

## Chapter – 8: The Making of the National Movement – 1870s-1947

- Previous chapters –
  - British – takeover India
  - New laws – new administrations
  - Lives of farmers, tribals – changed
  - Educational changes – 19<sup>th</sup> century
  - Condition of women
  - Challenge – caste system
  - Social, religious reform
  - Revolt of 1857 – aftermath
  - Growth of industries – decline of crafts

### The Emergence of Nationalism

- People started thinking – what is country of India? – who is India for?
- Answer emerged – India – people of India – all people – class, color, caste, creed, language, gender
- Country – resources, systems – meant for all people
- With this answer – awareness developed – British – controlled resources and lives of Indians
- Ending this control – India will be for Indians
- This consciousness – clearly stated by – political associations – formed after 1850 – especially 1870s, 1880s
- Most of these – led by – English educated professionals – lawyers, etc
- Imp. – Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Indian Association, Madras Mahajan Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association, Indian National Congress
- Poona Sarvajanik Sabha – *sarvajanik* – literal meaning – for all people
- Many associations – worked in specific parts – BUT – their goals – for all people
- Their idea – people should be sovereign (independent) – modern, key feature – nationalism
- They believed – Indian people – empower themselves – take own decisions
- Dissatisfaction with British – increased – 1870s, 1880s
- 1878 – Arms Act – disallow Indians – possess arms (weapons)
- Same year – Vernacular Press Act – allowed govt. – capture assets – news agencies – printed anything – ‘objectionable’
- 1883 – great anger – govt. attempt – introduce Ilbert Bill
- This bill – supported trial of British and Europeans by Indians – equality between British and Indian judges
- BUT – white opposition – forced govt. – take the bill back – Indians – very angry
- This event – highlights – racial (color discrimination) attitude of British
- Need for all-India organisation – educated Indians – felt since 1880 – BUT – Ilbert Bill event – provided strength – this need
- December 1885 – 72 delegates (imp. persons) – all over country – founded Indian National Congress
- Early leadership – Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C. Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerji, Romesh Chandra Dutt, S. Subramania Iyer – Bombay, Calcutta
- Naoroji – businessman – settled in London – member of Parliament – for some time – guided younger nationalists

- Retired British official – A.O. Hume – imp. role – unite Indians – different regions

### **A nation in the making**

- Often said – Congress – first 20 yrs – moderate – objectives and methods
- This period – demanded – greater involvement of Indians – govt., administrations
- They wanted – Legislative Councils – more representative, more power – introduce where not existed
- Demanded – Indians – placed at high posts – civil service examinations – held in India – not only in London
- Demand for Indian involvement – part of movement against racism – most imp. jobs – given to white people – British assumed – Indians – not responsible enough
- British officers – sending salary back to home – Indian involvement – reduce drain of wealth
- Other demands – separation of judiciary from executive – taking back Arms Act – freedom of speech and expression
- Early Congress – raised many economic issues
- They declared –
  - British rule – led to poverty and famines
  - Increase in land revenue – zamindars, peasants became poor
  - Exports of grains – created food shortage
- Congress demanded – reduce revenue – reduce military expense – increase irrigation funds
- They passed – many decisions – salt tax, treatment of Indian labourers abroad, problems of forest dwellers
- Congress – group of educated people – BUT – cared for everyone
- Moderate leaders – develop public awareness – unfair British rule
- They published – newspapers, articles – showed – British rule – leading to economic ruin
- They criticized – British rule – their speeches – organized public movements
- They believed – British – respect freedom, justice – accept Indian demands

### **Freedom is our birthright**

- 1890s – many Indians – questioned – political style of Congress
- Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab – leaders – Bepin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai – explored more radical (extreme) methods
- They criticized – moderates – emphasized (pointed out) – importance – self-reliance
- They argued – people – rely on own strength – NOT on ‘good’ intentions of govt. – fight for *swaraj*
- Tilak gave the slogan – Freedom is my birthright and I shall have it
- 1905 – Viceroy Curzon – partitioned Bengal
- That time – Bengal – biggest state – British India – included Bihar, parts of Orissa
- British – argued – division of Bengal – administrative convenience (easiness)
- This convenience – connected to British officials
- Instead of removing – non-Bengali areas – govt. separated – East Bengal – merged with Assam
- Main British motive – split Bengali people – control Bengali politicians
- Partition of Bengal – Indians – very angry
- All sections of Congress – Moderates, Radicals – opposed it
- Public meetings, demonstrations – organized – new methods – mass protests – developed

- The struggle – started this time – known as Swadeshi movement – strongest in Bengal – BUT – spread in other areas as well
- In Andhra – this movement – known as Vandemataram movement
- Swadeshi movement – opposed British rule – encouraged ideas – self-help, national education, use of Indian languages, etc
- Fight for *swaraj* – radicals advised – organizing mass protests – boycott British institutions, goods, etc
- Some people – suggested – revolutionary violence (use of violence make changes in society) – support – necessary – overthrow British rule
- Starting 20<sup>th</sup> century – other developments as well
- Muslim landlords, nawabs – founded All India Muslim League – Dacca – 1906
- This league – supported – partition of Bengal
- They demanded – separate electorate (group of people – right to vote) for Muslims – accepted in 1909
- Some seats – reserved for Muslims – elected by Muslim voters
- Politicians – collected followers – distributing favours – own religious groups
- Congress split – 1907
- Moderates believed – Boycott – use of force – opposed it
- After split – Congress – dominated by – Moderates – Tilak's followers – worked from outside
- Both groups – reunite – December 1915
- Next year – Congress and Muslim League – signed Lucknow Pact (deal) – work together – represent govt.

## The Growth of Mass Nationalism

- After 1919 – struggle against British – mass movement – involved – peasants, tribals, students, women, factory workers
- Some business groups – started supporting Congress – 1920s
- First World War – changed -economic, political situation – India
- Govt. – increased taxes – individual income, business profits
- Military expense, demands for war supply – increased – sharp rise in prices – problem for common people
- Business groups – earned profits from war
- War – created demands – industrial goods – jute bags, cloth, rails – decline of imports from other countries
- Indian industries – expanded during war – Indian business groups – demand greater opportunities
- War – lead British – expand army – villages – forced – supply soldiers
- Lots of soldiers – sent abroad – many returned with an understanding – how govt. exploiting (using) them? – people of Asia, Africa – opposed colonial rule
- 1917 – revolution in Russia – news – peasants and workers – spread widely – inspired Indian nationalists

## The advent of Mahatma Gandhi

- This situation – Mahatma Gandhi – developed as mass leader
- 1915 – Gandhiji – arrived India – from South Africa – age 46

- He led Indians – in South Africa – non-violent marches – against racism – respected leader – famous internationally
- South African campaigns – contacted Indians – Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, Tamils, north Indians, upper-class traders, lawyers, etc
- Mahatma Gandhi – spent 1<sup>st</sup> year – travelling – understanding people – their needs, situation, etc
- Earliest interference – local movements – Champaran, Kheda, Ahmedabad – contacted – Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel
- Ahmedabad – led a millworker's strike – 1918

### **The Rowlatt Satyagraha**

- 1919 – Gandhiji started *satyagraha* – against Rowlatt Act
- This Act – controlled fundamental rights – freedom of expression, etc – strengthened police power
- Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah – believed – govt. no right – control people's freedom
- Against the act – termed it as – devilish
- Gandhiji – asked people – 6 April 1919 – non-violent protest – day of 'humiliation and prayer' and *hartal* (strike) – *satyagraha sabhas* – set up – launch movement
- This movement – 1<sup>st</sup> all -India struggle – against British govt.
- April 1919 – lots of protests, *hartals* – govt. – brutal (violent) measures – control them
- The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (killing lots of people) – General Dyer – Amritsar – Baisakhi Day – 13 April
- After this massacre – Rabindranath Tagore – returned his knighthood (honour given by British Crown) – express pain, anger of country
- This movement – people ensures – Hindus, Muslims – united – fight British
- Mahatma Gandhi – believed – India – land of all people – Hindus, Muslims, other religions
- He wanted – Hindus, Muslims – support each other

### **Khilafat agitation and the Non-Cooperation Movement**

- 1920 – British forced a treaty – on Turkish Sultan – Khalifa
- People – very angry – like at the time of Jallianwala Massacre
- Indian Muslims wanted – Khalifa – allowed to control – Muslim sacred (holy) places – Ottoman Empire
- Leaders – Khalifa agitation (anger) – Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali – started – full-fledged – Non-Cooperation Movement
- Gandhiji – supported this cause – urged Congress – campaign against – Punjab wrongs, Khilafat wrongs – demand *swaraj*
- This movement – spread increasingly – 1921-22
- 1000s of students – left govt. schools, colleges
- Many lawyers – Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Asaf Ali – left practices
- British titles (honours) – surrendered – legislatures – boycotted
- Public bonfires – burnt foreign cloth – imports decreased rapidly – 1920-1922
- All this – tip of iceberg (very little) – major parts of country – verge (start) of revolt

### **People's initiatives**

- Many cases – non-violent protests – other cases – protests – not according to Gandhiji's ideas
- All the cases – people linked movements to local problems

- Kheda, Gujarat – Patidar peasants – non-violent campaigns – against land revenue demands by British
- Coastal Andhra, interior Tamil Nadu – liquor shops – looted
- Guntur, Andhra Pradesh – tribals, poor peasants – lots of ‘forest *satyagraha*’ – send cattles for grazing – without paying fees
- They believed – Gandhiji – help them – decrease taxes, remove forest regulations (rules)
- Many forest villages – peasants declared – *swaraj* – believed – ‘Gandhi Raj’ – about to be established
- Sind (presently in Pakistan) – Muslim traders, peasants – very excited – Khilafat movement
- Bengal – Khilafat-Non-Cooperation alliance (team) – religious unity, strength – national movement
- Punjab – Sikhs – Akali agitation – remove corrupt Mahants (religious workers – Sikh gurudwaras) – supported by British
- Assam – tea plantation workers – demanded – increase in wages – left the plantations – following Gandhiji’s wish
- Assamese Vaishnava songs – reference to Krishna – changed to ‘Gandhi Raja’

### **The people’s Mahatma**

- People believed – Gandhiji – messiah – solve problems and poverty
- Gandhiji wanted – create class unity – BUT – peasants – believed – he will help – against zamindars
- Sometimes - ordinarily people – believed – Gandhiji – helped them
- End of powerful movement – peasants – Pratapgarh, U.P. – stopped illegal eviction (shifting) – BUT – they believed – Gandhiji helped them
- Other times – using Gandhiji’s name – tribals, peasants – took actions – against Gandhian Ideas

### **The happenings of 1922-1929**

- Mahatma Gandhi – against violence
- Suddenly called off (closed) Non-Cooperation movement – February 1922 – crowd of peasants – burnt police station – Chauri Chaura
- 22 policemen – killed – peasants – angry – police – fired on peaceful protests
- Non-Cooperation movement – ended – Gandhiji’s followers – forced Congress – do some work – give results – rural areas
- Other leaders – Chitta Ranjan Das, Motilal Nehru – believed – Congress – fight elections – enter councils – change govt. policies
- Sincere social work – rural areas – mid-1920s – Gandhians – gained followers – useful – launching – Civil Disobedience movement – 1930
- 2 imp. developments – mid-1920s – formation – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Singh (RSS) – AND – Communist Party of India
- These parties – different ideas – how India should be? – Bhagat Singh – revolutionary nationalists – too active – this period
- End of decade – Congress decided – fight for *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence) – 1929 – Jawaharlal Nehru – president
- 26 January 1930 – ‘Independence Day’ – celebrated

### **The March to Dandi**

- 1930 – Gandhiji declared – march – break salt law

- This law – state (govt.) – monopoly (solo control) – manufacture and sale of salt
- Gandhiji believed – salt – very imp. for food – taxing salt – very imp.
- Salt March – connected to common problems – did not divide – rich and poor
- Gandhiji with his followers – marched 240 miles – Sabarmati to Dandi – coastal town – broke the law – gathering natural salt – boiling sea water – produce salt
- Peasants, tribals, women – joined in large numbers
- Govt. – tried to control – brutal actions – lots of people – sent to jails
- Combined struggles – Indian people – succeeded – Govt. of India Act, 1935 – suggested – provincial autonomy (independent states) – govt. – announced elections – state legislatures – 1937
- Congress – formed elections – 7 / 11 states
- September 1939 – 2 yrs after Congress rule – World War II started
- Congress leaders – against Hitler – supported British war – in return – Indian independence after war
- British – refused the demand – Congress ministers – resigned in protest

## **Quit India and Later**

- Mahatma Gandhi – started new movement – against British – middle of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War
- He told British – quit India immediately
- He told people – ‘do or die’ – fight British – BUT – use non-violence
- Gandhiji and other leaders – arrested – BUT – movement spread
- Attracted peasants – students – left studies – join the movement
- Symbols – state (govt.) authority – attacked – all over country – many areas – people set up – own govt.
- 1<sup>st</sup> response of British – severe repression (defence mechanism)
- By 1943 – 90,000+ people – arrested – 1000+ killed – police firing
- Many areas – orders – control crowd – fire from machine guns from plane
- BUT – rebellion – defeated Raj (British rule)

## **Towards Independence and Partition**

- 1940 – Muslim League – started a movement – demanding ‘Independent States’ for Muslims – north-western and eastern areas
- This movement – not mention – partition or Pakistan
- Late 1930s – League believed – Muslims – separate ‘nation’ from the Hindus
- History of tension – Hindus and Muslims – 1920s-1930s – influenced this belief
- State elections – 1937 – convinced League – Muslims – minority – second status – any democracy – Muslims – may not be represented
- Congress rejected – League’s demand – joint Congress-League govt. – United Provinces – 1937 – annoyed the League
- Congress failed – gather Muslim support – helped League – gain support
- League – increased support – early 1940s – major Congress leaders in jail
- End of war – 1945 – British – started negotiations – between Congress, League and themselves – independence of India
- These negotiations – failed – reason – League saw itself – only representative of Muslims – BUT – Congress – did not accept this claim – many Muslims – supported it
- State elections – again in 1946 – Congress – good performance – ‘general states’

- BUT – League’s success – Muslim reserved seats – exceptional performance – demanded ‘Pakistan’
- March 1946 – British cabinet – appointed – 3 people group (mission) – sent to Delhi – examine the demands – suggest political structure – free India
- This group – suggested – India – remain united – loose confederation (group of countries or organisations – joined together) – Muslim Majority areas – some autonomy (independence)
- BUT – Congress, Muslim League – did not agree to some specific details
- Partition – now – almost inevitable (unavoidable)
- Failure – Cabinet Mission – Muslim League decided – mass movement – win – Pakistan demand
- They announced – 16 August 1946 – Direct Action Day
- This day – riots (fights) started – Calcutta – several days – lots of deaths
- March 1947 – violence spread to different parts
- Many people – killed – many women – faced severe problems
- Millions of people – forced to leave homes – became refugees – unknown lands (countries)
- Partition – India changed – many cities changed – new country – Pakistan was born
- Joy of independence – mixed with – pain and violence of partition