke out.



LET US KNOW

Minute Men:- a member of a class of militiamen of the American revolutionary period who volunteered

Colonists united against English rule, with Boston revolutionaries founding the Sons of Liberty, which spread to various colonies. Influential figures like Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia and Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson in Virginia joined the cause, inspired by Enlightenment thinkers like John Locke, Harrington, and Milton. A key Lockean principle adopted was that the government shouldn't deprive life, liberty, or property without the governed's consent. influencing the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and state constitutions. Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson were only two of the numerous intellectuals who detested the inequalities of British society. They emphasized the ridiculousness of having an island govern over a continent and declared the freedom to protest.

Thomas Paine's pamphlet, Common Sense, published on January 10, 1776, significantly bolstered support for independence by advocating American self-government. The Second Continental Congress formed the Committee of Five, comprising Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston, to draft the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, primarily working in isolation from June 11 to June 28, 1776, at 700 Market Street in Philadelphia, played a major role in its composition.

The Declaration, emphasizing the unity of the Thirteen Colonies as "one people," severed political ties with Britain and enumerated alleged violations of "English rights" by George III. Notably, it marked the colonies as the "United States" rather than the usual "United Colonies."

Independence was officially declared on July 2, with the publication of the declaration on July 4. George Washington read it to his troops in New York City on July 9. The revolution transformed from an internal dispute over trade and tax policies into a civil war, as each state in Congress engaged in a struggle with Britain, further divided between American Patriots and American Loyalists. Patriots favored independence and a new national union, while Loyalists remained loyal to British rule.

Estimates of public sentiment varied, suggesting an even split or regional variations with committed Patriots, neutrals, and Loyalists. Recognizing the need for foreign alliances, the Second Continental Congress established the Committee of Secret Correspondence to correspond with allies worldwide. From 1775 to 1776, the committee engaged in secret correspondence, employed agents in Europe for intelligence gathering and undercover operations, and enlisted Paine as secretary. Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane secured French aid in Paris, showcasing the international dimension of the American Revolution.

The War:

With the conflict occurring at Lexington and Concord, in the year 1775, the American war of independence began. This was followed by three most important clashes and engagement.

Saratoga Campaign

The Battles of Saratoga, occurring from September 19 to October 7, 1777, marked a significant triumph for the Americans against the British. British General John Burgoyne's plan to unite three forces and capture Albany failed due to logistical errors, leading to his retreat to Saratoga and surrender on October 17. This victory persuaded France to formally support America as an ally, shifting from previous support limited to supplies.

Valley Forge Encampment

Valley Forge, during the winter of 1777, was pivotal as it transformed the Continental Army into a cohesive force. Despite harsh conditions and low morale, the arrival of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, a former Prussian officer, brought discipline through army drills and tactics. Though plagued

by challenges, including soldier deaths and supply issues, Valley Forge laid the foundation for an organized Continental Army. Despite being just twenty miles away, British General William Howe's inaction at Valley Forge raised speculation about a missed opportunity to end the war.

Siege of Yorktown

The Siege of Yorktown, spanning September 28 to October 18, 1781, resulted in an American victory due to a British misstep. General Cornwallis' troops in Virginia appeared vulnerable, leading Washington and Marquis de Lafayette to mobilize a combined French and American force. Misinterpreting this as a threat to New York, General Clinton instructed Cornwallis to establish a sea base. Facing pressure and dwindling supplies, Cornwallis ultimately surrendered after negotiations with Washington. This event marked the conclusion of the Revolutionary War.



LET US KNOW

During the war, the French navy played a very crucial role in preventing the British reinforcement. Marquis de Lafayette led the French army

.

The issue of Slavery

Fearing a slave insurrection, Black Patriots who were both enslaved and free were first prohibited from enlisting in the Continental Army starting in 1775. After Washington persuaded Congress in January 1778 that the Continental Army needed additional soldiers, the embargo was lifted. Both sickness and desertions had cost the army dearly.

In February 1778, the First Rhode Island Regiment was established following the decision's reversal. Included in this regiment of 225 men were former slaves whose owners received compensation. This regiment only had 140 black soldiers, but in June, recruiting was discontinued.

In the end, around 9,000 enslaved African-Americans participated in the war. Certain

slave-owners, including George Washington with his slave William

Lee, took their slaves on campaigns. Approximately 5,000 enslaved African-Americans served in the Continental Army and Navy, while another 4,000 contributed in militia units, aboard privateers, or as spies.

Many were given back to their masters after the war, even though they had been promised independence. A tiny minority did, nevertheless, get old-age congressional pensions or land grants. On the other hand, throughout the war, a large number of African-American slaves served alongside British soldiers, and in 1783, some 3000 African-American Loyalists were evacuated to Nova Scotia.

Diplomatic tensions

During negotiations, Great Britain, France, and Spain pursued distinct objectives. Great Britain aimed to empower the United States sufficiently to prevent France from regaining influence in North America, considering France's substantial losses in North American territory during the Seven Years' War. Both France and Spain sought to enhance America's reliance on them, intending to recover from the setbacks incurred in the Seven Years' War.

John Jay represented America in the negotiations, encountering challenges with Spain concerning claims related to the Mississippi River. Additionally, France hesitated to agree to American independence until all its demands were addressed. Faced with this situation, Jay promptly expressed his willingness to negotiate directly with the British. Prime Minister Lord Shelburne, overseeing British negotiations, accepted this proposal.

4.5 TREATY OF PARIS

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 marked the official end of the American Revolutionary War. Signed between the United States and Great Britain, it recognized the independence of the United States and established new boundaries, granting the U.S. territorial rights up to the Mississippi River. The treaty also addressed issues like fishing rights and the return of

confiscated property. Its signing on September 3, 1783, played a crucial role in shaping the post-war geopolitical landscape and setting the stage for the United States as a sovereign nation.

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 outlined several key provisions:

- Recognition of Independence: The treaty acknowledged the United States as an independent and sovereign nation.
- Territorial Boundaries: It established the western boundary of the United States as the Mississippi River, securing expansive territorial rights.
- Fishing Rights: The agreement granted American fishermen access to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- Property Restitution: The treaty addressed the restitution of confiscated property, both for Loyalists in the United States and Patriots in British-held territories.
- Debts: Both the United States and Great Britain agreed to honor pre-war debts owed to creditors in each other's countries.
- Prisoners of War: It included provisions for the release of prisoners of war and the restoration of their property.

4.6 IMPACT OF THE WAR: THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The American War of Independence had profound implications. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 formally acknowledged the United States as a sovereign nation.

The war's impact included the establishment of a democratic government, the drafting of the

U.S. Constitution, and the creation of a new political and social order. It also influenced other independence movements globally and set the stage for the expansion of democratic principles. The war had economic repercussions, contributing to the emergence of the United States as an

economic power.

The Revolution set in motion influential political, social, and economic dynamics that would reshape post-Revolution politics and society. This included heightened political engagement, the legal incorporation of religious tolerance, and population growth and dispersal. Short-term impacts on women's lives were noteworthy, while in the long run, the Revolution had profound effects on slaves, free blacks, and the institution of slavery. Native Americans faced consequences through western settlement and hostile governments challenging their territorial rights. Moreover, the Revolution marked the conclusion of the mercantilist economy, paving the way for new prospects in trade and manufacturing.

The war's lasting impact included the creation of the Bill of Rights in 1791, the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Shaped by Enlightenment ideals and lessons from the Revolutionary War, it aimed to defend personal freedoms and curb federal authority, addressing concerns raised by Anti-Federalists. For instance, the First Amendment ensures freedom of speech, religion, and the press, reflecting the colonists' desire for self-expression and protection from potential government overreach. The Second Amendment, rooted in wartime militia experiences, emphasizes the importance of an armed citizenry to prevent tyranny. Subsequent amendments tackle issues like protection against unreasonable searches and seizures (Fourth Amendment), the right to a fair trial (Sixth Amendment), and safeguards against cruel punishment(Eighth Amendment), collectively forming the foundation of American civil liberties forged in the Revolutionary War's struggles.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: State the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights.

Q 5: The Treaty of Paris in 1783 acknowledged the independence of _____ .

Q 6: When was the Treaty of Paris signed?



4.7 LET US SUM UP

Dear learners, after going through this Unit, we have been able to explain the significance of the American War of Independence which marked a pivotal moment. The conflict's origins, the tumultuous war, the diplomatic resolution in the Treaty of Paris, and its lasting influence on the Bill of Rights collectively highlight the complexity and significance of this transformative era. The ideals born in the crucible of revolution persist, molding the identity of the United States and inspiring global movements for freedom and democracy.

The American Revolution, occurring between 1765 and 1783, brought about a profound ideological and political shift in colonial North America. The Thirteen Colonies, in the American Revolutionary War, successfully gained independence from British rule, establishing the United States as the first contemporary constitutional liberal democracy.



4.8 FURTHER READINGS

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2) McCullough, David. (2006). *1776.* Simon and Schuster

3) Jayapalan, N. (2023). *History of the United States of America*. Atlantic

4) Alden, John R. (1976). *American Revolution, Seventeen Seventy Five to Seventeen Eighty-Three*. Harper Collins



4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1: "Incident on King Street."

Answer to Q 2: The British Parliament enacted the Sugar Act, which resulted in imposing taxes on molasses imported by the colonists.

Answer to Q 3: 1765

Answer to Q 4: The First Amendment ensures freedom of speech, religion, and the press, reflecting the colonists' desire for self-expression and protection from potential government overreach.

Answer to Q 5: United States

Answer to Q 6: September 3, 1783



4.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Very Short Question (answer each question in 50 words)

Q.1 How many colonies did the British establish in the Americas?

Q.2 Which countries fought on the side of the colonies during the American revolution?

Q.3 In which year did England recognize American independence?

Q.4 What was the 'Boston Tea Party'?

Q.5 Who drafted the declaration of American independence?

Short Question (Answer each question in 150 words)

Q.1. Write a short note on :

(a) The Boston Massacre.

(b) The Bills of Rights.

(c) The Treaty of Paris.

(d) The Tea Act of 1773.

(e) The Townshend Act of 1767.

Long Question (Answer each question in 500 words)

1. Explain the major causes of the American war of Independence?
2. Analyse the significance of the American war of Independence.
3. Discuss about the ideology of the American war of Independence.

UNIT - 5 :THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Intellectual Origins and Old Regime

5.4 French Peasantry and the Revolution

5.5 Women and their Role

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Readings

5.8 Annnswer to CheckYour Progress

5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the intellectual origins of the French Revolution
- Explain the old regime in the context of the French Revolution
- discuss the role and contribution of the peasantry in the Revolution, and
- Discuss the role of French women in the Revolution.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner in the previous Unit, we discussed the American War of Independence and the factors leading to it alongwith the consequences.

In this Unit, we will look into the outbreak of the French Revolution and the origins rooted in the intellectual developments of that time. The Old Regime also forms a part of the discussion. This Unit shall also discuss the role of the peasants and the Women. In order to understand the French Revolution better, it's important to understand the political and socio-

economic conditions of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. And this Unit will enable you in understanding the developments that took place in pre and post Revolution France.

5.3 INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE OLD REGIME

The intellectual current in France was brought in by the prolific teachings of the likes of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. They prepared the people's mind for the event that was to shake France and entire Europe. They guided the people with their leadership, gave voices to their grievances and acted like politicians. Their writings were an insight into the decaying state of condition in France and they were very vocal about it. Montesquieu stood for constitutional monarchy and glorified the government of England. He was against the divine right theory of monarchical rule but he was not opposed to a liberal form of monarchy. He was against the Church and state despotism. His book "L Esprit Des Lois" was an analysis of the principle of government. Voltaire advocated benevolent despotism. His anger was directed towards the State and the Church and all the malpractices that were rampant therein. His writings shook the faith of the general people in the state organization and the Church. He stood for the superiority of reason. Rousseau was in favour of social reconstruction. He favoured a government based on individual equality. In his book 'Social Contract' he propounded the theory of democracy in which the people were the sovereign power. He held guilty the corruption of the state institutions and political machinery for depriving man of his natural rights to liberty and happiness. His social contract theory meant that kingship was a contract framed by the people for their welfare, thus recognizing the responsibility of the crown towards the masses. Beside these great thinkers there were other writers like Diderot, d' Alembert, Turgot, Quesnay, Beaumarchais etc. Even though many scholars do not ascribe the French Revolution to the influence of the intellectuals, yet it cannot be denied that the intellectuals exposed the people to new ideas and thinking patterns that prepared them for the revolution that was to come.

The intellectual origins of the Revolution have been a subject of academic debate among historians for centuries, with various interpretations and theories proposed to explain the complex factors that contributed to this pivotal event in history. One perspective argues that Enlightenment ideas played a central role in shaping the intellectual climate of pre-revolutionary France. Proponents of this view point to influential philosophers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Diderot, whose writings challenged traditional authority, promoted individual rights, and advocated for political reform. According to this interpretation, the Enlightenment provided the ideological framework for the revolutionary principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which inspired the French people to overthrow the ancient régime and establish a new order based on democratic principles. However, some historians have criticized the Enlightenment-centered approach for oversimplifying the complex social, economic, and political dynamics of pre-revolutionary France. They argue that while Enlightenment ideas certainly influenced revolutionary thought, they were not the sole or even primary cause of the French Revolution. Instead, they emphasize the role of long-standing grievances, such as social inequality, economic hardship, and political corruption, which created fertile ground for revolutionary fervor. Another strand of scholarship explores the role of structural factors, such as demographic changes, fiscal crisis, and the breakdown of traditional institutions, in precipitating the revolution. These historians argue that underlying tensions and conflicts within French society, exacerbated by external pressures such as war and famine, ultimately led to the collapse of the old regime. In this view, the French Revolution was not simply a product of intellectual ferment, but rather the culmination of deep-seated social and economic forces that had been building for decades. Additionally, recent scholarship has highlighted the importance of contingency and agency in shaping historical events, suggesting that the French Revolution was not predetermined by abstract ideas or structural forces, but rather the result of specific choices and actions taken by individuals and groups. This approach emphasizes the role of key actors, such as revolutionary leaders, political factions, and popular movements, in driving the course of events and shaping the outcome of the revolution.

● THE OLD REGIME

Autocratic monarchy was the prevailing fashion of government of 18th century Europe. But in the 18th century it became more centralized than before. The kings claimed Divine right to rule the subjects. Kings in the eighteenth century of Europe, ruled according to hereditary dynastic right. The leading royal houses of Europe in eighteenth century were; The Bourbons of France, the Hapsburgs of Austria, Hohenzollerns of Prussia, the Hanoverians of England and the Romanovs of Russia. The kings were omnipotent.

The kings covered their despotism by the cloak of enlightenment. Though, in the 18th century the concept of autocratic monarchy was tempered by the enlightenment the kings were intelligent enough to cover their selfishness by enlightened doctrines. Enlightened despotism was, however, a clever attempt to perpetuate the despotism. Even if other European monarchs advocated enlightened reforms, the Bourbon monarchy of France was uninfluenced by enlightenment Idea.

One of the potent reasons for the outbreak of the French Revolution was the nature of the old regime. The Old Regime here includes the regime in Europe and particularly in France. Most of the countries in Europe were ruled by absolute monarchs, who were oppressive. The nations were too suspicious of the neighbouring nations. The intention of the stronger states was to occupy the weaker ones and plunder their resources. The social scenario in Europe was in a sorry state. Feudalism was still prevalent in the European nations. Taxation policies were unjust and unfair. The commoners who were heavily taxed were the ones who were least able to pay, while the privileged ones were exempted from paying all sorts of taxes. The feudal lords committed many atrocities on the serfs and the latter were born to suffer at their hands.

Politically, France before the revolution was under the arbitrary rule of the old regime. A highly centralized monarch ruled at the top, surrounded by corrupt officials at a lower level, a degenerated administration and the absence of the people's representative institutions characterized the political

situation in France. Louis XV was an incapable king unlike his grandfather Louis XIV. All the powers were concentrated in the hands of the ruler. Long ago, Louis XIV had declared: "L'etat c'est moi" (I am the state) and this legacy was carried forward by his successors. The crown wielded power on all matters of the state, legal, commercial, etc. The courtiers were all greedy and had selfish intentions. ***Letters de cachet*** was very common.

The First Estate or nobility of France was the most privileged of all other classes. They enjoyed exemptions from all taxation. Earlier they were allowed to enjoy the benefit in return for their services to the king. But with the centralized monarchy the duties and functions earlier performed by them were now performed by the central government, and this left the nobility with no duties. But they retained and enjoyed the old privileges and benefits.

The next privileged class was the Second Estate or clergy. Most of the clergy were drawn from the nobility. Most of them were engaged in the intrigues and dissipation within the Church. The higher clergy were in control of the posts and yet had no duties, while the lower ranked clergies did all the work and yet lived in abject poverty. This class of the clergy were infuriated and thus allied with the peasants for a common cause.

The Third Estate constituted the majority of the population, which included the upper middle class or the bourgeoisie, the artisans and the peasants. The bourgeoisie classes were the intellectual class in the French society who had good positions and money. They were keen for socio-political reforms. The artisans and the peasants lived at the mercy of the rich middle class who owned the industries or lands. The condition of the peasantry was very pitiable. They were to pay taxes to the state, tithes to the Church, and rent to the landlord. The money left after all the payments was not enough and the peasants were left to starve and die. They had to work as ***corvee***, do all the menial jobs of their lord, see his crop being destroyed by the hunting troops of his master and yet could not protest. Their condition is best understood by the saying of the French maxim: "The nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay".

France under Louis XVI was going through a serious financial crisis. The reckless wars of Louis XIV had left the country in heavy debt, while the

luxurious lifestyles of Louis XV and his courtiers led the nation to bankruptcy. Economically, France was left with an empty treasury; a bankrupt Empire with no prospect of economic revival due to the fact that taxes could not be imposed on the privileged classes and the peasants would not be able to pay any more. The finance ministers, Turgot and Necker, tried to bring in reforms but could not make much headway due to the opposition from the nobles who were threatened with the loss of their privileges. A hailstorm in July, 1788 destroyed the harvest and pushed the country to starvation and then came the severe winter. Prior to 1788, there were a series of bad harvests that left the poor bleeding in poverty and starvation. There was a rise in the prices of goods and rents which made the life of the poor people very miserable.

Financial crisis was an important cause for the outbreak of the French Revolution. For over a century, France had been at war with Great Britain. Besides, the extravagant expenditure incurred by the royal court in grand projects only made the matter worst. The fatal blow to France came when it got involved in a war with Great Britain. The crown was compelled to summon the Estates General. This was a signal for change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. The peasant belonged to which Estate?

.....

Q 2. Who declared "L'etat c'est moi"?

.....

Q 3. Montesquieu stood for _____ monarchy.

5.4 FRENCH PEASANTRY AND THE REVOLUTION

The French Revolution saw the participation of all sections of the society, especially the ***bourgeoisie***. The causes of sufferings were borne mostly by the Third Estate, consisting of the bourgeoisie, the peasants, and artisans. The middle class of France took the lead in the revolution. When

the Estate General met, the Third Estate took the commanding role and they were joined by the lower clergy as well. It was basically the commoners who, under the guidance of the intellectuals, razed Bastille, the symbol of state repression. The peasant also took up arms against their landlords. The women marched from Paris to Versailles. When the king had ordered the three chambers to sit separately, the commoners refused but waited and negotiated. The lead was taken by Bailly, the astronomer (who later became their president and Mayor of Paris) and Abbe Sieyes, a writer. The lower clergies too joined the Third Estate when along with some clergy declared itself as the National Assembly and started the revolution. When Louise XVI declared for the sitting of the three chambers secretly, it was Mirabeau, a journalist and orator who defied it. During the revolution the bourgeoisie leaders led the revolution. But as it progressed it passed to the commoners.

In the eighteenth century, agriculture was the main source of European economy. Possession of landed estates was a passport to acquire social status and prestige in the eighteenth century in European economy. Among the few impediments faced in agricultural sector were- lack of scientific farming, feudalistic oppression and serfdom, etc. Export of grain and food products was strictly prohibited. This resulted in the low prices of the food stuff. Thus, the farmers made no profit by selling their produce and hence there were no incentives for scientific farming. This apathetical attitude left the rural population in poverty. Feudal exploitation and manorial system also stunted the growth of agriculture. Most of the peasants were serfs who were tied to master's land and were denied political and civil rights. They were subjected to various types of taxes imposed on them by the state, the lord and the church.

Eighteenth century Europe nourished the legacies of medieval European society. The commoners were the peasants, the workers, etc who had no qualification of high birth, formed the third estate. The serfs had to offer ***corvee*** (manual service) or compulsory labour without any wage in their master's land. He had to pay various taxes to the state, the lords and

the church. Other peasants like free peasants, meteors, renters were in no way in better condition than the serfs. The peasants were denied any civil and political status in the society. Another poor and depressed class belonging to the third estate was the sansculottes. They comprised the loading carriers, daily workers, beggars, pavement dwellers of Paris and other cities.

The rural nobility lived in their village estates. They had neither power nor wealth, yet they took pride in their status owing to their birth. Land owning was considered as the most honourable job. The third category of nobility was the service nobles, those who entered the rank of nobility by the virtue of holding high offices.

One of the most significant contributions of the peasantry to the revolution was their support for the abolition of feudal privileges and the redistribution of land. The National Assembly's abolition of feudalism in 1789 was met with widespread approval among the peasantry, who eagerly seized land and property from their former landlords. This process, known as the Great Land Redistribution, fundamentally altered the social and economic landscape of rural France and empowered the peasantry as landowners However, the revolutionary period also brought challenges and divisions within the peasant community. As the revolution became increasingly radicalized, tensions emerged between different factions of peasants, particularly between those who supported radical revolutionary ideals and those who remained more conservative or loyal to the monarchy. The imposition of revolutionary reforms, such as conscription and requisitioning of grain, led to resistance and rebellion among certain segments of the peasantry. Additionally, the peasantry faced hardships and disillusionment as the revolution descended into violence and chaos. The economic disruption caused by the revolution, coupled with poor harvests and food shortages, exacerbated the plight of the peasantry and fueled resentment against the revolutionary government. Peasant revolts, such as the Vendée uprising, highlighted the deep-seated grievances and resistance to revolutionary change among certain rural communities.

5.5 WOMEN AND THEIR ROLE

One of the most notable contributions of women during the French Revolution was their involvement in political activism and agitation. Women participated in revolutionary clubs and societies, where they discussed political ideas, organized protests, and advocated for social and political change. Groups like the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, formed in 1793, provided a platform for women to express their revolutionary fervor and demand equality and citizenship rights. Women also played a crucial role in popular protests and demonstrations, particularly during moments of food scarcity and economic hardship. The iconic Women's March on Versailles in October 1789, where thousands of women marched to demand bread and confront the king, exemplifies their active participation in revolutionary events. Women's involvement in street protests and direct action underscored their willingness to challenge authority and assert their demands for social justice. In addition to their political activism, women contributed to the revolutionary cause through their roles as propagandists, writers, and pamphleteers. Female writers such as Olympe de Gouges and Théroigne de Méricourt penned influential texts advocating for women's rights, equality, and the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy. De Gouges's Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen (1791) challenged the exclusion of women from the revolutionary project and called for gender equality beforethe law

- **Nature and Contributions of the French Revolution**

The aforesaid revolutionary ideas were not just restrained to France and were bound to sail outside France. That is why, from very early on, philosophers outside France started developing a counter narrative whereby they criticized the very idea and phenomenon of change through revolution. The famous English philosopher Edmund Burke in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution described it as nothing but an embodiment of evil and an 'unnecessary occurrence' brought about by a clique. Burke considered the French Revolution as a 'conspiracy' of literate class against the rulers. In fact, Burke defended himself by saying that he was not against

change but he felt that it should be in occurrence with past traditions and customs. Similarly, the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle painted a horrible picture of revolution and viewed the revolutionary crowd as an uncontrolled, blood thirsty and wild-eyed mob. Dissident voices emerged within France also. The French scholar H. Taine, in 1876, wrote that a revolution is an 'insurrection of mules and horses against men, under the conduct of apes, possessing the throats of parrots.'

The French Revolution evoked a strong response from the French people. The idea of equality, liberty and fraternity echoed throughout and heralded the beginning of a new era world-wide. Nonetheless, the French Revolution was a real time political event having far reaching impact within and outside France. In this situation, the European powers vehemently opposed the French Revolution. Incidentally, almost all the so-called 'enlightened rulers/ despots' of Europe came together to crush the French Revolution which was supreme manifestation of enlightenment philosophy. The excesses of the revolutionary ideals in France under Jacobins and Napoleon Bonaparte sent the rest of the European monarchs in a state of panic especially after the execution of Louis XVI. The European powers formed as many as four Coalitions to defeat France and to halt the spread of revolutionary ideals outside France.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 4. How did Thomas Carlyle view the Revolutionaries?

.....

Q 5. Why did the women participate in the 'March on Versailles'?

.....

Q 6. Why were the peasant distressed?

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about -

- The Old Regime and its activities in France and the social structure, the condition of peasants paved the way for the Revolution.
- The French Revolution was a reaction against the autocratic monarchical rule that prevailed in France. The wide participation of the French people from all walks of life gave a significant boost to the Revolution.
- The French Revolution of 1789 resulted in breaking the prevailing political norms, ideals and regimes of Europe. The revolution brought sweeping changes in every aspect of life in France.
- Peasants and women participated in the Revolution.



5.7 FURTHER READINGS

1) Maiti, Provatansu. (1970). *A History of Europe (1789-1919)*. Kolkata :India, Sreedhar Prakashani.

2) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963): *Modern Europe to 1870*. New York, USA: Mac Millan.

3) Ketelbey, C. D. M. (2000): *A Short History of Modern Europe.* New Delhi, India : Surjeet Publication



5.8 ANSWER STO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. The Third Estate

Answer to Q 2. Louis XIV

Answer to Q 3. Constitutional

Answer to Q 4. Thomas Carlyle viewed the revolutionary crowd as an uncontrolled, blood thirsty and wild-eyed mob.

Answer to Q 5. To demand food amidst the rising price of food and bread.

Answer to Q 6. Increase in tax



5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1. Who was the Emperor of France during the outbreak of the French Revolution?

Q 2. What is meant by Corvee?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1. Write short note on-

a. Social Contract Theory

b. Polity in pre-Revolutionary France

c. Clergy as a social class

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1. Discuss the reason why the Old Regime was responsible for the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789.

Q 2. How were the peasants involved in the Revolution? Explain.

*** ***** ***

UNIT - 6 :THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Impact of the Revolution- Emergence of a New Social Order

6.4 Napoleon and the Revolution

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Readings

6.7 Answers to CheckYour Progress

6.8 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the impact of the Revolution in Europe
- Discuss the internal impact felt due to the Revolution as a new social and political order started emerging in the country, and
- Discuss the rise of Napoleon amidst the political chaos in France during the Revolution.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the French Revolution specially the intellectual roots of the Revolution. Other factors were also discussed specially the role of peasants and women.

In this Unit, we will discuss the aftermath of the Revolution and the impact it made across Europe and beyond. The Unit shall also discuss the internal developments after the Revolution and the rise of a dynamic leader who changed the fortunes of the country.

6.3 IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION- EMERGENCE OF A NEW SOCI-POLITICAL ORDER

The French Revolution evoked a strong response from the French people. The idea of equality, liberty and fraternity echoed throughout and heralded the beginning of a new era world-wide. Nonetheless, the French Revolution was a real time political event having far reaching impact within and outside France. In this situation, the European powers vehemently opposed the French Revolution. Incidentally, almost all the so-called 'enlightened rulers/despots' of Europe came together to crush the French Revolution which was supreme manifestation of enlightenment philosophy. The excesses of the revolutionary ideals in France under Jacobins and Napoleon Bonaparte sent the rest of the European monarchs in a state of panic especially after the execution of Louis XVI. The European powers formed as many as four Coalitions to defeat France and to halt the spread of revolutionary ideals outside France. The European powers formed coalition among them to drive out the revolutionary government of France. The First Coalition was formed by England, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Holland and Sardinia against France. They initially registered victory but soon the French were able to break the Alliance and Napoleon rose as the saviour of the French Revolution. However, the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Nile in 1798 led to the formation of the Second Coalition which included England, Russia, Austria, Turkey and Naples. Meanwhile, in France, Napoleon Bonaparte managed to capture power which was seen as a threat by many European rulers. In the battle that ensued, England was left alone as other members left the Coalition. Peace was restored for a temporary period. The Third Coalition of Russia, Austria, Sweden and England were formed against the undue interference of Napoleon in the internal affairs of Switzerland. The objective of the Third Coalition was the expulsion of the French army from the northern part of German speaking areas; the independence of Holland and Switzerland and the restoration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia. It was also agreed among the European powers that once France would be defeated, map of Europe will be redrawn restoring the erstwhile boundaries. However, the Third Coalition also met with the

same fate. The Fourth Coalition was formed in 1813 with Russia, Prussia, Austria and England each of them being ruled by the so-called 'enlightened despots'. By this time Napoleon had begun to face defeat both on home ground as well as on the battle field offshore. As an aftermath, the Bourbon monarchy was reinstated in France and national boundaries of Europe were restored.

- **Emergence of a New Socio-Political Order**

After the French Revolution, a new social order emerged in France that represented a significant departure from the old feudal system. The Revolution abolished the feudal privileges of the nobility and clergy, dismantling the hierarchical structure that had dominated French society for centuries. Feudal obligations such as serfdom, feudal dues, and seigneurial rights were abolished, marking the end of the feudal system. The Revolution introduced the principle of equality before the law, affirming that all citizens were entitled to the same legal rights and protections regardless of their social status or background. The adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789 enshrined these principles into law, emphasizing liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Revolution empowered the bourgeoisie, or middle class, who had been marginalized under the ancien régime. The bourgeoisie, consisting of merchants, professionals, and property owners, emerged as a dominant social and economic force, wielding significant influence in politics, commerce, and society. The Revolution promoted the ideals of meritocracy and social mobility, emphasizing individual talent and ability over inherited privilege. The abolition of feudal barriers and the introduction of civil equality created opportunities for individuals to rise through the ranks based on their skills, education, and merit. The Revolution secularized French society by separating church and state, abolishing the privileges of the Catholic Church, and promoting religious freedom. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790 placed the clergy under state control, leading to the nationalization of church property and the establishment of a secular public sphere. The Revolution fostered a sense of national identity and unity among the French people,

transcending regional, ethnic, and religious divisions. Symbols of the revolution, such as the tricolor flag and the national anthem "La Marseillaise," became powerful expressions of French patriotism and solidarity. The Revolution initiated various social and economic reforms aimed at improving the lives of ordinary citizens. These reforms included the abolition of feudal dues and privileges, the introduction of progressive taxation, the redistribution of land, and the establishment of public education and welfare programs.

The developments in the country immediately after the Revolution paved the way for the growth of the new socio-political order.

On July 14, 1789 the Bastille was razed to the ground. A new form of municipal government was formed, a National Guard was established at Paris and Lafayette was made its commander replacing the king's troops. Many nobles were killed by the angry peasant mob. These outbursts soon spread all over France. Many other cities took it as an example and formed governments on the Paris model. The peasants revolted and sacked the castles of their feudal lords. The king had to yield before the tide and recognized the National Guard, recalled Necker as the Finance Minister and sent back the armed troops. This incident had a strange impact. The nobles in a historic session of the National Assembly surrendered all their feudal rights and privileges. On August 4, 1789 the nobles gave up their hunting privileges. Corvees, customary services and tithes were abolished. On September 27th, 1789, the Assembly issued the- "Declaration of The Rights of Man and Citizens". Equality was to be the watch word. Discrimination was to be done away with, and emphasis was laid on the rights of man. But soon the people became suspicious of the designs of the Royal Court. The fear of famine lingered along with the scarcity of bread. The women of Paris led a long march to Versailles where the king was residing. The monarchy had thus come to an end with the king becoming a prisoner at the hands of the people.

The National Assembly started framing the new constitution and it declared itself as the Constituent Assembly. The Declaration of Rights was formulated and on its basis the new constitution was to be made. The National Assembly acted as the Constituent Assembly rooted out the Old

Order in France. After working hard for two years, the National Assembly framed a Constitution and announced the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" on 27th August, 1789. It was based on Rousseau's view as discussed in his famous work "The Social Contract". This Declaration has tremendous significance in initiating a new haul in the socio-political lives of the French people. By this Declaration, all citizens were declared equal before law and that natural rights cannot be taken away from the citizens.

In the matter of religion, the Deputies of the Constituent Assembly agreed with the suggestions given by Camus that church should be brought under the state. By a Decree, dated February 19, 1790 the French Church was nationalised. The monasteries and monkish living houses were abolished. The authority of Roman Pope on the French Church was abolished. Monastic system, papal right of appointment of church officers, payment of tithe and other taxes to the Church, were abolished. A new order in the Church of France was laid down. By a law named the civil constitution of the clergy. The Church became a department of the state. The old territorial limits of the bishoprics were abolished. Each administrative department was to have an elected bishop. Each Commune was to have an elected local priest. The Church officials were to be paid by the State. The Pope could no longer draw money from French church. Toleration was granted to all creeds. The priest was asked to take oath to obey the civil constitution.

Politically, the declaration proclaimed the equal right of all men and their freedom. The Constitution was finally adopted in 1791. A constitutional monarchy was established with the king as the head of the executive with some limited veto power and the power to choose his own ministers. The Legislative Assembly consisted of a single chamber of 745 members elected for two years by limited franchise. The judiciary also went through certain reforms. The whole administration was decentralized. France was divided into districts, cantons, communes and local councils. The assembly also confiscated the Church lands to solve the financial problems. Assignats or paper money were issued. The Church also underwent changes. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergy the old dioceses was abolished. The bishops and the priests were to be elected by popular vote. Tariff barriers within

France were abolished and so were the trade guilds and corporations.

While the attempt at Constitutionalism was made, it did not give much hope. It paved way for a republican form of Government. The National Convention which met on September 21, 1792 declared France a republic. The monarchy was abolished. A new committee for drafting a new constitution was appointed. The internal strife between the royalist and the Republicans grew intense leading to a period of terror.

The Constitution of 1795 was the third Constitution of the Revolutionary period. It was also known as the Constitution of Year III. October 1795. It was prepared keeping in view the principle of democracy. Much stress was given on rights and duties. The framers of the Constitution of 1795 represented the bourgeois order. Rejection of manhood suffrage was the keynote of the plan of 1795. It gave political power to the propertied bourgeois. By this Constitution, the right of vote was awarded on the basis of property which deprived most of the people from the right to vote. The Democrats opposed the constitution due to this anomaly. With the arrival of Napoleon in the political scenario of France, the country quickly shifted from a Republic to a monarchical form of Government with Napoleon declaring himself as the Emperor.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 1. Between whom was the Fourt Coalition formed?

.....

Q 2. When was the French Church nationalized?

.....

Q 3. Who gained political power by the Constitution of 1795?

.....

6.4 NAPOLEON AND THE REVOLUTION

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on 15th August, 1769 at Ajaccio in Corsica. At the age of seventeen in 1786, Napoleon joined the army as an artillery officer and soon distinguished himself as a good military official. By the "Constitution of the Year III", the executive power was entrusted to the Directory of five members and there were two houses to carry out the legislative duties-Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients. The convention also provided that two-thirds of the new legislative should be chosen from amongst the deputies of the present convention, thus disallowing the monarchical element within the legislature. Soon, an insurrection followed as the royalists groups were dissatisfied with the convention. Napoleon Bonaparte, who was one of the Directors took the lead and saved the convention. The Directory was becoming unpopular. All this led to a coup d'etat by Sieyes and Napoleon and in 1799, the Directory was overthrown and a Consulate came up in its place. Napoleon was chosen as the first Consul.

After the overthrow of the Directory a new constitution was framed for France in 1799. Under that constitution the executive power was put in the hands of the Consulate consisting of three Consuls to be elected by the Senate for 10 years. Sieyes, Ducos and Napoleon Bonaparte were the three Consuls with Napoleon being appointed as the First Consul. Soon Napoleon consolidated his position by dismissing Sieyes and Ducos and appointed two new Consuls who were not strong enough to oppose him. The first problem of the Consulate was to meet the Second Coalition formed against France and to recover the ground lost during Napoleon's absence in Egypt. Meanwhile, Russia withdrew from the coalition leaving Austria and England to face France. Napoleon sent Moreau to attack the Austrians from Germany and he himself set out to meet them in Italy. He crossed the St. Bernard Pass and unexpectedly appeared before the Austrians. In the battle that followed at Marengo the Austrians were completely defeated and Napoleon recovered all of Italy at one stroke (1800). A few months later Moreau also

won a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which opened the road to Vienna. These reverses compelled Emperor Francis II of Austria to sue for peace. By the Peace of Luneville, Austria reconfirmed all the cessions made to France by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and agreed that the Rhine should remain the boundary of France on the East. After the Peace of Luneville, the only member of the Coalition that held out against France was England. Napoleon turned to diplomacy and made use of the grievances of neutral powers against England. The British ships used to search neutral ships for French goods. Napoleon instigated the Russian Czar to revive against England the Armed Neutrality, consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark in order to prevent England from searching neutral ships for French goods. But this league was not successful against England and Napoleon was inclined to conclude peace with England. By the Peace of Amiens (1802), which followed, England restored all conquests from France. England agreed to recognize French annexations in Europe and to abandon all intervention in continental affairs. In 1802, Napoleon managed to transform the Consulate for 10 years to one for life, with the right to name his successor. This step made him the absolute ruler of France and brought him within view of the throne. In the meantime, a royalist conspiracy was made on the life of Napoleon which rather served to emphasize his pre-eminence. Then in May, 1804 Napoleon proclaimed himself the Emperor of the French as this change was being demanded by the interests of the French people. A plebiscite ratified this change of constitution by a majority of more than three and a half million votes

He introduced reforms during his times. He reduced the elected councils to impotence and placed the departments and smaller administrative units, such as communes, in the hands of prefect, sub-prefects and mayors who were all appointed either directly or indirectly by himself. This system restored order but ignored the ideas of self-government. To enlist the sympathy of every section of the community, he did away with all party distinctions. The émigrés and the nonjuring clergy were sympathetically treated, and offices were thrown open to all including the

Royalists and Girondists. As the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had alienated a considerable section of the people, Napoleon sought to win their gratitude by restoring the Roman Catholic Church. He came to an agreement with the Pope in 1801, known as the Concordat. By it Catholicism was recognized as the "religion of the great majority of the French people". The Catholic Church was made dependent on the state. This measure healed the schism in the Church and thus gave great satisfaction to the mass of the population. l However, his great achievement in the work of internal re-construction was the Civil Code known as the Code of Napoleon. His famous code gave to France a common system of law, at once clear, orderly, and systematic and thereby made justice rapid, cheap and reliable. It established social equality in the eyes of law, secured religious toleration to all and perpetuated much of the social gains that had been won by the revolution. As part of his economic reforms, Napoleon founded the Bank of France. He encouraged trade and industry. For developing the education system, he reorganized and improved national education, both higher and primary. He also created a new aristocracy of merit by instituting the Legion of Honour. This satisfied the French love of glory. He thus created a new aristocracy faithful to himself.

For 10 years from 1804 to1814 Napoleon remained the Emperor of France. After consolidating his position at home, Napoleon started to follow an aggressive policy of territorial expansion. He once again started the revival of the colonial policy of the Bourbons. The truce with England secured by the Treaty of Amiens proved to be short lived. Napoleon complained that England refused to evacuate Malta. On the other hand, the English demanded that France should evacuate Holland and Switzerland. But both France and England were in no mood to evacuate their occupied territory and war became inevitable. Napoleon seized Hanover, the hereditary German possession of the English king and closed its ports to British ships. He then made naval preparations for the invasion of England. But at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), the British admiral, Nelson, defeated the combined French and Spanish fleet destroying the French naval power and all possibility of the invasion of England. Meanwhile, Russia and Austria were antagonized

with the rise of Napoleon. Austria resented Napoleon's aggression in Italy where she had been once the dominant power. Under such a situation the British Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger formed the Third Coalition against France. Napoleon on hearing about the Coalition acted rapidly. He advanced towards Austria and reached the Danube surrounding the Austrian army at Ulm on 20th October, 1805. Then he entered Vienna. On December 2, 1805 Napoleon won the Battle of Austerlitz against the Austrians. This victory of France resulted in the withdrawal of Austria from the Third Coalition and reduced her to a second class power. After Austria, Napoleon turned his attention towards the German states. He started the task of reconstructing the German political system. On July 19, 1806 the Confederation of the Rhine was formally proclaimed under French patronage. The Confederation of the Rhine destroyed the Holy Roman Empire. Prussia which had so far remained neutral finally joined the Third Coalition. Napoleon had earlier gifted Hanover to Prussia. But when England became aware of this fact during some peace negotiations, Napoleon decided to restore Hanover to the English. This angered Prussia. She formed an alliance with Russia and declared war against France. But the Prussian armies received a crushing blow at the two Battles of Jena and Auerstadt and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph (1806). Although Napoleon was victorious everywhere, but his power was military rather than naval. He therefore, found it impossible to make a direct attack upon England. Therefore, in 1806 the Continental System was formed. France being a land power and not a naval power, Napoleon found it impossible to make a direct attack upon England. Therefore, he sought to bring England to terms indirectly by ruining her trade and commerce upon which her power depended. He sought for the closure of every continental market to British goods which would prove to be a fatal blow to England. Thus, in 1806, he issued from Berlin a series of decrees declaring a blockade of the British Isles and forbidding all commerce with them. All British goods were ordered to be seized. England retaliated by Orders in Council which forbade all trade with ports belonging to France or her allies. Thereupon, Napoleon issued his Milan Decree (1807) by which

he declared that any ship of any country which should touch at a British port, was liable to be seized and treated as a prize. The Berlin and the Milan decrees formed what is called Napoleon's Continental System. At Tilsit he secured the adhesion of Russia to this scheme of destroying England's trade. However, the plan of Napoleon was not successful. The British fleet controlled the seas and no colonial goods could be obtained except through British vessels. Although English commerce was put to great disadvantage, it went on as before. But the commerce of the continental states was ruined. The result was that the prices of the necessary commodities of life went up enormously and the inhabitants of the European continent suffered greatly. The subject allies of France became discontented with Napoleon and his rule became hateful to the population. Still for Napoleon the conquest of Europe was not complete with Russia remaining as a formidable enemy of France. In 1807 the French army fought a fierce battle with the Russians in the battle field of Eyleau. On June 14, 1807, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland. The Czar Alexander I at once sued for peace and the Treaty of Tilsit were signed between them. By this treaty Napoleon created new kingdoms out of the Prussian territory. Russian losses were restored. The most important feature of the treaty was that it was followed by an alliance between Russia and France. Napoleon was at the height of his power in 1807. He occupied Portugal in order to bring her within his Continental System. Then in 1808, he occupied Spain putting his own brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne. In the North-West, Napoleon annexed Holland in 1810 because his brother Louis Napoleon, who ruled there, refused to sacrifice the interests of his Dutch subjects by enforcing the Continental System. Next, he annexed a considerable portion of North Germany up to the Baltic in order to close the Northern coastline of Europe to British ships. He also conquered Genoa and Tuscany in Italy and then added the Papal States. It was in the Battle of Waterloo (1815) that Napoleon was finally defeated and surrendered to the Captain of a British ship. He was exiled by the English in the Island of St. Helena where he died six years later in 1821. In short, the Continental System was one of the greatest blunders of

Napoleon. To enforce the System, Napoleon followed a policy of systematic aggression upon other European countries which led to a series of costly wars, exhausting him of men and money.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Answer the following questions-

Q 4. When was the Battle of Waterloo fought?

.....

Q 5. Who was Sieyes?

.....

Q 6. What is Concordat?

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about -

- The Revolution had deep impact both externally as well as internally.
- Internally there was a change in the form of government and reforms were made to usher in a new social order.
- The chaos and conflict between the interested factions gave an opportunity for the rise of Napoleon.



6.6 FURTHER READINGS

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3) Thomas, D. (1962). *Europe Since Napoleon* (2nd edition). London, UK: Longman.

6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. The Fourth Coalition was formed in 1813 with Russia, Prussia, Austria and England

Answer to Q 2. 1790

Answer to Q 3. The propertied bourgeoise

Answer to Q 4. 1815

Answer to Q 5. One of the members of the Directory and who helped Napoleon to overthrow the Directory.

Answer to Q 6. An agreement signed between Napoleon and the Pope

6.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 Words)

Q 1: When was the Constitution III promulgated?

Q 2: In which battle did Napoleon accept his defeat

Q 3: Who supported Napoleon in overthrowing the Directory?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 Words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

a. The Code of Napoleon.

b. Internal Reforms of Napoleon

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 Words)

Q 1: How did Napoleon Bonaparte become the Emperor of France? Explain.

Q 2: Discuss the social changed ushered by the Revolution.

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UNIT- 7: REVOLUTIONS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRANCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Revolution of 1830

- Causes
- Impact on Europe

7.4 Revolution of 1848

- Causes
- Impact on Europe

7.5 Paris Commune (1871)

7.6 Let Us Sum Up

7.7 Further Readings

7.8 Answers to CheckYour Progress

7.9 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the cause for the Revolution of 1830 and its impact on Europe,
- Explain the cause for the Revolution of 1848 and its impact, and
- Discuss the Paris Commune.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the aftermath of the French Revolution where we discussed the rise of Napoleon and the new socio-political order that emerged under the changed circumstances within the country.

In this Unit, we will discuss the Revolutions that took place in France in 1830 and 1848. This Revolutions had far reached consequences and we shall discuss more on this aspect.

7.3 REVOLUTION OF 1830

● Causes

The July revolution of 1830 has dramatically influenced France as well as the rest of Europe. The revolution was fuelled by the prevailing socioeconomic and political imbalance of that time. Political stress is significant due to the emergence of different political viewpoints as well as the rise of support for nationalism and democracy versus support of age old monarchism. The social and economic outlook was set by the Industrial Revolution whereas the political scenario was coloured by the restoration of the Bourbons. After the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte from the throne of France in 1814, the Bourbon dynasty was restored and Louis XVIII became the king. The revolution of 1830 was triggered after Louis XVIII died and Charles X, brother of Louis XVIII, rose to power. Charles X was a leader of Ultra royalists. Moreover he suffered from lack of flexibility and desire to compromise with revolutionary ideas. Charles X was determined to bring back the ancient regime and signed the July ordinances on 25th of July, 1830. The ordinances were a blow to the liberals and were in favour of the monarchial constitution that changed the electoral system and reduced the number of voters. The issues were enough to provoke the citizens and on Tuesday, July 27, 1830 fighting broke out in the streets of Paris. Angry citizens led by the liberals and radicals, fought with the King's army, and overpowered them. On 29th July, 1830 Paris was in the hands of the mob. The three days of revolution from 27th July, Tuesday to 29th July Thursday is considered as the "Three glorious days" for France.

In 1815, as a side-effect of the Congress of Vienna, there were ideological changes among the French people resulting in the formation of two distinct and opposite camps- the aristocratic and the democratic. The aristocrats believed in three institutions namely, the monarchy, the nobility and the church. On the other hand the liberal, democratic forces wanted a constitutional government with an elected parliament. The democratic ideologist supported the protection of land settlements of the French revolution. The society was divided into various folds and each camp tried to protect their own ideology and policies. The bourgeoisie, who supported

liberalism, were determined to protect their class values and their right to do trade and business. The condition of the society was such that the new king Louis XVIII was to think of compromising policies for a better harmony between the aristocrats and liberalists. During the time a large number of émigrés returned to France- noblemen who had left the country during the French revolution. They tried to avail the privileges and property rights earlier given by the government. The émigrés had learnt nothing from the French Revolution and wanted to restore the old power and status. Apart from this, land ownership issues between the church and a class of society emerged. The lands originally belonged to the nobles and church which were confiscated during revolution and acquired by a new class of society. It was an issue for Louis XVIII to evict them and to restore the original land status to the émigrés and to the church. A steady rise of the bourgeoisie occurred after the Industrial Revolution till the French Revolution of 1848. At that time the status of the inhabitants was determined by wealth rather than birth, perhaps a side- effect of the rapidly growing Industrial Revolution. The society was not homogeneous; there were distinct divisions among the bourgeoisie also. There existed an urban and rural imbalance. The urban dwellers were the workers, daily workers, middle income families in poor living conditions. The society was dominated by the bourgeoisie, where the workers had to fight for their political and economic rights. Secularism and conservative religious thoughts co-existed in the society. The populations of the rural areas were high accounting for almost 3/4th of the total population of France. Poverty, debt, lack of land ownership, urban and rural disparity and the dominance of the bourgeoisie, and unhealthy rural conditions created room for a new revolution in France. Despite tremendous development in the cotton and linen industries in France, the condition of the proletariats was wretched. The mounting prosperity of the bourgeoisie and the pitiable condition of the proletariats was damaging the social structure indicating the need of the revolution.

Louis XVIII (1815-1824) ascended the throne after the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte. He supported the hereditary tradition and divine monarchial right. He enacted a Charter on 4th June, 1814 was an attempt

to develop a constitutional monarchy by the king, which failed to please the French people. The ultra royalist party formed by the king's brother supported the move whereas independents i.e. liberalists, republicans and Bonapartists disliked the move and voiced for absolute republic status. After the death of Louis XVIII, his brother Charles X ascended the throne of France. Charles was determined to revolt against the independents and tried to bring back absolute monarchy. With this view in mind Charles X on 25th July, 1830 issued four ordinances which gave special power to him. The ordinances were significant as they changed the electoral system and further curtailed the right to vote. The ordinance restricted the voice of the press and limited criticism of the government. The ordinance brought chaos and people become unhappy with the provisions and the dictatorial acts of the government. Oppositions, independents and journalists asked people to resist the illegal ordinances and encouraged them to agitate for their rights. People started fighting in the streets and the revolution rose to such a level that within three days the rebellions controlled Paris and forced Charles X, the king to abdicate on 30th July, 1830. After the abdication of Charles X, the liberalists and republicans declared Louis Philippe as the new king of France.

- **Impact on Europe**

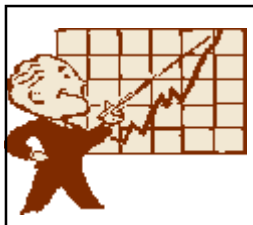
The July revolution is significant as it awakened the revolutionary tradition of France. The revolution is criticized as a conservative one which was not accompanied by any great social and economic reforms. Superficially, the revolution had replaced one monarchy by another. After the revolution, the amended government enforced voting rights to the rich who paid an annual income tax of 200 francs. The upper bourgeoisie benefited by the July revolution as the government was a puppet in its hands. Yet there were various short term and long term benefits associated with the revolution.

- Louis Philippe's government concentrated more on the divine right of the nation rather than the right of the king's. The king is regarded as the "king of the French" rather than king of France.
- The revolution ended the hereditary monarchy in France. Louis Philippe had no hereditary link with the throne.
- The revolution ended the dominance of the aristocrats and

émigrés.

- Secularism emerged as a fruit of the revolution and dominant clericalism and Catholicism were threatened. The Industrial Revolution added wealth to the bourgeoisie whereas the July revolution added the political power.
- It brought political and social reforms and awakened the common men.
- The revolution influenced many countries of Europe such as Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Spain, Italy and England.

The July revolution had impacts on the political and social structure of the European countries. It created an echo in Belgium leading to its independence from Holland in 1831. Another notable success was the announcement of a liberal constitution in Switzerland. Following the path of the July revolution, in 1830 the liberals and students started agitating for a liberal constitution and democracy in Germany against the Metternich system. Rise of nationalism occurred in Poland and the nationalists revolted there in 1830, failing however to get widespread support. By 1831, the independent revolution of Poland was crushed by the Russian forces. The effect of the July revolution on England was that the people demanded the extension of franchise in England and in 1832, Lord Grey introduced and passed the reform bill. The July revolution also ignited the civil war in Spain and Portugal between the conservatives and liberals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 1. State one significant outcome of the Revolution of 1830.

.....

Q 2. What actions of Charles X anger the French people?

.....

Q 3. The aristocrats believed in which three institutions. Name them.

.....

7.4 REVOLUTION OF 1848

● Causes

The reign of Orleans monarchy began in 1830 and ended in 1848 through the Parisian revolution. Louis Philippe in his early years was popular among the citizens. He called himself the people's king. The king in his early years tried to be moderate so that no political party would go against him. Philippe failed to change with time and due to this weakness the Royalists, Republicans and Bonapartists began to dislike him. Philippe gave a lot of patronage to the upper middle class, for which he earned opposition from other sections of the society leading to his downfall. According to some historian, the food scarcity of 1846-47, due to failure of wheat and potato crops caused the unrest which led to the downfall of Louis Philippe. But there are different criticisms of this view. According to one, the rigidity of Philippe to reform social and institutional policies was the cause of the collapse of his regime. Lacking political support due to the anti-labour, anti-people strategy, his fall was bound to happen. According to Cobban, if the revolution had not happened in 1848, it was bound to happen at some other time. The amendment of the charter and curtailment of the voting rights of the general population was the vital cause of the fall of the regime. The voting right was limited to only 2.8% of population, and the other greater remained unnoticed. Rise of the working class and their revolt was the cause of the February revolution. The July revolution had awakened the French working class. The working classes were poor and ill paid and were overworked. They lived in poor living conditions, mostly in slum areas. Philippe's strategy was basically to suppress them; he repressed every labour movement by force. He refused to pass any law and policy to enhance the condition of the working class. His pro-capitalist and anti-labour policies were the significant causes of the February revolution. Another strong social group named the petit bourgeoisie (lower middle class) was unhappy by the haute bourgeois (higher meddle class) policy of Louis Philippe. They opposed the policy of Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot's no reform policy. All the above discussed points were the cause of the February

revolution which fuelled the revolt into a full grown revolution and resulted in many happenings beginning from the abdication of the king from the throne to echoes that had been generated in other parts of the Europe.

- **Impact on Europe**

The February revolution brought universal voting rights to the French people and established a republic. The experimental constitutional monarchy came to an end after the February movement. The positive effect of the revolution can be seen in the increased number of electorates to almost 9 million from 0.25 million. Another interesting fact associated with the revolution is that it buried the slavery system in France. Relief for the unemployed was achieved by the provisional government through enactment of the National Workshops, which guaranteed the French citizens the "right to work". The political ideology of the state had changed from the republican system to the idea of socialism. The bourgeoisie opposed the new republican government as their exclusive privilege for voting was destroyed. Apart from this the revolution turned into an international revolution and its impact can be traced in different countries nearby. The revolution had an impact on the political scenario of Europe and brought the end of Metternich system in Austria. The revolt of the Hungarians was suppressed with the help of Russia. The February revolution of France also contributed to the unification of German states. Historians also relate the February revolution with the risings in Naples, Papal States, Tuscany, and Venice in Italy. Though the February revolution of France was aimed towards socioeconomic changes in the country and for the voting rights of the common people but at the end the revolution had changed its character. The objective of the revolution was fulfilled but the new republican government dismissed the socialist character soon after the revolution. The national workshops and the worker's welfare schemes were closed down. The change of mind of the new government from socialism affected the working community and led to a violent riot in June 1848. The riot in June was suppressed by the shedding of blood of almost 10 thousand workers. This shows that though the February revolution started as an opposition to the royal class and tried to bring equal

rights to the working class but indeed it ended up as a petit bourgeois revolution. According to Crenville, the February revolution was a "half revolution" and a distant sequel of the July revolution of 1830. The results of the revolution can be summarized as that it brought Republicanism and social and political equality in France. The revolution encouraged the common man to revolt and helped them to raise their voices.

7.5 PARIS COMMUNE (1871)

The Franco-Prussian War broke out in July 1870 between France and Prussia, leading to the defeat of the French Emperor Napoleon III and the capture of Paris by Prussian forces in September 1870. The collapse of the French government and the siege of Paris created a power vacuum, prompting the formation of the Government of National Defense, which assumed control of the city. The Paris Commune emerged in response to growing discontent among the working-class population of Paris, who felt betrayed by the bourgeois leadership of the Government of National Defense. On March 18, 1871, the government attempted to disarm the National Guard, a volunteer militia composed mainly of working-class citizens, leading to a popular uprising and the establishment of the Commune. The Paris Commune was characterized by its radical social and political agenda, which aimed to create a decentralized, grassroots democracy based on principles of direct participation and workers' self-management. It abolished the standing army and the police force, replacing them with the National Guard, which was directly accountable to the Commune and elected by universal suffrage. The Commune also implemented progressive social reforms, including the separation of church and state, the introduction of free secular education, and the establishment of workers' cooperatives.

The Paris Commune faced fierce opposition from conservative forces within France, including the national government and conservative elements in the provinces. In May 1871, government troops launched a brutal assault on Paris, known as the "Bloody Week," which resulted in the violent

suppression of the Commune and the execution or exile of thousands of its supporters. Despite its relatively short existence, the Paris Commune left a lasting legacy as a symbol of revolutionary fervor and working-class resistance. It inspired subsequent socialist and communist movements around the world and continues to be commemorated as a symbol of revolutionary struggle and popular democracy



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 4. State one cause of the 1848 Revolution.

.....

Q 5. State the nature of the February Revolution of 1848.

.....

Q 6. To what does "Bloody Week" refer?.

.....



7.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt that -

- These two revolutions, the Revolution of 1830 and 1848 led to social change and brought an end to the slavery system in France. The revolutions taught the working class that the ultimate authority belonged to them and that they also could change the political scenario.
- France was grappling with political stability and the Paris Commune was a reminder of this fact.



7.7 FURTHER READINGS

1) Maiti, P. (1997). *A History of Europe*. Kolkata, India : Shreedhar Prakashani.

2) Thomson, David. (2007). *Europe since Napoleon*. New Delhi, India : Surjeet publications.

3) Vinacke, Harlod M. (2020). *History of Far East in Modern Times,* Revised Edition, Kalyani Publishers



7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. Secularism emerged as a fruit of the revolution and dominant clericalism and Catholicism were threatened.

Answer to Q 2. Charles X on 25th July, 1830 issued four ordinances which gave special power to him. The ordinances were significant as they changed the electoral system and further curtailed the right to vote. The ordinance restricted the voice of the press and limited criticism of the government.

Answer to Q 3. The aristocrats believed in three institutions namely, the monarchy, the nobility and the church

Answer to Q 4. Rise of the working class and their revolt was the cause of the February revolution.

Answer to Q 5. The February revolution started as an opposition to the royal class and tried to bring equal rights to the working class but indeed it ended up as a petit bourgeois revolution.

Answer to Q 6. Brutal assualt on the Parisians by the Government



7.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each within 50 words)

Q 1: Why did the French monarchy lose support of the general mass?

Q 2: What was the nature of the Revolution of 1830.

B) Short Questions (Answer each within 150 words)

Q 1: Discuss the condition of the common people towards the regime of Louis Philippe.

Q 2: Draw a comparison between the July revolution of 1830 and the February revolution of 1848.

C) Long Questions (Answer each within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the political condition of France from 1830-1871.

Q 2: What was the consequences of the Revolt of 1830? Discuss

*** ***** ***

UNIT - 8: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Crisis of Feudalism

8.4 Socialism in Russia

8.5 The Revolution of 1905

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Readings

8.8 Answers to CheckYour Progress

8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the historical background leading to the Russian Revolution of 1905,
- Discuss in detail the feudal structure in Russia and the transformation to Socialism, and
- Analyse the impact of the Revolution in Russia and the changes that were brought in by the Revolution

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the Revolution that shook France in 1830 and 1848. In this Unit, we will be looking into the Russia Revolution of 1905. Before the Great Revolution of 1917, Russia was ruled by a powerful monarch called the Tsar. The Russian Revolution of 1905 resulted in the country-wide spasm of both anti-government and undirected violence. It was not controlled or managed, and it had no single cause or aim. It is usually regarded as a signpost of changes in Russia leading to the historical

background her great Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a wave of mass political and social unrest that spread through vast areas of the Russian Empire, some of which was directed at the government. It included worker strikes, peasant unrest, and military mutinies and led to constitutional reform, including the establishment of the State Duma, the multi-party system, and the Russian Constitution of 1906.

The First Russian Revolution, also known as the Russian Revolution of 1905, began on January 22, 1905. People across the Russian Empire were upset with the Tsar, the nobles, and the ruling class. They protested through worker strikes, peasant unrest, and military mutinies. Due to public pressure, Tsar Nicholas II had to change his strict rule and make some reforms, like creating the State Duma, allowing multiple political parties, and establishing the Russian Constitution of 1906. Even though the Duma had public participation, it couldn't make its own laws, and there were frequent conflicts with the Tsar. Nicholas still held most of the power and could dissolve the Duma, which he did three times to get rid of opposition.

The 1905 revolution was triggered by Russia's humiliation in the Russo-Japanese War and the growing realization among various groups in society that reforms were needed. Despite some industrialization efforts by politicians like Sergei Witte, the needs of the population were not adequately addressed. While the monarchy narrowly survived the 1905 Revolution, it foreshadowed the events of the larger 1917 Russian Revolution.

According to Sidney Harcave, author of The Russian Revolution of 1905, four problems in Russian society contributed to the revolution. First, newly emancipated peasants earned too little and were not allowed to sell or mortgage their allotted land. Second, ethnic minorities resented the government because of its "Russification," discrimination, and repression, both social and formal, such as banning them from voting and serving in the Guard or Navy and limiting attendance in schools. Third, a nascent industrial working class resented the government for doing too little to protect them, by banning strikes and labor unions. Finally, the educated class fomented and spread radical ideas after a relaxing of discipline in universities

allowed a new consciousness to grow among students.

Taken individually, these issues might not have affected the course of Russian history, but together they created the conditions for a potential revolution. Historian James Defronzo writes, "At the turn of the century, discontent with the Tsar's dictatorship was manifested not only through the growth of political parties dedicated to the overthrow of the monarchy but also through industrial strikes for better wages and working conditions, protests and riots among peasants, university demonstrations, and the assassination of government officials, often done by Socialist Revolutionaries."

8.3 CRISIS OF FEUDALISM

The 1905 revolution's roots can be traced to the Emancipation Edict of 1861, which abolished the Russian serfdom system, sparking prolonged discontent among both peasants and landowners. Preceding industrialization, Russia was predominantly an agrarian society, with approximately one third of its population comprising serfs owned by the oligarchic class of landowners within the feudal system.

During their massive effort to modernize and industrialize their country, the Tsarist regime instituted unpopular policies that caused deep resentment among the Russian peasants and workers who lived in the urban centres. The predominance of feudalism in the agricultural system of Russia and, consequently, in the Russian state generally, and in the whole of Russian life was the picture till the second half of the 19th century. With Capitalist development in Russia, the preservation of serfdom in agriculture had become impossible, and its abolition had assumed the form of a violent crisis, of a nationwide revolution. Major political discontent had been building since the controversial 1861 emancipation edict of the serfs by Tsar Alexander II. When the peasants of Russia had been freed from serfdom they faced severe economic problems as they were totally penniless. However, in order to give these peasants land, the government had to pay the landowners for it. As a result, the peasants had to pay this 'loan' back to the state in the

form of Redemption Payments. This increased the hardship of the peasants. Thus, the free peasantry got frustrated with the Existing Feudal Structure-the Tsarist system. The condition very soon created political inconfidence and dissatisfaction among the masses.

8.4 SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA

The growth of Socialism in Russia has a clear context rooted in its social crisis. It can be considered an evolutionary phenomenon or a transition from anarchism to socialism. The growth of ultra anarchist movement known as the Nihilist Movement was a very significant event in the history of 19th century Russia. Intellectuals such as Ivan Turgenev, Michael Bakunin, Sergey Nechayev, Nikolay Chernyshevsky played the most important role in spreading the anarchist ideology and political discontentment against the Tsarist regime through their writings and words. The Nihilist movement got its peak during the revolutionary phase from 1870-1881. After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the movement was completely crushed.

In 1894, Nicholas II of the Romanov dynasty became the Tsar of Russia. He was poorly educated, narrow in intellectual perspective and isolated from Russian society. Besides, he and his Empress Alexandria were distracted by a wild mystic and healer Gregory Rasputin. Within a short period of time, People became very offended at the personality and inefficiency of the Tsar.

All political parties were illegal in Russia before 1914. The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was founded in 1898 by the Socialists who respected Marx's ideas. However, because of government policing, it had to operate as an illegal organisation. It circulated a newspaper, mobilised workers and organised strikes.

Some Russian socialists felt that the Russian peasant’s custom of dividing land periodically made them natural socialists. So peasants, not workers, would be the main force of the revolution, and Russia could become socialist more quickly than other countries. Socialists were active in the countryside through the late nineteenth century. They formed the Socialist

Revolutionary Party in 1900. This party struggled for peasants' rights and demanded that land belonging to nobles be transferred to peasants. Social Democrats disagreed with Socialist Revolutionaries about peasants. Lenin felt that peasants were not one united group. Some were poor and others rich, some worked as labourers while others were capitalists who employed workers. Given this 'differentiation' within them, they could not all be part of a socialist movement.

The party was divided over the strategy of an organisation. Vladimir Lenin (who led the Bolshevik group) thought that in a repressive society like Tsarist Russia, the party should be disciplined and should control the number and quality of its members. Others (Mensheviks) thought that the party should be open to all (as in Germany).

During the concluding years of the 19th century, Russian industry developed a great deal. Supply of cheap labour, as a result of emancipation of the serfs were available. The industry workers suffered from long hours work, low wages, brutality and a system of rapacious fines. Thus, the expansion of industry created two clear classes in Russia-the proletariat and the capitalist. The Tsarist regime was blind to the sufferings of the workers. At this condition tendency of socialism would eventually grow in Russia. The Marxist Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was formed in 1898 and, then split in 1903, forming the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks-two major socialist party in Russia that would determine the future of Russia for nearly a century after the Great Revolution of 1917.



LET US KNOW

Grigori Rasputin, also called "mad monk", a Russian mystic and self-proclaimed holy man, played a significant role in the inner circles of the Romanov family, the final imperial dynasty governing Russia. Renowned for his purported healing abilities, Rasputin wielded considerable influence over Emperor Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra, captivating their attention and trust. His presence in the royal

court not only impacted the decision-making of the monarchs but also left an indelible mark on the course of Russian history.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Tsar Alexander II was assassinated in the year _____

Q 2: The Emancipation Edict of 1861, abolished _____.

Q 3: Who was Rasputin?

.....

Q 4: The Marxist Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) split in 1903 forming two major Socialist parties. Name them.

.....

8.5 THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

In December 1904, a strike erupted at the Putilov plant, a significant railway and artillery production industry in St. Petersburg. Sympathy strikes in other parts of the city escalated the number of strikers to 150,000 workers across 382 factories. By January 21, 1905, the city experienced a power outage, and newspaper distribution came to a halt. All public areas were declared closed.

Led by the controversial Orthodox priest Georgy Gapon, who headed a police-sponsored workers' association, a massive workers' procession marched to the Winter Palace on Sunday, January 22, 1905, aiming to deliver a petition to the Tsar. According to Sergei Witte, the troops guarding the palace were instructed to warn the demonstrators not to pass a certain point. At some juncture, the troops opened fire on the demonstrators, resulting in an estimated 200 to 1,000 deaths. This tragic incident became

known as Bloody Sunday and is widely considered the beginning of the active phase of the revolution.

The events in St. Petersburg ignited public outrage and triggered a series of massive strikes that rapidly spread throughout the industrial centres of the Russian Empire. Polish socialists called for a general strike, leading to over 400,000 workers in Russian Poland participating in strikes by the end of January 1905. Half of European Russia's industrial workers joined the strike in 1905, with an astonishing 93.2% participation rate in Poland. Strikes also occurred in Finland and the Baltic coast.

Nationalist groups, dissatisfied with the Russification policies initiated since Alexander II, demanded autonomy and the freedom to use their national languages and promote their cultures. Poles, Finns, and Baltic provinces were particularly vocal in their quest for self-determination. Muslim groups, convening at the First Congress of the Muslim Union in August 1905, also actively participated. Amidst the unrest, some groups seized the opportunity to settle internal differences rather than focusing on opposing the government. In some instances, nationalists instigated anti-Jewish pogroms, possibly with government support, resulting in the tragic deaths of over 3,000 Jews.

Between 1904 and 1905, Russia and Japan faught for control of strategic territories in China. It ended with humiliating defeat for Russia. Defeat by Japan brought the Tsar's rule into question. The war also badly weakened the Russian economy and brought about period of severe food crisis. The year 1904 was a particularly bad one for Russian workers. Prices of essential goods rose so quickly that real wages declined by 20 per cent. The membership of workers' associations rose dramatically. When four members of the Assembly of Russian Workers, which had been formed in 1904, were dismissed at the Putilov Iron Works, there was a call for industrial action. Over the next few days over 110,000 workers in St Petersburg went on strike demanding a reduction in the working day to eight hours, an increase in wages and improvement in working conditions.

When the procession of workers led by Father Gapon reached the

Winter Palace it was attacked by the police and the Cossacks. Over 100 workers were killed and about 300 wounded. The incident, known as Bloody Sunday, started a series of events that became known as the 1905 Revolution. Strikes took place all over the country and universities closed down when student bodies staged walkouts, complaining about the lack of civil liberties. Lawyers, doctors, engineers and other middle-class workers established the Union of Unions and demanded a constituent assembly. Thus, long term economic and political discontent led to the outbreak of the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Tough reactions of the event were felt all over Russia and this put the Tsar into a tough spot. To control the fire, Tsar Nicholas II promised to introduce a series of constitutional reforms known as the October Manifesto of 1905.

The manifesto promised-

a. to ensure basic civil rights for the Russians.

b. to establish a legislative making body known as the Duma

c. the adoption of the Russian constitution of 1906 which established a limited constitutional monarchy.

During the 1905 Revolution, the Tsar allowed the creation of an elected consultative Parliament or Duma. For a brief while during the revolution, there existed a large number of trade unions and factory committees made up of factory workers. After 1905, most committees and unions worked unofficially, since they were declared illegal. Severe restrictions were placed on political activity. The Tsar dismissed the first Duma within 75 days and the re-elected second Duma within three months. He did not want any questioning of his authority or any reduction in his power. He changed the voting laws and packed the third Duma with conservative politicians. Liberals and revolutionaries were kept out.

On February 18, Tsar Nicholas II reluctantly agreed to the establishment of a State Duma in the Russian Empire with consultative powers only. However, when the limited powers and restricted electorate of the Duma were revealed, discontent intensified. In response, the Saint

Petersburg Soviet was formed, advocating for a general strike in October, refusal to pay taxes, and withdrawal of bank deposits.

In June and July of 1905, numerous peasant uprisings occurred, marked by the seizure of land and tools. Disturbances in Congress Poland culminated in the Łódź insurrection in June 1905, resulting in surprisingly few casualties among landlords but more violence inflicted on peasants outside the commune, with 50 recorded deaths.

The October Manifesto, drafted by Sergei Witte and Alexis Obolenskii, was presented to the Tsar on October 14, closely aligning with the Zemstvo Congress's demands from September. It granted basic civil rights, allowed the formation of political parties, extended the franchise toward universal suffrage, and established the Duma as the central legislative body. After three days of hesitation and argument, the Tsar signed the manifesto on October 30, 1905, citing a desire to avoid a massacre and recognizing the lack of military force for alternative options. Despite regretting the decision, he acknowledged feeling "sick with shame at this betrayal of the dynasty... the betrayal was complete."

Upon the proclamation of the manifesto, spontaneous demonstrations of support erupted in major cities, leading to the official end or rapid collapse of strikes in St. Petersburg and elsewhere. A political amnesty was also declared. However, the concessions were accompanied by a renewed, harsh crackdown on unrest, and conservative elements in society launched attacks on strikers, left-wingers, and Jews.

While Russian liberals welcomed the October Manifesto and prepared for upcoming Duma elections, radical socialists and revolutionaries denounced the elections, urging an armed uprising to dismantle the Empire. The November uprising of 1905 in Sevastopol, led by retired naval Lieutenant Pyotr Schmidt, featured directed and undirected actions, including terrorism, worker strikes, peasant unrest, and military mutinies. It was only quelled after a fierce battle. The Trans-Baikal railroad fell under the control of striker committees and demobilized soldiers returning from Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War, prompting the Tsar to dispatch a special detachment of loyal troops along the Trans-Siberian Railway to restore order.

Between December 5 and 7, there was another general strike by Russian workers. The government sent troops on December 7, and a bitter street-by-street fight began. A week later, the Semyonovsky Regiment was deployed and used artillery to break up demonstrations and shell workers' districts. On December 18, with around a thousand people dead and parts of the city in ruins, the workers surrendered. After a final spasm in Moscow, the uprisings ended.

LET US KNOW



The 1906 Russian Constitution represents a significant overhaul of the 1832 Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire. This revision marked a pivotal shift from an absolutist state to one in which the emperor, for the first time, consented to share autocratic power with a parliamentary body. Adopted on May 6, 1906 (April 23 in the old-style calendar), just before the inaugural session of the first State Duma, this inaugural Russian Constitution amended the earlier Fundamental Laws, originally published as the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire.

Participation of various social groups was one of the most important aspects of the Russian Revolution of 1905. They included:

The Peasantry: most of the peasant unrests took place because of meagre income from their farms and laws prohibiting their sale and mortgage of land.

The Industrial Workers: the Industrial workers take part the Revolution, who resented the government for doing too little to improve their working condition and enhance their income. They were also rebel for preventing them from organizing unions and staging strikes. The ethnic minorities from Poland, Finland, and Baltic states who resented the Russian hegemony, fought against the Tsarist regime in 1905.

As per Professor Maksim Kovalevsky's presentation in the Duma, by April 1906, over 14,000 individuals had been executed, and 75,000 were imprisoned. Following the 1905 Revolution, the Tsar, in a final bid to salvage his regime, offered reforms akin to those commonly seen when rulers face pressure from a revolutionary movement. The military's loyalty during the 1905 Revolution, evident in their actions of shooting revolutionaries as per the Tsar's orders, posed a significant challenge to any overthrow attempts. These reforms were delineated in the precursor to the 1906 Constitution, known as the October Manifesto, which established the Imperial Duma. The Russian Constitution of 1906, also termed the Fundamental Laws, introduced a multiparty system and a limited constitutional monarchy. While these reforms initially appeased the revolutionaries, they proved insufficient to avert the 1917 revolution that ultimately led to the downfall of the Tsar's regime.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 5: What was the political system introduced by The Russian Constitution of 1906?

.....

Q 6: What is a Duma?

.....

Q 7: Who introduced October Manifesto of 1905

.....

Q 8: Who was Georgy Gapon?

.....



8.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you learnt that-

- In January 1905, an incident known as "Bloody Sunday" occurred when Father Gapon led an enormous crowd to the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg to present a petition to the tsar.
- When the procession reached the palace, Cossacks opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds.

- The Russian masses were so aroused over the massacre that a general strike was declared demanding a democratic republic, which marked the beginning of the Russian Revolution of 1905.
- Soviets (councils of workers) appeared in most cities to direct revolutionary activity.
- In October 1905, Tsar Nicholas reluctantly issued the famous October Manifesto, which conceded the creation of a national Duma (legislature), as well as the right to vote, and affirmed that no law was to go into force without confirmation by the Duma.
- The moderate groups were satisfied, but the socialists rejected the concessions as insufficient and tried to organize new strikes.
- By the end of 1905, there was disunity among the reformers, and the Tsar's position was strengthened for the time being.



8.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. 1881

Answer to Q 2. The Russian serfdom system

Answer to Q 3. Russian Mystic

Answer to Q 4. The Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks

Answer to Q 5. It introduced a multiparty system and a limited constitutional monarchy.

Answer to Q 6. A legislative body

Answer to Q 7. Tsar Nicholas II

Answer to Q 8. An Orthodox priest who led the procession of workers to the Winter Palace leading to the Bloody Sunday massacre.



8.8 FURTHER READINGS

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8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Very Short Question

Q 1: What was the significance of the Bloody Sunday incident in the context of the 1905 Russian Revolution?

Q 2 : What was the primary cause of discontent among ethnic minorities in the Russian Empire during the 1905 Revolution?

Q 3 : How did the Tsar respond to the demands of the 1905 Revolution in the short term?

Short Question (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: What were the key reforms introduced by Tsar Nicholas II in response to the 1905 Revolution, and how did they impact the political landscape in Russia?

Q 2 : How did the Emancipation Edict of 1861 contribute to the roots of the 1905 Russian Revolution, and what were the major social and economic issues faced by the peasants following their liberation?

Q 3 : Discuss the role of different social groups in Russian Revolution of 1905.

Long Question (Answer each question within 300 words)

Q1 : Discuss the challenges faced by the newly liberated peasants and

the role of the Emancipation Edict of 1861 in laying the groundwork for the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Q 2 : Evaluate the impact of the ideologies associated with socialism that influenced the revolutionary conditions in Russia.

Q 3 : Examine the events surrounding Bloody Sunday and its significance in triggering the active phase of the 1905 Russian Revolution.

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UNIT - 9: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 October Revolution of 1917

- Background and Causes of the Revolution
- Course of the Revolution

9.4 Lenin and Stalin

9.5 Programme of Socialist Construction

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Readings

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the complex social, economic, and political factors that contributed to the Russian Revolution of 1917
- disscuss the role of key figures like Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the Revolution, assessing their ideologies and the impact of their policies on Russian society, and
- assess the short-term and long-term consequences of the Russian Revolution, both within the context of Russian history and its global ramifications.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the historical background of the Revolution. In this Unit, we will be exploring the the Russian Revolution of 1917 that led to the

overthrow of the Romanov dynasty, the collapse of the Czarist autocracy, and the establishment of Bolshevik rule. The revolution unfolded in multiple phases, including the Revolution of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917. Widespread discontent, economic hardships, and the impact of World War I fueled the revolutionary fervor. The Provisional Government, formed after the February Revolution, faced challenges from the Bolsheviks, who seized power in October (November) 1917. Led by Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks implemented radical social and economic changes, nationalizing land and industries. The revolution marked Russia's withdrawal from World War I through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The event had profound global implications, inspiring revolutionary movements and laying the foundation for the Soviet Union.

9.3 OCTOBER REVOLUTION OF 1917

The Russian Revolution of 1917 stands as a monumental chapter in human history, comparable to the French Revolution of 1789. It wasn't merely a change in political leadership; it represented a radical experiment with the very foundations of society, marking the emergence of a classless state and the empowerment of a social class that had long endured marginalization. This revolutionary fervor wasn't confined within Russia's borders; its seismic impacts resonated globally, transforming geopolitics and ideologies. Scholars have debated its phases, emphasizing events such as the Revolution of 1905, the February Revolution of 1917, and the ultimate Bolshevik seizure of power in October (November) 1917.

- **Background and Causes of the Revolution**

The catalyst for discontent can be traced back to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, a conflict that exposed the vulnerabilities of the Tsarist regime. The aftermath of the war saw increasing social unrest, marked by strikes, agrarian upheavals, and mutinies in the army and navy.

The period leading up to World War I was characterized by escalating discontent and disorder. Strikes became more frequent, reaching a peak in 1914 with nearly 1.4 million workers participating. This organized resistance

highlighted the Russian proletariat's refusal to endure further exploitation under the inept and unpopular rule of Tsar Nicholas II.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 intensified these underlying tensions. The Tsar's decision to involve Russian youth in the conflict raised fundamental questions about the purpose and justification of their participation. The war, involving thirty-eight countries, brought both economic benefits to Britain and Germany and desolation to Russia. The discontent that had been brewing since the Russian-Japanese War now found a new focal point in the consequences of World War I.

Russia had been in a state of ferment since the early 20th century. Strikes, agrarian outbreaks, and mutinies reflected the dissatisfaction and unrest brewing throughout the country. The period from 1904 to 1905 marked a turning point, with the Russo-Japanese War revealing the inadequacies of the Tsarist regime. Strikes became more frequent, reaching a peak in 1914 with nearly 1.4 million workers participating. The Russian proletariat, no longer willing to tolerate the incompetence and unpopularity of the Tsar's government, was primed for a radical transformation.

In 1915, as the war unfolded, Tsar Nicholas II assumed command of the army after the defeat of Galicia. In his absence, Empress Alexandra ruled the country and came under the influence of the notorious adventurer Gregory Rasputin. The war brought escalating expenses, soaring prices, and a dependence on foreign aid. Between August 1914 and February 1917, the political landscape witnessed significant instability, with four presidents of the council of ministers, six interior ministers, and four war ministers changing during this period.

Rasputin's assassination in December 1916 did little to stabilize the situation. The aim of the constitutional democrats was to maintain the relationship between the monarchy and the Duma, the Russian parliament. Other parties in the Duma, such as the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and the Progressive Party, pursued specific interests, while the Social Democratic Party of industrial workers emerged as a focal point of opposition to the Tsar.

This party, founded in 1898, experienced a split into two groups: the

radical Bolsheviks and the moderate Mensheviks. The second congress of this party in 1903 revealed deep-seated ideological differences. Lenin, a key figure, believed in the need for a unified and central party to fight against both Tsarism and capitalism. The Social Democratic party's division into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks would play a crucial role in the unfolding events of the revolution.

- **Course of the Revolution**

Scholars have debated the stages and phases of the Russian Revolution. Some, like Rothenstein, a Marxist scholar, argue for three stages: the Revolution of 1905, the February Revolution of 1917, and the ultimate Bolshevik seizure of power in October (November) 1917. Others, such as E. H. Carr, reject this analysis and consider the February Revolution as the starting point. Carr identifies two stages: the political revolution of February 1917, leading to the collapse of the Czarist system, and the subsequent social revolution that birthed a Socialist or Communist state.

The February Revolution of 1917 unfolded as the culmination of mounting discontent. On February 10, 1917, workers' agitations and demonstrations began in Petrograd. By February 14, the number of striking workers reached 90,000, and over 125,000 workers went on strike in solidarity with women demonstrators. The Bolsheviks skillfully projected themselves as champions of people's rights, garnering significant support.

On February 24, the number of strikers surged to 225,000, paralyzing all activities in the city. Tsar Nicholas II responded by ordering the cessation of processions and demonstrations, deploying troops to quell the striking workers. The workers, however, clashed with the troops, and a significant portion of the military sided with the workers' cause. By the next day, another 125,000 soldiers mutinied and joined the workers.

This period saw the formation of soviets in Petrograd, elected bodies representing farmers, workers, and soldiers. These soviets, a concept that first emerged during the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907, became a crucial element in the evolving dynamics of the revolution.

The Duma responded to the escalating crisis by establishing a provisional government on March 12, 1917, with Prince George Lvov at its

helm and Alexander Kerensky as minister of justice. Tsar Nicholas II abdicated on March 15, 1917. The new government proclaimed civic liberties, recognized equality without social, religious, and racial discrimination, and granted independence to Finland within the Russian Federation.

The formation of this provisional government was initially welcomed by capitalist countries, envisioning Russia's path toward liberal democracy under capitalist control. However, the composition of key figures within the provisional government, including Prince Lvov, Alexander Guchkov, an industrialist serving as war minister, and Konovalov, a capitalist leading the ministry of commerce and industry, hinted at the government's reactionary character.

The Bolsheviks, led by figures like Lenin and Trotsky, staunchly opposed the policies of the provisional government. The conflict intensified as the provisional government clashed with the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, set up by the socialists of Petrograd soviet.

By April 16, 1917, Lenin arrived in Petrograd, accompanied by Gregory Zinoviev, Karl Radek, and Anatoli Lunacharski. Lenin outlined his aims and program, advocating for the transfer of power from the bourgeois provisional government to the soviets, the immediate end of the war, the seizure of land by peasants, and the control of industries by committees of workers. The Bolsheviks, in an underground congress held between July 26 and August 3, 1917, made arrangements for armed struggle, anticipating a suitable opportunity.

On July 20, 1917, Alexander Kerensky became the head of the government, deciding the Tzar's authority crumbled to dust. The Duma or the National Assembly called upon the Tzar to abdicate. The Tzar (Nicholas II) had to accept the verdict. A provisional government was formed, controlled by the leading party in the Duma, who were moderates and not radicals. The Tzar's despotism was at an end, a general amnesty of political prisoners and exiles to Siberia was declared, freedom of speech and the press was proclaimed, and all seemed to go well. The provisional government was formed, controlled by the leaders of the leading party in the Duma, who were moderates and not radicals. The Tzar's despotism was at an end, a

general amnesty of political prisoners and exiles to Siberia was declared, freedom of speech and press was proclaimed, and all seemed to go well. The provisional government was promptly recognized by the Allied Powers, particularly because the new Russian leaders had promised to prosecute the war.

Through the provisional government did its best and introduced reasonable reforms, they could not satisfy the people fully, and disorder gained ground every where. The people were restless They sought all out reform over night, and withdrawal from the war forthwith. The Radical socialists (Bolsheviks) took advantage of the situation. Soviets or Revolutionary councils were organised everywhere, both in the rural and urban areas. The Bolsheviks soon gained control of the Soviets. They held out a fine promise of "Bread, Land, Peace" to the people. Bread addressed the shortage of food supplies land implied the redis tribution of laud to the peasants and peace addressed the emmidiate ending of Russian involvement in World War-I. This slogan was instrumental in generating tremendous popular support for the Bolshevik leading to their seizure of power in November 1917. The provisional government of Alexander Kerensky was toppled by a Bolshevik government under the leadership of Lenin. Lenin became the prime minister of new government and Leon Trostky, Jewish leader of Bolshevik party, was appointed minister for foreign affairs.

The March revolution of 1917 had destroyed the autocracy of the Czar and the rule of Romanovs, a family which had ruled in Russia for three hundred years and more. But the November(October) Revolution of 1917 had really established the government which has been fully supported by the labourers..

9.4 LENIN AND STALIN

Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin were two pivotal figures in the tumultuous history of the Soviet Union during the early to mid-20th century. Lenin, a revolutionary Marxist and the architect of the October Revolution in 1917, played a crucial role in overthrowing the Provisional Government and establishing a socialist state. As the leader of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin

implemented radical policies, including the nationalization of land and industries, aiming to create a classless society. His ideas laid the groundwork for the formation of the Soviet Union.

Nikolai Lenin, was born in 1870 at Simbriski, Lenin's original name was Vladamier Ulanvich, he developed an agitative mind because of the execution of his brother for plotting against the life of Tzar. He studied law Kazan University but, he had to leave prematurely on account of his role in the political agitation. Lenin came back home in 1917 with the help of Germany. He headed the revolution. To substantiate promised programme Lenin accepted humiliating terms of peace, (Treaty of Brest Litovsk, March 1918) offered to Russia by Germany early in 1918, which deprived her of Eastern Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, " the richest of the Russian agricultural land, the chief industrial districts most of iron and coal mines and a large proportion of her railways".

In July 1918 Lenin issued the first constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic. Soon after the war had ended, attempts were made by Russia to regain lost territories, and in 1923, was created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics(USSR). By 1929 USSR had a Federal Constitution, each republic enjoying self -government in a limited number of matters, the rest being directed by Moscow, the capital of the Union since 1918.

Lenin had a hard time in reorganising Russia on a Socialist pattern. In 1921 Lenin introduced a National Economic Policy (NEP), which was the blend of State Socialism and State Capitalism. He had the satisfaction of putting Russia on the high road to Communism and its world leadership.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin emerged as his successor, gradually consolidating power. Stalin's leadership marked a departure from Lenin's vision, steering the Soviet Union toward industrialization through the implementation of Five-Year Plans but at the cost of severe social and political repression. Stalin's era witnessed purges, mass executions, and the forced collectivization of agriculture, leaving an indelible mark on Soviet history, characterized by both industrial progress and widespread human suffering.

9.5 THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The programme of socialist construction after the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a multifaceted and ambitious endeavor led by the Bolshevik government, with Vladimir Lenin and later Joseph Stalin at the forefront. The goal was to establish a socialist society based on Marxist principles, emphasizing the transition from capitalism to communism. Key aspects of the program included the nationalization of major industries, banks, and land, placing them under state control. The Bolsheviks initiated sweeping land reforms, redistributing large estates among peasants, and introduced measures to empower the proletariat. Economic policies focused on rapid industrialization through centralized planning, exemplified by the implementation of Five-Year Plans under Stalin. Social reforms aimed at dismantling traditional hierarchies, with an emphasis on education, gender equality, and the establishment of communal living. However, the program also witnessed challenges and controversies, including resistance from those reluctant to relinquish existing power structures. Despite the complexities and setbacks, the socialist construction program left an enduring imprint on the Soviet Union, shaping its socio-economic and political landscape for decades.



LET US KNOW

In essence, Socialism is a political and economic system where property and the means of production are collectively owned, often under the control of the state or government. The underlying principle of Socialism is that communal or public ownership of resources and production facilities contribute to the establishment of a more egalitarian society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The Social Democratic party was divided into.

.....

2. When did USSR come into existence?

.....

3. Who held out a fine promise of "Bread, Land, Peace", to the people?

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- The Russian Revolution of 1917 began with widespread discontent due to social, economic, and political issues.
- The Revolution had multiple phases, including the Revolution of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917.
- The February Revolution led to the collapse of the Czarist autocracy, the formation of a provisional government, and the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II.
- The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, seized power in the October (November) 1917 Revolution, establishing a socialist state.
- The Bolsheviks aimed to create a classless society, nationalizing land, industries, and banks.
- Social unrest and strikes paved the way for the Revolution, with workers and soldiers forming soviets (elected bodies).
- The provisional government faced challenges from the Bolsheviks and socialists, leading to political instability.
- Lenin's return in April 1917 and the July Days marked key moments

in Bolshevik agitation against the provisional government.

- The Bolsheviks officially took control in October 1917, leading to the formation of the Council of Peoples' Commissars.
- The Russian Revolution had profound global implications, influencing political ideologies and shaping the course of the 20th century.



9.7 FURTHER READINGS

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9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Answer to Q 1: Bolsheviks and Mensheviks
2) Answer to Q 2: 1923
3) Answer to Q 3: The Bolsheviks



9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Very Short Question (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: When did the February Revolution take place in Russia?

Q 2: Who was the leader of the Bolsheviks during the October (November) Revolution of 1917?

Q 3: What was a key goal of the socialist construction program after the Russian Revolution?

Q 4: Which elected bodies played a significant role during the Russian Revolution as representatives of workers, farmers, and soldiers?

Q 5: In which year did Tsar Nicholas II abdicate, leading to the collapse of the Czarist autocracy?

Short Question (Answer each of the question within 150 words)

Q 1: What were the main causes of the February Revolution in Russia in 1917?

Q 2: Describe the role of the Bolsheviks in the October (November) Revolution of 1917.

Q 3: What were the key social and economic changes introduced during the socialist construction after the Russian Revolution?

Q 4: Explain the nnnnnges isnnomic chainomic reforms gnificance of the soviets in the context of the Russian Revolution.

Q 5: How did the provisional government's challenges contribute to the Bolsheviks' rise to power in 1917?

Long Question (Answer each of the question within 300 words)

Q 1: Discuss the causes and consequences of the February Revolution in Russia in 1917.

Q 2: Examine the role of Vladimir Lenin in the October (November) Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent establishment of the Bolshevik government.

Q 3: Discuss the social and economic changes introduced during the socilaist consgtruction after the Russian Revolution.

Q 4: Explore the significance of the soviets (elected bodies) in the Russian Revolution and their role in shaping the political landscape.

Q 5: Evaluate the challenges faced by the provisional government after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and how these challenges contributed

to the Bolsheviks' rise to power in 1917.

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UNIT - 10: CHINA IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY-I

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Sun-Yat-Sen

10.4 The Revolution of 1911

- Establishment of the Republic
- Republican Government in Beijing

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Readings

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.8 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the various factors that led to the outbreak of the revolution in China
- Discuss the role of Dr Sun Yat Sen in building modern China, and
- Assess his leadership in the Revolution of 1911 and its consequences.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the last Unit we discussed the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this Unit, we will be shifting our attention to South Asia specially China. Due to the rich history and details of the revolutionary changes that transformed China, the topic will be discussed in two parts. This is the first part of the topic.

Towards the end of the 19th century, with the imperialist threat looming large, a brief attempt was made at more widespread reform. All these attempts at guided reform did not, however, call into question the viability of

the imperial political structure. The reforms were in a sense introduced to strengthen and uphold the Confucian tradition and the polity. The 1898 Reform Movement, which had a brief life, set in motion trends which were to overwhelm the Ching and the political structures during the first decades of the twentieth century. The 1911 Revolution was a culmination of this process. Several different factors went into the making of this revolution. There was growing discontent among the gentry and the peasants. New social groups, which gained strength with the economic changes, became vocal in their criticism of the system. Though the 1898 reforms were withdrawn, during the first decade of the 20th century, the Ching re-introduced them in a bid to survive. The constitutional reforms introduced by the state however, become ranged. The reorganized new armies turned consciousness found its strength in the secret societies, and in the growing discontent among the various sections of society. It is in this context that Sun-Yat-Sen came to be perceived as the symbol of a New China.

The main figure in the revolutionary movement that overthrew the imperial rule and created the Republic of China was Sun-Yat-Sen (1866-1925), who, along with other republican political leaders, endeavored to establish a parliamentary democracy. They were thwarted by warlords with imperial and quasi-democratic pretensions who resorted to assassination, rebellion, civil war, and collusion with foreign powers (especially Japan) in their efforts to gain control. Born to a peasant family in the Guangzhou region, Sun-Yat-Sen was educated in missionary schools in Hawaii and Hong Kong and developed a world view as Western Confucian. In 1894, he founded his first revolutionary organization, and by 1905 he was made head of the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui) in Japan by representatives from Chinese Secret Societies, overseas Chinese groups and Chinese students abroad.

10.3 SUN-YAT-SEN

After sixteen years of travelling, planning, writing and organizing, Sun-Yat-Sen realized his dreams, when the revolution of 1911 led to the end of

the Qing dynasty. He gave up the presidency in favor of general Yuan Shi-Kai, whose death in 1916 led to an era of local warlord rule. Sun's three principles of revolution were first articulated for the Revolutionary League and later formed the foundation for the Nationalist (Kuomintang). Ignored by the Western powers, and being in-charge of a southern military government with its capital in Guangzhou, Sun-Yat-Sen eventually turned to the new Soviet Union obliged Sun and his Guomindang (nationalist Party). Soviet advisers helped the Gumindang establish political and military training activities. But Moscow also supported the New Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was founded by Mao Tse Tung (1893-1976) and others in Shanghai in 1921. The Soviets hoped for consolidation of the Guomintang and the CCP but were prepared for either side to emerge victorious. The struggle for power in China began between the Guomindang and the CCP as both parties also sought the unification of China. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was a reformer and revolutionary who spent his life trying to bring down the corrupt Qing dynasty and replace it with a democratic government. He is revered by both Communist mainlanders and Nationalist Taiwanese as the father of 20th century China. Sun-Yat-Sen's picture is on Chinese banknotes.

In 1911, the Qing decided to nationalize all the trunk railways, thus incurring the wrath of local vested interests. Armed rebellion broke out in the province of Sichuan, and the court exposed itself to further attacks by failing to suppress it. In October of the same year a local revolutionary group in Wuhan, one of many in China by this time, began another rebellion, which, in spite of its lack of co-ordination, unexpectedly managed to overthrow the provincial government. Its success inspired other provincial secessions. Dr Sun Yat-Sen learned of the Wuhan revolution from the newspapers while he was in Denver, Colo. He returned to Shanghai in December and was elected provisional president by delegates meeting in Nanjing. Knowing that his regime was weak, Sun made a deal with Yuan Shi-Kai, an imperial minister who had been entrusted with full power by the court. On February 12, 1912, the emperor abdicated and the next day Sun resigned, and Yuan was elected his successor. In September, Yuan appointed Sun director-general of railway development. Their entente might have lasted if Song

Jiaoren, who had re-organized the Alliance Society into the Nationalist Party and was serving as its head, had not been assassinated in March 1913, reportedly at Yuan's instigation which precipitated a Second Revolution.

Sun-Yat-sen's three principles were created to help and guide the Chinese after the 1911 Revolution in its reconstruction. He had traveled to the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada both as a student and to escape persecution from Chinese imperial forces. While abroad, Sun-Yat-Sen developed an appreciation for the principles of democracy established in these Western nations. The three principles of the people as created by Sun-Yat-Sen includes nationalism, democracy and welfare. Nationalism intended to create a unified Chinese identity. Democracy should provide people with ample access to the government. And welfare is needed so that the government will look after its people.

The three principles of the people strongly influenced China's modernization in the 20th century. Embodying the concept of 'for the people' in Sun's third principle, China engaged in various infrastructure projects such as dams, railways, roads and public utilities associated with water and electricity. Part of Sun's vision for a united China also rested upon the creation of a pan-Chinese state that incorporated Tibet and Mongolia. This directly led to the Chinese occupation of Tibet, which continues to this day.

When Sun-Yat-Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic and also, the person who did more to modernize the country than anyone else, set out to bring China into the modern world, he knew that it required more than just knowledge and equipment. So he sought to create a political philosophy that would help provide the world's most populous nation with significant amounts of pride while leading it to a better future.

The First Principle: Nationalism

Although often loosely translated as nationalism, Sun's first principle is more literally translated as 'rule of the people'. Dr Sun wanted to unite the different people of China by creating a national identity. This identity would be Chinese rather than reflecting American or European concepts of populism. Moreover, Sun wanted to create this Chinese national identity as a direct rejection of European colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The first principle of the people is based on the idea that the people of China should play a role in China's government. Colonial powers were trying to take over China at this time, and Sun-Yat-Sen was fighting outside forces as much as a desire by some Chinese not to nationalize. However, there was another problem. Who should rule the country? For centuries, the Manchus had ruled, but they were a minority compared to the Han Chinese. Still, there were also Muslims, Tibetans, Mongols and many other smaller ethnicities within China. As such, this idea of populism sought to embrace all of China's nationalities as being Chinese.

The Second Principle: Democracy

The second principle is often described as 'democracy', however, the actual translation of Sun's writing is 'political power of the people.' This principle reflects the second part of Abraham Lincoln's statement- 'by the people.' Rather than adopting the types of democracy practiced in the United States and the United Kingdom, Sun-Yat-Sen used a philosophical approach that combined Chinese Confucianism with western ideals. Lincoln's desire for a government 'by the people' inspired Sun-Yat-Sen for his second point. China should be a democratic country, free of the entanglements that came with European rule. To this end, Sun-Yat-Sen tried to implement a western style democracy in China, with plenty of opportunities for civil involvement. The parts of government were known as Yuan, and they were based on both on western and imperial Chinese government organs.

The third principle, the livelihood or welfare of the people was Sun's economic policy. He believed in the equitable distribution of wealth and land. Sun proposed land reforms and the development of state-run industries to ensure that, all Chinese citizens could enjoy a decent standard of living. This principle was about creating a society where everyone could benefit from the nation's economic growth. Sun-Yat-Sen saw the Chinese Nation under threat of annihilation by the imperialist powers. To reverse the trajectory of such decline, China needed to become nationally independent both externally and internally. Internally, national independence meant independence from the Qing Manchus who rule China for centuries. Sun thought that the Han Chinese people were a people without their own nation

and thus strove for national revolution against Qing authorities. Externally, national independence meant independence from the imperialist foreign powers. Sun believed China to be threatened by imperialism in three ways: by economic oppression, by political aggression and by slow population growth. Economically, Dr Sun held mercantilist position that China was being economically exploited by unbalanced trade and tariffs. Politically, he looked toward the unequal treaties signed by China as the reason of China's decline. Sun envisioned a future China that was strong and capable of fighting imperialists and standing on the same stage as western powers.

Although Sun initially believed in a form of Han nationalism to oppose the rule of the Qing dynasty, he later came to accept Liang Qichao's multi-ethnic nationalist idea of a unified Chinese nation. To achieve national independence, Sun believed that China must develop a China-Nationalism as opposed to a mono-ethic nationalism. He continued to gain support of Chinese settled in Japan and in other foreign countries. Sun came to be regarded as the fountain head of all wisdom and his writings came to be regarded as the gospel of Kuomintang party of Chinese nationalism. His name became the symbol of China as a national hero and his mausoleum became the object of national pilgrimage. In this connection, it should be noted that both the Kuomintang regime under Chiang Kai Shek as well as the Communists quoted and invoked the principles of Dr. Sun in their attempt to refashion China. Sun-Yat-Sen continued to work for the upliftment of Chinese with great vigour. In 1922, Dr. Sun had serious differences with General Chen, where Sun wanted to unify under a strong Central Government and with this end in view, he advocated use of force against the north to bring unity. Chen desired a Federal form of government and desired to consolidate his position first. In the resulting conflict, Sun had to retire to Shanghai. He re-organized his forces and defeated General Chen, his one-time friend and now a bitter rival.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: State one of the principles of Sun Yat Sen.

.....

Q 2: On what grounds was the difference between Dr Sun and General Chen?

.....

Q 3: What views did Dr Sun hold on economic development?

.....

10.4 THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

On 29 December 1911, Sun-Yat-Sen was elected as the first provincial president. January 1912 was set as the first day of the First Year of the Republic of China. On 3 January, the representatives recommended Li Yuanhong as the Provincial Vice-President. During and after the 1911 Revolution, many groups that participated wanted their own pennant as the national flag. During the Wuchang Uprising, the military units of Wuchang wanted the nine-star flag with Tajitu. Others in competition included Lu Haodong's Blue Sky with a White Sun flag. Huang Xing favored a flag bearing the mythical "well-field" system of village agriculture. In the end, the assembly compromised: the national flag would be the banner of Five Races Under One Union. The Five Races Under One Union flag with horizontal stripes represented Han, the yellow represented Manchus, the blue for Mongols, the white for Muslims, and the black for Tibetans. Despite the general target of the uprisings to be the Manchus, Sun-Yat-Sen, Song Jiaoren and Huang Xing unanimously advocated racial integration to be carried out from the mainland to the frontiers.

On 16 January, while returning to his residence, Yuan Shi-Kai was ambushed in a bomb attack organized by the Tongjimei in Donghuamen, Beijing. Eighteen revolutionaries were involved. About ten guards died, but Yuan himself was not seriously injured. He sent a message tp the revolutionaries the next day pledging his loyalty and asking them not to organize any more assassination attempts against him. Zhang Jian drafted an abdication proposal that was approved by the Provisional Senate. On 20 January, Wu Tingfang of the Nanking Provisional Government officially delivered the Imperial Edict of Abdication to Yuan Shi-Kai for the abdication of Puyi. On 22 January, Sun-Yat-Sen announced that he would resign if the

latter supported the emperor's abdication. Yuan then pressured Empress Dowager Longyu with the threat that the imperial family's lives would not be spared if abdication did not come before the revolutionaries reached Beijing, but if they agreed to abdicate, the provisional government would honor the terms proposed by the imperial family.

On 3 February, Empress Dowager Longyu gave Yuan full permission to negotiate the abdication terms of the Qing emperor. Yuan then drew up his own version and forwarded it to the revolutionaries on 3 February. His version consisted of three sections instead of two. On 12 February 1912, after being pressured by Yuan and other ministers, Puyi and Empress Dowager Longyu accepted Yuan's terms of abdication. As a condition for ceding leadership to Yuan Shi-Kai, Sun-Yat-Sen insisted that the provisional government remain in Nanjing. On 14 February, the Provisional Senate initially voted 20-5 in favor of making Beijing the capital over Nanjing, with two votes going for Wuhan and one for Tianjin. The Senate majority wanted to secure the peace agreement by taking power in Beijing. Zhang Jian and others reasoned that having the capital in Beijing would check against Manchu restoration and Mongol secession. But Sun and Huang Xing argued in favor of Nanjing to balance against Yuan's power base in the north. Li Yuanhong presented Wuhan as a compromise. The next day, the Provincial Senate voted again, this time, 19-6 in favor of Nanjing with two votes for Wuhan. Sun sent delegation led by Cai Yuanpei and Wang Jingwei to persuade Yuan to move to Nanjing. Yuan welcomed the delegation and agreed to accompany the delegates back to the south. Then on the evening of 29 February, riots and fires broke out all over the city. They were allegedly started by disobedient troops of Cao Kun, a loyal officer of Yuan. The disorder gave Yuan the pretext to stay in the north to guard against unrest. On 10 March, Yuan was inaugurated in Beijing as the Provisional President of the Republic of China. On 5 April, the Provisional Senate in Nanjing voted to make Beijing the capital of the Republic and convened in Beijing at the end of the month.

- **Republican Government in Beijing:**

The republic that Sun-Yat-Sen and his associates envisioned evolved slowly. The revolutionists lacked an army, and the power of Yuan Shi-Kai began to outstrip that of parliament. Yuan revised the constitution at will and became dictatorial. In August 1912 a new political party was founded by Song Jiaoren, one of Sun's associates. The party, the Kuomintang and the National People's Party was an amalgamation of small political groups, including Sun's Tongmeng Hui. In the national elections held in February 1913 for the new bicameral parliament, Song campaigned against the Yuan administration, and his party won a majority seats. Yuan had Song assassinated in March. He had already arranged the assassination of several pr-revolutionist generals. Animosity toward Yuan grew. In the summer of 1913 seven southern provinces rebelled against Yuan. When the rebellion was suppressed, Sun and other instigators fled to Japan. In October 1913, an intimidated parliament formally elected Yuan as president of the Republic of China and major powers extended recognition to his government. To achieve international recognition, Yuan Shi-Kai had to agree to the autonomy for Outer Mongolia and Xizang. China was still to be the suzerain power, but it would have to allow Russia a free hand in Outer Mongolia and Britain continuance of its influence in Xizang.

In November Yuan Shi-Kai ordered the Kuomintang dissolved and its members removed from parliament. Within few months, he suspended parliament and the provincial assemblies and forced the promulgation of a new constitution, which, in effect, made him president for life. Yuan's ambitions still were not satisfied, and by the end of 1915, it was announced that he would re-establish the monarchy. Widespread rebellions ensued, and numerous provinces declared independence. With opposition at every quarter and the nation breaking up into warlord factions, Yuan Shi-Kai died of natural causes in June 1916, deserted by his lieutenants. After Yuan's death, shifting alliances of regional warlords fought for control of the Beijing government. The nation also was threatened from without by the Japanese. When World War I broke out in 1914, Japan fought on the Allied side and seized German holdings in Shandong province. In 1915 the

Japanese set before the warlord government in Beijing the so-called Twenty One Demands, which would have made China a Japanese protectorate. The Beijing government rejected some of these demands but yielded to the Japanese insistence on keeping the Shandong territory already in its possession. Beijing also recognized Tokyo's authority over Mongolia. In 1917, in secret communiqués, Britain, France and Italy assented to the Japanese claim in exchange for the Japan's naval action against Germany.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 4. Who was Song Jiaoren?

Q 5. In which year did the Xinhai Revolution take place?

Q 6. Who pushed the Twenty One Demands and to whom?



10.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Dr. Sun Yat-sen, often regarded as the father of modern China, played a pivotal role in the Revolution of 1911, also known as the Xinhai Revolution.
- His revolutionary ideas gained traction among intellectuals, students, and disenfranchised groups who were disillusioned with the Qing government's corruption, weakness, and inability to modernize China. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People - nationalism, democracy, and livelihood - served as the ideological foundation of the revolution.
- The Revolution of 1911, sparked by a military uprising in Wuchang

on October 10th, quickly spread across the country, leading to the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China on January 1st, 1912.

- Sun Yat-sen's presidency was short-lived, and he faced challenges from regional warlords and internal divisions within the republican movement. Despite his efforts to unify the country, Sun struggled to consolidate power and implement his vision of a modern, democratic China.
- Nevertheless, Sun Yat-sen's legacy endured, and his ideas continued to influence Chinese politics for decades to come. He founded the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), which played a central role in Chinese politics, particularly during the tumultuous period of the Warlord Era and the subsequent struggle against the Chinese Communist Party.



10.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Moise, Edwin E. (2008). *Modern China*. 3rd edition. Routledge

2) Sarao, K.T.S. (2018). *Modern History of China 1840-1949*. Surjeet Publications. New Delhi: India

3) Chaurasia, R. S. (2004). *History of Modern China*. Atlantic Publishers. New Delhi: India



10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. Democracy

Answer to Q 2. General Chen desired for a Federal form of Government while Dr Sun sought the unification of the North and South.

Answer to Q 3. Dr Sun held mercantilist position that China was being economically exploited by unbalanced trade and tariffs.

Answer to Q 4. Political rival of Yuan Shi Kai

Answer to Q 5. 1911

Answer to Q 6. Japan to China



9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: State the three main principles of Dr Sun Yat Sen.

Q 2. Who was with General Chen?

B) Short Questions (answer each of the question within 150 words)

Q 1: State the idea of democracy as envisioned by Dr Sun?

Q 2: Write a short note on the Kuomintang.

C) Long Questions (answer each of the question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Explain the rise of Dr Sun Yat Sen and his contribution as a nationalist leader.

Q 2: Discuss the causes and consequences of the 1911 Revolution.

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UNIT - 11: CHINA IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY- II

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Mao Tse Dong and Communism in 1949

11.4 Cultural Revolution in China

11.5 Let Us Sum Up

11.6 Further Readings

11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.8 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the early ideas of the Communist Party in China
- discuss the political condition of China under Mao Tse Dong
- analysis the impact of Communist Party over China, and
- assess the significance of Cultural Revolution in China

11.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, which constituted the first part on the above topic, we discussed in details on Sun Yat Sen and the Revolution of 1911. This Unit is the final part of the two part Unit on China in Early 20th century and will dwell on the political developments under the leadership of Mao Tse Dong and the Revolution of 1949.

11.3 MAO TSE DONG AND COMMUNISM IN 1911

Mao Tse Dong, the main maker of modern Communist China had a unique and distinguished career. He rose to prominence so quickly that the whole world was amazed. Mao was born on 26th December, 1893 in the Hunan province. His father was a peasant. Probably at the age of fourteen, he was married to 20 years old girl. Forced by the circumstances he joined

the army. Mao was required to work hard in his family's fields. Though, he joined a local school when he was about thirteen but his mind was in the education. During daytime, he worked in the field whereas at night he used to read books. He loved to read books on the heroes of the world. Mao became the leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1935 until his death, and he was chief of state of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1959 and chairman of the party until his death.

When China emerged from a half century of revolution as the world's most populous country and launched itself on a path of economic development and social change, Mao occupied a critical place in the story of the country's resurgence. To be sure, he did not play a dominant role throughout the whole struggle. In the early years of the CCP, he was a secondary figure, though by no means a negligible one, and even after the 1940s, the crucial decisions were not his alone. Nevertheless, looking at the whole period from the foundation of the CCP in 1921 to Mao's death in 1976, one can fairly regard Mao as the principal architect of the New China.

Enlisting in a unit of the revolutionary army in Hunan, Mao spent six months as a soldier. While he probably had not yet clearly grasped the idea that, as he later put it, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," his first brief military experience at least confirmed his boyhood admiration of military leaders and exploits. The spring of 1912 marked the birth of the New Chinese Republic and the end of Mao's military service. For a year he drifted from one thing to another, trying, in turn, a police school, a law school, and a business school. He studied history in a secondary school and then spent some months reading many of the classic works of the western liberal tradition in the provincial library. That period of groping, rather than indicating any lack of decision in Mao's character, was a reflection of China's situation at that time. The abolition of the official civil service examination system in 1905 and the piecemeal introduction of Western learning in so-called modern schools had left young people in a state of uncertainty as to what type of training, Chinese or Western, could best prepare them for a career of for service to their country. While at school, Mao also acquired his first experience in political activity by helping to establish several student organizations. The most important of those was the New

People's Study Society, founded in the winter of 1917-18, many of whose members were later to join the Communist Party.

In September 1920, Mao became principal of the Lin Changsha Primary School, and in October, he organized a branch of the Socialist Youth League there. That winter he married Yang Kaihui, the daughter of his former ethics teacher. In July 1921, he attended the First Congress pf the Chinese Communist Party, together with representatives from the other communist groups in China and two delegates from the Moscow-based Comintern (Communist International). In 1923, when the young party entered into an alliance with Sun Yat Sen's Nationalist Party (Koumintang), Mao was one of the first communists to join the Nationalist Party and to work within it. During the first half of 1924, he lived mostly with his wife and two infant sons in Shanghai, where he was a leading member of the Nationalists' Executive Bureau.

In the winter of 1924-25, Mao returned to his native village of Shaoshan for a rest. There, after witnessing demonstrations by peasants stirred into political consciousness by the shooting of several dozen Chinese by foreign police in shanghai (May and June 1925), Mao suddenly became aware of the revolutionary potential inherent in the peasantry. Although born in a peasant household, he had, in the course of his student years, adopted the Chinese intellectual's traditional view of the workers and peasants as ignorant and dirty. His conversion to Marxism had forced him to revise his estimate of the urban proletariat, but he continued to share Marx's own contempt for the backward and amorphous peasantry. Now he turned back to the rural world of his youth as the source of China's regeneration. Following the example of other communists working within the Nationalist Party who had already begun to organize the peasants, Mao sought to channel the spontaneous protests of the Hunanese peasants into a network of peasant associations.

- **Mao as a Revolutionary**

Pursued by the military governor of Hunan, Mao was soon forced to flee from his native province once more, and he returned for another year to an urban environment- Guangzhou (Canton), the main power base of the

Nationalists. However, though he lived in Guangzhou, Mao still focused his attention on the countryside. He became the acting head of the propaganda department of the Nationalist Party, in which capacity he edited its leading organ, the Political Weekly, and attended the Second Koumintang Congress in January 1926, but also served at the Peasant Movement Training Institute. Set up in Guangzhou under the auspices of the Nationalists, as principal of the sixth training session. Chiang Kai Shek had become the leader of the Nationalists after the death of Sun Yat Sen in March 1925, and although Chiang still declared his allegiance to the world revolution and wished to avail himself of aid from the Soviet Union, he was determined to remain master in his own house. He therefore, expelled most communists from responsible posts in the Nationalist Party in May 1926. Mao, however, stayed on at the institute until October of the same year. Most of the young peasant activists Mao trained were shortly at work strengthening the position of the Communists.

In July 1926, Chiang Kai Shek set out on what became known as the Northern Expedition, aiming to unify the country under his own leadership and to overthrow the conservative government in Beijing as well as other warlords. In November, Mao once more returned to Hunan and in January and February 1927, there, he investigated the peasant movement and concluded that in a very short time several hundred million peasants in China would "rise like a tornado or tempest- a force so extraordinarily swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to suppress it." Strictly speaking, that prediction proved to be false. Revolution in the shape of spontaneous action by hundreds of millions of peasants did not sweep across China "in a very short time," or indeed at all. Chiang Kai Shek, who was bent on an alliance with the propertied classes in the cities and in the countryside, turned against the worker and peasant revolution, and in April he massacred the very Shanghai workers who had delivered the city to him. The strategy of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin for carrying out revolution in alliance with the Nationalists collapsed, and the CCP was virtually annihilated in the cities and decimated in the countryside. In a broader and less liberal sense, however, Mao's prophecy was justified. In October 1927,

Mao led a few hundred peasants who had survived the autumn harvest uprising in Hunan to a base in the Jinggang Mountains, on the border between Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, and embarked on a new type of revolutionary warfare in the countryside in which the Red Army (military arm of the CCP), rather than an unarmed masses, would play the central role. But it was only because a large proportion of China's hundreds of millions of peasants sympathized with and supported that effort that Mao Tse Dong was able in the course of the protracted civil war to encircle the cities from the countryside and thus eventually defeat Chiang Kai Shek and gain control of the country.

Mao's 22 years in the wilderness can be divided into four phases. The first of those is the initial three years when Mao and Zhu De, the commander in chief of the army, successfully developed the tactics of guerrilla warfare from base areas in the countryside. Those activities, however, were regarded even by their protagonists, and still more by the Central Committee in Shanghai, as a holding operation until the next upsurge of revolution in the urban centers. In the summer of 19309 the Red Army was ordered by the Central Committee to occupy several major cities in south-central China in the hope of sparking a revolution by the workers. When it became evident that persistence in that attempt could only lead to further costly losses, Mao disobeyed orders and abandoned the battle to return to the base in southern Jiangxi. During that year, Mao's wife was executed by the nationalists, and he married He Zizhen, with whom he had been living since 1928.

The second phase centers on the founding in November 1931 of the Jiangxi Soviet (Chinese Soviet Republic) in a portion of Jiangxi province, with Mao as chairman. Since there was little support for the revolution in the cities, the promise of ultimate victory now seemed to reside in the gradual strengthening and expansion of the base areas. The Soviet regime soon came to control a population of several million. The Red Army grown to the strength of some 200,000, easily defeated large forces of inferior troops sent against it by Chiang Kai Shek in the first four of the so-called encirclement and annihilation campaigns. But it was unable to stand up against Chiang's own elite units, and in October 1934 the major part of the

Red Army, Mao, and his pregnant wife abandoned the base in Jiangxi and set out for the north-west of China, on what is known as the Long March. When some 8000 troops who had survived the perils of the Long March arrived in Shaanxi province in northwestern China in the autumn of 1935, events were already moving toward the third phase in Mao's rural odyssey, which was to be characterized by a renewed united front with the Nationalists against Japan and by the rise of Mao to unchallenged supremacy in the party. That phase is often called the Yan'an period, although Mao did not move to Yan'an until December 1936. In August 1935 the Commintern at its 7th Congress in Moscow proclaimed the principle of an anti-fascist united front, and in May 1936 the Chinese communists for the first time accepted the prospect that such a united front might include Chiang Kai Shek himself, and not merely dissident elements in the Nationalist camp. The so-called Xi'an Incident of December 1936, in which Chiang was kidnapped by military leaders from northeastern China who wanted to fight Japan and recover their homelands rather than participate in civil war against the communists, accelerated the evolution toward unity. By the time the Japanese began their attempt to subjugate all of China in July 1937, the terms of a new united front between the communists and the Nationalists had been virtually settled, and the formal agreement was announced in September 1937.

In the course of the anti-Japanese war, the communists broke up a substantial portion of their army into small units and sent them behind the enemy lines to serve as nuclei for guerrilla forces that effectively controlled vast areas of the countryside, stretching between the cities and communication lines occupied by the invader. As a result, they not only expanded their military forces to somewhere between a half-million and a million at the time of the Japanese surrender but also established effective grassroots political control over a population that may have totaled as many as 90 million. It has been argued that the support of the rural population was won purely by appeals to their nationalist feeling in opposition to the Japanese. That certainly was fundamental, but communist agrarian policies likewise played a part in securing broad support among the peasantry.

- **Political Ideas of Mao Tse Dong**

During the years 1936-40, Mao had for the first time since 1920s, the leisure to devote himself to reflection and writing. It was then that he first read in translation a certain number of Soviet writings on philosophy and produced his own account of Dialectical Materialism, of which the best known portions are those entitled "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." More important, Mao produced the major works that synthesized his own experience of revolutionary struggle and his vision of how the revolution should he carried forward in the context of the united front. On military matters there was first Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War, written in December 1936 to sum up the lessons of the Jiangxi period and then On Protracted War and other writings of 1938 on the tactics of the anti-Japanese war. As to his overall view of the vents of those years, Mao adopted an extremely conciliatory attitude toward the Nationalists in his report entitled On the New Stage, in which he attributed to it the leading role both in the war against Japan and in the ensuing phase of national reconstruction. By the winter of 1939-40, however, the situation had changed sufficiently so that he could adopt a much firmer line, claiming leadership for the communists. Internationally, Mao argued, the Chinese Revolution was a part of the world proletarian revolution directed against imperialism. For the time being, Mao felt, the aims of the CCP coincided with the aims of the Nationalists, and therefore communists should not try to rush ahead to socialism and thus disrupt the united front. But neither should they have any doubts about the ultimate need to take power into their own hands in order to move forward to socialism.

The issues of Nationalist-Communist rivalry for the leadership of the united front are related to the continuing struggle for supremacy within the CCP, for Mao's two chief rivals- Wang Ming, who had just returned from a long stay in Moscow, and Zhang Guotao, who had at first refused to accept Mao's political and military leadership- were both accused of excessive slavishness toward the Nationalists. But perhaps even more central in Mao's ultimate emergence as the acknowledged leader of the party was the question of what he had called in October 1938 the "Sinification" of Marxism- its conditions but to the mentality and cultural traditions of the Chinese people.

Mao could not claim the firsthand knowledge possessed by many other leading members of the CCP of how communism worked within the Soviet Union nor the ability to read Karl Marx or Vladimir Ilich Lenin in the original, which some of them enjoyed. He could and did claim, however, to know and understand China. The differences between him and the Soviet-oriented faction in the party came to a head at the time of the so-called Rectification Campaign of 1942-43. That program aimed at giving a basic grounding in Marxist theory and Leninist principles of party organization to many thousands of new members who had been drawn into the party in the course of the expansion since 1937. But a second and equally important aspect of the movement was the elimination of what Mao called 'foreign dogmatism"- in other words, blind imitation of Soviet experience and obedience to Soviet directives.

From the sixties to the end of the last century, the term 'Maoism' was very popular in the Communist world. Along with it there was another term "Thoughts of Mao."The term 'Maoism' can be treated as the combined product of Mao's own thought based on the indigenous situation of China. But its root can be traced to Marx's and Lenin's thought. Maoism was not the direct product of Marxism, but it is not absolutely alien to Marx's basic thought and philosophy. Maoism is not the product of dogmas based on intellectual thought and principles. He liberally borrowed the basic principles of revolution from Marxism and he was also heavily indebted to Lenin who applied Marx's philosophy in Russia.

Mao's belief was that the peasants and common people must be well-acquainted with the revolutionary doctrine. In On Practice, he wrote, Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities. Man's knowledge depends mainly on his activity in material production, through which he comes gradually to understand the phenomena, the properties, and the laws of nature. In a classless society, every person as a member of society, joins in common effort with other members and enters into definite relation of production. On the other hand, in all class societies, the members of different social classes also enter into definite relations of production. The class

struggle exerts a profound influence on the development of man's knowledge. In all class societies man lives as a member of a particular class. Every kind of thinking is stamped with the brand of a class. In this analysis of Mao, there is very little that can be branded as new. However, what he said has been endorsed by many Marxists. Man earns knowledge and experience from practice. The importance of knowledge does not depend on subjective idea but on the social practice. Naturally practice is more important than precept. Practice is always higher than knowledge. According to Mao, the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding features. One is the class nature or structure of society and the other is its practicality.

Mao further observes that the question is one of the kinds of different contradictions not of the presence of contradiction. Everywhere there is contradiction and it is the vital cause of progress. Mao borrowed this concept from Engels. Mao has also said that since there are different kinds of contradictions, these can be settled in different ways. For instance, the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 1. What does the work by Mao On the New Stage refer to?

.....

Q 2. Who is known as the maker of modern Communist China?

.....

Q 3. Who argued that the Chinese Revolution was a part of the world proletarian revolution directed against imperialism?

.....

11.4 CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The Cultural Revolution in China, initiated by Mao Zedong in 1966 and lasting until 1976, was a tumultuous socio-political movement aimed at revitalizing the communist ideology and consolidating Mao's power. Mao

launched the Cultural Revolution to reassert his authority within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and to purge perceived revisionist elements. He mobilized millions of young people, forming paramilitary groups known as the Red Guards, to carry out his vision of purging the "Four Olds" - old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas - and promoting Maoist thought. The movement targeted party leaders, intellectuals, and anyone perceived as a threat to Mao's leadership, resulting in the removal, humiliation, or persecution of many high-ranking officials, including Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. The Red Guards played a central role in carrying out Mao's directives, engaging in mass rallies, demonstrations, and violence against perceived enemies of the revolution. Mao's cult of personality reached new heights during the Cultural Revolution, with his image adorning posters, banners, and propaganda materials across the country, and his sayings, known as "Mao Zedong Thought," elevated to the status of sacred doctrine. The Cultural Revolution had a profound impact on Chinese society, leading to widespread chaos, violence, and social upheaval, with schools and universities shut down, intellectuals persecuted, and traditional cultural artifacts destroyed in the name of revolutionary zeal. It also disrupted China's economy, with factories shut down, agricultural production declining, and infrastructure projects abandoned due to the focus on political orthodoxy over practical considerations. Following Mao's death in 1976, his successors, led by Deng Xiaoping, moved to dismantle the excesses of the Cultural Revolution and restore order. The purged officials were rehabilitated, Mao's personality cult was criticized, and the Cultural Revolution was officially declared a mistake. Efforts were made to move China towards economic reform and opening up to the outside world.

The movement that became known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represented an attempt by Mao, to go beyond the party rectification campaigns- of which there had been many since 1942- and to devise a new and more radical method for dealing with what he saw as the

bureaucratic degeneration of the party. It also represented, beyond any doubt or question, however, a deliberate effort to eliminate those in the leadership who, over the years, had dared to cross him. The victims, from throughout the party hierarchy, suffered more than mere political disgrace. All were publicly humiliated and detained for varying periods, sometimes under very harsh conditions; many were beaten and tortured, and not a few were killed or driven to suicide. Among the casualties was Liu, who died because the was denied proper medical attention.

The justification for those sacrifices was defined in a key slogan of the time: "Fight selfishness, criticize revisionism." When the young Chinese known as the Red Guards, who constituted the first shock troops of Mao's enterprise, burst onto the scene in the summer of 1966 with their battle cry "To rebel is justified" it seemed for a time that not only the power of the party cadres but also authority in all its forms was being questioned. It soon became evident that Mao, who in 1956 had justified decentralization as a means to building a "strong socialist state," still believed in the need for state power. He therefore ordered to dissolve the old party 'Gang of Four' and to replace it with a 'revolutionary committee'. Those committees, based on an alliance of former party cadres, young activists, and representatives of the People's Liberation Army, were to remain in place until two years after Mao's death. Even before Zhou Enlai's death in January 1976, however, that compromise had been overturned. All recognition by Mao of the importance of professional skills was swallowed up in an orgy of political rhetoric, and all things foreign were regarded as counter-revolutionary. Mao's last decade, which had opened with manifestos in favour of the Paris Commune model of mass democracy, closed with paeans of praise to that most implacable of centralizing despots, Shihuangdi, the first emperor of the ancient Qin dynasty. While the Cultural Revolution was entirely logical culmination of Mao's last two decades, it was by no means the only possible outcome of his approach to revolution, nor need a judgement of his work as a whole be based primarily on that last phase.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 5. Zhou Enlai died in .....

Q 6. "To rebel is justified" was the battle cry of which troop?

.....



11.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt the-

- Mao Tse Tung or Mao Zedong rose as the leader of modern Communist China.
- Struggle between the Nationalist and the Communist for power, had far reaching consequences, and
- The Cultural Revolution was aimed at revitalizing the Communist ideology and consolidating Mao's power.



11.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Moise, Edwin E. (2008). *Modern China*. 3rd edition. Routledge

2) Sarao, K.T.S. (2018). *Modern History of China 1840-1949*. Surjeet Publications. New Delhi: India

3) Chaurasia, R. S. (2004). *History of Modern China*. Atlantic Publishers. New Delhi: India



11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. Mao's attitude towards the Nationalists.

Answer to Q 2. Mao Tse Tung

Answer to Q 3. Mao Tse Tung

Answer to Q 4. 1976

Answer to Q 5. Red Guards



11.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who was Chiang Kai Shek?

Q 2: What was Xi'an Incident of December 1936?

B) Short Questions (Answer each of the question within 150 words)

Q 1: State the political leanings of Mao Tse Tung.

Q 2: Write a short note on the Cultural Revolution

C) Long Questions (Answer each of the question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Explain the rise of Mao Tse Tung and his contribution to the development of China

Q 2: Discuss the growth of Communism in China.

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UNIT - 12: MEXICAN REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives
12.2 Introduction
12.3 Background and causes
12.4 Course of the Mexican Revolution
12.5 Results
12.6 Let Us Sum Up
12.7 Further Readings
12.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
12.9 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the background and the causes and the leadership involved of the Mexican Revolution
- Discuss the development of the Revolution
- Discuss the results of the Revolution along with its significance

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learner, in the previous Unit we disscussed the developments in China in the Twenteeth Century. In this Unit we will disscuss the Maxican Revolution.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 resulted in the end of "El Porfiriato" – a period of three decades of despotic regime of dictator Porfirio Diaz and the establishment of a constitutional Republic. This Revolution which brought about longstanding reforms in the Mexican society, sparked off with an armed uprising led by Franscisco Madero and continued almost till 1920. While some scholars and historians argue that the Revolution ended in 1917, with the drafting of the Mexican constitution, others opine that the revolution

spawned till the 1940s. The Revolution was led by such revolutionaries and leaders as Franscisco Madero, Pascual Orozco, Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata and others.

The Revolution supported by both the liberals and the intellectuals sought to overthrow the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (who came to power in 1876) for violating the principles and ideals of the Mexican Constitution of 1857. However, the aim of the Revolution gradually broadened to encompass economic and social reforms apart from political. These upheavals and their ramifications shaped much of Mexican history in the first half of the twentieth century. Ideologically, it led to the formation of a sense of common identity. Although, many of the reforms sought by the Revolution were formalized in the Constitution of 1917, the Revolution continued for a long period and violence and bloodshed had to be witnessed by the Mexicans before bringing the thirty-four year old dictatorship to an end.

12.3 BACKGROUND AND CAUSES

Mexico is situated in the southern part of North America. In the pre-Hispanic era or the pre-Columbian era (that is, the era before the coming of the Europeans), Mexico was inhabited by a large number of native American tribes with varied cultural, economic and social systems. The coming of the Spanish invaders in 1519 opened up a new phase of Mexican experience. The 1521 Spanish conquest of Aztec led to the inclusion of Mexico region in the Spanish Empire and Mexico City was made the heartland of colonial rule.

LET US KNOW



AZTEC

The Aztec were a certain ethnic group of central Mexico, particularly those groups who spoke the Nahuatl language and dominated large parts of Mesoamerica from the 14th to the 16th centuries. The Aztec Triple Alliance that controlled the Aztec Empire was formed by the Acolhuas, Tepanecs, and the Mexicas. From the 13th

century onwards, the Valley of Mexico became the heart of the Aztec Civilization. The capital of the Aztec Empire, Tenochtitlan city, was built in this valley. The Aztec Empire, controlled by the Triple Alliance extended its control far beyond the Valley to conquer other city states of Mesoamerica. The Aztec civilization had rich mythological and religious traditions and also had remarkable architectural and artistic accomplishments.

During the three centuries of colonial rule when Mexico was part of the Spanish Empire, there occurred the inevitable phenomenon of cultural assimilation and cultural exchanges among the native Mesoamerican tribes and the Europeans. These processes of cultural exchanges and appropriation is verified by the fact that Mexico is the most populous Spanish speaking country in the world and is home to the largest number of Native American language speakers in North America.

With the signing of the Treaty of Cordoba, after a prolonged struggle for independence from 1810-1821, New Spain became the sovereign nation of Mexico. Independence was followed by a short period of monarchical rule from 1821-23 which ended with the establishment of a federal constitution in 1824. The two years' Mexican-American War (1846-48) led to the cessation of almost half of Mexican territory to the United States as per the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.



LET US KNOW

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

This treaty is also known as the "Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlements between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic". This peace treaty, that brought an end to the Mexican-American War, was signed on 2 February, 1848, in the Villa de Guadalupe Hildalgo between the United States and Mexico. With danger looming large upon the Mexican army and the fall of its capital, Mexico

decided to enter into negotiation with the US to end the war. As per the provisions of the Treaty, the Rio Grande was granted to the US as a boundary for Texas. It also gave the ownership of California and a vast area comprising roughly half of New Mexico, a large part of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming and Colorado. The people in these annexed areas were granted the liberty to choose between Mexican Citizenship and American Citizenship with full Civil Rights.

The Mexican Constitution of 1857 laid down the principles of liberalism in law, highlighting the separation of the Church and the State. The Liberal Reform started with the ousting of President Santa Anna by the Mexican liberals. The Liberal Reform initiated a Civil War between the opposing factions of the Liberals (defending the Constitution) and the Conservatives (opposing the Constitution). The Civil War led to the defeat of the conservatives but they invited French intervention to stem the increasing tide of the liberals' power.

The French invasion of Mexico in 1861 and supported by the Conservatives, led to the overthrowing of the liberal government of Benito Juarez and the establishment of monarchy of Maximilian I. On the other hand, Abraham Lincoln supported the cause of the Mexican Liberals. With the end of the Civil War in US (1861-65), and the victory of the Union forces, the US sided with the Mexican liberals against the Mexican monarchy. In 1867, France withdrew its support of Maximilian leading to the collapse of monarchy in Mexico and the execution of the monarch.

The period following the Second Mexican Empire, called the period of Restored Republic (1867-76), brought back Benito Juarez as the President. After his death, he was succeeded by Sebastian Lerdo de Tezaja. The latter was overthrown by Porfirio Diaz , who was then a liberal military personel. Porfirio Diaz's rule brought about progress and stability respectively in economic and political matters in Mexico leading to the end of half a century of political and economic stagnation.

The Porfiriate or Porfiriato is the period of Diaz's rule from 1876-1911

which came to an end with the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. During the Porfiriate, Mexico witnessed hitherto unseen and unmatched progress and development in public safety, public health, railways, mining, industry, foreign trade and national finances. Modernisation of industry and infrastructure was complimented by a steady flow of foreign investment in the country. Increased tax revenues and better administration during Diaz's rule gave Mexico a strong and stable but autocratic government.

Causes

In the earlier section, you have already been given a brief idea about the socio-political context before the outbreak of the revolution. The second decade of the twentieth century, that is, the period between 1910-1920 was a tumultuous one in Mexican history as it was a period of violence and bloodshed triggered by the Mexican Revolution that aimed to oust president Porfirio Diaz. A new Constitution was promulgated in 1917 that formalized many of the ideals of the Revolution. However, violence continued until 1920 till the coming into power of Alvaro Obregon as the new President. The causes of the revolution could be studied under the following heads:

As mentioned in the preceding section, the coming into power of Porfirio Diaz in 1876, brought about political stability in a country which had been witnessing longstanding upheavals fostered by Civil War and foreign invasions. Diaz concentrated in strengthening the economy of the country along the lines of capitalism. In doing so, he took all measures to repress all forms of rural and agrarian revolt. While the condition of the peasants was miserable, the landlords were in an extremely rewarding situation during Diaz's regime. Thus, one of the foremost reasons for the Mexican Revolution of 1910 was the lack of prospects for economic development of the average men due to the existence of an inflexible dictatorship. During the two decades before the Revolution, property taxes had increased by eight times. Moreover, the young men of the times were wary of leva which inculcated forced recruitment into the national army. Instead of being looked upon as a matter of honour, this kind of enlisting in the army was considered as a

gateway to hunger and disease.

The second reason was the increasing corruption and abuse of political power by the government authorities for the purposes of private profit. The local political officials or the jefes politicos, appointed by the central government, not only enriched themselves through control over commercial activities, but also through arbitrary taxation and fines imposed on the small-scale farmers, shop owners, tradesmen or poor townsfolk. However, the friends of the jefes politicos and the local rich were exempted from such exploitation. Political connections and relaxation of taxation went hand in hand. For example, the vegetable vendors in the city of Guanajuato paid more taxes than all the landowners of the region. In the state of Chihuahua, property taxes were officially regressive and operated to the marked disadvantage of those with smaller landholdings. The whimsical jefes politicos very often punished the dissidents by deporting them to the Yucatan peninsula where the victims would forcibly be enslaved in the henequen plantations. The fiber produced from the plantations accounted for a leading product of export in the Porfirian economy. While the henequen plantations contributed to the advancement of the Mexican economy, it also caused an early death of the plantation labourers. This fatal penalty was feared by the townsfolk who remained outside the closed circle of the favoured few (usually the rich) of the jefes politicos.

The third reason was the absence of local political autonomy, the right to which was sanctioned by the Constitution of 1857. The liberals of the nineteenth century, who shaped the Mexican Constitution of 1857, laid stress on the decentralization of power to the states and the local municipal bodies. By appointing the jefes politicos and endowing them with overwhelming powers in local administration, Diaz's government defied this ideal of the Constitution. The rural provincial Mexican had believed in their ability to manage their own affairs without intervention from external authority. These centrally appointed local administrators incurred the hatred of the common people for being typically biased towards their closed circle of friends to the total disregard of others. Thus, the dictatorship at the centre

had seeped down to the states, towns and cities. As a revolutionary leader observed of this administrative arrangement, "I began to feel the need for change in our social organization when I was 19, when, back in my town…I saw the police commissioner get drunk almost every day in the town pool hall, in the company of his secretary; with the local judge who was also the…tax collector; with the head of the post office; and with some merchant or army officer, persons all of whom constituted the influential class of that small world."

Diaz's rule brought about a massive economic boom in Mexico that befitted only the rich. The Diaz regime prevented the middling landowners and ranchers from growing and surviving in the face of their rich counterparts. One outcome of this massive economic expansion was a significant growth in Mexico's urban middle classes which included educated professionals such as lawyers and journalists; small farmers and ranchers, shop owners, traders, self employed artisans and other local producers. These categories of people expected to advance and survive by means of their acquired education, skill and commercial acumen. But, the Porfirian system allowed no opportunity to these rising middle classes to prosper. For instance, the educated section viz. the lawyers, intellectuals, journalists were denied the opportunity of exerting an influence upon the Porfirian society. While Diaz's regime created peace in the interest of the rich, and created an atmosphere of economic prosperity, it did not allow the ambitious and growing middle classes a space for political expression and economic advancement.

Diaz had a thorough knowledge of the coalitions and ties going on in the states and towns across Mexico. But as he aged, the vigour and fervor with which, he held the rein of power, gradually started to wane. Diaz was eighty years old at the time of the revolution. Diaz and his aging advisors were increasingly believed to have become inefficient in controlling the affairs of the highly complex society, which Mexico had, by then, become. The problem that the Porfirian regime faced was that it was very difficult for it to change with the times. In an interview in 1908, to the American journalist James Creelman, Diaz had stated (although he might not have meant it)

that, he looked forward to the formation of opposing political parties in Mexico. Fransisco Madero, a lawyer from Coahuila, took Diaz at his word and decided to contest him in the 1910 elections. A dictator to the core, Diaz imprisoned Madero and declared himself the winner of the elections. Madero authored the Plan de San Luis Potosi and made a rallying cry to the Mexicans to rise up in armed rebellion against the self-declared President Diaz. His call to freedom was answered overwhelmingly by the middle classes and the rural poor who now found a way to voice their demands and grievances. Madero and his chief associates, Fransisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata, who respectively led their toops in North and South, were finally victorious in vanquishing Diaz, who fled to France where he remained in exile till his death in 1915.

The stern control of Diaz and his powerful rule was aptly able to give a check to the Civil Wars and revolts that characterized Mexico's nineteenth century history. But the tyranny and nepotism which characterized the system, made it rotten to the very core, and favoured only a small section of the rich population. Thus, when the opportunity came in 1910, these factors combined together to create popular dissent against Diaz and resulted in the armed rebellion which is popularly known as the Mexican Revolution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q1. What are the causes of the Mexican Revolution?

.....

Q2. Who were the jefes politicos?

.....

Q3. Why was Diaz's regime considered as ineffective in managing the affairs of Mexico?

.....

Q4. What were the reasons for discontent of the middle classes against the Porfirian regime?

.....

12.4: COURSE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

The Mexican Revolution which spans from 1910-1940, was violent, sporadic as well as gradual in nature. Along with some longstanding effects, the Revolution yielded some immediate results effects upon the Mexican Society.

On 10 May 1911, Diaz's commander at Juarez surrendered before Madero and his rebels. An agreement was signed with Diaz that he would resign and that an interim president, Fransisco Leon de la Barra would call general elections and the revolutionary forces would be discharged. In October 1911, Madero won the presidential election but his government was able to provide stability to the state for 15 months only. The Decena Tragicia (Ten Tragic Days) from February 9 to February 18, 1913 culminated in the overthrowing of Madero and the seizing of power by Huerta. Huerta's claim to Presidency was challenged by Carranza who launched the Constitutionalist Revolution against the former. This movement demanded election to the office of the President as specified in the Constitution. Former chieftains like Villa formed alliances with Carranza. At this juncture, external intervention from the US played a significant role in shaping Mexico's fate. The then newly elected US president Woodrow Wilson launched his troops at Veracruz in a bid to defeat Huerta. The combined revolutionary forces overthrew Huerta in 1914 and thereafter began to fragment over the issue of exercise of presidential power. In the Battle of Celaya, Obregon won a decisive victory over Villa in April 1915. Nevertheless, the Civil War did not come to an end immediately thereafter; it continued sporadically until 1920.



LET US KNOW

The Battle of Veracruz

The Battle of Veracruz began with the United States' occupation of Veracruz port and lasted for seven months. The incident occurred during poor diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States and was directly related

to the ongoing Mexican Revolution. The incident sparked off when a few US sailors illegally entered the prohibited areas of Tampico in the Mexican territory. The Battle brought an end to the rule of Huerta.

The Mexican Revolution was successfully mastered by a group of Young men frustrated by Diaz's rule. Following are some of the leaders whose contribution to the Revolution cannot be overlooked.

Fransisco Madero: Hailing from a well-to-do family, Madero was a lawyer by profession. He stood up in the 1910 elections against Diaz as a challenge to bring democracy in Mexico after more than three decades of dictatorship. Diaz, in a bid to continue his administration, arrested Madero, bringing all expectations of democracy to a halt. Madero fled from Mexico and united a powerful army of rebels in order to vanquish Diaz. His book Plan de San Luis Potosi was a written to generate public sentiment and bitterness against the Porfiriato. Madero declared war against Diaz on 20 November, 2016 where he was aided by his chief associates, Villa and Zapata. They succeeded in overthrowing Diaz and Madero became the President of Mexico in 1911. Madero's government collapsed in 1913 when he was betrayed by his trusted officials and subsequently executed.

Emiliano Zapata: Zapata was one of the idealists among the revolutionaries who sculpted the Revolution. He came from a poor peasant family and was barely literate. His peasant background made him suffer a lot during the Porfiriato. The corruption, bias and suppression suffered during Diaz's regime made him a rebel out and out. Zapata took to arms long before Madero's call for freedom; however, the former had not organized his protest on a mass scale. Zapata had a clear vision of a new Mexico where the farmers would be given land rights and the poor workers would be treated with respect. He was firm in his ideology and after the collapse of Diaz, Zapata fought against Madero, Huerta, Obregon and Carranza in defense of his philosophy.

Victoriano Huerta: Huerta was one of Diaz's generals. He was an alcoholic and an ambitious man. Huerta served Diaz in the early days of the

Revolution and continued office even after Madero took over. Huerta was a shrewd and cunning general. As Madero's ties with his former allies viz. Orozco, Zapata and others weakened, Huerta studied this change and manipulated the situation to his advantage. In the context of some fighting in Mexico city, Huerta seized power for himself, arresting and executing Madero in February 1913. As an administrator, Huerta was extremely unpopular. He earned the hatred of almost all of the Mexican warlords, with the exception of Pascual Orozco. Later, in 1914, Zapata, Carranza, Villa and Obregon united together to bring Huerta down from power.

Pascual Orozco: As for Pascual Orozco, it was the Mexican Revolution that brought him name and fame. A pedlar and a mule driver by profession, Orozco realized, with the onset of the revolution that he had a skill for organizing and leading people. Orozco's role was significant in Madero's contesting of the Presidential elections. However, he was disappointed with Madero as the latter refused him any position of significance in the government which Orozco expected to enjoy in lieu of his aid to Madero. When Huerta seized power, Orozco turned on Madero and joined hands with Huerta. In Huerta's time, Orozco was an influential man. Later, when Huerta was defeated by Zapata and allies, Orozco went into exile in the U.S.A. where he was shot dead in 1915 by Texas Rangers.

Pancho Villa: Pancho Villa was a highwayman operating in Northern Mexico, when the Mexican Revolution broke out in 1910. He took control of the group of bandits and instilled in them the spirit of the Revolution. After coming into power, Madero has estranged all of his supporters except Villa. In Huerta's times, Villa's influence was diminished; however, in 1914-14, his influence increased manifold. He became a powerful man and could have seized power for himself. After the ousting of Huerta, Villa fought against Obregon and Carranza.

Venustiano Carranza: Carranza was another leading revolutionary who looked upon the volatile years of the Mexican Revolution as an opportunity to rise to power. Carranza was a popular politician in Coahuila-his home state. His popularity could be established by the fact that he was elected to

the Mexican Congress and Senate before the Revolution. Like the other stars of the Revolution, Carranza started off as a supporter of Madero. But when opportunity showed itself in the form of execution of Madero, Carranza named himself President and started to act like one. Carranza united with the ruthless Alvaro Obregon and officially became the President in 1917. Later, he cheated on his ally, Obregon. This deed of his proved fatal to him. In 1920, Obregon murdered Carranza after driving the latter out from the Presidency.

Alvaro Obregon: Of all the revolutionary leaders, the case of Obregon was exceptional in that, he was the only one whose fortunes increased during the Diaz regime. Obregon was a landed farmer and a rich entrepreneur. He joined the revolution later than the other leading revolutionaries. He became an active participant of the Revolution in his fight against Orozco and in his support of Madero. After the execution of Madero, he fought against Huerta unitedly with Carranza, Villa and Zapata. Afterwards, he became an associate of Carranza and fought against Villa in the Battle of Celaya. Their victory at Celaya opened the doors of the Presidency to Carranza in 1917. Obregon supported Carranza on the ground that he would be the next President. However, Carranza receded from his word and Obregon had him killed in 1920. Later, Obregon was assassinated in 1928.

12.5 Result

One of the significant effects of the Mexican Revolution was the coming into force of the Constitution of 1917. In 1916, Carranza convened a constituent congress to revise and update the Constitution of 1857. The constitution of 1917 embodied and upheld the aspirations of the revolutionary groups in ushering social and economic reforms in the state. Zapata and his supporters championed the cause of agrarian reforms, while the others in the constituent assembly upheld the cause of protection of urban labour. Article 3 of the constitution provided for secular, free and compulsory public education. This Constitution changed the popularly held notion of the Mexicans that the government should have a limited control in the affairs of

the state. It provided that the government should take an active part in the wellbeing of its people. Article 14 of the Constitution maintained the sanctity of private ownership but article 27 introduced concepts of social utility and social benefits to contain excessive exercise of private ownership. Article 27 also reconfirmed national ownership of subsoil resources and provided for agrarian reforms and alternative land reform measures. Article 123 changed the concept of 'labour' as a mere economic commodity to be bought at the cheapest price to maximize profits. It gave labour social status and respect, in addition to giving maximum wages and the right to organize and strike. The Constitution of 1917 was a reflection of the spirit of the revolutionaries and outlined a comprehensive system of social security and welfare programmes for the people.

- **The Formation of the Northern Dynasty**

The Northern Dynasty was formed by Obregon and his two trusted chieftains of northern Mexico -Plutarco Elias Calles and Adalfo de la Huerta, after Obregon lost faith in Carranza. The trio led a coup that dethroned Carranza and Obregon came to power as the new President on December 1, 1920. The Northern Dynasty tried to implement the ideals enshrined in the Constitution. They tried to usher in peace and stability that was much needed in the Mexican society in the aftermath of continuous civil unrest. The government distributed land to the landless and started to restore communal holdings. The Regional Confederation of Mexican Labour started to gain impetus from the government. Rural education gained primacy under the efforts of Jose Vasconcelos, the then minister of education. Under the northern dynasty, artists, writers, were encouraged to depict the revolutionary past of Mexico through their art forms. Mural painters such as Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros exalted the past through their paintings on public buildings. Obregon was succeeded by Calles who continued administration on similar lines as that of his predecessor. Calles in his tenure started irrigation and road construction programmes. However, there arose conflicts between the church and the government when the

latter introduced anti clerical measures. The Church retaliated by abstaining from all religious ceremonies and initiating a rebellion-Cristeros-in Western Mexico. Later, a compromise between the two sides was made by the skilful diplomacy of the then US ambassador to Mexico-Dwight W. Morrow.

- **The Birth of the Institutional Revolutionary Party**

In the Congress of Chilpancingo (1928), the term of President was increased from four to six years and the principle of "no re-election" was modified to mean "no successive reelection". This imposed a legal ban on Calles from being the President for a second consecutive term. Obregon was the Presidential candidate in 1928 but he was assassinated by a religious fanatic Jose de Leon Toral. Under Calles' leadership, the National Revolutionary Party was formed which was later rechristened as the Institutional Revolutionary Party. It began to function with regional and local military leaders as well as labour and peasant leaders. The Roman Catholic Church and other reactionary groups were excluded from joining the party so that the benefits of the revolution would be on their side. The party named successive short term Presidents (drawn from party ranks) to fill out the term to which Obregon had been elected.

- **Resurgence Under Cardenas**

General Lazaro Cardenas, a respected military leader, was a potential Presidential candidate in the 1934 elections. He was supported by a powerful group within the Industrial Revolutionary Party which had already prepared a six-year plan incorporating extended revolutionary reforms. After his coming into power in 1934, Cardenas frankly opposed Calles, moved him into temporary exile and reorganized the Party. During his rule, he laid special importance on four sectors-peasants, labour, military and the 'popular' sector which included bureaucrats and teachers. Cardenas enjoyed immense popular support and with persevering efforts tried to move the economy towards revolutionary goals. He elaborated land reform measures,

created communal cooperatives by annexing land from private owners. Cardenas nationalized railways and placed it under the supervision of labour. Cardenas' most remarkable achievement was the nationalization of the petroleum industry. A labour dispute had ensued in the petroleum industry where the workers demanded increase of wages along with participation in the management. After a series of court cases, the decision was announced in favour of the workers. The petroleum resources which were then owned by the foreign firms of UK and the US, refused to accept this decision of the court. As a result, Cardenas, on 18 March 1938, expropriated their holdings and set up 'Pemex'-an agency to run the petroleum industry for the country. This led to the breaking down of diplomatic ties with the UK which had the largest number of stakeholders. As a result, March 18, 1938 is considered by the Mexicans as the day of economic independence when 'petroleum'-a national resource was brought under the national government. Later, the foreign oil companies were obliged to settle their claims on grounds that favoured Mexico. Pemex developed the efficiency to raise the economy of Mexico on a high scale and left its mark on the Mexican economy. When Cardenas' term ended in 1940 and General Manuel Avila Camacho became the President, a major chapter of Mexican Revolution came to a close.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q5. Who were the leading stars of the Mexican Revolution?

.....

Q6. What was the significances of the Mexican Revolution?

.....

Q7. What is the Institutional Revolutionary Party?

.....

Q8. Why was the Northern Dynasty Formed?

.....



12.6 LET US SUM UP

By this time, you should be able to appreciate the history and context of the Mexican Revolution that continued for several decades. The history of Mexico is one that has been marked by conflict and frequent changes. A remarkable factor of the Mexican Revolution is that it was a revolution led by the common people of Mexico, demanding their basic fundamental rights. The revolution changed the character of Mexican politics leading to the beginning of democracy after years of Diaz's dictatorial regime. From the sections that you have read, you must have learnt the causes of the Mexican Revolution, the authoritarian rule of Diaz and his ultimate downfall. You have come to know about the leaders of the revolution who were consequential in leading the revolution to its end. You have seen how Mexico was engaged in intrastate war during the period of the Revolution and the occurrences of sporadic and intermittent incidents of violence. The significance of the Revolution is immense as it gave Mexican politics a new lease of life. It was one of the first successful third world revolutions and also sowed the seeds for emerging of democracy from authoritarianism in other third world nations.



12.7 FURTHER READINGS

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3) Mc Lynn, Frank. Villa and Zapata: *A History of the Mexican Revolution,* Basic Books, (2002).

4) Ortegon, Samuel Soto and Robert Baeza Hemandez. (2012). Viva Villa: *A Book on the Mexican Revolution of 1910*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

5) Robinson, William Davis. *(2016). Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution,* Wentworth Press.



12.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS (HINTS ONLY)

Answer to Q No. 1: (a) Long term dictatorship of Diaz (b) corruption of government officials (c) absence of political representation of the common people in appointment of government officials.

Answer to Q No. 2: Corruption, Tax imposition and abuse of political power among other

Answer to Q No. 3: (a)Tyranny, nepotism of government (b) aging generals, gradual loss of skill and aptness in controlling the affairs of the state (c)changing social context of Mexico.

Answer to Q No. 4: (a)Economic boom during Diaz's regime benefitted only the rich (b)educated professionals had no opportunity to exercise their skills (c) Diaz's regime favoured only a selected few viz. friends and relatives of the government officials.

Answer to Q No. 5: Fransisco Madero, Zapata, Huerta

Answer to Q No. 6: The significance of the Revolution was the Constitution of 1917.

Answer to Q No. 7: Originally named as the National Revolutionary Party, it was started by Obregon whose members were mostly peasant leaders and military leaders and had anti Roman Catholic sentiments.

Answer to Q No. 8: Loss of faith on Carranza, the then President of Mexico



12.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Very Short Questions

Q 1: What do you mean by "El Porfiriato'?

Q 2: By the Congress of Chilparcingo (1928) the Presidential term was increased to how many years?

Short Questions (Answer each of the question within 150 words)

Q 1: Describe in your own words the socio-political condition of Mexico during the Porfiriato.

Q 2: Describe in your own words the causes that triggered the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Long Questions (Answer each of the question within 300 words)

Q 1: "The Civil wars created a state of unrest and instability in the society during the Mexican Revolution". Express your opinion on this statement.

Q 2: Did the Mexican Revolution usher longstanding benefits upon the society? How did it affect the economy and politics of Mexico? Give your opinion.

Q 3: Highlight the role of the US during the period of the Mexican Revolution.

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UNIT - 13 : CUBAN REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Background

13.4 Causes

13.5 Course of Warfare

13.6 International Reactions

13.7 Let Us Sum Up

13.8 Further Readings

13.9 Answers to Check your progress

13.10 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the background and causes of the Cuban Revolution,
- discuss the course of warfare of the Cuban Revolution,
- know about the results and international reactions of the Revolution.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learner, in the previous Unit we disscussed the the Maxican Revolution. In this Unit we will disscuss the Cuban Revolution.

The Cuban Revolution was one of the most important events that shaken the whole world in the 20th century. It was an armed revolt led by Fidel Castro, a Cuban revolutionary and politician, against the conservative and autocratic government of the Cuban President Fulgencio Batista. This Revolution began on 26th July, 1953, and continued sporadically until the Batista was overthrown on 1st January, 1959.

Cuba, presently known as the Republic of Cuba, is an island nation located in the northern Caribbean. It is to the south of both the U.S. state of Florida and the Bahamas, west of Haiti, and north of Jamaica. Cuba is the

largest island in the Caribbean with an area of 1,09,884 square kilometres. The capital of the country is Havana.

13.3 BACKGROUND

Cuba was a colony of Spain until the Spanish-American War of 1898, which led to nominal independence as a de facto United States protectorate in 1902. It gained formal independence from the U.S. on May 20, 1902, as the Republic of Cuba. Under Cuba's new constitution, the U.S. retained the right to intervene in the former's internal and external affairs. The U.S. intervention coupled with social and political corruption led to the armed struggles between the independent war veterans on the one hand and the newly elected government on the other. Therefore, Cuban politics witnessed internal turmoil in the subsequent decades. In September 1933, the Sergeants' Revolt, led by Fulgencio Batista, overthrew the Cuban President Carlos Manuel Cespedes. The rebels appointed Ramon Grau San Martín as provisional President. But he resigned in 1934, leaving the way clear for Batista, who dominated Cuban politics for the next twenty five years. At first Batista controlled the government through a series of puppet-presidents. He formally captured the power after his victory in the Presidential election in 1940. After the end of his tenure in 1944, Batista left for the U.S. where he spent for the next eight years. Despite his absence, he played an influencing role in Cuba's internal affairs remaining in the background. Backed by the U.S. government, Batista returned to Cuba to fight the Presidential election in 1952. He won the victory for the second time to become the 11th President of Cuba. This time Batista never regained his former popular support, instead lost his power and was overthrown by the armed revolt led by Fidel Castro. The causes for the unpopularity of Batista and outbreak of the Cuban Revolution are discussed bellow.

13.4 CAUSES

- **INTERVENTION OF THE U.S.A.**

After Cuba's independence from Spain in 1898, the U.S. armed forces occupied the island country and constantly influenced its political and economic system. By the Platt Amendment Act of 1902, the U.S. continuously

controlled Cuba's foreign policies and negotiation treaties. Even after the repeal of the Act in 1934, it remained a contentious issue and proved to be humiliation to many patriotic Cubans. This Act stood as an obstacle on the way of Cuba's all round development. It also influenced the conduct of politicians who relied on the support of America to settle political disputes, which were many in the first decades of the Republic's life. Moreover, Early Cuban elections were fraudulent affairs and the U.S. intervention was called upon on a number of occasions. An armed challenge to the government elected in 1906 resulted in the U.S. intervention and resulted in direct rule until 1909. Further interventions took place in 1912, and again in 1917 when the election result was challenged by an armed revolt by the defeated party. Another important intervention came during the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado. The U.S. played the role of king maker in the Cuban politics until the overthrown of Batista in 1958. Revolutionary leaders and patriots like Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, etc., could no longer tolerate and challenged the foreign intervention which led to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1953.

- **POLITICAL CAUSES**

Weakness, incompetence and corruption were endemic to the Cuban political system from its earliest days. The first President Estrada Palma, led a class of politicians who, only sought the spoils of war after their role in the independence struggle. There was not a great deal of ideological differences between the Republican and the Liberal parties. Moreover, the lack of democratic institutions prior to independence had not prepared the Cubans well for eventual self government. The tradition of taking up arms, forged under Spanish colonial rule, was also frequently resorted to, which called into question the credibility of the entire political system.

Electoral fraud was also a fact of life in the Cuban political system. None of the parties had genuine mass appeal. In the early elections, armed supporters of the different parties used to present at polling stations and in the elections of 1916 the number of votes cast outnumbered eligible voters. The promise of the Government of Machado to reform all these malfunctions

resulted in the ultimate failure. During his second term there was a huge amount of social unrest, strikes, assassinations and bombings to which he responded with brutal repression. Machado's U.S. backed successor Carlos Manuel Cespedes, who was amenable to American business interests on the island, also failed to face the social and political unrest. After his overthrown by a group of low ranking army officers led by Fulgencio Batista, Ramon San Martin Grau was installed as the new President in 1933. Grau's government however, initiated a few pro-Cuban reforms by nationalising sugar mills and settling the unemployment of the Cuban born. But the U.S. government refused to recognise the reforms, fearful of the effects it would have on its economic interests. Taking advantage of the situation Batista usurped the power of the revolutionary government by a coup in 1934. Initially Batista controlled the government with the help of a succession of puppet Presidents until 1940, and then took the power himself till 1944. The army had become a player in the government of Cuba for the first time, a development which set a dangerous precedent.

The 1944 elections, once again won by Grau, were accepted by all to be fair. This time the new government was also proved to be the most corrupt in Cuba's history. The government of Prio Socarras, which succeeded that of Grau, was also corrupted and violent. The situation was further aggravated by the oppressions and corruptions of Batista's dictatorship thereby opening the way for the Revolution.

- **SOCIAL CAUSES**

Social unrest and disunity among the Cuban people was also another cause of the Revolution. The pre-revolution Cuban society suffered from the fragmentation. The old aristocracy had been wiped out during the independence struggle between 1868 and 1895. The large sugar plantations were occupied by the foreigners. Native industry in Cuba was underdeveloped and the ruling class' interests were identified with those of their American allies. The lower classes were also fragmented. Most of the poor lived in the country while only a small urban working class existed in

the towns and cities.

Racial and ethnic divisions were also a feature of life in Cuba. Fear of a black takeover retarded the development of the independence movement in Cuba. Blacks made up a considerable proportion of the Cuban population. They were the most impoverished section of the society. They were dissatisfied with the treatment by state authority after their role in the independence struggle. In Cuba, fear of the black population surfaced in the wake of the 1933 revolution. Thousands of blacks from Haiti were deported for controlling the racial conflict in Cuba.

In such chaotic situations no any organizations whether political, social or religious made its attempt to hold the Cuban nation together. The Catholic Church's position in Cuba had been weakened from independence with the separation of church and state in 1900. The Church was also seen as a white Spanish institution and therefore lacked influence among the black population. The political parties were also unrepresentative and by the 1950s the old mainstream parties were discredited and the way was open for others to fill the gap. Batista tried it with his dictatorship from 1952 which also proved unsuccessful. But it was Fidel Castro who capitalised on the failure of democratic parties to address Cuba's many and varied problems. This failure of democratic politics affected those groups who were to later make up the opposition to Batista and who helped in the success of Castro's revolution.

- **ECONOMIC CAUSES**

Even after Cuba's independence from Spain, the economic condition of the country did not developed. It became a profitable market for the U.S. investment which gradually increased by the 1920s. In this way, Cuba fell under the spell of economic exploitation. Besides, the country had to face great economic loss due to the fall in the price of sugar in the subsequent period. Moreover, Cuba failed to gain the financial benefits from the domestic products as two thirds of all of its exports had to be sent to the U.S. in the 1950s. This economic control had tremendously affected the financial system

of the country. Economic dependence on the U.S. severely restricted political leadership in Cuba. The increasing American control over the Cuban economy meant a tightening of American political influence over Cuba's affairs and meant that defending those interests became a prime concern for Cuban political parties.

In Cuba land reform legislation were in favour of the sugarcane planters who owned vast areas of land. In 1933, the government of Grau fell in part because the Americans refused to recognise it due to the reforms which it attempted to implement. Most Cuban politicians were unable or unwilling to upset the Americans and to disrupt the industry to which Cuba owed so much of its prosperity but which also fatally undermined its institutions.

- **OVERDEPENDENCE ON SUGAR**

The Cuban economy was much more dependent than any other industry, on sugar production which suited the American interests. Sugar formed almost 85% of Cuban exports in the 1950s. It affected not only the Cuban economy but also its political and social life. The country face tense situation when the production and price of sugar fall by the 1950s. Due to the emphasis on sugarcane production, peasants were displaced creating an army of landless rural workers. Furthermore, to meet the demand for labour, manpower was imported from Haiti, Jamaica and China. As work on the sugar plantations was seasonal, from December to April, unemployment of these peoples during the off season led to social and labour unrest.

In Cuba sugar production also hampered the development of other crops and industries. Sugar companies occupied almost 70-75% of Cuba's arable land. Consequently, Cuba had to import much of the food which it needed. In the financial sector, American banks were attracted to Cuba for funding the costs of the sugar industry. Most of the borrowers saw their fortunes wiped out during the depression and the stock market crash of 1929. The Cuban patriot, who had fought in the war of Independence, could realise that all their sufferings were caused by the overdependence on sugar system that was only beneficial to the American interests. Therefore, they

targeted the sugarcane fields and sugar mills burning many.

- **DICTATORSHIP OF BATISTA**

Batista, who served in the Cuban army, rose to the prominent in 1933 after he led an uprising called the Revolt of the Sergeants, as part of the coup that overthrew the unsuccessful government of Gerardo Machado. Holding the post of the Army Chief of Staff, with the rank of Colonel, Batista effectively controlled the Presidentship until he was himself elected in 1940. After the end of his tenure in 1944, he left for the U.S. where spent for the next eight years. Despite his absence, he played an influencing role in Cuban political affairs remaining in the background. Backed by the U.S. government, he returned to Cuba to contest in the Presidential election in 1952. He won the victory for the second time to become the 11th President of Cuba. Within a very short span of time he was successful to establish the dictatorship till overthrown in 1958.

But due to his dependence on foreign support, it became difficult for Batista to gain the public support and to retain his power. In the initial stage of his reign, the unconditional support of the U.S. helped Batista to establish suitable connections with other countries on an economic platform. However, after the U.S. government withdrew its support, Batista's international business began to collapse. In the domestic affairs, failure of his government particularly with regards to the implementation of policies, which proved to be oppressive to the public led to his downfall. Additionally, Batista encouraged corruption and some other unsocial activities like gambling, prostitution, bribery, etc., which spoiled the Cuban society.

- **LEADERSHIP OF FIDEL CASTRO**

Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz was born on August 13, 1926, near Biran, in Cuba's eastern Oriente Province. He was the third of seven children in the family. Raul Castro, one of his associate in the Cuban Revolution, was his younger brother. His father, Ángel Castro, was a wealthy sugarcane plantation owner originally from Spain who did most of his business with the American-owned United Fruit Company. Fidel Castro attended Roman

Catholic Boarding School in Santiago and then the Catholic High School, Belen in Havana, where he proved an outstanding athlete. In 1945 Castro entered law school at the University of Havana, where student activism, violence, and gang fights were common. Castro soon joined the activists and associated with one of the gangs.

After his graduation in 1950, Castro became a member of the reformist Cuban People's Party. He became their candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives from a Havana district in the elections scheduled for June 1952. In March of that year, however, Batista, overthrew the government of President Carlos Socarras and cancelled the elections. Castro's plans for a political career were thwarted when Batista seized power by a military coup. Moreover, Castro lost faith in democracy when his close comrades were murdered by the oppressive regime of Batista. The ultimate solution in this situation for Castro was to take the path of armed revolution.

The Cuban Revolution was possible due to the leadership qualities that Fidel Castro possessed. Castro could visualize a reformed Cuba. He set his goal to limit foreign ownership, end Cuba's dependence on United States, and nationalize public services. His support towards the poor peasants and the general population could win their hearts. He was also persuasive and a moving speaker. Taking action on behalf of the people, especially in the form of a revolution, he could gain the respect of many. His determination, persistence, dedication and strong character led to the ultimate success of the revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

1. Before 1898, Cuba was a colony of the European country.

.....

2. The leader of the Cuban Revolution was

.....

3. Cuba was overdependent on the production of

.....

4. _____was the President of Cuba during the Revolution.

13.5 COURSE OF WARFARE

After Batista's military coup on 10th March, 1952, Fidel Castro and his group began to train young men to engage in the struggle, along with other anti-Batista groups. On 26th July, 1953, Fidel Castro and his brother Raul, led a group of more than hundred rebels in an attack on the Moncada Barracks, a military barracks in Santiago. But he failed and was defeated by the government soldiers. Some of the rebels were killed in the battle while numerous, including Castro brothers were captured.

In a highly political trial, Castro was sentenced to fifteen years jail, making famous 'history will absolve me' speech. His brother Raul was sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment. However, in 1955, under broad political pressure, the Batista government freed all political prisoners in Cuba, including the Moncada attackers. Batista granted amnesty to Fidel Castro, who goes to Mexico to plot invasion of Cuba. Soon, the Castro brothers joined with other exiles to prepare for the overthrow of Batista.

In June 1955, Fidel Castro met the Argentine revolutionary Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, who joined his cause. The revolutionaries named themselves the '26th of July Movement', in reference to the date of their attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953. On 25th November, 1956, Fidel Castro, with some 80 insurgents including Raul Castro, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos sailed from Mexico to Cuba. They landed on Las Coloradas beach, on the south coast of the island, on December 2, 1956. In the first military engagement with the government forces they were defeated. The surviving members, however, penetrated the Cuban jungles of Sierra Maestra where they recruited more men, got more weapons, and better organized.

The war lasted three years, with battles taking place in the mountains and towns. Under the command of Camilo Cienfuegos, Juan Almeida Bosques,

and Ernesto 'che' Guevara, they carried out surprise attacks on government military outposts and communication centres. By mid 1958, Fidel and Raul Castro began a four-prong offensive as they headed from south to north, and then westward, towards the capital, Havana. On December 30, 1958, Camilo Cienfuego defeated an army unit composed of about three hundred men at the Battle of Yaguajay. The next day, on December 31, three guerrilla units defeated Fulgencio Batista's army again at the Battle of Santa Clara. Having heard of this defeat, Fulgencio Batista left Cuba and went into exile to the Dominican Republic. Castro's revolutionary forces entered Havana on January 2, 1959. His initial choice of president, Manuel Urrutia , took office on January 3.

Following the fall of Batista, many policemen, soldiers and agents of his government were put on public trial. Most of them were accused of human rights violence, crimes, murder, and torture. Most of the accused people were convicted of political crimes by revolutionary tribunals and then executed while others suffered imprisonment. After the capture of Santiago, Raul Castro directed the execution of more than seventy prisoners of war. Castro's revolutionary ally Che Guevara was appointed supreme prosecutor in La Cabana Fortress in Havana.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

5. The Cuban Revolution started with the attack on.....barrack.

6. In Mexico, Fidel Castro met the Argentine revolutionary.....

7. On December 30, 1958, Batista suffered defeat in the Battle of.....

8. Batista went into exile to .....

13.6 INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

The Cuban Revolution brought crucial change in the Cuba's external affairs. After the overthrown of Batista, the U.S.

immediately recognized Fidel Castro's new government. Although it expressed some doubts over Castro's increasing communist tendencies and soon came to the fear that communist insurgencies would spread through the nations of Latin America.

The U.S. apprehension became more apparent when Castro's revolutionary government nationalized all U.S. property in Cuba by August 1960. The U.S. President Eisenhower administration responded by imposing trade restrictions on everything except food and medical supplies. Consequently, Castro opened deal with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European communist states to purchase Cuban goods. This time Eisenhower responded by authorising the creation of plans to overthrow the Castro's government. In 1961, the U.S. government backed an armed counter-revolutionary assault on the Bay of Pigs on the south cost of Cuba. But the invading force was defeated within three days by the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, under the direct command of Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

The Cuban Revolution had global repercussions in the post-revolutionary period. Castro played an instrumental role in spreading revolutionary ideas to other countries in the Caribbean and beyond. He sent war assistance to the Algerian rebels as early as 1960 to fight for their independence against the French colonial government. Cuba also sent military aid to the Communist insurgencies and independence movements in many developing countries such as Ghana, Nicaragua, Yemen and Angola. His intervention in the Angolan Civil War in the 1970s and 1980s was also significant.

Cuban government under Fidel Castro made close ties with the Soviet Union until the later collapsed in 1991. Both these Communist countries developed their military and diplomatic relations to continue the ongoing fight against the capitalism. It culminated in the stationing of Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba in 1962, an act which triggered the Cuban Missile Crisis.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

9. When Fidel Castro came to power, the name of the U.S. President was.....

10. The invasion of the Bay of Pigs was launched in the year.....

11. Cuba made close tie with ..... in the post-revolutionary period.



13.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt about

- historical background of the Cuban Revolution.
- various causes of the Cuban Revolution, such as- U.S. intervention, political, social, economic, overdependence on sugar, dictatorship of Btista and leadership of Fidel Castro.
- The significant events of the Revolution that occurred during the course of warfare.
- The impact of the Revolution in countries such as the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and in the Latin American countries.



13.8 FURTHER READINGS

1. Quirk, R.E., (1995), *Fidel Castro*, Norton, New York
2. Chomsky, Aviva, (2010), *A history of the Cuban Revolution*, Wiley-Blackwell, New York
3. Fernandez, Luis, (2014), *Revolutionary Cuba: A History*, University Press, Florida

13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q. No. 1: Spain

Answer to Q. No. 2: Fidel Castro

Answer to Q. No. 3: Sugar

Answer to Q. No. 4: Fulgencio Batista

Answer to Q. No. 5: Moncada

Answer to Q. No. 6 Che Guevara

Answer to Q. No. 7 Yuguajay

Answer to Q. No. 8 Dominican Republic

Answer to Q. No. 9 Eisenhower

Answer to Q. No. 10 1961

Answer to Q. No. 11 Soviet Unio

13.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q1: By which Act the U.S.A. intervened in the internal and external affairs of Cuba ?

Q2: What was the full name of Fidel Castro?

Q3: On which product Cuba was overdependent?

Q4: In which year Batista was overthrown by Fidel Castro's revolutionary army?

Short Questions (answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q1: Write short notes -

a) Fidel Castro

b) Dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista

c) Che Guevara

Q2: Explain the economic causes of the Cuban Revolution?

Q3: How far Fulgencio Batista was responsible for the Cuban Revolution?

Q4: What were the political conditions of Cuba on the eve of the Revolution?

Long Questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1: Describe background and causes of the Cuban Revolution.

Q2: Describe the political, social and economic causes of the Cuban Revolution.

Q3: Explain the significant events during the course of the Cuban Revolution.

Q4: What were the international reactions to the Cuban Revolution? Discuss. .

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UNIT - 14 : IRANIAN REVOLUTIONS

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Iranian Revolution

- Shah Regime and the Role of America

14.4 Islamic Resistance

14.5 Let Us Sum Up

14.6 Further Reading

14.7 Answers to Check your progress

14.8 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Explain the historical background of the Iranian Revolution,
- Explore the regime in Iran under Shah and discuss the role of America in the Revolution, and
- Analyse the impact of the Revolution and the Islamic resistance

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Cuban Revolution in details. We discussed the background, causes, the events around the time of the Revolution, its impact and the worldwide attention it garnered. In this Unit, we will be looking into another mass Revolution that shook the world, the Iranian Revolution also known as the Islamic revolution. It is one of the complex revolutions of the 20th century, spanning from January 7, 1978, to February 11, 1979, and it marked a profound transformation in the political landscape of Iran.

14.3 IRANIAN REVOLUTION

The Revolution led to the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty, led by

Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, a ruler who had maintained close ties with Western nations, particularly the United States. There are different opinions or perspectives on the nature and importance of Islam in Iranian society. Some perceived the revolution as a religious resurgence, a response to the perceived moral decay, materialism, and corruption in high places. Others viewed it as a rejection by ordinary people of the societal changes brought about by modernization and Westernization. Understanding the roots of these perspectives requires exploring the historical and doctrinal aspects of Shi'ite Islam, particularly its unique political theory. Shi'ism, initially a minority movement, developed its doctrine of authority in a distinctive way due to its limited experience with temporal power until the Safavid dynasty's establishment in the 16th century. Unlike Sunni Islam, where authority is supplemented by "popular consensus," Shi'ism insists on the ultimate authority of the Imam, a spiritual figure represented on earth by theologians. This allowed for a legal system that was simultaneously more rigid and flexible than its Sunni counterpart. The continuous reinterpretation of the Imam's will by theologians (Ejtehad) provided the flexibility necessary for the religious hierarchy to adapt to changing social and economic conditions.

The tension between religious and secular powers became evident in Shi'ite Islam's history, particularly in Iran. The belief that religious power, associated with justice, must always be at odds with temporal power, seen as injustice, forms the basis of Shi'ite thinking. This ideology stems from historical experiences, including the martyrdom of early Shi'ite leaders like Caliph Ali and his sons Hasan and Hosein, and a perceived decline in Islam over the centuries due to the corruption of the holy law by secular governments. This tension surfaced prominently during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 when the religious hierarchy initially supported the movement against an oppressive secular power. However, divisions arose over whether the constitution aimed to replace one temporal authority (the monarchy) with another (the people). This schism persisted, creating two opposing groups within the religious hierarchy - those favoring collaboration with the established government and those adopting a dissident stance.

This division continued to shape the religio-political landscape in Iran up to 1977. The intricate relationship between religion and politics in Iran reflects a historical struggle between those supporting the established government and those taking a dissenting position, revealing the complex interplay of religious ideologies, social changes, and political dynamics leading up to the Iranian Revolution in 1979. While the movement gained much momentum in the last few months, however the seeds of this movement was sowed much earlier. Let us get into the past to know more.

- **Background of Iranian Revolution**

To comprehend the origins of the Iranian Revolution, it is essential to grasp the significant influence wielded by the Shia Ulama, or clergy. This influence was granted during the Qajar dynasty's rule over Iran, who succeeded the Safavid dynasty in 1785 and ruled till 1921. (The Ulama, composed of religious scholars, were endowed with authority to administer justice in minor issues, holding religious and certain judicial powers). By the end of the 19th century, the Shia clergy (Ulama) had established a notable influence over Iranian society. The clergy's emergence as a potent political force opposing the monarchy became evident during the 1891 Tobacco Protest. Led by religious scholars, merchants, liberal intellectuals, officers, and Islamic modernists, protest, a Shia Muslim uprising in Iran, was directed against an 1890 tobacco concession granted by Nasir al-Din Shah of Persia to the United Kingdom, effectively giving British the monopoly to control the cultivation, sale, and export of tobacco. The Qajar government faced criticism for its oppressive actions and perceived alignment with foreign interests, particularly its willingness to relinquish Iranian resources to foreign powers. The concessions granted during this period dealt a severe blow to the livelihoods of Iranian farmers. In response, the Iranian clergy organized a series of protests against the rule of the Shah. This was the first significant Iranian resistance against the Shah and foreign interests.

The tension between the Shia clergy and secular authority continued to grow until the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911. The revolution was

for the acceptance of constitutional monarchy. Initially, the religious leaders supported this revolution because it seemed to challenge an oppressive secular power. However, it became clear that the Constitutionalists aimed to replace the monarchy with a new authority - the people. This created a split among the religious leaders, some saw the constitution as a way to limit the power of an 'illegal' secular authority, while others believed collaborating with the monarchy was necessary to enforce religious law.

During the Constitutional Movement, there was a significant influence from the clergy, leading to the passage of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 1907. This law declared a specific form of Shi'ism as the official religion of Iran and established a committee of five religious scholars (mojtahedi) to review legislation and ensure it aligned with religious laws. However, it appears that this provision was not fully put into practice and the revolution failed to bring a stable state because Ulama withdrew its support from the revolution.

- **Shah Regime (1925-1941) and the role of America**

During World War I, Iran gained strategic significance due to the discovery of oil. Both Britain and Russia sought influence in the region to secure access to this valuable resource. Following Britain's victory in the war, it assumed its control in the region. The Anglo Iranian Oil Company was established in Iran. The British enjoyed a monopoly on the sale and production of Iranian oil. During this period, support was extended to Reza Khan, a military general, who orchestrated the overthrow of the Qazar ruler, leading to the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty. Reza Shah, who initially entered the government after a coup in 1921, later ascended to the position of Shah in 1925 with the backing of Islamic and secular nationalist forces, formalizing the inception of the Pahlavi dynasty. The British supported Reza Shah in order to have a monopoly on the sale and production of Iranian oil. Over the next 50 years, Reza Shah initiated an extensive and rapid state-led modernization campaign in a predominantly rural and nomadic-tribal country with a traditional and fragmented society. Culturally, the Pahlavi shahs

emphasized nationalism that celebrated pre-Islamic Iran as a means of embracing Western-style modernization.

Under Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iran saw reforms in education and law that modernized the country and reduced the influence of religious leaders. Women's rights improved as veils were banned, the minimum age for marriage was raised, and divorce laws became fairer. More secular schools were opened, and the University of Tehran was established in 1934. However, Reza Shah also limited freedoms by banning trade unions, political parties, and controlling the press. Oil concessions, which started in 1901, continued to be a source of conflict. Reza Shah renegotiated these agreements, causing tension among the Iranian people. In the 1930s, Reza Shah turned to Nazi Germany for trade due to concerns about Soviet influence and British presence. This led to an invasion by the Allies in 1941, forcing Reza Shah to abdicate in favor of his son Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

In 1941, Mohammad Reza Shah ascended to the throne of Iran following the forced abdication of his father, Reza Shah, orchestrated by the Allied forces-Britain and Russia. This action was prompted by Reza Shah's perceived alignment with Germany, despite Iran's official stance of neutrality in World War II. The Allies occupied Iran, unleashing social forces that had been suppressed during Reza Shah's rule. The removal of Reza Shah created a complex situation in Iranian society. Class and religious tensions heightened, leading to uncertainty about the true wielders of political power among the majlis (parliament), the cabinet, the court, and other social groups. Despite the confusion, the Allied occupation and the Shah's removal marked a departure from authoritarianism, allowing for a partial restoration of the constitutional order. This period witnessed the reintroduction of a free press and the establishment of new political parties. However, it was also characterized by political and economic crises, exacerbated by World War II and the Allied occupation. The economic and social upheaval in Iran contributed to increased political activities and a crisis that persisted between 1941 and 1953. This turbulent period culminated in a US-backed military coup in 1953 against the nationalist government of Mohammad Mosaddeq,

resulting in the suppression of oppositional social forces.

Following the coup, Mohammad Reza Shah established an authoritarian state with the support of the United States. Initially, he sought to consolidate power through alliances with prominent landowners and the Ulama (Islamic scholars). He introduced a series of reforms which largely replace the traditional Islamic cultural norms with that of western values. This series of reforms which was introduced along the lines of western values in the 1960's came to be known as the 'White revolution'. However, the implementation of the White Revolution, a comprehensive modernization program, faced resistance from various quarters. Despite its aims of comprehensive modernization, the implementation of the White Revolution encountered resistance from various sectors. The Shah introduced reforms such as the development of the oil industry, the establishment of modern universities, and the allowance for women to attend these institutions. These changes led to the Westernization of Iranian society. However, conservative groups of Iranian society were against such development. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a prominent cleric and religious leader opposed the Shah's reform agenda. Khomeini specifically objected to the increased emphasis on women's rights and the overall Westernization of Iranian society, as these reforms were seen as challenging traditional Islamic norms. The White Revolution ultimately transformed the longstanding cultural norms of Islam in Iran, setting the stage for further societal and political shifts.

The White Revolution included land reforms that threatened the landlord class, undermined the influence of the Ulama, and challenged the traditional economic sector represented by the bazaaris (the merchant class and laborers associated with the traditional marketplaces of Iran of bazaars, the traditional marketplace of Iran). The Shah's regime stabilized through this modernization effort, which was characterized by intensive secular nationalist propaganda and backed by the United States. This, in turn, intensified the antagonism between the Ulama and the state. In June 1963, responding to discontent and the persisting economic and political crisis, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini proclaimed a revolt against the Shah's regime.

However, the military brutally suppressed this revolt, leading to the arrest of National Front leaders and Khomeini's exile first to Turkey and later to Iraq.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1. State one important feature of Shi'ite Islam.

_____

Q 2. What was the significance of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 1907

_____

14.4 ISLAMIC RESISTANCES

With the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini as an irreconcilable opponent of the Shah Regime and initiator of the revolt of 1963, a new type of Khomeini-inspired Ulama and a new type of tulab (religious students) developed gradually. This new group formed the nucleus of the militant Ulama, who lead Islamic revolution and play a key role in establishing the Islamic state, all under the guidance of Khomeini. The reformulation of the Shi'ite political doctrine as revolutionary doctrine was a gradual process starting after the coup of 1953 and reaching its height in the 1960s and 1970s. This transformation, recognized as "ehyay-e fekr-e dini" or the revival of religious thought, served as the intellectual foundation for the Iranian Islamic revolution that took place between 1978 and 1979.

The primary cause of the Iranian Revolution was widespread dissatisfaction with the secular government, which was seen as corrupt. People felt that the benefits of the oil industry were not reaching the poor; instead, they were largely enjoyed by Western oil companies. Unemployment was on the rise, and economic inequality was growing. Moreover, socio-religious changes in Iranian society were not accepted by conservative groups. Many perceived these changes as imperialism of the USA in Iran. It's crucial to note that the revolution did not initially aim to establish an

Islamic republic; rather, it sought to remove the government due to these various reasons. In 1975, all political parties were abolished, leaving only one party, the Resurgence Party of Shah. The Shah's heavy reliance on the United States, close alliance with Israel, and misguided economic policies became significant catalysts for mounting protests in Iran. Students formed the large part of this protester. Tensions escalated in January 1978, when a national newspaper labeled Ayatollah Khomeini a 'Agent of western countries.' Outraged supporters in the city of Qom took to the streets, resulting in clashes with the police. As protests spread across the country and the government responded with lethal force, the Iranian revolution gained momentum.

American backed the Shah and promised military support. By September 1978 Marshall law was imposed and many people were killed. This further led to an increase in protest in many parts of Iran. Coordinated from his exile in France, Ayatollah Khomeini played a pivotal role in orchestrating the opposition. The Shah fled Iran in January 1979, and with the armed forces declaring neutrality, his rule effectively ended. Khomeini's triumphant return to Iran in February 1979 marked a significant moment, leading to further clashes. In February guerrillas and rebel troops overwhelmed those loyal to the Shah in armed street fighting, propelling Khomeini to official power. Following overwhelming support in a national referendum in April 1979, Khomeini declared Iran an Islamic republic.

However, the aftermath saw the sidelining of various factions of the revolution, including leftists, secularists, nationalists, and intellectuals, by the clergy in the new regime. This resulted in a return to conservative social values. Throughout 1979, the Revolutionary Guards systematically eliminated political groups opposing Ayatollah Khomeini and the clergy. The new regime suppressed Western cultural influence, implementing a constitution that established a religious theocratic government based on Khomeini's concept of 'vel?yat-e faq?h' (governance of the jurist) and granting extensive powers to the 'rahbar' or leader, initially held by Khom.

- **Impact of Iranian Revolution**

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 left an indelible mark on both domestic and international spheres, fundamentally altering the religious landscape by sparking a Shia revival that challenged the historical hegemony of Sunni Islam in the Middle East. Beyond religious shifts, the revolution ushered in a complex set of geopolitical changes. Internationally, the United States responded with economic sanctions that posed a significant threat to Iran's economy, while the new Iranian leadership adopted an assertive anti-Israeli stance and lent support to militant groups opposing Israel. This geopolitical realignment heightened tensions in the Middle East, particularly alarming neighboring Gulf states like Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. The subsequent Iraq-Iran War, ignited in 1980 with financial backing from Gulf States, resulted in a prolonged conflict that ended in a costly stalemate. The Iranian Revolution also played a pivotal role in the creation of Hezbollah, a Shia paramilitary group that emerged as a major player in the Lebanese Civil War. On the domestic front, the revolution brought about notable improvements in education and healthcare, particularly benefiting the economically disadvantaged. However, despite these advancements, internal criticisms surfaced, ranging from concerns about political freedom and governmental honesty to economic inequality and self-sufficiency. There remains a nuanced perspective among Iranians, with some viewing the revolution as a transformative and profound event, while others express reservations about the challenges and shortcomings it introduced into Iranian society. Nevertheless, the Iranian Revolution undeniably solidified Iran's stature as a significant regional power, influencing its trajectory and shaping its role in global affairs for decades to come.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 3. Who gave the concept of of 'velāyat-e faqīh'?

_____

Q 4. What is meant by 'tulab'?

_____



14.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have been able to

- explain the Iranian Revolution, also known as the Islamic Revolution, which led to the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
- discuss the causes of the revolution which was driven by dissatisfaction with the secular government's corruption, economic inequality, and perceived Western influence.
- analyse the impact of the Revolution which marked a Shia revival challenging Sunni hegemony and involved complex geopolitical changes, including strained relations with the United States, anti-Israeli stances, and support for militant groups. The revolution alarmed neighboring Gulf States, leading to the Iraq-Iran War, Hezbollah's formation, and increased tensions in the region. Domestically, it brought improvements in education and healthcare but faced criticisms regarding political freedom, economic equality, and religious devotion. The revolution's legacy is nuanced, with differing perspectives on its transformative impact, while undeniably establishing Iran as a major regional power with enduring influence.



14.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Axworthy, Michael, (2013), *'Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic'*, Oxford University

2) Elwell, L. P. (1979). The Iranian Revolution in *Race and Religion*. Vol. 34, No. 3. Pp. 391-407. Sage Publications

3) Amineha, M.P., Eisentadtb, S.N. (2007). The Iranian Revolution: The Multiple Contexts of the Iranian Revolution in *Perspective on Global Development and Technology,* Vol-06, No.1-3. Pp.129-157

4) Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906, Iran, Model United Nation of Chicago



14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1: Shi'ism insists on the ultimate authority of the Imam, a spiritual figure represented on earth by theologians.

Answer to Q 2: This law declared a specific form of Shi'ism as the official religion of Iran

Answer to Q 3: Ayatollah Khomeini

Answer to Q 4: Religious student



14.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who were Bazaaris?

Q 2: Who was the Iranian Revolution in 1979?

Q 3: Who was the founder of Pahlavi Dynasty?

Q 4: Identify one significant social grievance that contributed to widespread support for the revolution.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

a. White Revolution.

b. Mohammad Reza Shah.

c. 1906 Revolution.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1. Explore the consequences of the Iranian Revolution on the country's

educational system.

Q 2. Investigate the influence of the Iranian Revolution on Shia Islam and its global significance.

Q 3. Discuss the role of Ayatollah Khomeini in the Iranian Revolutions.

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2) Keith MichaelBaker (1990) Inventing the French Revolution, Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century.
3) C.A. Bayly. (2003).The Birth of the Modern World, 1780 - 1914. Wiley, New York
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8) Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906, Iran, Model United Nation of Chicago
9) Quirk, R.E., (1995), *Fidel Castro*, Norton, New York
10) Chomsky, Aviva, (2010), *A history of the Cuban Revolution*, Wiley-Blackwell, New York
11) Fernandez, Luis, (2014), *Revolutionary Cuba: A History.* OUP, Florida

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