

# NATIONALISM IN INDIA

## \* Effects of WWI.

- »» Surge in defence expenditure
- »» Hike in custom duties
- »» Forced Recruitment in Army
- »» Extreme hardships for common people
- »» Increase in food prices
- »» Introduction of Income tax

## \* Other Difficulties

- »» During ~~1918~~ 1918-19 and 1920-21 - Crop failure in many parts of India → Acute Shortage of food

»» Influenza Epidemic → 12-13 million people perished

»» Hardships did not end even after the war was over → New leader appeared and suggested new mode of struggle

## • The idea of Satyagraha

- »» Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in January 1915
- »» from South Africa
- »» He fought the racism with mass agitation, called ~~is~~ satyagraha.

### Satyagraha

The power of truth and the need to search for truth

Encouraged that physical force was not necessary to fight the oppressor

People had to be persuaded to see the truth instead of being forced to accept truth through violence

>>> Gandhi believed that the dharma of non-violence could unite all Indians.

\* Satyagraha Movements

	Where	When	For whom	Why
01	Champaran, Bihar	1917	Peasants	Against oppressive plantation system [Indigo]
02	Kheda, Gujarat	1917	Peasants affected by crop failure and plague epidemic	Demanding relaxation in revenue collection
03	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	1918	Cotton mill workers	Increase in wages as the prices of the commodities increased [30% salary increase later]

• The Rowlatt Act

- >>> Passed in March 1919.
- >>> Passed through the Imperial Legislative Council despite united opposition of Indian members.
- >>> Gave government the powers:
  1. to repress political activities
  2. allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.

- >>> Gandhi launched nationwide hartal on 6 April.
- >>> Rallies were organized
- >>> Workers went on strike in railway workshops
- >>> Shops closed down
- >>> British decided to suppress nationalists as they were scared that lines of communication would be disrupted (such as railways and telegraph)

} Popular Upsurge

>>> British measures:

1. Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar
2. Mahatma Gandhi barred from entering Delhi
3. 10 April
  - Amritsar police fired upon a peaceful procession
    - ↓ led to
    - widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations
4. Martial law was imposed, General Dyer took command

>>> 13 April

Jallianwalla Bagh incident

- >>> Large crowds of people gathered in Jallianwalla Bagh
- Why?   
 { 1. Some ~~gen~~ came to protest against govt.'s measures   
 2. Others came to attend Baisakhi fair

>>> Many people unaware of Martial law

1. Dyer entered the area
2. Blocked exit points
3. Fired on the crowd
4. Hundreds of people killed

>>> Dyer's Objective

- To 'produce a moral effect'
- To create a feeling of terror and awe in the minds of satyagrahis

• Consequences of Jallianwalla Massacre   
 People

- >>> Crowds entered streets in many north Indian towns
- >>> Strikes took place
- >>> Clashes with police

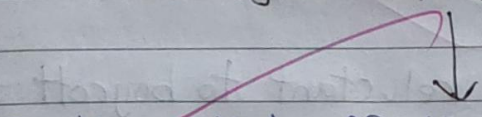
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## »» Attacks on government buildings

VS

### Government

- »» Brutal repression
- »» Humiliate and terrorise people
- »» Satyagrahis were forced to
  - Rub their noses on the ground
  - Crawl on the streets
  - Do salaam (salute) to all Sahibs
- »» People were flogged
- »» Villages were bombed  
(around Gujranwala, Punjab [now in Pak.])

- 
- »» Gandhi called off the movement
  - »» Gandhi felt the need to launch a more broad-based movement in India
  - »» But that could only be organized by bringing Hindus and Muslims together.

### Khilafat Issue

- »» WW2 ended in Ottoman Turkey's defeat
- »» Rumours spread that a harsh peace treaty was going to be imposed on the Ottoman emperor - the spiritual head of the Islamic world - the Khalifa
- »» To defend the powers of Khalifa, Khilafat Committee was formed in Bombay in March 1919.
- »» Muslim leaders like brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali discussed with Gandhi about the possibility of a united mass action. Gandhi saw the opportunity.
- »» Calcutta Session of Congress in Sept. 1920 - Gandhi convinced leaders to start non-cooperation movement.
  - Khilafat issue + Swaraj = Non-cooperation •

# Non-cooperation Movement

»»

Gandhi proposed that it be unfolded in stages

1. Surrender of titles awarded by government

2. Boycott of :

- Civil services
- Army
- Police
- Courts
- Legislative Councils
- Schools
- Foreign goods

3. In case govt. repressed, ~~full~~ civil disobedience campaign would be launched.

»»

Congress members were reluctant to boycott the council elections of Nov. 1920

↓ Why?

»»

Feared that it would lead to popular violence

»»

Arguments between supporters and opponents began

»»

Congress session at Nagpur in Dec. 1920 - a compromise worked out, Non-Cooperation programme adopted

»»

Movement began in Jan 1921

## Movements in the town

1. Started with middle-class participation

2.
  - Students left schools, colleges
  - Headmasters, teachers resigned
  - Lawyers gave up legal practices } joined the movement

3. Council elections boycotted everywhere except Madras

• In Madras Justice Party of non-Brahmans, felt that entering council was only way to gain powers (only Brahmins had).

- 4.
- Foreign goods boycotted
  - Liquor shops picketed
  - Foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires

↓ consequences

» Import of foreign cloth halved [b/w 1921 & 1922]

• Value dropped: 102 Cr. → 57 Cr.

» Merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods

» People began to wear only Indian clothes

↳ Production of Indian textile mills and handlooms went up

Reasons for slow down of NCM

1. ~~Khadi cloth~~ was more expensive than mass-produced mill cloth → Poor people could not afford to buy it

2. Students and teachers began trickling back to government schools and lawyers joined back the govt. courts due to lack of alternative Indian institutions

Rebellion in countryside

1. Baba Ramchandra

- was a Sanyasi who worked as an indentured (bonded) labourer in Fiji
- led the movement of peasants [Awadh]

2. Movement was against talukdars and landlords, who:

demand high rents ←

forced to do begar ←

<sup>peasants</sup>

[without payment]

3. Peasants demanded: (i) Reduction of revenue

(ii) Abolition of begar

(iii) boycott of oppressive landlords  
4. Nai-dhobi bands organized to deprive landlords of services of barbers and washermen.

»» June 1920

1. Jawaharlal Nehru talked to Awadh villagers to understand their grievances

»» By October 1920

'Outh Kisan Sabha' set up with over 300 branches

- led by Nehru, Baba Ramchandra, others

Reasons behind Movement failure

»» Congress leaders were unhappy with peasants' movement

»» 1921 - Houses of talukdars and merchants attacked

- Bazaars were looted

- Grain hoards were taken over

»» Local leaders told peasants that Gandhiji declared redistribution of land to poor

»» People used Gandhi's name to justify their actions, saying they were doing what Gandhi would do

Gudem Hills, Andhra Pradesh

»» Early 1920s - Militant guerrilla movement

»» Colonial government:

- closed large forest areas

- forced 'begar'

»» People revolted, led by Alluri Sitaram Raju.

»» Alluri Sitaram Raju

• Claimed that he had special powers, he could:

- ~~he could~~ - make correct astrological predictions

- heal people

- survive even bullet shots

- Persuaded people to:
  - wear khadi
  - give up drinking

} as he supported Gandhi, inspired by NCM

But • Believed that India could only be liberated by Use of FORCE; not non-violence

- »» Gudern rebels:
  - attacked police stations
  - attempted to kill British officials
  - Carried on 'guerrilla warfare movement' for swaraj

»» Raju - captured and executed - 1924

### Swaraj in Plantations

»» For plantation workers, 'swaraj' meant - right to move freely

»» Inland Emigration Act, 1859 - workers not permitted to leave tea gardens without permission [never got permission]

- »» After hearing of NCM, workers:
  - defied authorities
  - left plantations
  - headed home

} never reached their destination, stranded by railway and streamer strike

»» Caught by police and brutally beaten up

## TOWARDS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Chauri Chaura, Gorakhpur - 1992

»» peaceful demonstration turned violent clash with police

»» Gandhi called off NCM

- believed satyagrahis needed to be trained

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»» Some Congress leaders opposed mass struggle and wanted to participate in elections set up by Govt. of India Act, 1919.

↓

»» Felt that opposing British policies within councils, arguing for reform and demonstrating the undemocratic nature of councils was more important.

»» C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed Swaraj party to return to council politics.

Q Why did Gandhi decide to withdraw NCM?

»» Rebels of Gudem attacked police stations

»» They attempted to kill British official by guerrilla warfare.

»» They were captured and executed.

»» Moreover, workers at plantations defied the authorities and were caught by police and beaten up brutally.

»» In Gorakhpur, a peaceful demonstration turned violent by the police.

»» Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation Movement in February.

»» He called off the movement as his belief of non-violence turned out to be violent, with people being injured.

»» He felt that Satyagrahis needed to be trained.

→ Jawaharlal Nehru, Shubhash Chandra Bose [young leaders] wanted more radical mass agitation and full independence

## Shaping Indian Politics

Worldwide Economic Depression	Simon Commission
→ Decrease in agricultural prices	→ Constituted by Tory govt.
→ Exports declined	→ Under Sir John Simon
→ Demands for agricultural goods fell	→ Set up in response to nationalist movement
→ Peasants unable to:	→ Purpose: to look into Indian constitutional system and suggest changes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sell harvests</li> <li>• pay revenue</li> </ul>	→ Problem: No Indian member

### ~~What happened when the <sup>Simon</sup> Commission arrived?~~

- When Simon Commission arrived [1928]:
  - Greeted with slogan 'Go Back Simon'
  - Congress and Muslim League protested
- Oct. 1929 — Lord Irwin announced an offer of 'dominion status' and a Round Table conference
  - (To discuss Future constitution)
- Dec 9/1929 — Lahore congress, under Jawaharlal Nehru demanded 'Purna Swaraj'
- 26 Jan 1930 declared as Independence Day.
- Gandhi wanted to relate freedom with concrete issues of daily life.

## Salt March

- >>> Gandhi found in salt a powerful symbol that could unite the nation. Salt was:
- consumed by rich and poor alike
  - one of the most essential items of food.

- >>> 31 Jan 1930 - Gandhi sent a letter to Irwin with eleven demands, including:

- General ~~int~~ interest
- Specific demands of diff. classes - from industrialists to peasants
- Most important demand - to abolish salt tax

↓  
revealed most oppressive face of British rule

- >>> If demands were not fulfilled by 11 March, the letter stated, Congress would launch a civil disobedience movement.

- >>> Irwin unwilling to negotiate

- >>> Gandhi started his famous SALT MARCH

Starting Place	Sabarmati Ashram
Destination	Dandi, Gujarat
Distance	240 miles, 10 miles/day
Duration	24 days
People involved	Gandhi + 78 volunteers
Reached Dandi	
Started CDM [Salt law broken]	6 <sup>th</sup> April 1930

## Non-Cooperation Movement

Launched in 1920s

Indians asked to:

- not cooperate with British

End of the movement:

Chauri Chaura incident

Participation of small farmers

## Civil Disobedience Movement

Launched in 1930s

Indians asked to:

- not cooperate with British
- break civil laws

End of movement:

Gandhi - Irwin pact

No participation of small farmers

- »» Civil Disobedience Movement; people:
1. broke salt law
  2. manufactured salt
  3. demonstrated in front of govt. salt factories

»» As the movement spread

- Peasants refused to pay revenue, chaukidari taxes
- Foreign cloth boycotted
- Liquor shops picketed
- Village officials resigned
- People violated forest laws

»» Results

1. British began arresting Congress leaders
2. Violent clashes in many places
3. Abdul Gaffar Khan, devout disciple of Gandhi, arrested in April 1930
  - Angry crowds protested in Peshawar,
  - Faced armoured cars and police firing
4. 1 month later (May '30) - Gandhi arrested

- Industrial workers in Sholapur attacked
    - police posts
    - municipal buildings
    - law courts
    - railway stations
- structures that symbolised British rule
- Govt. responded with brutal repression:
    - Peaceful satyagrahis attacked
    - women, children beaten
    - 1,00,000 people arrested

Gandhi called off the movement

5 March 1931 - Gandhi-Irwin pact

Gandhi-Irwin pact [compromise]

Gandhi's offers

- participate in
- Round table conference

Irwin's offer

- Release political prisoners

Dec 1931 - Gandhi went to London to attend Round Table Conference

Negotiations broke down, Gandhi returned disappointed

Meanwhile, In India:

Cycle of repressions [by govt.]

- J. Nehru, Gaffar Khan both in jail
- Congress declared illegal
- Measures imposed to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts

Gandhi relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement

How Participants Saw the Movement

1. Peasants
2. Industrialists
3. Women
4. Workers

# 1. How PEASANTS saw CDM

Movement against revenue imposed by British govt

Movement against land lords, not British

## ① Rich Peasants

## ② Poor Peasants

»» Included Patidars of Guj., and Jats of UP

»» Included small tenants cultivating rented land from land lords...

»» Disappointed by trade depression, falling prices  
↓ because

»» Incomes decreased

Income reduced

»» Unable to pay rents

»» Unable to pay revenue to govt. Govt. refused to reduce revenue

»» Wanted ~~unpaid~~ unpaid rent to be remitted

»» Started supporting CDM

»» Joined movements led by Socialists and Communists

»» Disappointed when movement called off, refused to join when restarted

»» Congress did not support 'no rent' campaigns.

In summary, Swaraj was:

1. Struggle against high revenues [for rich peasants]
2. Not in favour of them [for poor peasants]

# 2. How INDUSTRIALISTS [BUSINESS CLASSES] saw CDM

»» During WWI, industrialists made huge profits

»» Wanted to expand business, British govt. restricted business activities

supported for business growth and banning imports

»» Wanted:

1. Protection against import of foreign goods
2. Rupee - sterling foreign exchange ratio [discourage imports]

»» Formed:

1920 → 1. Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress ~~1920~~

FICCI 1927 → 2. Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries

»» Leaders:

- 1. Purshottamdas
  - 2. Thakurdas
  - 3. G. D. Birla
- } supported 1<sup>st</sup> CDM

»» Contribution:

- 1. Financial assistance
- 2. Refusal to buy or sell imported goods

»» But failure of Round Table Conference made business groups worry about:

- 1. Spread of militant activities
- 2. Prolonged disruption of business
- 3. Growing influence of socialism among Congress members

### 3. How Industrial WORKERS saw CDM

- »» Did not participate in CDM, except Nagpur
- »» Workers who participated took Gandhian ideas like boycott of foreign goods as part of their own movements

low wages } against  
poor working conditions

Supported for increase in wages, better work condition, less hours

»» Strikes:

- 1. Railway workers - 1930
- 2. Dockworkers - 1932

»» 1930 - 1000+ Chotanagpur miners protested with Gandhi like boycott campaigns were supported

»» But Congress was not ready to include workers' demands as a part of struggle

#### 4. How WOMEN saw CDM

supported movement for equal rights and willing to give equal contribution

- »» Large-scale participation in protest marches, manufactured salt and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops
- »» Many went to jail
- »» Women classes:
  1. Urban areas - high-caste families
  2. Rural areas - rich peasant households
- »» For women, serving nation was a sacred duty
- »» But, Gandhi's opinion; women's duty was to:
  - o look after home
  - o be good mothers and wives
- »» Women got no position of authority within Congress

but movement didn't support them

#### Limits of Civil Disobedience

- »» Congress ignored 'untouchables' or dalits:
  - o fear of offending sanatanis, high-caste Hindus
- »» Gandhi advocated for eliminating untouchability:
  1. Called dalits 'harijan' (children of God)
  2. Organised satyagraha to:
    - o secure entry into temples
    - o give access to wells, tanks, roads, schools
  3. Cleared toilets to dignify the work of bangi (sweepers)
  4. Persuaded upper classes to change their hearts and give up on the 'sin of untouchability'

Dalits did not participate because they wanted:

- »» Dalit demands:
  1. Reserved seats in educational institutions
  2. Separate electorate to choose dalit members for legislative councils
  3. Political empowerment

∴ limited participation in CDM

But Congress supported sanatanis

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- >>> Dr. B.R. Ambedkar - organised Depressed Classes Association 1930
  - >>> Ambedkar demanded separate electorate for Dalits, clashed with Gandhi who believed that it would slow down the process of their integration into society
  - >>> Compromise -  
Poona Pact of Sept. 1932
    - reserved seats for SCs in councils
    - but voted in general electorate
  - >>> Muslims felt alienated from Congress
  - >>> Mid-1920s: Congress included Hindu groups like the Hindu Mahasabha
  - >>> Hindu-Muslim clashes and riots in various cities
  - >>> Congress and Muslim League made efforts for alliance
  - >>> 1927 - found a possibility
  - >>> Muhammad Ali Jinnah would give up demand of separate electorates if
    - assured Reserved Seats in Central Assembly
    - representation in proportion to population
  - >>> All Parties Conference, 1928 - M.R. Jayakar and Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed compromise
  - >>> Muslims couldn't respond to calls of united struggles, feared the chances of being a minority and domination of Hindu majority

# SENSE OF COLLECTIVE BELONGING

- »» How did Nationalism spread
1. Sense of being the part of the same nation
  2. Discovering unity that binds them together
- »» How sense of collective belonging came
1. Partly through experience of united struggles
  2. A variety of cultural processes
- »»
- |            |   |           |  |
|------------|---|-----------|--|
| • History  | — | • Fiction | } played imp<br>role in making<br>of nationalism |
| • Folklore | — | • Songs   |  |
| • Prints   | — | • Symbols |  |
- »» Nation is symbolised in a figure or image
- helps create an image with which people can identify
- »» 20<sup>th</sup> century [growth of nationalism] — Identity of India associated with Bharat Mata.
- »» Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay
- created first imaginary image of Bharat Mata
  - 1870s — Composed 'Vande Mataram'
  - included in his his novel Anandamath
  - widely sung during Swadeshi Movement, Bengal
- »» Inspired by Swadeshi movement, Abanindranath Tagore painted his first image of Bharat Mata:
- ascetic figure
  - calm, composed, divine, spiritual
  - devotion to Bharat Mata became ~~an~~ evidence of one's nationalism.

>>> Ideas of nationalism developed with folklores too  
>>> Late 19<sup>th</sup> century - nationalists recorded folktales; toured villages to gather folk songs, legends

>>> Why is folk tradition necessary to preserve?  
1. discover one's national identity  
2. restore a sense of pride in one's past

>>> Rabindranath Tagore (Bengal)  
• collected ballads, nursery rhymes, myths  
• led movement for folk revival

>>> Natesa Sastri (Madras)  
• published the four-volume 'The Folklore of Southern India'  
• Believed:  
- Folklore was national literature  
- 'most trustworthy manifestation of people's real thoughts and characteristics'

>>> During Swadeshi Movement  
• tricolour flag, designed (red-green-yellow)  
• had eight lotuses, representing eight provinces of British India  
• a crescent moon ← representing Hindus, Muslims

>>> 1921 - Gandhi designed 'Swaraj flag'  
• tricolour (red-green-white)  
• spinning wheel in centre - representing self-help

>>> Nationalism also created through reinterpretation of history

>>> End 19<sup>th</sup> cent. - Indians had sense of pride for nation

## How British saw Indians

- backward
- primitive
- incapable of governing themselves



Indians relooked into past to discover India's great achievements.

»»

Indians wrote about

- glorious developments in ancient times
- art and architecture
- science and mathematics
- religion and culture
- law and philosophy
- crafts and trade

} which flourished that time  
↓  
But colonial rule ruined everything

