



# UDAAN 2025

## Nationalism in India

### Revision Notes

#### ★ Link between growth of modern nationalism and anti-colonial movement

- People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle with colonialism.
- The sense of being oppressed (उत्पीड़ित) under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied (बंधा होना) many different groups together.
- But each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently; their experiences were different, and their ideas of freedom were not always the same.
- The Congress under Mahatma Gandhi tried to unite these groups together within one movement.

#### ★ Impact of World War I on India

- The war created a new economic and political situation.
- It led to a huge increase in defence expenditure which was financed by war loans and increasing taxes: customs duties were raised and income tax introduced.
- Through the war years prices increased – doubling between 1913 and 1918 – leading to extreme hardship for the common people.
- Villages were called upon to supply soldiers, and the forced recruitment in rural areas caused widespread anger.
- Then in 1918-19 and 1920-21, crops failed in many parts of India, resulting in acute shortages of food.
- This was accompanied by an influenza epidemic. (महामारी)
- According to the census of 1921, 12 to 13 million people perished as a result of famines and the epidemic.
- At this stage India needed a leader to guide the Indian Politics

#### ★ Idea of Satyagraha

- Mahatma Gandhi returned to India on 9 January 1915. This day is now celebrated as Pravasi Bhartiya Diwas
- Gandhi came from South Africa where he had fought against the racist rule using his policy of Satyagraha.

#### SATYAGRAHA

- It suggested that if the cause (कारण) was true, if the struggle was against injustice (अन्याय)
- Then physical force (शारीरिक बल) was not necessary to fight the oppressor (अत्याचारी)
- Without seeking revenge or being aggressive, a satyagrahi could win the battle through nonviolence.
- Mahatma Gandhi believed that this dharma of non-violence could unite all Indians.

#### INITIAL SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENTS OF GANDHI

##### ★ Champaran Satyagraha (1917):

- Organized satyagraha movement against Indigo Plantation System in Champaran district of Bihar
- Land was measured in “kath” - a local unit
- According to the Teen-Kathia system - a farmer was required to grow indigo on 3/20th part of the land.
- Due to decrease in demand for indigo in the international market, European planters were facing a loss
- To recover the loss, they started demanding more revenues from Indian farmers.
- Gandhi was called to Champaran by a peasant called Rajkumar Shukla

##### ★ Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- Organised a satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat.
- Affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic, the peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue.
- They were demanding that revenue collection should be relaxed.



★ **Ahmedabad Satyagraha (1918)**

- Mahatma Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to organise a satyagraha movement amongst cotton mill workers.
- During August 1917-Jan 1918, plague spread in parts of Gujarat.
- To attract the workers to come to work - cotton mill owners announced plague bonus (extra payments)
- Mill owners stopped the bonus when plague got controlled.
- Due to World War, there was inflation and the workers wanted 50% hike in the wages, whereas mill owners were ready to give only 20%
- Gandhi organised a peaceful strike where he also went on a hunger strike to protect the rights of the workers.
- The wages were finally increased by 35%

★ **The Rowlatt Act (1919)**

- This Act had been hurriedly passed through the Imperial Legislative Council despite the united opposition of the Indian members.
- It gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities, and allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.
- It is also known as **Black Act** or “**No Appeal , No Vakeel, No Daleel**”
- It came to be known as Rowlatt as the sedition committee or the Rowlatt Commission was headed by Justice Sidney Rowlatt

★ **The Rowlatt Satyagraha**

- Mahatma Gandhi wanted non-violent civil disobedience against such unjust laws, which would start with a hartal on 6 April.
- Rallies were organised in various cities, workers went on strike in railway workshops, and shops closed down
- Alarmed by the popular protest, and scared that lines of communication such as the railways and telegraph would be disrupted, the British administration decided to respond using force on nationalists.
- Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar, and Mahatma Gandhi was stopped from entering Delhi.
- On 10 April, the police in Amritsar fired upon a peaceful procession, provoking widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations.
- Martial law was imposed and General Dyer took command.

★ **The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre**

- Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, also called Massacre of Amritsar was an incident in which British troops fired on a large crowd of unarmed Indians in an open space known as the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in Punjab.
- April 13, 1919, marked a turning point in the Indian freedom struggle.
- It was Baisakhi that day, a harvest festival popular in Punjab and parts of north India.
- Local residents in Amritsar decided to hold a meeting that day to discuss and protest against the confinement of Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew, two leaders fighting for Independence, and implementation of the Rowlatt Act, which armed the British government with powers to arrest any person without trial.
- The crowd had a mix of men, women and children.
- They all gathered in a park called the Jallianwala Bagh, walled on all sides but for a few small gates, against the orders of the British.
- The protest was a peaceful one, and the gathering included pilgrims visiting the Golden Temple who were merely passing through the park, and some who had not come to protest.
- While the meeting was on, Brigadier-General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer, who had crept up to the scene wanting to teach the public assembled a lesson, ordered 90 soldiers he had brought with him to the venue to open fire on the crowd.
- People died in huge numbers.



### ★ Response of the British

- The government responded with brutal repression, seeking to humiliate and terrorize people.
- Satyagrahis were forced to rub their noses on the ground, crawl on the streets, and do salaam (salute) to all sahibs.
- People were flogged (कोड़े लगाकर हाँकना) and villages (around Gujranwala in Punjab, now in Pakistan) were bombed.
- Gen Dyer was appreciated by many in Britain and the British in India.
- The massacre had been a calculated act and Dyer declared with pride that he had done it to produce 'moral effect' on the people and that he had made up his mind that he would shoot down all men if they were going to continue the meeting.
- The government set up the Hunter Commission to inquire into the massacre. Although the commission condemned the act by Dyer, it did not impose any disciplinary action against him.
- He was relieved of his duties in the army in 1920.

### ★ Response of the Indians

- As the news of Jallianwala Bagh spread, crowds took to the streets in many north Indian towns.
- There were strikes, clashes with the police and attacks on government buildings.
- National leaders condemned the act and Dyer.
- Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore in his letter of protest renounced the knighthood conferred on him, condemning the brutal act of Britishers.
- In protest against the massacre and the British failure to give due justice to the victims, Gandhiji gave up his title 'Kaiser-e-hind' given to him by the British for his services during the Boer War in South Africa.
- In December 1919, the congress session was held at Amritsar. It was attended by a large number of people, including peasants.

### ★ The Khilafat Issue and The Khilafat Movement

- While the Rowlatt satyagraha had been a widespread movement, it was still limited mostly to cities and towns.
- Mahatma Gandhi now felt the need to launch a more broad-based movement in India.
- No such movement could be organised without bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer together.
- One way of doing this, he felt, was to take up the Khilafat issue.

### ★ What was the Khilafat Issue?

- The Muslims all over the world, including India, regarded the sultan of Turkey as their spiritual leader, Khalifa (Caliph).
- During the First World War, Turkey had allied with Germany and Austria against the British.
- The Indian Muslims supported the government during the First World War with an understanding that the sacred places of the Ottoman Empire would be in the hands of Khalifa.
- However, after the War, the Ottoman Empire was divided, Turkey was dismembered and the Khalifa was removed from power.
- This angered the Muslims who took it as an insult to the Khalifa. The Ali brothers, **Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali** started the Khilafat Movement against the British government.
- In March 1919, the **All India Khilafat Committee** was formed under the leadership of the **Ali brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani**, in Bombay.
- Gandhiji saw this as an opportunity to bring Muslims under the umbrella of a unified national movement.
- At the Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920, he convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj.

### ★ Why Non-Cooperation?

- In his famous book Hind Swaraj (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation.
- If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come.



★ **How could non-cooperation become a movement?**

- Gandhiji proposed that the movement should unfold in stages.
- It should begin with the surrender of titles that the government awarded.
- Boycott of civil services, army, police, courts and legislative councils, schools, and foreign goods.
- Then, in case the government used repression, a full civil disobedience campaign would be launched.

★ **Internal problems in the Congress**

- Many within the Congress were, however, concerned about the proposals.
- They were not ready to boycott the council elections scheduled for November 1920.
- They feared that the movement might lead to popular violence.
- In the months between September and December there was an intense tussle (संघर्ष) within the Congress.
- For a while there seemed no meeting point between the supporters and the opponents of the movement.
- Finally, at the Congress session at Nagpur in December 1920, a compromise was worked out and the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.

★ **Different Strands within the movement**

- **The Movement In The Towns**
- The middle class started the movement, and thousands of students, teachers, and headmasters left government-controlled schools and colleges, and lawyers gave up their legal practices.
- On the economic front, the effects of non-cooperation were more. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore.
- The production of Indian textile mills and handlooms went up when people started boycotting foreign goods.

**Reasons for failure in towns**

- This movement slowed down due to a variety of reasons:
- Khadi clothes were expensive and the poor could not afford them.
- Few Indian institutions were there for students and teachers to choose from, so they went back to government schools, and lawyers joined back government courts.

**Rebellion in the countryside**

- **Peasant Struggle in Awadh**
- The Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside, where peasants and tribal movements were already developing in different parts of India.
- The peasant movement in Oudh or Awadh started against talukdars and landlords who demanded high rents and a variety of other taxes.
- It demanded a reduction of revenue, abolition of begar and social boycott of oppressive landlords.
- The movement was led by Baba Ramchandra-a sanyasi who returned from Fiji where he worked as indentured labour
- Jawaharlal Nehru, in June 1920, started going around the villages in Awadh to understand their grievances.
- In October, he, along with a few others, set up the Oudh Kisan Sabha, and within a month, 300 branches had been set up.
- In 1921, the peasant movement spread, and the houses of talukdars and merchants were attacked, bazaars were looted, and grain boards were taken over.
- In many places local leaders told peasants that Gandhi had declared that no taxes were to be paid and land was to be redistributed among the poor
- **Tribal Movement In Gudem Hills-Andhra Pradesh**
- In the early 1920s, a militant guerrilla movement started spreading in the Gudem Hills of Andhra Pradesh.
- The government started closing down forest areas, due to which their livelihood was affected.
- Finally, the hill people revolted, which was led by Alluri Sitaram Raju, who claimed that he had a variety of special powers.



★ **Swaraj In The Plantations**

- For plantation workers in Assam, freedom meant the right to move freely in and out and retain a link with the village from which they had come.
- Under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859, plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission.
- After they heard of the Non-Cooperation Movement, thousands of workers left the plantations and headed home.
- But unfortunately, they never reached their destination and were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.

★ **The Chauri Chaura Incident -Gorakhpur, UP**

- On February 4, 1922, a group of non-cooperation movement participants clashed with local authorities, attacked police officers, and burnt police stations which unfortunately led to the death of 22 police officers and three civilians.
- This incident occurred at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur region of Uttar Pradesh, then known as the United Provinces.
- Gandhi after this decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement. He believed that people need to be trained in non-violence.

★ **Towards Civil Disobedience**

- Some of the leaders wanted to participate in elections to the provincial councils. Swaraj Party was formed by CR Das and Motilal Nehru in 1923
- They felt that it was important to oppose British policies within the councils, argue for reform and also demonstrate that these councils were not truly democratic.
- In the late 1920s, Indian politics was again shaped because of two factors. The first effect was the worldwide economic depression, and the second effect was the falling agricultural prices.
- The Statutory(legal) Commission was set up under Sir John Simon to look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes.
- The Commission was set up under the Conservative (Tory) Party government in Britain.
- In 1928, Simon Commission arrived in India, and it was greeted by the slogan 'Go back, Simon'.

★ **Lahore Session and Purna Swaraj**

- In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress formalized the demand for 'Purna Swaraj' or full independence for India.
- It was declared that 26 January 1930 would be celebrated as Independence Day

★ **The Salt March and The Civil Disobedience Movement**

- On 31 January 1930, Mahatma Gandhi sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands.
- Among the demands, the most stirring of all was the demand to abolish the salt tax, which is consumed by the rich and the poor.
- The demands needed to be fulfilled by 11 March, or else Congress would start a civil disobedience campaign.
- The famous salt march was started by Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers.
- The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhi's ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarati coastal town of Dandi.
- On 6 April, he reached Dandi, and ceremonially violated the law, manufacturing salt by boiling seawater.
- This marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement. People were now asked not only to refuse cooperation with the British but also to break the colonial laws.

## Spread of the Movement

- The movement spread across the world and salt law was broken in different parts of the country.
- Foreign clothes were boycotted, peasants refused to pay revenue, and in many places, forest law was violated.
- In April 1930, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, was arrested.
- Mahatma Gandhi was arrested a month later, which led to attacks on all structures that symbolized British rule.
- **Gandhi-Irwin Pact- 5 March 1931**
- Mahatma Gandhi decided to call off the movement and entered into a pact with Irwin on 5 March 1931.
- Gandhiji agreed to participate in a Round Table Conference in London.
- When the conference was not successful, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India disappointed and relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- It continued for almost a year, but by 1934 it lost its momentum.

## ★ How Participants saw the movement?

- The Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh were active in the movement.
- They became enthusiastic supporters of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- But they were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off in 1931.
- So when the movement was restarted in 1932, many of them refused to participate.
- The poorer peasants joined a variety of radical movements, often led by Socialists and Communists.
- To organise business interests, the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1920 and the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927 were formed.
- The industrialists attacked colonial control over the Indian economy and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement when it was first launched.
- Some of the industrial workers did participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1930 and 1932, railway workers and dock workers were on strike.
- Another important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the large-scale participation of women.
- But, for a long time, Congress was reluctant (झिझकते) to allow women to hold any position of authority within the organization.

## ★ The Limits of Civil Disobedience

- Dalits, addressed as untouchables, were not moved by the concept of Swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi used to call them Harijans or the children of God, without whom swaraj could not be achieved.
- He organised satyagraha for the untouchables, but they were keen on a different political solution to the problems of the community.
- They demanded reserved seats in educational institutions and a separate electorate.
- Dr B.R. Ambedkar, who organised the Dalits into the Depressed Classes Association in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for Dalits.
- The Poona Pact of September 1932 gave the Depressed Classes (later to be known as the Scheduled Castes) reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils.
- After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, Muslims felt alienated from Congress, due to which the relations between Hindus and Muslims became bad.
- Muhammad Ali Jinnah was willing to give up the demand for separate electorates if Muslims were assured reserved seats in the Central Assembly and representation in proportion to the population (जनसंख्या के अनुपात में) in the Muslim-dominated provinces.
- The hope of resolving the issue at the all Parties Conference in 1928 disappeared when M.R. Jayakar of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed efforts at compromise.



### ★ The Sense of Collective Belonging

- Nationalism spreads when people begin to believe that they are all part of the same nation. History and fiction, folklore and songs, and popular prints and symbols all played a part in the making of nationalism.
- **Use of figures or images:** The identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of Bharat Mata. Devotion to the mother figure came to be seen as evidence of one's nationalism.
- The image was first created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.
- In the 1870s he wrote 'Vande Mataram' as a hymn to the motherland.
- Later it was included in his novel Anandamath and widely sung during the Swadeshi movement in Bengal.
- Moved by the Swadeshi movement, Abanindranath Tagore painted his famous image of Bharat Mata
- **Indian folklore:** Nationalists started recording and using folklores and tales, which they believed, gave a true picture of traditional culture that had been corrupted and damaged by outside forces.
- So preservation of these became a way to discover one's national identity and restore a sense of pride in one's past.
- In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths.
- In Madras, Natesa Sastri published a massive four-volume collection of Tamil folk tales, The Folklore of Southern India.
- **Use of icons and symbols in the form of flags:** Carrying the tricolor flag and holding it aloft during marches became a symbol of defiance and promoted a sense of collective belonging.
- During the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, a tricolour flag (red, green and yellow) was designed.
- It had eight lotuses representing eight provinces of British India, and a crescent moon, representing Hindus and Muslims.
- By 1921, Gandhiji had designed the Swaraj flag.
- It was again a tricolour (red, green and white) and had a spinning wheel in the centre, representing the Gandhian ideal of self-help.
- **Reinterpretation of history:** Indians began looking into the past to rediscover the glorious developments in ancient times in the field of art, science, mathematics, religion and culture, etc.
- These nationalist histories urged the readers to take pride in India's great achievements in the past and struggle to change the miserable conditions of life under British rule.

### ★ The Quit India Movement:

- The failure of the Cripps Mission and the effects of World War II created widespread discontentment in India.
- This led Gandhi to launch a movement calling for complete withdrawal of the British from India.
- The Congress Working Committee, in its meeting in Wardha on 14 July 1942, passed the historic 'Quit India' resolution demanding the immediate transfer of power to Indians and quit India.
- On 8 August 1942 in Bombay, the All India Congress Committee passed the resolution which called for a non-violent mass struggle on a big scale.. It was on this occasion that Gandhiji delivered the famous 'Do or Die' speech.
- There were hartals and protests all over India.
- It also saw the active participation of leaders, namely, Jayprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali and Ram Manohar Lohia and many women such as Matangini Hazra in Bengal, Kanaklata Barua in Assam and Rama Devi in Odisha.

### ★ Important Boxes and Sources to study from NCERT

- Figure 12-Bharat Mata
- Date Box - Pg 42 -New NCERT book
- Box 1
- Source C
- Source A

★ **Extra Gyaan**

- In 1928, Vallabhbhai Patel led the peasant movement in Bardoli, a taluka in Gujarat, against enhancement of land revenue.
- Known as the Bardoli Satyagraha, this movement was a success under the able leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel.
- The struggle was widely publicised and generated immense sympathy in many parts of India.
- Lala Lajpat Rai was assaulted by the British police during a peaceful demonstration against the Simon Commission. He succumbed to injuries that were inflicted on him during the demonstration.

★ **Most Important and Repeated Topics for Questions**

- Impact of WWI
- Rowlatt Act and Rowlatt Satyagraha
- Non-cooperation : Plantations, Tribal movement , Peasant movement in Awadh
- Participants of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Limits of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Sense of Collective Belonging



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