CHAPTER-VII

THE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD OF IRAWAT'S ACTIVITIES
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As the twentieth century ushered in, capitalism had grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of the advanced countries. Being the general and fundamental law of development of capitalism monopolies emerged as the result of the concentration of production.¹

The principal stages in the history of monopolies are the following:²

1) 1860-70, the highest stage, the apex of development of the competition; monopoly was in the barely discernible, embryonic stage.

2) After the crisis of 1873, a lengthy period of development of cartels; but they were the exception. They were not yet durable. They were still a transitory phenomenon.

3) The boom at the end of the nineteenth century and the crisis of 1900-03. Cartels became one of the foundations of the whole of economic life. Capitalism had been transformed into imperialism.

² Ibid., p.181.
An ever-growing demand for markets and raw materials made the capitalist powers race round the world for empire. They rushed about in Asia and Africa seizing as much territory as possible in order to exploit it.³ England with her industrial and vast empire, seemed to be the most fortunate of all. But even England was not satisfied. Vast schemes for the extension of her empire floated in the brains of her “empire builders”, schemes of an African empire extending without break from Cairo to the Cape.⁴ If England the fortunate was not satisfied, the others were even more dissatisfied, especially Germany which had joined the great powers rather late. Although the world was largely occupied by the other imperialist powers when Germany came on the scene and the avenues of exploitation were limited, by sheer hard work and self-discipline she became the strongest and most efficient power of the age of industrial capitalism.⁵ It is not surprising that this new imperial Germany with this success achieved and fully conscious of her strength, chafed at the limitations placed on her further growth.⁶ Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II, of the Hohenzollern went about proclaiming that Germany was going to be the leader of the world; that her future was on the sea; that it was her mission to spread her Kultur, or Culture throughout the world.⁷

The First World War and Its Effects

The twentieth century opened with thunder and lightening in the air of Europe and as year succeeded year, the weather grew stormier. Complications and entanglements grew, and the life of Europe was tied

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⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., p.612.
⁶ Ibid., p.613.
⁷ Ibid.
up more and more in knots – knots which were to be cut ultimately by war. All the powers expected war to come and prepared for it feverishly. A fear psychosis prevailed in the strained political atmosphere of Europe and in self-defence the great powers lined up in two groups: the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, and the Triple Entente of England, France and Russia. Italy was a lukewarm member of the Triple Alliance and as a matter of fact she broke her word and joined the other side. The spark which grew to a conflagration was kindled when on 28 June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand who was the heir to the Austrian throne and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo by Serbian conspirators. Though the Serbian government was not involved in the assassination, the Austrian government seized the opportunity to tyrannize against Serbia. On 28 July 1914 Austria invaded Serbia and the First World War began. As the war progressed more and more countries were dragged into it. Both sides tried to win over neutrals by offering bribes. Soon the other powers joined the war. Altogether 22 countries were involved in it. The Allies which had a larger number of countries on its side consisted of Serbia, Russia, England, France, Montenegro, Japan, Italy, San Marino, Romania, Portugal, U.S.A., Cuba, Panama, Greece, Liberia, China and Brazil and fought against the central powers consisting of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria.

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8 Ibid.
10 Ibid., pp.515-516.
11 Ibid., p.517.
13 Totaling done according to C.D. Hazen, *op.cit*.
14 List prepared according to C.D. Hazen, *op.cit*. 
Germany and so most of the neutrals who joined the war came in on the Anglo-French-Russian side. Italy, the old ally of Germany, was won over by these allies on their making a secret treaty promising her territory in Asia Minor and elsewhere.  

Another secret treaty promised Russia Constantinople. It was a pleasant task to divide up the whole world among themselves. The war ended in the ignominious defeat of the central powers when on 11 November 1918 the armistice was signed.

The war of 1914-18 was imperialist (that is, an annexationist, predatory, war of plunder) on the part of both sides. It was a war for the division of the world, for the partition and repartition of colonies and sphere of influence of finance capital etc. A distinct result of the war was that the German Empire had gone and Prussian military arrogance had been humbled. The German colonies in western and eastern Africa were lost to the Allies. In China the German concession of Kiauchau had been seized by Japan. During the war the Russian empire had ceased to be. The war proved to be the grave of yet a third empire and ancient dynasty, the Austria-Hungarian Empire. The Ottoman Empire had also ceased to exist. The Arab countries which were part of the Ottoman Empire were divided up among the Allies. However, other empires still

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15 Jawaharlal Nehru, op.cit., p.629.
16 Ibid.
18 V.I. Lenin, op.cit., p.171.
19 Ibid.
20 Jawaharlal Nehru, op.cit., p.676.
21 Ibid., p.684.
22 Ibid., p.676.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p.696; C.D. Hazen, op.cit., p.582.
remained – they were among the victors – and victory did not lesson their pride or make them more regardful of the rights of the people.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{The October Revolution and the establishment of Socialism}

The biggest outcome of the First World War and yet, the most unthought of, and the least desired, by any of the governments and statesmen that plunged into the war, was the Bolshevik Revolution or the Russian Revolution.\textsuperscript{26} It would be more correct to say that it was the child of the historical and economic conditions prevailing in Russia, which were rapidly brought to a head by the vast losses and suffering caused by the war, and of which a mastermind and a genius in Revolution, Lenin, took advantage.\textsuperscript{27}

On 7 November 1917 (25 October according to the calendar observed in Russia at that time) the government of the bourgeoisie and the landlords was overthrown. Power passed into the hands of the working people.\textsuperscript{28} The victorious flag of the Great October Revolution was raised over Russia, the largest country in the world. The October Revolution was the main event of the twentieth century which drastically altered the course of development of the whole of mankind.\textsuperscript{29} The victory of the October Revolution ushered in a new epoch in mankind’s history, an age when society was being liberated from capitalist oppression and

\textsuperscript{25} Jawaharlal Nehru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.676.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p.638.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} V. Alexandrov, \textit{A Contemporary World History: 1917-1945}, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986, p.11.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
exploitation. The world historic significance of the October Revolution is that it laid the foundations for world socialism.\footnote{B.N. Ponomarev, et al., \textit{A Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union}, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1970, p.129.}

There was a mighty upsurge of the working class and liberation movements everywhere under the influence of the October Revolution. The working masses in many countries rose to struggle against the capitalist system and destroy it in their own countries as well. In Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries large-scale strike campaigns were waged and a mighty movement for the defence of Soviet Russia was launched.\footnote{V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.14-15.} The workers staged strikes in solidarity with Soviet Russia, collected money to help the working people of that country, joined in the struggle against the foreign interventionists, and refused to load and transport materials and troops for the interventionists. The revolutionary struggle and the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia greatly assisted the Soviet workers in defeating the armies of the interventionists.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.15.} The October Revolution put an end to the national oppression of all the non-Russian peoples inhabiting Russia.\footnote{P.N. Fedoseyev, et al., \textit{Leninism and National Question}, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1977, p.201; B.N. Ponomarev, et al., \textit{op.cit.}, p.136.} The example of how the national question had been solved in Russia pointed the way to the peoples of the East to throw off yoke of foreign imperialism and the local feudal lords and towards genuine national and social emancipation.\footnote{V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.16.} Under the impact of the October Revolution there was a tremendous upsurge of the national liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.17.}
The concrete result of the October Revolution was the emergence of the world's first socialist state, i.e., Soviet Russia. In July 1918 the first Soviet Constitution was adopted. The Soviet Government promoted socialist transformations in the economy and social relations. In 1922 on the territory of the former Tsarist Russia, besides Soviet Russia, there were the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Georgian, etc., Soviet Socialist Republics. On 30 December 1922 the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was formed according to the principles formulated by Lenin. The creation of a single union state was a triumph for Lenin's nationalities policy. On 31 January 1924 the Constitution of the USSR was adopted. In accordance with the constitution, the working people of the USSR were guaranteed broad democratic rights and freedoms. In January 1925 the Soviet Union adopted the doctrine of 'Socialism in One Country' expounded by Joseph Stalin as against the that of 'Permanent Revolution' expounded by Leon Trotsky. The adoption of the doctrine paved the way for the progress of industrial socialism in that country. By 1927 the Soviet state had made headway in the socialist industrialisation of the USSR, in the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism and in turning the country into a socialist power which would be economically independent of the capitalist states. In 1928 the First Five Year Plan was begun in the Soviet state and lasted from 1 October 1928 to 31 December 1932, that is,
four years and three months. The fundamental task of the First Five-Year Plan was to transfer the U.S.S.R., with its backward technology, on to the lines of modern technology as well as to convert it from an agrarian and weak country into an industrial and powerful country, fully self-reliant and independent of the caprices of world capitalism. As a result of the plan the U.S.S.R. was converted from an agrarian into an industrial country; for the proportion of industrial output, as compared with agricultural output, had arisen from 48 per cent of the total in the beginning of the Five-Year Plan Period (1928) to 70 per cent by 1932. The national republics and outlying regions of the USSR made particularly great progress in industrial development. Other changes of a socialist nature in the country were the abolition of unemployment and the exploitation of man by man and the improvement of the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people. The Second Five Year Plan (1933-1937) began to be implemented in 1933. Thanks to the workers' enthusiasm, the Second Five Year Plan was also fulfilled ahead of schedule, in four years and three months. The USSR became a mighty industrial power, independent of the capitalist countries economically. Collectivisation was largely completed in agriculture. During the Second Five Year Plan period the Soviet country progressed even further in improving the well-being of its people, developing its

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44 Ibid., p.219.
45 V. Alexandrov, *op. cit.*, p.29.
46 Ibid., pp.29-30.
culture, and solving the national question.\textsuperscript{48} New Socialist nations emerged and developed. In the three years preceding the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) some 3,000 new industrial enterprises were commissioned in the USSR.\textsuperscript{49} Owing to the growing war danger and then the unleashing of the Second World War the USSR paid particular attention to building up its defence capacity and developing its defence industry. In 1940, heavy industry in the USSR was producing almost 12 times more output than that of Russia in 1913.\textsuperscript{50} In the volume of its industrial output the U.S.S.R. was first in Europe and second in the world. Industrialization and collectivisation, the development of the cultural revolution and other transformations effected in the USSR in a short historical period put it among the ranks of the major countries.\textsuperscript{51} So, the USSR was the first socialist state in world history, a state in which socialism had become a reality. Having built the basis of socialism and ensured its defence capacity, the Soviet people made a decisive contribution to the liberation of many peoples in the world from enslavement or the threat of it by fascism during the Second World War and helped these nations in their struggle to go over to socialism.\textsuperscript{52}

The Second World War and Its Effects

The Treaty of Versailles which was drafted by the three victor powers namely, England, France and the USA in an atmosphere of hatred, which Germany was obliged to sign on 28 June 1919 contained

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p.31
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., pp.235-236, 248-249, 265-266, 274: V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.31-32.
the harshest of terms. In the first place, in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times. The humiliation meted out to the German delegation during the negotiation and signing of the treaty fixed in the consciousness of the German people the conception of a "dictated peace"; and they help to create the belief that the signature extorted from Germany in those conditions was not morally binding on her. Secondly, the Treaty of Versailles contained many divergences from general principles enunciated during the war, the most famous of these, President Wilson's Fourteen Points having been formally accepted by Germany before armistice as the basis of the settlement. Critics discredited certain parts of the treaty by comparing them with the text of the Fourteen Points. It was easy to point out that the Versailles Treaty was a tainted document and that the allies had violated the conditions on which the armistice was concluded. So, it created corresponding hatred in the vanquished people. The whole purpose of the treaty was to tie up Germany in every possible way, to disable her, and to prevent her from becoming strong again. She was to remain for generations the economic serf of the allies, paying vast sums as annual tribute. The obvious lesson of history that it is impossible to tie up a great people for long in this way did not strike the wise super-statesmen who laid the foundations of this peace of vengeance at Versailles. The League of Nations, which was the product of the Versailles Treaty, was burdened with stigma from the very

55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Jawaharlal Nehru, op.cit., p.681.
58 Ibid.
beginning. Four countries were definitely excluded from the League, Germany, Austria and Turkey – the defeated powers – and Russia, the Bolshevik Power.\textsuperscript{59} The League became a tool in the hands of the great powers and especially of England and France.\textsuperscript{60} Its very basic foundation was the maintenance of the status quo. It talked of justice and honour between nations, but it did not enquire whether the existing relationships were based on justice and honour. The League signified the continuation of the old imperialist exploitation under a new name of “mandates”.\textsuperscript{61}

When some little state offended in any way, the League put on a stern aspect and threatened it with its displeasure. When a great power offended, the League looked away as far as possible or tried to minimize the offence.\textsuperscript{62} Philip Snowden, who later became Viscount Snowden and a Cabinet Minister in England, made the following comment on the Treaty:

“The Treaty should satisfy brigands, imperialists, and militarists. It is the death blow to the hopes of those who expected the end of the war to bring peace. It is not a peace treaty, but a declaration of another war. It is the betrayal of democracy and of the fallen in the war. The treaty exposes the true aims of the Allies”.\textsuperscript{63} Thus, the Treaty of Versailles could not bring a lasting peace. It contained the seeds of a future war. No doubt, the Second World War was forthcoming just after 20 years from the Treaty of Versailles.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p.682.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p.683.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p.684.
The Second World War broke out owing to the aggravation of the economic and political contradictions of imperialism.\textsuperscript{64} After the First World War the unevenness of the capitalist countries' development became more marked. As a result of Germany's surrender in 1918 it ceased to be one of the big powers and was deprived of its colonies. However, by the mid-1930s with the help of American capital it had restored its potential and was the second in the capitalist world in the volume of industrial production.\textsuperscript{65} The division of the world after the First World War was neither to the liking of Germany, nor Japan, nor Italy. All these led to the drastic exacerbation of international contradictions, made more acute the struggle of the imperialist powers for the sources of raw materials, markets, spheres of application of capital, domination over other peoples, the redivision of the world and the establishment of world supremacy.\textsuperscript{66} The political goal of world capital in the Second World War was the striving to undermine the international revolutionary movement and crush the decisive force of world progress, the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{67} American imperialism which helped to create the war machine of Hitler's Germany, bears great responsibility for the preparations for the Second World War.

The aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers caused two hostile blocs to be formed: the Anglo-French-American bloc and the German-Japanese-Italian bloc which began to prepare for another world war.\textsuperscript{68} The German-Japanese-Italian bloc took shape in the form of the Anti-Comintern Pact and made its goal not only

\textsuperscript{64} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.582.
\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Ibid.}, p.583
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Ibid.}
the redivision of the world but also the establishment of fascist orders in all countries, thereby presenting great dangers to mankind. Germany calculated on subjugating the whole of Europe as far as the Urals to establish its world supremacy. Italy was striving to recreate the Roman empire and subordinate to itself a considerable part of Africa, the Middle East, and the Balkans and turn the Mediterranean Sea into a "land locked Italian Sea". Japan wished to dominate in the Pacific Ocean and in Asia right up to the Urals. Striving to direct the aggressive aspirations of Germany, Japan and Italy against the Soviet Union, and to encourage them to go to war with it Britain, France and the USA hoped that after the aggressive bloc had been considerably weakened by war, they would crush their rivals and implement their own plans for world domination.70

The causation of the Second World War may be traced briefly. Early in 1938, as soon as Hitler assumed supreme command of all the armed forces of the Reich, aggressive action began. After turbulent demonstrations organised by the Austrian Nazis, German troops marched in on 12 March and occupied Vienna. 71 There was no resistance and Austria was included in the Reich. The effect of the occupation of Austria on Czechoslovakia was that German power now faced her on a greatly extended frontier. The Sudeten Germans settled in Czechoslovakia grew restive with the support of the German Government. On 29 September a meeting of Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier agreed on the cession of the Sudeten territories to the Reich and the Czechoslovak

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
Government submitted to the terms.\textsuperscript{72} But submission was not enough. On 15 March 1939 Hitler forced the Czechoslovak President to agree that the old provinces of Bohemia and Moravia should come under the protection of the Reich. Very soon the German troops occupied the said provinces. Slovakia was left with a nominal independence; but six and a half million Czechs were now brought once more under German rule.\textsuperscript{73} Immediately after the Czechoslovak capitulation, Hitler demanded the cession of Memel and surrounding districts from Lithuania. It was occupied on 21 March and the re-militarisation of this Baltic port began at once.\textsuperscript{74}

These were the build-up of the events leading to the outbreak of the Second World War. The immediate cause for the outbreak arose when at about the same time as the ultimatum to Lithuania was presented, Germany dictated to Poland the terms for return of Danzig to the Reich and for an extra-territorial belt across the corridor.\textsuperscript{75} Great Britain and France declared their commitment to lend all support to Poland in case Polish independent was threatened. When Poland refused to give way, it was left for Germany to open hostility by a concerted invasion of Polish territory.\textsuperscript{76} On 1 September 1939 Germany attacked Poland.\textsuperscript{77} Within three weeks of the outbreak of the war, Poland was defeated.\textsuperscript{78} Immediately after the attack on Poland, Britain and France declared war

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., pp.270-271.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p.273.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., pp.273-274.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., pp.274, 278.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., p.278.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., p.682.
on Germany on 3 September 1939. But the Anglo-French Supreme Council decided to pursue a passive defensive tactics in the war against Germany hoping to divert the fascist aggression further east against the USSR. From September 1939 to May 1940 the so-called "phony war" was being fought in the west. As soon as the spring of 1940 commenced, war suddenly assumed great speed. Germany attacked and occupied Denmark and Norway. After occupying Denmark and Norway on 10 May 1940 Germany marched against Belgium, Luxemburg and Holland which were occupied in a few days. The period of "phony war" had finished. On 5 June Germany were marching against France. On 22 June France signed the treaty terms as dictated by Germany. Between July and October 1940 Britain was bombarded by Germany.

On 10 June 1940 taking advantage of the situation, Italy declared war on France and Britain. On 24 June France had to sign a similar treaty of armistice with Italy. In September 1940 Marshal Graziani advanced towards Egypt, but could not go beyond Siddi Barrani, then it attacked Greece in October.

Germany after strengthening its western defences, turned to the eastern border. In November 1940, Germany managed to get Hungary,
Romania and Slovakia to join the Tripartite Pact.\textsuperscript{90} In the last months of 1940, Russia had to beat a retreat before the increasing influence of Germany in the region. Germany was permitted to send help to its armies in Norway via Finland.\textsuperscript{91} On 1 March 1941 Bulgaria was forced to join Germany's "New Order" and give way to German armies in its march towards Greece.\textsuperscript{92} On 6 April 1941 Yugoslavia had to bow before the German armies which now marched towards Greece.\textsuperscript{93}

On 27 September 1940 the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany, Japan and Italy was converted into a Tripartite Pact whose object was to establish a "New Order" in the continents of Asia and Europe.\textsuperscript{94} Thus Russia was surrounded on all sides by the "New Order". On 22 June 1941 the German armies crossed the Soviet Union's border without declaring war.\textsuperscript{95} In the first four months the Germans got possession of large area of Russia containing coal mines, iron mines, steel production and the best agricultural areas.\textsuperscript{96} However as the Russian winter became severe, the German armies were thrown back on all fronts.\textsuperscript{97}

After the German attack on the Soviet Union was launched, the character of the Second World War underwent a change. From an inter-imperialist war for the domination of the world, it became an anti-fascist people's war to the working people and other progressive sections of the

\textsuperscript{90} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.591.
\textsuperscript{91} S.P.Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, p.692.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid, p.693.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.590; S.P.Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, p.694.
\textsuperscript{95} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.593.
\textsuperscript{96} S.P.Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, p.695.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.
world. For the Soviet people it was a Great Patriotic War. The Soviet Government made serious efforts to build up an anti-fascist coalition. On 29 September – 1 October 1941, at a conference of the representatives of the USSR, the USA and Britain in Moscow mutual military and economic aid was discussed, and agreement was reached on military supplies.98 On 7 November 1941 the USA extended its lend-lease law to the USSR and granted a loan of one thousand million dollars without interest.99 This promoted the development of relations among the three main parties to the anti-Hitler Coalition.

After the fall of France and Holland, Japan increased its pressure upon Indo-China and Indonesia. On 7 December 1941 it suddenly attacked the US Naval Base at the Pearl Harbour. Thus Japan entered the war with a big explosion and all on a sudden on the side of the Fascist nations and its main target was America's naval power in the Pacific.100 After the Pearl Harbour it attacked the Philippines and very soon occupied it within a few months Japan had a full occupation of Malaya, Burma and Indonesia.101

Meanwhile the fortunes of the war began to change in North Africa. These combined armies of the USA and Britain was able to defeat the armies of General Rommel.102 The greatest advantage which befell the Allied nations by their victory in North Africa was that they could now attack Europe at a point where it was comparatively less fortified.103

98 V. Alexandrov, op.cit., p.593.
99 Ibid., p.597.
101 Ibid., p.700.
102 Ibid., pp.700-701.
103 Ibid., p.701.
The attack on Italy began in July 1943. On 3 September 1943 Italy surrendered unconditionally.\textsuperscript{104} In the summer of 1942 Hitler launched a severe offensive on the Soviet Union. At this juncture the ferocious battle of Stalingrad was fought which became the turning point in the Second World War. This turning point in the Second World War was prepared first and foremost by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people by providing the front with more arms and equipments than German industry. The upswing in the economy achieved by the Soviet people paved the way for a turning point in Stalingrad.\textsuperscript{105} The Battle of Stalingrad was fought on a territory of almost 100,000 square kilometers. More than two million man took part in it on both sides. Germany and its allies concentrated fifty divisions, i.e., more than one million men and officers in the Stalingrad sector. The German offensive on the Stalingrad sector began on 23 July 1942.\textsuperscript{106} The Soviet Supreme High Command worked out a plan for a counter-offensive near Stalingrad which the Soviet troops began on 19 November 1942. Twenty-two German divisions comprising more than 300,000 men were surrounded in the Stalingrad sector from which they could not escape.\textsuperscript{107} On the night of 31 January 1943, the Battle of Stalingrad ended in the surrender and taking captive of the besieged German troops headed by Field Marshall Paulus.\textsuperscript{108} The victory at Stalingrad allowed the Red Army to take strategic initiative and launch an offensive on all fronts from Leningrad to the Caucasus.\textsuperscript{109} Now the Russians counterattacked and the Red Army began to retake one city after another. By January 1944, the Red Army had reached eastern Poland and

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.604.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., p.605.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
in April they entered Rumania.\footnote{110} In January 1944, German troops were ejected from Finland and the Red Army began to advance along the Baltic coast.\footnote{111}

In April 1942, a decision was arrived at to open a second front in west Europe and preparations for an attack were begun in January 1944. On 6 June 1944 attack was launched and within 24 hours more than 225,000 soldiers were landed and began to advance rapidly.\footnote{112} On 19 August Paris was liberated and the Government of General De Gaulle was established. By 15 September the entire France was liberated.\footnote{113} In the summer of 1944 Russian armies began to move towards the west. After Rumania it was not at all difficult to occupy Bulgaria and Hungary. In the meantime, Yugoslavia had successfully expelled the German armies and declared its independence.\footnote{114} By April 1945 German air power was crushed. The Russians occupied Berlin on 2 May 1945 and on 8 May the German navy surrendered unconditionally and thus ended the terrible Second World War in Europe.\footnote{115}

In the Pacific, by July 1944 the Americans occupied the Marina Islands from where it was possible to launch attacks upon Japan. By 5 January 1945, America had occupied Luzon, Manila and other important Philippine cities. By May 1945, the Allied nations had reoccupied Burma.\footnote{116} After the fall of Germany no other way was open to Japan except surrender. On 6 August an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

\footnote{110}{S.P. Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, p.702.}
\footnote{111}{Ibid.}
\footnote{112}{Ibid., p.703.}
\footnote{113}{Ibid.}
\footnote{114}{Ibid.,p.704.}
\footnote{115}{Ibid.}
\footnote{116}{Ibid., p.705.}
by the U.S.A. On 8 August Russia declared war on Japan and another atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki by the U.S.A.\textsuperscript{117} On 14 August, Japan accepted all the terms laid down by the allied nations. On 2 September 1945 it signed the act of unconditional surrender.\textsuperscript{118} With Japan's surrender the Second World War ended.

The Second World War which lasted six years, ended in the victory of the anti-fascist coalition. Sixty-one states, in which eighty per cent of the world's population lived, participated in the war and military operations were carried out on the territories of 40 states.\textsuperscript{119} During the war an army of 110 million people was mobilized and more than three million of the civilian population took part in the armed anti-fascist struggle.\textsuperscript{120} More than 50 million people were killed, 12 million annihilated in fascist concentration camps, and 95 million were left invalids.\textsuperscript{121} The military spending of the states that fought in the war came to 1,117,000 million dollars.

The main burden of the war was shouldered by the Soviet Union, whose part was decisive in defeating the fascist aggressors. During the war the Soviet troops destroyed, took prisoner or put collectively out of operation 507 German divisions and 100 divisions of Germany's European allies.\textsuperscript{122} More than 10 million German men and officers were killed, taken prisoner or wounded on the Soviet-German front. On the other fronts, in the battles with the Anglo-American forces Germany lost

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{119} V. Alexandrov, \textit{op.cit.}, p.692.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.
only 130 divisions and approximately 1,900,000 men and officers. Its own losses are also evidence of the decisive contribution made by the Soviet people. The USSR lost over 20 million people in the war. The losses sustained by other powers were immeasurably less. Thus throughout the war only 405,000 US citizens and 375,000 Britons were killed.

The Second World War relatively weakened the positions of capitalism in the world. It also resulted in an essential change in the balance of forces between the capitalist countries. The share of British, French, Dutch and Belgian imperialism in the economy of the capitalist world diminished. At the same time, the American monopoly corporations made huge profits during the war and US imperialism seized the commanding heights not only in many spheres of the economy, but also in the political life of capitalist countries.

A new stage in the development of the world socialist revolution began during the war. The liberation, anti-fascist struggle in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania grew into people’s and socialist revolutions and caused these countries to break away from the capitalist system.

During the war the crisis of imperialism’s colonial system became more acute, and a mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement began. Conditions emerged for the victory of the people’s revolution in

\[123\] ibid.
\[124\] ibid.
\[125\] ibid., p.693.
\[126\] ibid., p.694.
\[127\] ibid.
\[128\] ibid.
China, Korea and Vietnam, and for India, Burma and other colonial countries to gain their independence.\textsuperscript{129}

Among the revolutionary movements which surged on a colossal scale, a separate treatment of those in China and Burma will be made because the People’s Democratic Revolution in China had the greatest impact in Asia and in other parts of the world and Burma is the neighbouring country to Manipur.

\textbf{The Political Developments in China}

The handing over of all the special “rights” previously seized by Germany in Shandong province including the occupation of Qingdao and the control of the mines located along the Jiaozhou-Jinan Railway line by the Versailles Treaty to Japan sparked off a strong students’ movement on 4 May 1919.\textsuperscript{130} The May 4\textsuperscript{th} Movement, as it came to be called, developed into a combined revolutionary movement of workers, students and merchants. In the face of the pressure exerted by the movement the reactionary government was forced on 28 June 1919 to refuse to sign the Versailles Peace Treaty.\textsuperscript{131}

The Communist Party was founded in July 1921 in Shanghai and began to organize the working class movements. Soon the Communist Party worked out a policy of building a united front with the Kuo Min Tang.\textsuperscript{132} In 1924 the Kuo Min Tang with the active participation of the Communist Party organized itself as a revolutionary party and waged war

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., p.141.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., p.145.
against the counter-revolutionary forces.\textsuperscript{133} The first stage of the Revolutionary Civil War ended when on 12 April 1927 Chiang Kai Shek launched a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Shanghai and massacred many workers and communists.\textsuperscript{134} During the Second Revolutionary Civil War (August 1927- June 1937) Chiang Kai Shek emerged victorious in the inter-faction wars because of a large amount of aid from the United States and Great Britain and the internal financial magnates.\textsuperscript{135} The Chiang Kai Shek regime carried out a savage and inhuman slaughter of a large number of communists and other revolutionaries. The Communist Party built up a Red Army and heroically fought the offensive of the Chiang Kai Shek regime. In 1930 the Communist Party could establish several revolutionary bases.\textsuperscript{136} As the Red Army gained its strength and the revolutionary bases expanded, the reactionary troops of Chiang Kai Shek launched a campaign of “encirclement and suppression” against the revolutionary bases.\textsuperscript{137} By the end of 1931 Japanese Imperialism began the formal conquest of Manchuria knowing that China had no power to resist and given to understand that it was free to act against the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{138} In 1932 Shanghai was invaded. The Nanking Government led by Chiang Kai Shek signed an agreement dictated by Japanese Imperialism.\textsuperscript{139} The Nanking Government adopted the humiliating policy of “non-resistance” to Japanese invasion.\textsuperscript{140} Instead he repeatedly unleashed his “encirclement and suppression” campaign against the

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., pp.155-156.
\textsuperscript{135} Jian Bozan, et.al., op.cit., pp.175-176.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., pp.182-184.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., p.185.
\textsuperscript{138} M.N. Roy, op.cit., p.508.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
revolutionary bases.\textsuperscript{141} During the course of the Fifth Counter-Encirclement Campaign, the leaders of the "Left" opportunist line made a series of bad mistakes, which caused great loses to the Red Army. In October 1934, finding the need of a strategic shift of position, the Red Army, totaling about 100,000 men left the Jiangsi Revolutionary base, and began the celebrated Long March.\textsuperscript{142} After breaking through four enemy cordons, the Red Army reached Tsunyi on 6 January 1935.\textsuperscript{143} There in January 1935 an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party was held to save the imperilled Red Army and China's revolutionary cause. The Tsunyi Conference put an end to the rule of the "Left" line in the Central Committee of the Party and, in particular, to the military mistakes of "Left" opportunism, and established Mao Tse Tung's position as leaders of the whole Party.\textsuperscript{144}

After the Tsunyi Conference the Party adopted the military line of mobile warfare, and with the army reorganized and equipment and baggage reduced, proceeded to bewilder and elude the enemy with rapid, unpredictable manoeuvres.\textsuperscript{145} It was decided at the Tsunyi Conference that the Red Army should continue its northward march. During the twelve months from October 1934 to October 1935, the Central Red Army marched for 12,500 kilometres through eleven provinces, climbed high snow-covered mountains, crossed grasslands with practically no sign of life, and smashed the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception attempted by the enemy, and reached the Shaanxi

\textsuperscript{141} Jian Bozan, \textit{et.al, op.cit.}, p.189.
\textsuperscript{142} Ho Kan-Chih, \textit{A History of The Modern Chinese Revolution}, Calcutta, Books & Periodicals, 1977, p.133.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., p.134.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
Revolutionary Base in triumph to join forces with the Red Army there. At the time of its arrival in Shaanxi, the Red Army had dwindled to less than 30,000; nevertheless, these constituted the flower of the Red Army and Party, and the greatest treasure of the Chinese people. The victorious conclusion of the Long March demonstrated that the Chinese people’s forces, led by the Communist Party was unconquerable.

Considering the new changes in the class relations in the face of Japanese aggression, the Chinese Communist Party issued an appeal on 1 August 1935 proposing a cessation of civil war and united action against Japan. This appeal along with the growth of the national salvation movement had a great impact on a section of the Kuomintang army. On 12 December 1936 some military leaders of the Kuomintang refused to accept Chiang Kai Shek’s orders to attack the Red Army. Instead they arrested Chiang Kai Shek and detained him in Xian. They presented him with eight demands including a demand for the cessation of civil war and co-operation with the communists to resist Japan. The Communist Party advocated peaceful settlement of the incident on condition that Chiang Kai Shek agreed to national unity and resistance to Japan. Chiang Kai Shek was released after having been forced to accept these conditions. The Xian incident was a turning point in the situation. The

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146 Ibid., p.136.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid., p.192.
149 Ibid., p.193.
151 Jian Bozan, op.cit., p.196.
152 Ibid.
civil war which had lasted nearly ten years, virtually came to an end and a
new period began.153

During the period of the war of Resistance Against Japan (July
1937 – September 1945) Japanese imperialism sought to convert China
into a colony for its exclusive exploitation. It launched a fierce attack on
the outskirts of Beijing on 7 July 1937.154 The following day the
Communist Party issued a manifesto to the whole nation calling for
armed resistance. In September the Kuomintang and the Chinese
Communist Party formally announced their renewed cooperation and the
establishment of the Anti-Japanese United Front.155 While the Red Army
led by the Communist Party and the Kuomintang were engaged in a
protracted war against the Japanese imperialists, the international
situation was changing in a favourable way. On 2 August 1945 the Red
Army of the USSR entered Berlin.156 On 8 August 1945 the USSR
declared war on Japan.157 On 10 August the People’s Republic of
Mongolia declared war on Japan.158 On 9 August Mao Zedong issued a
statement, calling on the people to launch a final all-out offensive against
the Japanese.159 On 14 August 1945, Japan announced its unconditional
surrender, formally signing the documents on 2 September.160 After eight
years of hard struggle by the Chinese people, the war of Resistance ended
in victory.

153 Ibid.
154 Ibid., p.198.
155 Ibid., p.199.
156 V. Alexandrov, op.cit., p.622.
157 Ibid., p.623
158 Jian Bozan, et.al., op.cit., p.216.
159 Ibid., p.217.
After the War of Resistance ended, the Kuomintang wanted to start a civil war and wipe out the Communist Party. However, the Communist Party made all-out effort to bring about a national unification on the basis of peace, democracy and unity and pressed for the avoidance of civil war. After a Kuomintang attack against the Liberated Areas in the Shangdang region and the Handan region was defeated by the People's Liberation Army, the Kuomintang signed a truce agreement with the Communist Party on 10 January 1946. On the same day a Political Consultative Conference opened at Chongqing in which the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and other non-party democratic personages attended. The conference adopted resolutions favourable to the cause of peace, democracy and unity. However, after the conference closed the Kuomintang expressed its opposition to the resolutions it had just endorsed. Very soon it brazenly broke the truce agreement. In April and May 1946 it once again launched a large-scale campaign on the Liberated Areas in north-east China. In this venture of a civil war Chiang Kai Shek was encouraged and given material support by the United States.

Beginning with an encirclement campaign with an assembled army of 300,000 men against the Liberated Areas on the Hubei-Hunan border on 26 June 1946, Chiang Kai Shek launched on all-out offensive against all the Liberated Areas in July. The People's Liberation Army adopted the strategy of mobile defence and expanded its regular forces from 1,280,000 to 2,000,000 men. By September 1947 the People's Liberation Army went on the offensive on a nation-wide scale. In the

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162 Ibid., pp.219-220.
163 Ibid., p.221.
164 Ibid., pp.222-223.
spring and summer of 1948 it successively attacked and captured a large number of strongly defended towns and cities. In the three major campaigns which took place after September 1948 the People's Liberation Army wiped out the main force of the Kuomintang army and liberated the whole of North East China. The three major campaigns enabled the Chinese people's revolution to win a fundamental military victory. In April 1949 the PLA advanced southward and liberated Nanjing, the centre of Kuomintang reactionary rule, thus formally ending that rule. By the end of 1949, the whole of the mainland with the exception of Tibet was liberated.

After the overthrow of the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang throughout the country, the Chinese people set about establishing their own state. On 21 September 1949 the First Plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened in Beijing which adopted the common programme of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference following a discussion on the draft proposals submitted by the Communist Party. On 1 October 1949 the People’s Republic of China was inaugurated. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China began a new epoch in China’s history, the great epoch of transition to socialism under the people’s democratic dictatorship.

**The Political Developments in Burma**

In Burma after the defeat of the peasants’ rebellion which broke out in Therawaddy in Lower Burma under the leadership of Saya San in 1930-32 was put down mercilessly, there was a short lull in the political

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165 Ibid., pp.229-230.
166 Ibid., p.232.
167 Ibid., pp.233-234.
movements. A group of young revolutionaries emerged among the students in the Rangoon University. When they left the university these young revolutionaries formed a political party named Dobana Asi-ayone meaning “We Burmese Organisation” in 1935. The members of the organisation adopted the title Thakin meaning “master”.

In 1936 a students’ strike led by Aung San and Maung Nu shook the Rangoon University. The Thakin’s organisation was strengthened by the joining of the two leaders. Aung San soon became its General Secretary. As the Second World War broke out in Europe, Aung San contacted the Japanese Government and arranged for military training of “Thirty Comrades” including himself in the Japanese territory of Formosa. In December 1941 the Burma Independence Army was launched in Bangkok. Aung San and his group genuinely believed that the Japanese would declare Burma to be a sovereign state the moment war broke out between Japan and the Allies. But when the Burma Independence Army marched into Burma along with the Japanese troops, the Japanese promise of Burmese independence turned out to be specious. The period of Japanese rule lasted only three years but to the Burmese people it was more irksome than some sixty years of British

169 Maung Htin Aung, op.cit., p.295.
170 Aung San Suu Kyi, op.cit., p.11.
174 Aung San Suu Kyi, op.cit., p.20.
175 Maung Htin Aung, op.cit., p.300.
rule.\textsuperscript{177} In addition to the widespread feeling that the Japanese had maliciously broken their promise of granting independence, the Burmese people were angry at being subjected to acts of tyranny and barbarous treatment.\textsuperscript{178}

Aung San realized that he and his comrades had committed a blunder by inviting the Japanese fascists.\textsuperscript{179} With the cooperation of the communists and the socialists Aung San soon organised the Anti-Fascist Organisation (AFO) secretly to offer resistance against the Japanese fascists.\textsuperscript{180} Aung San secretly negotiated with the British authorities.\textsuperscript{181} In March 1945 General Aung San received the long-awaited signal from the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Louis Mountbatten, and he and his army mutinied.\textsuperscript{182} There were simultaneous uprisings by civilians all over the country. By 15 June 1945, a victory parade was held in Rangoon at which the Burmese army participated alongside units representing British Empire and Allied forces.\textsuperscript{183} In August 1945 the AFO was expanded to include organisations and individuals representing a broad spectrum of social and political interests and renamed the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL).\textsuperscript{184} After the Second World War was over, the AFPFL became the most representative political party in Burma.\textsuperscript{185} Meanwhile on 27 January 1947 an agreement was signed in London between the British government and the Burmese delegation led by Aung

\textsuperscript{177} Maung Htin Aung, \textit{op.cit.}, p.301.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179} Aung San Suu Kyi, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., p.29.
\textsuperscript{181} Maung Htin Aung, \textit{op.cit.}, p.301.
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid., p.302.
\textsuperscript{183} Aung San Suu Kyi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.31.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{185} F.S.V. Dinnison, \textit{op.cit.}, p.132.
San. Aung San’s critics were not satisfied, however. U Saw and Thakin Ba Sein dissociated themselves from the agreement. There was a breach between him and Thakin Than Tun, the communist leader. Finally, Thakin Than Jun and the Communist Party were expelled from the AFPFL.

In the election for the Constituent Assembly, the AFPFL won absolute majority. U Saw was greatly disappointed. He decided to seize power by force before independence was actually granted and gathering arms and followers he directed the assassination of Aung San on 19 July 1947. Aung San and his entire cabinet were mowed down by three gunmen in the conference room of the cabinet. Thakin Nu, the President of the Constituent Assembly was nominated to form a new cabinet. On 4 January 1948 Burma became a sovereign independent republic.

Burma after independence was in a critical situation. The Burmese as a nation were fully aware of the trials, tribulations and dangers that were awaiting them only around the corner. The White Communists and the Red Communists had already gone underground. The White Band P.V.O. accepted the communists’ contention that the independence obtained was not real since Burma was still within the British sphere of influence. The Karens, who later rose in rebellion against the Burmese
government, were against the treaty because they held that they had been let down by the British.\footnote{Ibid., p.313.}

The lowest point in the government's fortunes was reached in February – March 1949. Advancing rebel forces seized Insein, 11 miles from Rangoon; fighting took place at Thamaing, a suburb of Rangoon; and many major towns were in the hands of the rebels.\footnote{F.S.V. Donnison, \emph{op.
\cs{cit.}}., p.143.} Geographically, the greater part of the country and with the single but important exception of Rangoon, by far the most important part, was in the hands of the rebels.\footnote{Ibid.} So desperate was the situation that a majority of U Nu's cabinet, socialists and P.V.O. wished to surrender to the communists. It was only U Nu's desperate determination and the support of the independent groups in the cabinet, many of them not in fact Burmese, that kept the fight going.\footnote{Ibid., p.144.} Indeed, it was almost inconceivable that a Government could be so deeply engulfed in war and chaos and yet climb out of its difficulties.

Four factors saved the government. First and foremost ironically, was the continued and altogether admirable loyalty, discipline and courage of the Karen, Chin, and Kachin battalions of the army although frequently fighting against their own people.\footnote{Ibid.} A second factor was the total absence of any common organization, plan, or long term purpose among the rebels.\footnote{Ibid., p.145.} A third factor was that the government continued to hold Rangoon which meant that it controlled exports of rice and was, by
the sale of these, enabled to raise some funds and that it was able to pay for and receive material support from outside.\textsuperscript{201} Lastly there were the facts that the government was actually in position and that it controlled what remained of the administrative machine that it had been formally recognized by foreign states.\textsuperscript{202} The government fought on and by November 1949 it had wrested the initiative from its opponents. Through 1950 and 1951 its forces slowly recaptured some of the lost towns and reopened some of the lines of communication.

By 1950 the Burmese government had retaken the territory lost to the Karens and the Communists, and to the P.V.O.\textsuperscript{203} By 1951 U Nu had turned his attention toward the creation of a welfare state, Pyidawthar, or “the country of peace and prosperity”.\textsuperscript{204} U Nu was the central figure after independence, and the epoch ended with his fall in March 1962.

The National Political Situation

The establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC), the Muslim League (1906), the Hindu Mahasabha (1906) and such other organisations are very important landmarks in the history of India’s National Movement.\textsuperscript{205} The Indian National Congress, the most important national organisation which led and carried on the freedom movement was wedded to non-violence and moral force.\textsuperscript{206} The early Congressmen who dominated the affairs of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905 were known as the Moderates. They belonged to a class which was

\textsuperscript{201} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{202} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{203} Maung Htin Aung, \textit{op.cit.}, p.317.
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid., p.319.
\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., p.58.
Indian in blood and colour but British in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. They had faith in the British sense of justice and fairplay.\textsuperscript{207} Surendranath Banerjee said, "To England we look for guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples. England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty."\textsuperscript{208} The political methods of the Moderates can be summed up briefly as constitutional agitation within the four walls of the law and slow, orderly political progress.\textsuperscript{209}

The Bengal Partition of 1905 brought forth a militant movement in Bengal.\textsuperscript{210} While the ill-treatment of Indians abroad created resentment in the country, certain international developments like the rise of Japan after 1868, the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia and of Russia by Japan served as a harbinger of the rise of the East.\textsuperscript{211} Inspired by these events, the Indian people felt that if the European nations could be defeated by an Asiatic country, it was also possible for the Indians to drive away the Englishmen from their country.\textsuperscript{212} The educated Indians absorbed the Western ideas of democracy, nationalism and radicalism and became the strongest advocate of militant nationalism.\textsuperscript{213} The treatment given to them by the foreigners added to their bitterness. All these factors were the background

\textsuperscript{207} V.D. Mahajan, \textit{Modern Indian History}, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 2005, p.385.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.385-386.
\textsuperscript{210} V.D. Mahajan, \textit{op.cit.}, p.395.
\textsuperscript{211} \textit{Ibid.}, p.397.
\textsuperscript{212} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{213} \textit{Ibid.}
for the emergence of the Extremists to the fore in the Congress organisation.

In 1905, the conflict between the British industrialists and the Indian industrialists got aggravated. The slogan of Swadeshi which evolved from this conflict was the symbol of extremist politics.\textsuperscript{214} The Swadeshi movement which, till then, was confined mainly to the socio-economic sphere, acquired political significance in 1905.\textsuperscript{215} Besides encouraging indigenous industries, it also included the boycott of foreign goods. Just as the slogan of Swadeshi in the socio-economic sphere, so the slogan of Swaraj also came to be raised in the political sphere during the same time.\textsuperscript{216} Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal – the triumvirate leaders of the Extremists placed before the people a programme of action comprising Swadeshi, boycott of British goods and a national education policy.\textsuperscript{217} In 1906 the Congress Session at Calcutta adopted this programme. Tilak gave people the slogan “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall definitely achieve it”.\textsuperscript{218} In 1914 the Annual Session of the Congress at Madras had adopted a Resolution on ‘Swaraj’.\textsuperscript{219} In 1916 the Lucknow Session of the Congress passed a resolution requesting the British Government to raise India’s political status from that of dependency to the status enjoyed by other Independent nations of the British Empire.\textsuperscript{220} The Extremists added a glorious chapter

\textsuperscript{215} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{216} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{218} A.P. Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.63.
\textsuperscript{220} A.P. Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.63.
to the history of the nationalist movement. They clarified its objectives, taught people self-confidence and self-reliance and prepared the social basis of the movement to include the lower middle classes, students, youth and women.\(^\text{221}\)

In 1916-18 the ‘Home Rule’ movement was conducted under the initiative of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Basant.\(^\text{222}\) The Movement was intended to substitute ‘Home Rule’ for India in place of British Rule.\(^\text{223}\) In 1916-17 the movement was intensified. The government resorted to its usual repression. As the British government announced its intention to grant responsible government by stages and in 1919 the Government of India Act was actually passed; the Home Rule Movement slackened.\(^\text{224}\)

The end of the World War I brought repressive legislation and martial law in the Punjab with the bitter sense of humiliation and passionate anger following. The manhood of the country was being crushed and the inexorable and continuous process of exploitation was deepening the poverty and sapping the vitality of the people.\(^\text{225}\) India had become a derelict nation.

At this juncture Gandhi’s advent in the Indian political scenario was to serve as a beacon of light and a pathfinder to the Indian people. In

\(^\text{221}\) V.D. Mahajan, \textit{op.cit.}, p.398.
\(^\text{222}\) A.P. Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.64.
\(^\text{223}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{224}\) Ibid
\(^\text{225}\) Jawaharlal Nehru, \textit{The Discovery of India}, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985, p.357.
1915 he returned to India a disciple, as he believed of Gokhale.\textsuperscript{226} Already forty-six, his twenty years in South Africa had transformed a gawky and rather unsuccessful London-trained lawyer into a wiry social activist with a formidable record of unconventional protest.\textsuperscript{227} On behalf of the racially disadvantaged Indian community in Natal, he had developed a form of protest which he called satyagraha, a ‘truth force’.\textsuperscript{228}

Gandhi spent a year sizing up the situation, and then two years experiencing with limited and unfashionable campaigns well away from the presidency cities. It was not till 1918 when Tilak was dying, that he came to the front.\textsuperscript{229}

Gandhi enlarged the Congress to a mass organisation. From the upper-class organisation, it began to assume the look of a vast agrarian organisation.\textsuperscript{230} The middle classes and the industrial workers also joined it.\textsuperscript{231} Setting aside the prevalent alternatives of just talking and passing resolutions or terroristic activity, action based on peaceful methods was to be the basis and objective of the Congress.\textsuperscript{232} A new technique of action was evolved, which, though perfectly peaceful, yet implied non-submission to what was considered wrong and as a consequence, a willing acceptance of the pain and suffering involved in this.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{230} Jawaharlal Nehru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.360.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
Meanwhile the Montague Chelmsford Report was brought out by the British Government in July 1918. The Congress Session in Bombay opposed it by declaring that “nothing less than self-government within the empire can satisfy the Indian people and by enabling it to take its rightful place as a free and self-governing nation in the British Commonwealth, strengthen the connection between Great Britain and India”.

Under Gandhiji’s leadership, the Congress called a hartal on 6 April 1919 in protest against the passing of the draconian Rowlatt Acts. In the events ensuing from the hartal, the British government shot down thousands of people in what came to be known as the Jallianwalabagh Massacre in the Punjab on 13 April 1919.

For many hitherto ‘moderate’ nationalists the Jalianwalabagh massacre was the turning point. The December 1919 Congress Session was shifted to Amritsar to highlight sense of betrayal and it was presided over by Motilal Nehru. Up till now no family could have been more staunchly pro-British than Motilal’s. He had censured his son Jawaharlal Nehru’s radical outbursts. Now he began to endorse them. Motilal abandoned his Savile Row suits and took to wearing the homespun clothes recommended by Gandhi. Although still opposed to any action outside the law, Motilal would join the imminent non-co-operation

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234 A.P. Srinivasamurthy, op.cit., p.69.
235 Ibid., p.71.
236 Ibid., p.72.
238 Ibid.
239 Ibid.
240 Ibid.
movement and make considerable sacrifice involved in withdrawing from legal practice.\textsuperscript{241}

It is indisputable that the months immediately before and after the Amritsar Congress were crucial for Indian politics. It marked the end of a historic period which we have termed the "Tilak Era", and the beginning of a new one named after Gandhi.\textsuperscript{242} Basic changes were taking place in the objectives of the freedom struggle as well as in the individuals and groups participating in it, in the method of the struggle and organizational forms.\textsuperscript{243} The entry of Tilak and his colleagues and the subsequent waves of mass upsurge that swept over the country had imparted a specific characteristic to the first two decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{244} Similarly, the entry of Gandhi and the subsequent events in the post-war years imparted their own specific characteristics to that period.\textsuperscript{245}

Having worked closely with the Muslims in Natal, Gandhi realised the importance of Hindu-Muslim collaboration in the struggle for swaraj and adopted the Khilafatist cause as a means to that end.\textsuperscript{246} The Muslims had been made uneasy by the misfortunes of Turkey before 1914; the further disasters which befell her thereafter caused widespread alarm.\textsuperscript{247} Britain was devastating the Caliphate and therefore must be resisted. The Khilafat movement was born to be fostered by the Pan-Islamic propaganda of the Young Turk movement and brought to strength by the

\textsuperscript{241} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{242} E.M.S. Namboodiripad, \textit{op. cit.}, p.146.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{246} John Keay, \textit{op.cit.}, p.479.
\textsuperscript{247} Percival Spear, \textit{op.cit.}, p.340.
dismemberment of Turkey at the close of the war.\textsuperscript{248} In 1920 during the Khilafat movement in which he participated Gandhiji moved a historic resolution declaring non-co-operation movement.\textsuperscript{249} When the 1920 Treaty of Sevres revealed that the Caliph would indeed loose out to the extent of ceding control over the holy places of Islam to the Arabs, it swung into action.\textsuperscript{250} Medals were to be returned, appointments declined, schools and government institutions boycotted. It was the non-cooperation movement carried on under the leadership of Gandhiji that had a great impact on the British attitude towards India’s demand for independence. In September 1920, a special session of the Congress at Calcutta passed the resolution for non-cooperation and elucidated the programme of “progressive non-violent non-cooperation” which was to be pursued until the said wrongs are righted and Swaraj is established.\textsuperscript{251}

In 1920-22 India was convulsed by a crescendo of satyagraha, swadeshi boycotts, strikes and disturbances in the great display of mass non-cooperation and organized protest yet witnessed.\textsuperscript{252} Gandhi at last emerged as its inspiration and, with the death of Tilak in 1920, he also became the dominant figure in the Congress.\textsuperscript{253} In 1927 all the political parties and the people of India greatly resented the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon for exclusion of Indians. The Congress adopted a Resolution stating that the Commission was appointed “in utter disregard of India’s right of self-determination” and called upon the people “to boycott the Commission at every stage and

\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{249} A.P. Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.74.
\textsuperscript{250} John Keay, \textit{op.cit.}, p.479.
\textsuperscript{251} A.P. Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.77.
\textsuperscript{252} John Keay, \textit{op.cit.}, p.477.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid.
in every form". On 2 February 1928 an all-India hartal was successfully observed when the Commission landed in Bombay.

In response to the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, in 1928, a committee headed by Motilal Nehru was appointed to determine the principles of the new constitution for India. The Motilal Nehru Report which was submitted in July 1928 was not accepted by many prominent leaders. Later Jinnah also opposed the Nehru Report. This disagreement led to the emergence of the demand for a "separate homeland for the Muslims". Jinnah became the leader of the agitation for Pakistan. The split which occurred in 1928 continued to operate as an adverse factor in the achievement of Indian Independence.

In December 1929 the Lahore Session of the Congress reiterated that "complete independence should be the goal of the Congress". It also authorized the AICC to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. Mahatma Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement by his historic march to Dandi, a village on the sea-coast about 322 kilometres from the Sabarmati Ashram, to make salt there on the sea-shore in defiance of Government's salt laws. After Gandhiji was arrested the movement was intensified. The scope of the Civil Disobedience was also expanded.

255 A.P. Srinivasamurthy, op.cit., p.87.
256 Ibid., pp.88-89.
257 Ibid., pp.89-90.
258 Ibid., p.90.
260 Ibid., p.576.
261 Ibid.
Meanwhile the advocacy of Hindu Rashtra by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj hurt the Muslim feelings in India. The Congress Party also came to be regarded as a Hindu Party by the Muslim League. The League leaders declared firmly that the salvation of the Muslim Community in India lay in a separate Muslim State. The stand taken by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League stirred up the communal passions.

In the wake of the changed world situation, in 1942, the British Imperial Government announced the appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps Mission to recommend proposals regarding the offer of Dominion Status for India. The Cripps proposal did not contain full independence for India. It did not satisfy any of the Indian parties. After the failure of the Cripps Mission, India’s struggle for Independence took a new turn and thence began the final phase of the movement known as the Quit India Movement.

Meeting at Bombay on 8 August 1942, the All India Congress Committee adopted the ‘Quit India’ resolution, repeating with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of British power from India, and sanctioned ‘a mass struggle on non-violent lives on the widest possible scale’ under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress delivered an ultimatum to the authorities in London giving 24 days’ time to the British Government to arrive at a political settlement with it on the
basis of the Quit India Resolution.\textsuperscript{269} On 9 August 1942 quite a large number of national leaders including Gandhi, Nehru etc. were arrested and jailed.\textsuperscript{270} The people were now roused and came out to challenge the British rule in India.

During 1943 the Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan became more emphatic.\textsuperscript{271} On 3 March 1943 the Legislative Assembly of Sind adopted the first official demand for Pakistan.\textsuperscript{272}

On 23 March 1946 a British Cabinet Mission visited India with the stated objective of allowing Indian people freedom to choose their own constitution and also freedom to decide whether India should continue in the British Commonwealth or not.\textsuperscript{273} After holding a series of discussions and conferences with the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League the Cabinet Mission issued a plan which envisaged a Union of India embracing both British India and the Indian states, with control over Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and power to raise the money required for such purposes.\textsuperscript{274} On the basis of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Viceroy invited the Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Muslim League President, Jinnah to assist him in the formation of an Interim Government. While Nehru accepted it Jinnah refused to cooperate.\textsuperscript{275}

\textsuperscript{269} A.P. Srinivasanurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.140.
\textsuperscript{270} Ibid., pp.141-142.
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., p.147.
\textsuperscript{272} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., p.157.
\textsuperscript{274} The Gazetteer of India, vol.2, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.583-584.
\textsuperscript{275} A.P. Srinivasanurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.158-159.
Before concluding, it will be befitting to deal briefly with other streams of the national movement which developed outside the Congress mainstream. The Revolutionary terrorist movement emerged rather early and separate from the Congress movement. The Revolutionary terrorist fell upon the cult of the bomb. ²⁷⁶ These youths did not try to generate mass revolution. Instead they tried to copy the methods of the Irish terrorists and the Russian Nihilists, that is to assassinate unpopular officials.²⁷⁷ A beginning had been made in this direction when, in 1897, the Chapekar brothers assassinated two unpopular British officials at Poona.²⁷⁸ Several assassination attempts were made on other unpopular British officials later. Many secret societies of terrorist youths came into existence. The most famous of these was the Anushilan Samiti whose Dacca section alone had 500 branches.²⁷⁹ Terrorism as a political weapon petered out. But the terrorists did make a valuable contribution to the growth of nationalism in India.

The 1930's witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within and outside the Congress.²⁸⁰ In 1929 there were economic distress and large scale unemployment in the capitalist world as a result of the economic depression. Meanwhile, industrial production grew by more than four times in the Soviet Union. The economic depression also worsened the conditions of the peasants and workers in India. Consequently, socialist ideas began to attract the youth, the workers and peasants.²⁸¹ Within the Congress the left-wing tendency found reflection in the election of

²⁷⁶ Bipan Chandra, op.cit., p.245.
²⁷⁷ Ibid., p.246.
²⁷⁸ Ibid.
²⁷⁹ Ibid., p.246.
²⁸⁰ Ibid., p.246.
²⁸¹ Ibid., p.292.
Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose as Presidents. Nehru urged the Congress to accept socialism as its goal and to bring itself closer to the peasantry and the working class. Besides the Congress Left Wing, there were the workers’ and peasants’ organizations and the Communists. The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded in 1920 and the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) was formed in 1936. After Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from the presidency of the Congress in 1939, he and his left-wing followers founded the Forward Bloc.

In the 1930’s the national movement spread to the princely states. Appalling economic, political and social conditions, prevailed in most of them. The British government began to use the princes to counter the rising national movement. The princes in turn depended on the British power for their self-preservation from popular revolt. The All-India States’ People’s Conference had already been founded in December 1927 to coordinate political activities in the states. Popular struggles were waged in many of the states, particularly in Rajkot, Jaipur, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore. The princes met these struggles with violent repression. The Congress supported the state’s people’s struggle and defined its goal of independence to include that of the princely

282 Ibid.
284 Bipan Chandra, op.cit., p.293.
285 Ibid., p.295.
286 Ibid.
287 Ibid.
288 Ibid.
states.\textsuperscript{289} This movement broadened the national consciousness and unity all over India.

The struggle of the Azad Hind Fauz under the leadership of Netaji Subhaschandra Bose after he quit the Congress in 1941 was the foremost violent revolutionary freedom struggle in the period 1942-45.\textsuperscript{290} Subhaschandra Bose left India incognito and reached Berlin on 25 March 1941 passing through Kabul and Moscow. After discussion with Hitler he formed one battalion of a ‘Free India Legion’, pooling together the Indians living in Germany in the first few months of 1942.\textsuperscript{291} There were 3,500 soldiers in the army which fought the British army soon with a view to forming a much bigger Indian army, he went to the Far-East in a submarine which Germany provided him. In the Far-East Netaji Bose made an agreement of alliance with the Japanese Government and organised the ‘Azad Hind Fauj’.\textsuperscript{292} The Indian soldiers taken by the Japanese as prisoners of war in Malaya joined this Azad Hind Fauj. The Azad Hind Fauj soldiers joined the Japanese and fought against the British bravely.\textsuperscript{293} Netaji Bose anticipated the collapse of the British Government as the Azad Hind Fauj advanced into India with the joining of the Indian soldiers of the British army and the people’s support.\textsuperscript{294} But, when Japan was forced to surrender in August 1945 all the plans of Bose failed.\textsuperscript{295} However, Bose’s attempt at mobilising an Indian army abroad

\textsuperscript{289} Ibid., p.296.
\textsuperscript{290} A.P.Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.54.
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid., p.55.
\textsuperscript{292} Ibid., p.56.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid.
and fighting against the British forces is one of the most exciting episodes in the annals of India’s freedom movement.

After the end of the World War II, the Indian people were generally rising up in revolutionary mass struggles despite communal clashes between Hindus and Muslims in many places. The Communist Party, Socialists and other leftists were able to play significant roles in these struggles.

Two events which took place towards the end of 1945 played a significant role in raising post-war anti-imperialist storms: the INA trial and the government’s decision to send Indian soldiers to South-East Asia. Demonstrations against the sentence of the INA leaders were held throughout the country in which several people were killed and several injured. Protest demonstrations were also staged all over the country against the government’s decision to send the Indian troops to South-East Asia to restore British imperialist domination.

The Congress leaders called upon the people to observe 25 October 1945 as ‘South-East Asia Day’ by which the Congress laid the foundation of the active role played later by the Congress leadership of the Indian government in the Bandung conference and other Asian developments.

The post-war people’s actions as well as the Quit India struggle and the formation and initial advance of the INA left their impact on the Indian soldiers of the British army. They could no longer tolerate the

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298 *Ibid*.
acid social discrimination practised by the British officers. The Indian airmen in the Royal Indian Air Force went on a strike against social discrimination. Meanwhile a secret organisation called the ‘Azad Hind’ had began to work in the Royal Indian Navy culminating in the mutiny of about 20,000 ratings in all the ships stationed in Bombay. On 19 February 1946, the ratings of the RIN stopped working and gave a notice to the government that unless their demands were met by a particular date, they would resign en bloc. The mutiny soon spread to the port cities like Vishakhapatnam, Calcutta and Karachi. In Bombay workers went on a strike and the people observed hartal in sympathy with the mutineers which was followed by the encounters between the workers and the police and military forces in the streets of Bombay on 22 February 1946. This was historically the most important incident of the post-war revolutionary upsurge.

However, Indian politics was proceeding before and after the war in a manner in which it was impossible to realise the RIN meeting to the level of a general armed revolt of all-India scale. The leaderships of the Congress and the League had already adopted the method of negotiation while the left, including the Communist Party, on the other hand, had not risen to the position of the national leadership of the Indian people including the members of the armed forces. Therefore, although the naval mutiny became a great event in the post-war upsurge, it did not

300 Ibid., p.488.
301 Ibid., p.489.
302 V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.422.
303 E.M.S. Namboodiripad, op.cit., p.489.
304 Ibid., p.491.
305 Ibid.
become the forerunner of Indian revolution as expected by the organisers of the mutiny.

The Indian national movement was plagued with the growth of communalism. The elections for the legislative assemblies, organized on the basis of restricted franchise and separate electorates had produced separatist sentiments. The Muslim League, led by Jinnah, now turned to bitter opposition to the Congress. It began to spread that the Muslim minority was in danger of being engulfed by the Hindu majority. It propagated the wrong theory that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations which could, therefore, never live together. The Muslim League propaganda gained by the existence of such Hindu communal bodies as the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu communalists also accepted the two-nation theory by declaring that the Hindus were a distinct nation. It is to be noted that none of the communal groups and parties, which talked of Hindu and Muslim nationalism, took active part in the struggle against foreign rule. They saw the people belonging to other religions and the nationalist leaders as the real enemies. The communal groups and parties also shied away from social and economic demands of the people.

In August 1946 as the Viceroy and the Congress proceeded to form the Interim Government, the Muslim League called to the Muslims to observe Direct Action Day on 16 August 1946 in order to demonstrate

306 Bipan Chandra, op.cit., p.296
307 Ibid.
308 Ibid.
309 Ibid.
310 Ibid., p.297.
311 Ibid.
more forcibly the Muslim determination to achieve Pakistan.\textsuperscript{312} The Direct Action Day proved to be the beginning of a fierce communal riot between the Muslims and the Hindus.\textsuperscript{313} It was reported that in the period over 7000 were killed and several thousands killed in Calcutta alone. The riot spread to Naokhali and Tipperah in East Bengal and Bihar. The Interim Government or the Provisional National Government was formed on 2 September 1946.\textsuperscript{314} The Muslim League joined the said government on 24 October 1946\textsuperscript{315}, but the League had already made it clear that they were joining the interim government as it would facilitate the formation of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{316} The entry of the League in the ministry was a continuation of the communal riot raging on the streets of Calcutta and villages in Noakhali, Bihar and other places.\textsuperscript{317} Two mutually competing parties in the government and two communities cutting the throat of each other in the streets and fields – this was the situation.\textsuperscript{318}

The entire Indian politics had entered new and more dangerous stage. The political conflicts that took place at the higher level during and after the formation of the interim government provided strength and extent to the communal riots at the lower level.\textsuperscript{319} Whatever the cause, the Hindus and Muslims had become two communities and willing to live together. The relation between the communities had become one of tensions and mutual annihilation. Nehru, Mountbatten and all others concerned recognized the disease for which there was no remedy other

\textsuperscript{312} The Gazetteer of India, vol.2, \textit{op.cit.}, p.584.
\textsuperscript{313} A.P.Srinivasmurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.162.
\textsuperscript{314} Ibid., p.159.
\textsuperscript{315} Ibid., p.159.
\textsuperscript{316} E.M.S. Namboodiripad, \textit{op.cit.}, p.518.
\textsuperscript{317} Ibid., p.507.
\textsuperscript{318} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{319} Ibid., p.528.
than surgery. Besides, once surgery had become inevitable, it had to be performed as early as possible. Accordingly, the British decided to advance the date of departure to 15 August 1947 from June 1948 as announced earlier.\textsuperscript{320} It was also decided that power would now be handed over not to the leaders of the undivided India but to the leaders of India and Pakistan.\textsuperscript{321}

At midnight on 14-15 August 1947, the British Government transferred political power to the new Dominions of India and Pakistan. Thus the British ‘Quit India’ parting with the “the brightest jewel of the Crown” and two free countries of India and Pakistan were born.\textsuperscript{322}

The independence of India involved the question of the integration of 600 and odd native states. The Indian Independence Bill required these native states to decide about their joining either India or Pakistan.\textsuperscript{323} This delicate and difficult task of integrating the states into the Indian Union was carried on by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel assisted by his Secretary, V.P. Menon. By 18 August 1947 all the important states except Bhopal, Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir joined the Indian Union.\textsuperscript{324} The remaining states also joined the Indian Union owing to the supreme efforts of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.\textsuperscript{325} The French colonies of Pondicherry, Mahe and Karaikal joined India in 1954 and the Portuguese colonies of Goa, Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli joined India in 1961.\textsuperscript{326}

\textsuperscript{320} Ibid., p.526.
\textsuperscript{321} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{322} A.P.Srinivasamurthy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.170.
\textsuperscript{323} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., p.171.
\textsuperscript{326} Ibid., p.172.