



# TOPICS to be covered

1

Nationalism in India





# NATIONALISM IN INDIA



## The First World War



- In the years after 1919, we see the national movement spreading to new areas, incorporating new social groups, and developing new modes of struggle.
- War created a new economic and political situation:
- Defence expenditure - financed by war loans and increasing taxes.
- Customs duties raised and income tax introduced.
- Prices increased.
- Forced recruitment in rural areas.
- In 1918-19 and 1920-21, crops failed in many parts of India.
- Accompanied by an influenza epidemic.

{ 1914 - 1918 }  
FWW

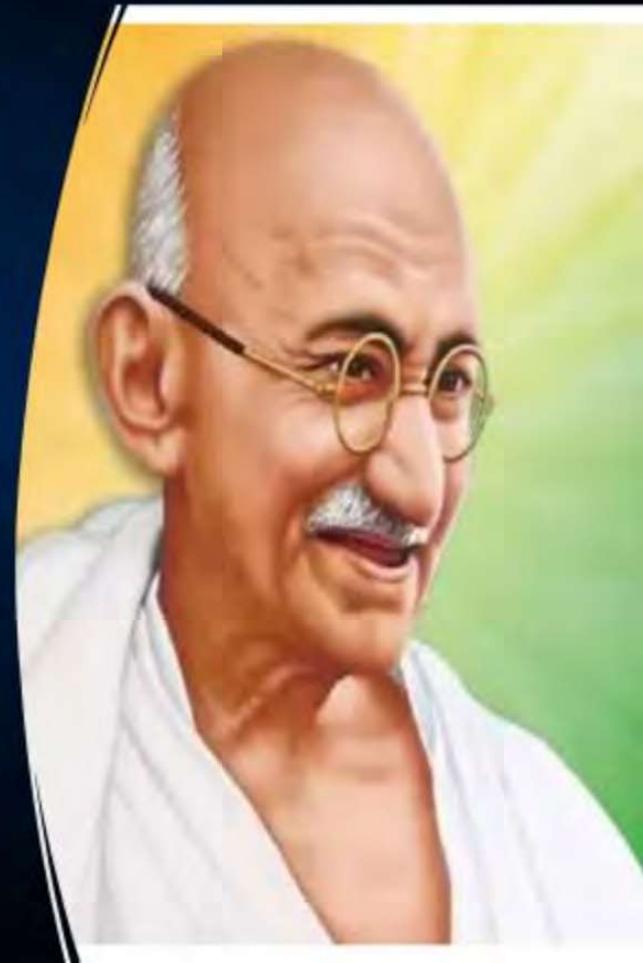


## The Idea of Satyagraha

*To hold firm  
Truth*



- Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in January 1915.
- The idea of satyagraha emphasised the power of truth and the need to search for truth. It suggested that if the cause was true, if the struggle was against injustice, then physical force was not necessary to fight the oppressor.
- 1917- Champaran in Bihar.
- 1917- Kheda district of Gujarat.
- 1918- Ahmedabad.





## The Rowlatt Act



- Gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities.
- Allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.



- Martial law was imposed and General Dyer took command.

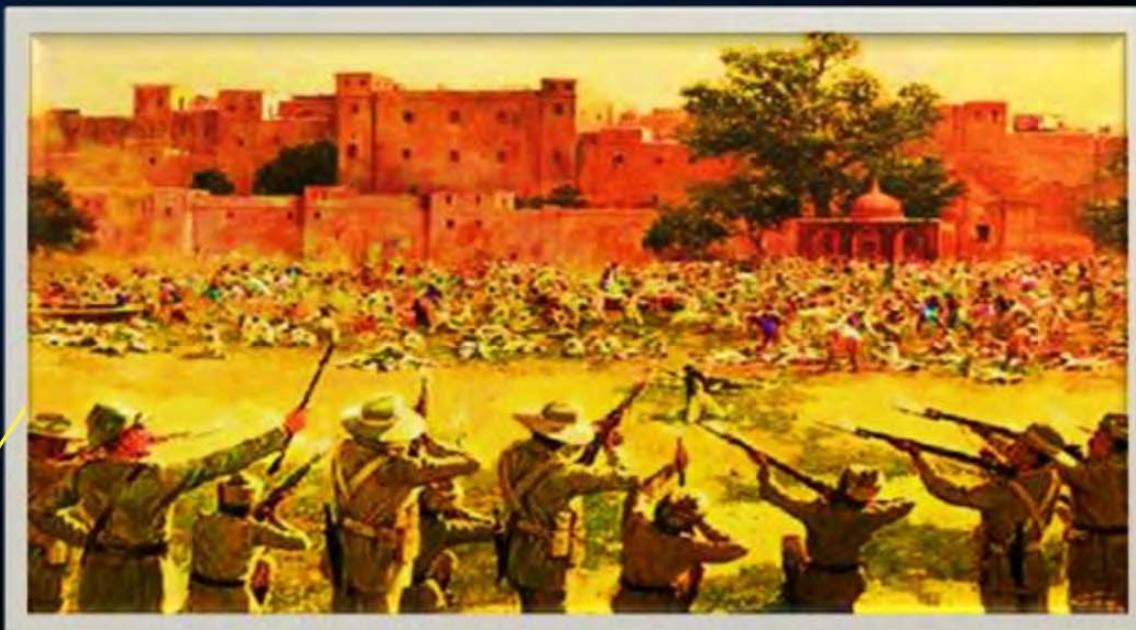




## Jallianwalla Bagh Incident



- A large crowd had gathered in the enclosed ground of Jallianwalla Bagh.
- Being from outside the city, many villagers were unaware of the martial law that had been imposed.
- Dyer entered the area, blocked the exit points, and opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds.

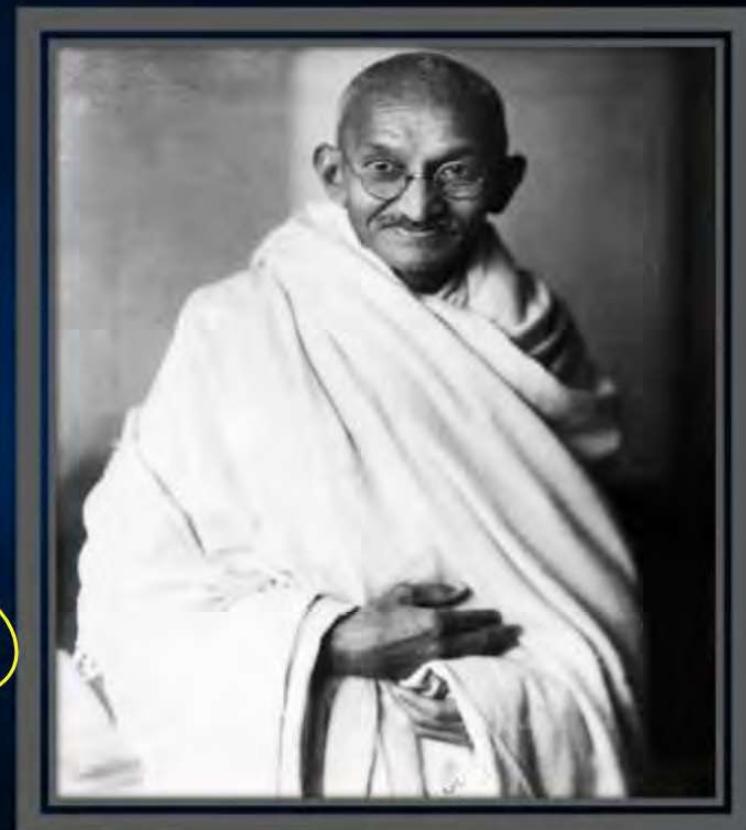


- His object, as he declared later, was to 'produce a moral effect', to create in the minds of satyagrahis a feeling of terror and awe



- 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.
- Took up the Khilafat issue.

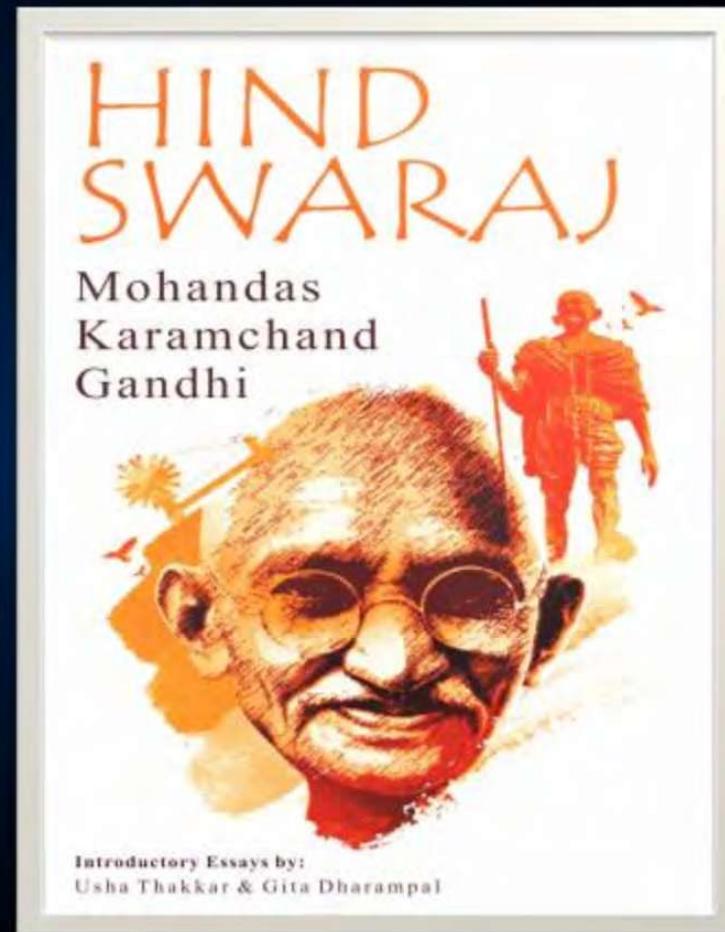
Ottoman Turkey  
→ Khalifa (Temporal Powers)  
Marsah Peace Treaty





## Why Non-cooperation?

- ❖ Hind Swaraj (1909)
- ❖ Movement should unfold in stages.
- ❖ In case the government used repression, a full civil disobedience campaign would be launched.



- ❖ At the Congress session at Nagpur in December 1920 - a compromise was worked out and the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.



January 1921

- Towns.
- Countryside
- Plantations.





## The Movement in the Towns



- The movement started with middle-class participation in the cities.
- Thousands of students left government-controlled schools and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned and lawyers gave up their legal practices.
- The council elections were boycotted in most provinces except Madras. WHY?

Justice Party



- ❖ Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires.
- ❖ The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922.
- ❖ In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade.
- ❖ As the boycott movement spread, and people began discarding imported clothes and wearing only Indian ones, production of Indian textile mills and handlooms went up.

This movement slowed down





slowed down due to

→ No alternative Indian institution

→ Khadi was too expensive

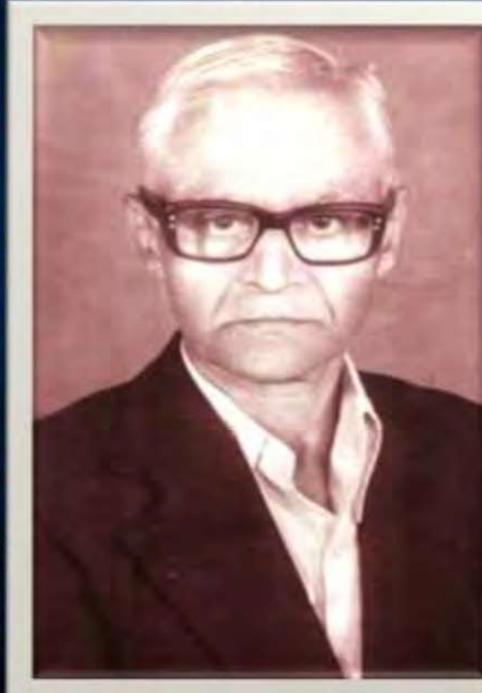


## Rebellion in the Countryside

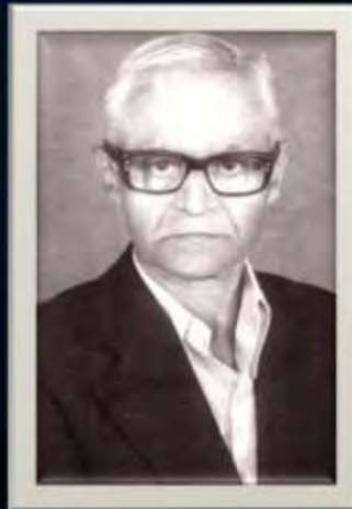


- Drew into its fold the struggles of peasants and tribals.
- The Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside, where peasants and tribals were developing in different parts of India. The peasant movement started against talukdars and landlords who demanded high rents and a variety of other cesses. It demanded a reduction of revenue, abolition of begar and social boycott of oppressive landlords.

Leader  
Baba Ramchandra



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 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.





## Towards Civil Disobedience

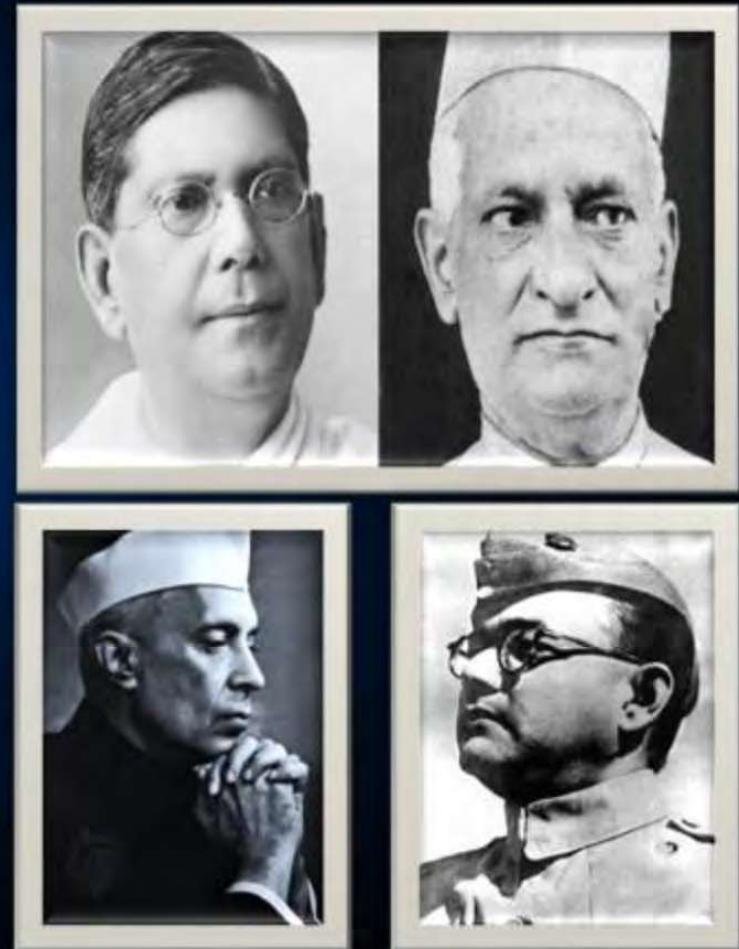


- In February 1922, Mahatma Gandhi decided to withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- He felt the movement was turning violent in many places and satyagrahis needed to be properly trained before they would be ready for mass struggles.

*Chauri Chaura*



- C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party within the Congress to argue for a return to council politics.
- But younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose pressed for more radical mass agitation and for full independence.

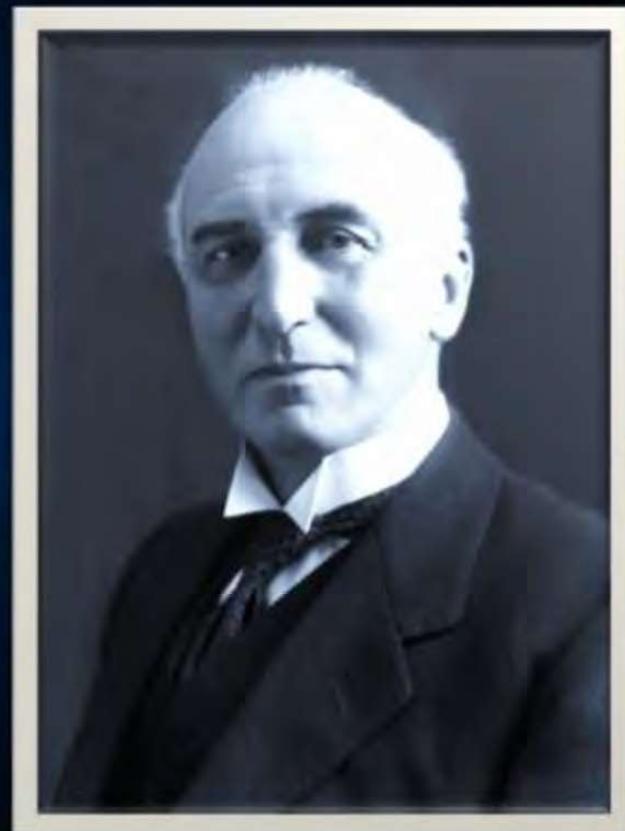




## Simon Commission



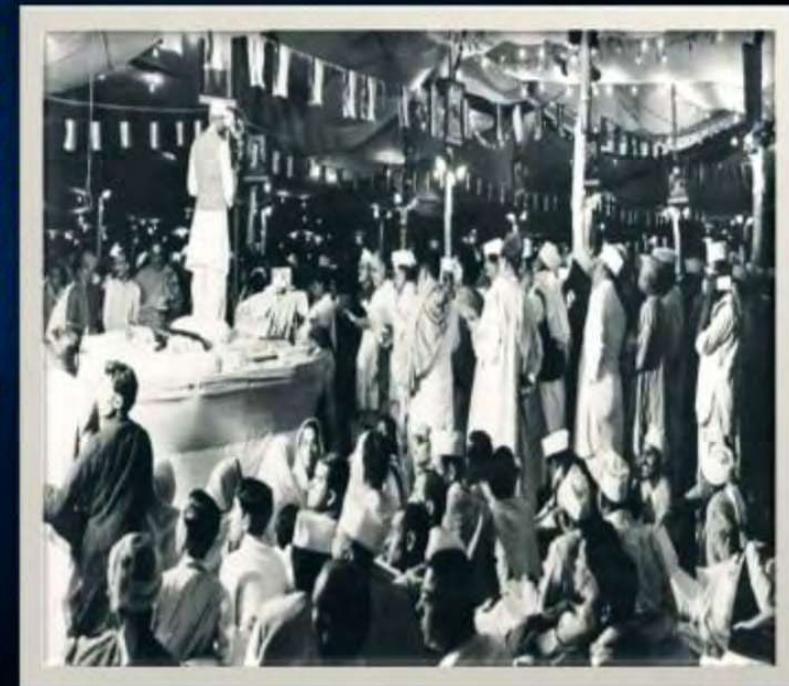
- The new Tory government in Britain constituted a Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon.
- Set up in response to the nationalist movement.
- Commission was to look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes
- Problem? ✓ No Indian Member



- Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928, it was greeted.
- All parties, including the Congress and the Muslim League, participated in the demonstrations.
- In an effort to win them over, the viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced in October 1929, a vague offer of 'dominion status' for India in an unspecified future, and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution.



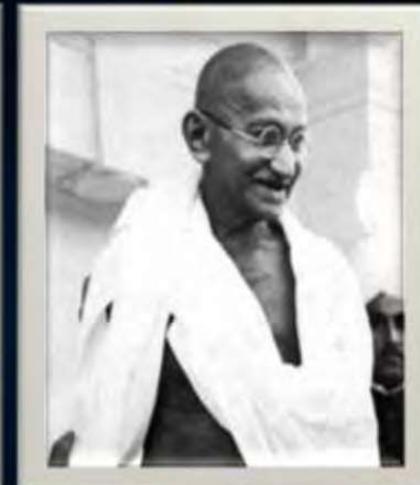
- In December 1929, under presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress formalised the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' or full independence for India.
- It was declared that 26 January 1930, would be celebrated as the Independence Day when people were to take a pledge to struggle for complete independence.
- But the celebrations attracted very little attention.





## The Salt March and the Civil Disobedience Movement

- On 31 January 1930, he sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands.
- The most stirring of all was the demand to abolish the salt tax.
- The tax on salt and the government monopoly over its production- most oppressive face of British rule.
- Mahatma Gandhi's letter - an ultimatum.



- Mahatma Gandhi started his famous salt march accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers. The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhiji's ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarati coastal town of Dandi. The volunteers walked for 24 days, about 10 miles a day.
- On 6 April he reached Dandi, and ceremonially violated the law, manufacturing salt by boiling sea water.

Sabarmati

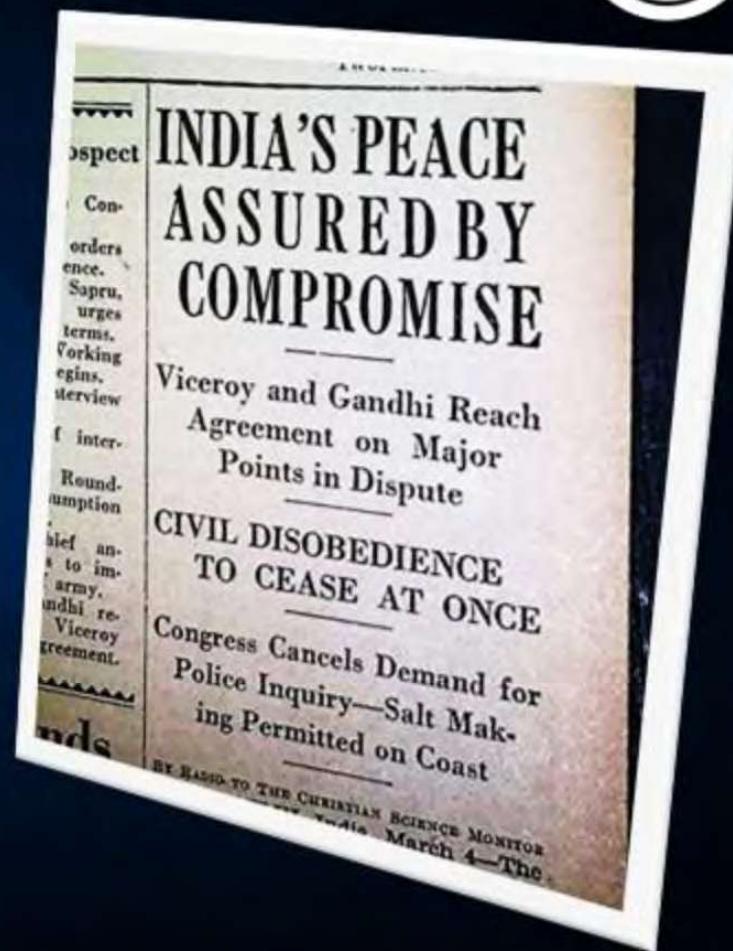
Dandi



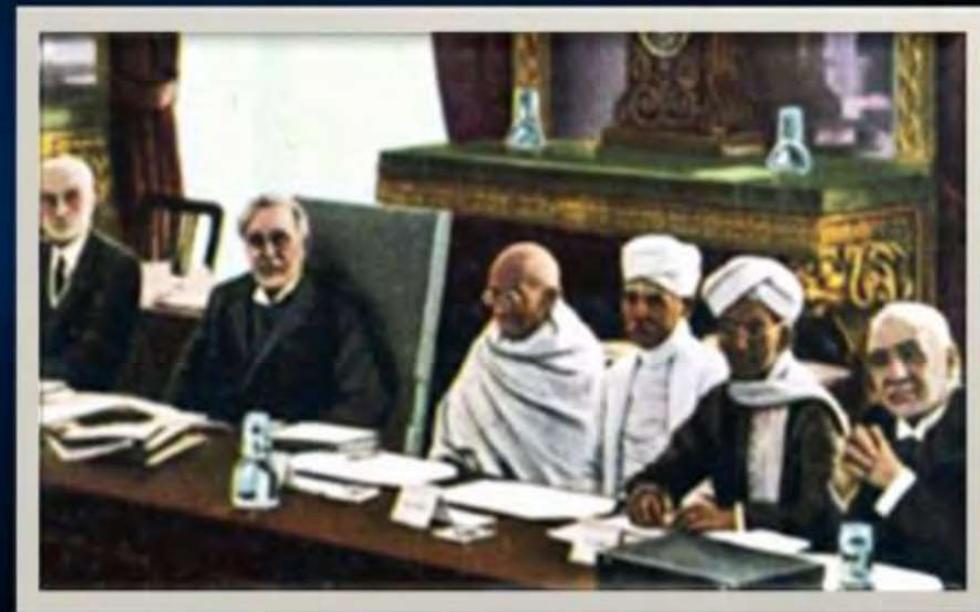
- A frightened government responded with a policy of brutal repression.
- Peaceful satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten, and about 100,000 people were arrested.



- ❖ Mahatma Gandhi once again decided to call off the movement and entered into a pact with Irwin on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1931.
- ❖ Gandhi-Irwin Pact
- ✓ Gandhiji consented to participate in a Round Table Conference in London.
- ✓ Government agreed to release the political prisoners.



- In December 1931, Gandhiji went to London for the conference, but the negotiations broke down and he returned disappointed.
- Back in India, he discovered that the government had begun a new cycle of repression.
- Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru were both in jail, the Congress had been declared illegal, and a series of measures had been imposed to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts.





## How Participants Saw the Movement



### Rich Peasant Communities :

- Rich peasant communities – like the Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh.
- Being producers of commercial crops, they were very hard hit by the trade depression and falling prices. As their cash income disappeared, they found it impossible to pay the government's revenue demand. The refusal of the government to reduce the revenue demand led to widespread resentment.



- ❖ These rich peasants became enthusiastic supporters of the Civil Disobedience.
- ❖ Movement, organising their communities, and at times forcing reluctant members, to participate in the boycott programmes.
- ❖ **Swaraj - Struggle Against High Revenues.**
- ❖ But they were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off in 1931 without the revenue rates being revised.



## Poorer Peasantry



- The poorer peasantry were not just interested in the lowering of the revenue demand.
- Many of them were small tenants cultivating land they had rented from landlords.
- As the Depression continued and cash incomes dwindled, the small tenants found it difficult to pay their rent. They wanted the unpaid rent to the landlord to be remitted.
- Congress was unwilling to support 'no rent' campaigns in most places. WHY?

Poorer  
peasants /  
lower  
revenue  
demand  
/ unpaid  
rent to  
be offed  
remitted



## How Participants Saw the Movement



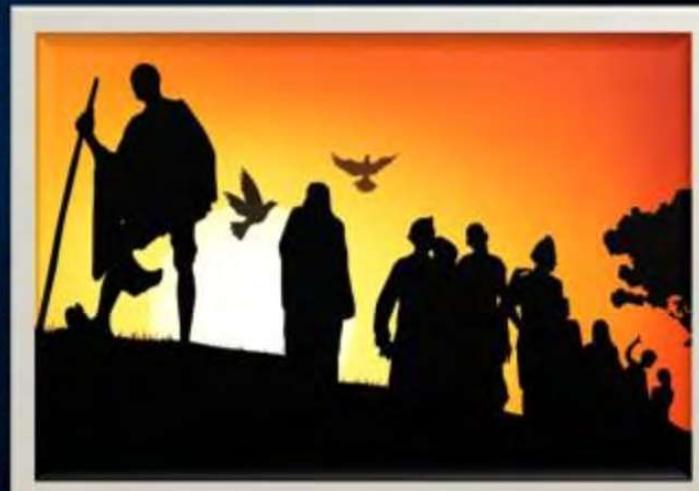
- **Indian Merchants and Industrialists.**
- During the First World War, Indian merchants and industrialists had made huge profits and become powerful.
- Keen on expanding their business, they now reacted against colonial policies that restricted business activities.
- They wanted protection against imports of foreign goods, and a rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that would discourage imports.
- To organise business interests, they formed the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1920 and the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927.



## How Participants Saw the Movement



- **Industrial Working Classes :**
- Did not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in large numbers, except in the Nagpur region.
- As the industrialists came closer to the Congress, workers stayed aloof.
- But in spite of that, some workers did participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement, selectively adopting some of the ideas of the Gandhian programme.





## How Participants Saw the Movement?



- Women
- Large-scale participation.
- They participated in protest marches, manufactured salt, and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops.
- Many went to jail.
- In urban areas these women were from high-caste families; in rural areas they came from rich peasant households.



- They began to see service to the nation as a sacred duty of women.
- This increased public role did not necessarily mean any radical change in the way the position of women was visualised.
- Gandhiji was convinced that it was the duty of women to look after home and hearth, be good mothers and good wives.
- And for a long time the Congress was reluctant to allow women to hold any position of authority within the organisation.



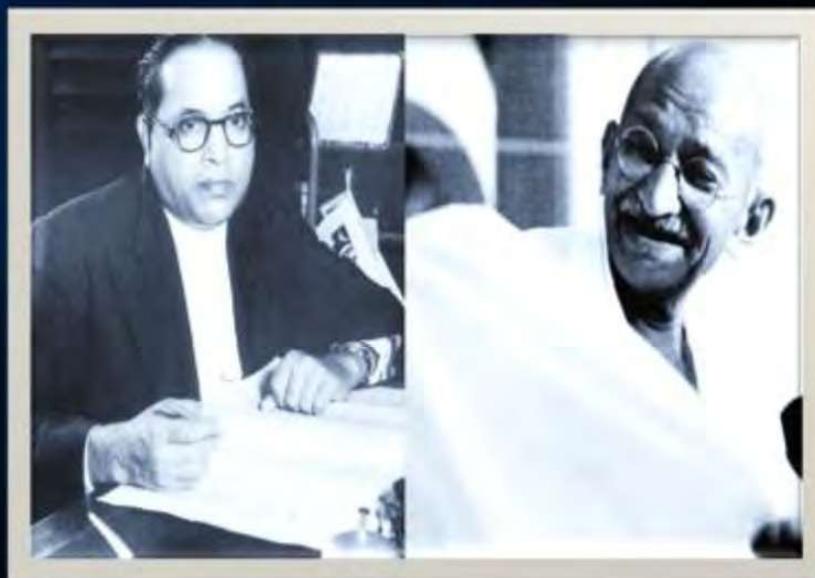


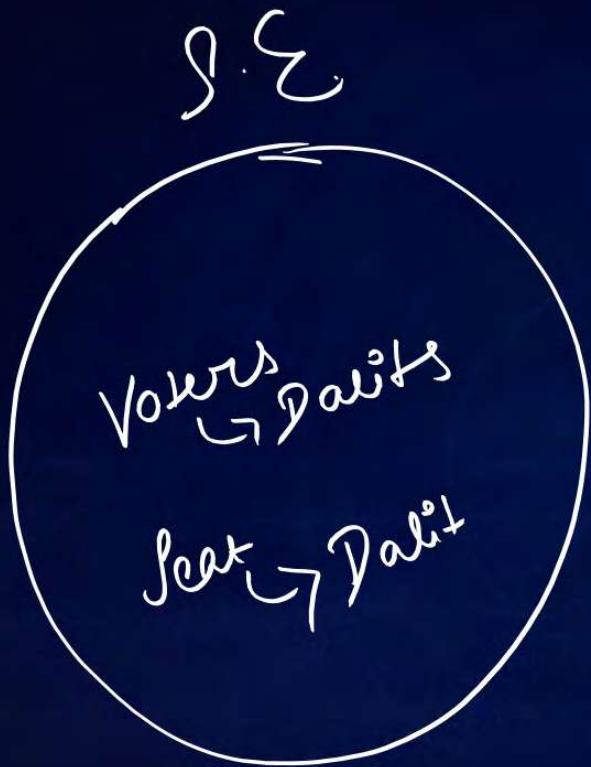
## The Limits of Civil Disobedience

- **Untouchables**
- Dr B.R. Ambedkar organised the dalits into the Depressed Classes Association in 1930.
- Ambedkar vs Gandhi.
- Demand for separate electorates for dalits.
- When the British government conceded Ambedkar's demand, Gandhiji began a fast unto death – believed that it would slow down the process of their integration into society.

Ambedkar  
Separate Electorate

Gandhi  
General Electorate





- Ambedkar ultimately accepted Gandhiji's position and the result was the Poona Pact of September 1932.
- It gave the Depressed Classes reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils, but they were to be voted in by the general electorate.
- The dalit movement, however, continued to be apprehensive of the Congress led national movement.



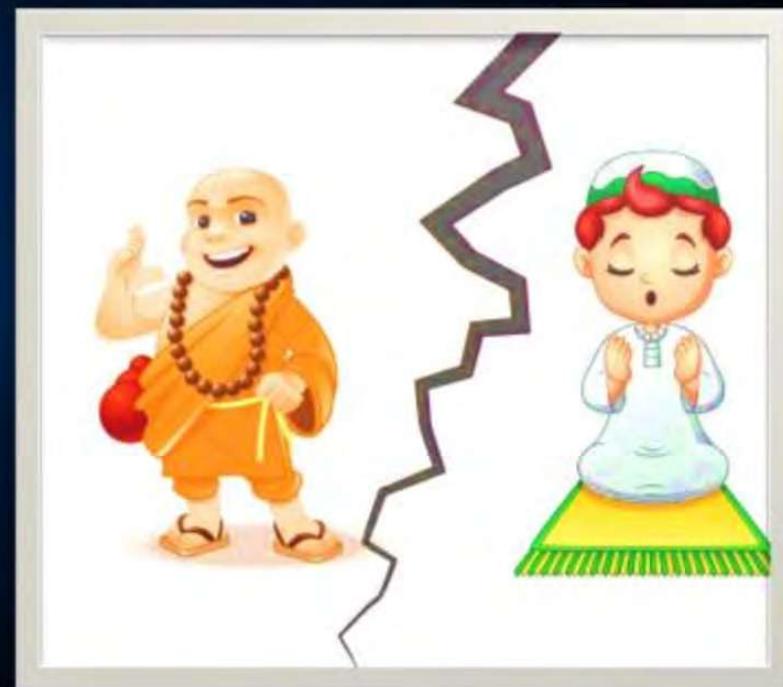


## Limits of Civil Disobedience

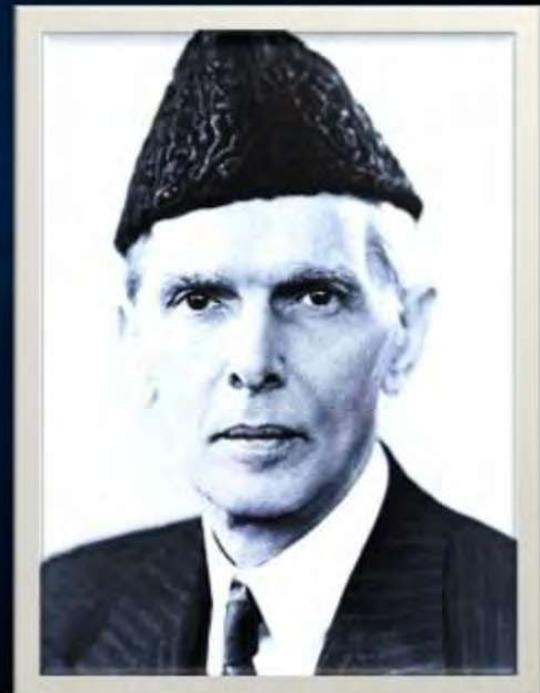


### Muslims

- After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated from the Congress.
- From the mid-1920s the Congress came to be more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha.



- ❖ 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 population in the Muslim-dominated provinces.
- ❖ Negotiations - All Parties Conference in 1928 - M.R. Jayakar of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed efforts at compromise.
- ❖ Concern about the status of Muslims as a minority within India.





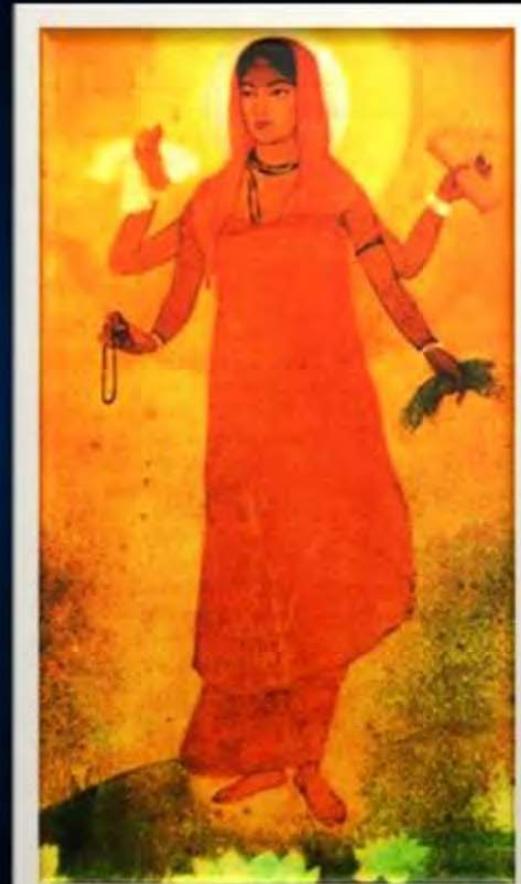
## The Sense of Collective Belonging



- It means that people began to believe that they were all a part of the same nation and discovered some unity.

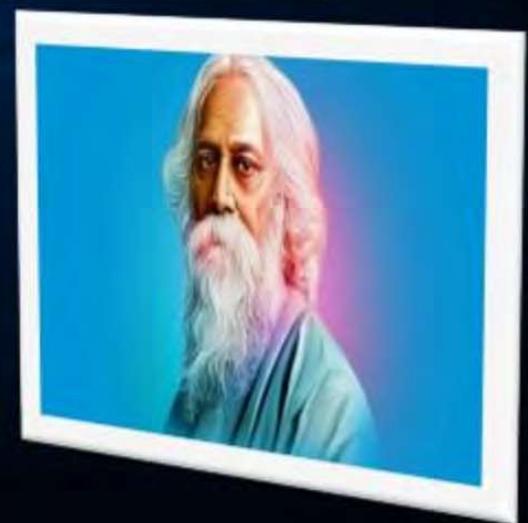
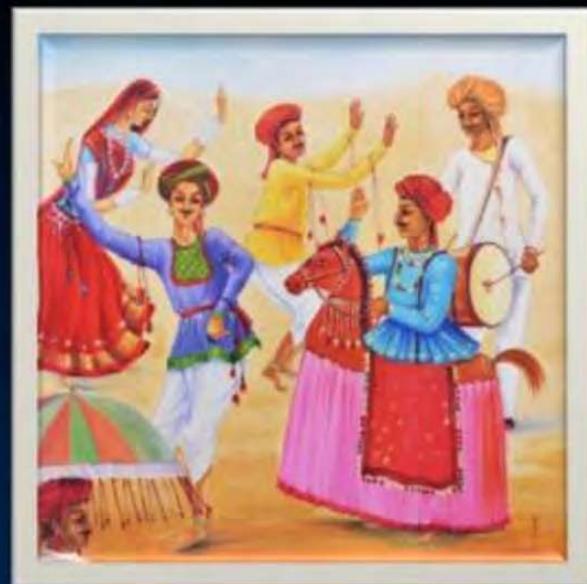
### (1) Image of Bharat Mata :

- 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. Bharat Mata is portrayed as an ascetic figure; she is calm, composed, divine and spiritual.



## (2) Movement to revive Indian folklore:

- ❖ Nationalists began recording folk tales sung by bards and they toured villages to gather folk songs and legends.
- ❖ These tales gave a true picture of traditional culture that had been corrupted and damaged by outside force.
- ❖ In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths, and led the movement for folk revival.
- ❖ In Madras, Natesa Sastri published a massive four-volume collection of Tamil folk tales, The Folklore of Southern India.



### (3) Tricolour flag :

- ❖ 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.



#### (4) Reinterpretation of history

- ❖ Instill a sense of pride in the nation, Indian history had to be thought about differently.
- ❖ The British saw Indians as backward and primitive, incapable of governing themselves.
- ❖ In response, Indians began looking into the past to discover India's great achievements

