

Nationalism in India

INTRODUCTION

* The first world war (1914) created a new economic and political situation.

⇒ IMPACT OF WW I :-

- defence expenditure increased
- custom duties were raised and income tax was introduced.
- Prices of food grains were increased and doubled between 1913-1918.
- Forced recruitment of villagers in army was taking place.

* The idea of satyagraha

⇒ Gandhiji's method of movement and protest based on truth and non-violence was known as satyagraha.

⇒ This could be done by appealing to the conscience of oppressor.

at this stage, people - including oppressor had to be persuaded to see the truth.

new leaders emerged. * after arriving in India M.G. Ranade successfully organised satyagraha movements.

* The Rowlatt Act

→ passed through Imperial Legislative Council in 1919.

according to this act, the political prisoners could be detained in prison for 2 years without any trial.

→ On 6th April 1919 Gandhiji launched a national wide satyagraha with a hartal.

- 1) Rallies were organised, workers went to strike, shops were closed down.

→ several local leaders were arrested and entry was restricted from entering Delhi.

→ On 10th April 1919 the police in Amritsar opened fired a peaceful procession.

→ MARTIAL LAW was imposed and General Dyer took command

→ then took place the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

1) Bihar - Champaran
• 1917
• inspired peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation.

2) Gujarat - Kheda
• 1917
• support peasants who were suffering from shortage of food due to crop failure and plague epidemic.

3) 1918
• Ahmedabad
• amongst cotton mill workers.

* The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.

→ on 13th April 1919, a large crowd gathered in an enclosed ground.

- some people gathered to protest
- some people were totally unaware of martial law came to attend the Baisakhi fair.

→ General Dyer, blocked the exit points of the ground and gave order to open fire on the ground. 100's of people were killed.

→ The govt was forced to end the movement by:

- 1) humiliating people (leaders)
- 2) satyagrahis were forced to sub their nose on ground, crawl and do salam to all soldiers.

→ Balindranath Tagore returned his title, Knighthood during this incident.

movement was called off
of by Mr.

* Khilafat movement.

- after the WWI rumours spread that a peace treaty was going to be imposed on Khalifa of Ottoman Empire.
- Gandhi ji believed that by this Khilafat issue he could unite the Hindus and Muslims and launch a wide movement in India.
- a Khilafat committee was formed in Bombay under the leadership of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. (Ali Brothers)
- The Congress passed the resolution in its Calcutta session in September 1920 to start a Non cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as Swaraj.

* why non-cooperation?

Mr's idea

→ In the book "Hind Swaraj" Mr said the British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians and survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refuse to cooperate, British rule will collapse.

How could non-cooperation become a movement?

↓
Gandhi ji proposed that movement should unfold in stages.

1] it should begin with the surrender of titles that the government awarded

But in case the government used repression, a full civil disobedience campaign will be launched

2] Boycott a civil services, army, police, courts & legislative councils, schools and foreign goods.

Conflicts:-

- many people of congress were however, concerned about the proposal. They were reluctant to boycott the council election scheduled for Nov 1920 and they feared that the movement might lead to violence.

* Different strands within the movement.

⇒ In January 1921 the Non-cooperation - Khilafat movement started.

1920 → Congress session proposed: NCM → Sep [Calcutta]
accepted: NCM → Dec [Nagpur]

* The movement in Towns:-

- Thousands of students left government-controlled schools.
- headmasters and teachers resigned
- lawyers gave up their legal practices.

* effects of non cooperation movement:

- i] foreign goods were boycotted.
- ii] liquor shops picketed
- iii] foreign clothes burnt in huge bonfires.
- iv] The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921-1922
- v] merchants and traders refused to do foreign trades.
- vi] people discarded imported clothes & wore Indian one's only.
- vii] Production of Indian textile went up.

(The council elections were boycotted almost everywhere except for Madras. Justice party a non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was a way of gaining power which they thought Brahmins did!)

* Limitations :-

- i] Khadi clothes were often more expensive than mass-produced mill cloth and poor people could not afford to buy it.
- ii] The teachers and students had to resume their studies and jobs in government colleges and schools and lawyers joined back too.

Peasant movement in Awadh

Rebellion in countryside.

Tribal movement in Andhra Pradesh

• In Awadh, peasants were led by Baba Ramchandra,

a syonazi sanyasi who had earlier seen to Fiji as an indentured labourer.

⇒ The movement was against talukdars and landlords who exploited the peasants.

* The peasant movement demanded

- i] reduction of revenue
- ii] abolition of begar

⇒ In many places nai-dhalei mandals were organised by panchayats to deprive landlords of the services of men barbers and washermen.

⇒ In June 1920, Jawaharlal Nehru began going around villages in Awadh.

- By Oct the Oudh Kisan Sabha was set up by Ramchandra & JLN.
- Within a month 300 branches set up.

Limitations :-

- the houses of talukdars and merchants were attacked.
- razzias were looted and grain hoards were taken over

• In the Cyndem Hills of Andhra Pradesh, a militant guerrilla movement spread under the leadership of Alluri Sitaram Raju.

• In the Forest regions, the colonial government had closed large forest areas, preventing people from entering the forest to graze their cattle or to collect fuelwood and fruits. This enraged the people.

Not only their livelihoods affected but they felt that their traditional rights are being denied.

⇒ ALLURI SITARAM RAJU

⇒ he claimed that he had a variety of special powers, he could make correct astrological predictions and heal people & survive bullet shots.

• He claimed to be incarnation of god.

HIS THOUGHTS: (i) talked abt his greatness (ii) persuaded people to wear khadi (iii) give up drinking

• He attacked the police station, attempted to kill British officials. He was captured & killed in 1924.

* Swaraj in plantations

- according to the Inland emigration act 1859, plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission.
- When the news of non-cooperation movement spread to the plantation workers, they left their jobs and headed towards home.
- The plantation workers believed that in Gandhi Raj, everyone would be given a land to own in their village.
- However they were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.
 - In Feb 1922 at Chauri Chaura Gorakhpur.
 - a peaceful demonstration in Sonar turned violent.
 - Hearing of this incident - MG called off NCM.

* Towards Civil disobedience [1922-1930]

* In February 1922, MG called off the movement as he thought the movement was turning violent in many places and satyagrahis needed to be properly trained before any mass struggles.

⇒ events that took place between 1922-1930:

① within congress, some leaders were by now tired of mass struggles and wanted to participate in elections to the provincial council that had been set up in govt act 1919.

↓
CR Das and Motilal Nehru formed Swaraj party.

↓
Jawaharlal Nehru & Subhas Chandra Bose pressed for full independence.

② economic depression

↓
• agricultural prices began to fall from 1926 and collapsed after 1930.

• as the demand for agricultural goods fell and export declined, peasants found it difficult to sell their harvest and pay their revenue

2 factors that shaped Indian politics towards late 1920's

simon commission ③

↓
• The new Tory government in Britain constituted a statutory commission under John Simon.

• The problem was the commission did not have a single Indian member.

• ∴ when simon commission arrived in 1928, it was greeted with slogan 'simon go back'

④ In October 1929, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin announced an uncertain offer of dominion status for India and a Round table conference to discuss a future constitution.

⑤ Lahore Congress session:-

• In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress session formalised the demand of Purna Swaraj or full independence of India.

• 26th Jan 1930 was the date that was declared as Independence day.

But celebrations attracted very little attention. → ∴ MG had to find a way to relate this abstract idea of freedom to more concrete issue of everyday life

⇒ Civil disobedience movement and salt march.

On 31st January 1930 MG sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating 11 demands

The most stirring of all demands was the abolition of salt tax.

↓ Why salt?

• Salt was something consumed by the rich and poor alike, it was one of the most essential item for food. MG said tax on salt is not right as it is a basic necessity requirement.

↓ if the demands were not fulfilled by 11th March Congress would launch a civil disobedience movement.

↓ Irwin was not ready to negotiate → MG started his famous salt march accompanied with 78 of his trusted volunteers and 1000's of people joined them on the way.

• The march was over 24 miles from Sakrmati Ashram to Dandi.

• Volunteers walked for 24 days about 10 miles a day.

On 6th April he reached

→ Dandi, and violated the law by drinking sea water and making salt.

-11- The Dandi march marked the beginning of -11-
civil disobedience movement

How did civil disobedience movement unfold?

- 1] people broke the salt law
- 2] foreign clothes were boycotted
- 3] liquor shops were picketed
- 4] Peasants refused to pay revenue and chaukidari taxes
- 5] forest/tribal people violated forest laws.

↓ response of govt **VIOLENCE**

1] the colonial govt began arresting congress leaders.

↳ Abdul Ghaffar Khan

↳ Mahatma Gandhi

2] Peaceful satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten and 100,000 people were arrested.

⇒ in such situation the movement was called off

* MCR entered into a pact with Amrit on 5th march 1931.

• in the pact Gandhiji consented to participate in the Round Table conference and in return they agreed to release prisoners.

↓ but ~~disappointment~~ disappointment ke alawa kuch nahi mila

① Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru both were in Jail.

② Congress was declared illegal

③ many measures were imposed to prevent boycott & meetings.

With great enthu MCR re launched but failed !!

* different social groups that participated in movement.

① Rich peasants

• Pareshani:- they produced commercial crops, they were hit hard by economic crisis. → they found it impossible to pay taxes.

• Demand:- They wanted govt to reduce revenue.

• Nahi kiya toh unka support:- they participated with enthu.

• But:-

They were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off without meeting their demands.

② Poor peasants

- unki pareshaani:- difficult to pay taxes to high class zamindar
 - demands:-
 - i] They were interested in lowering of the revenue demand
 - ii] They wanted the unpaid rent to the landlords to be remitted
- ⇒ raising issues of poor peasants could result in upset such peasants. During the movement their relationship was uncertain.

③ Business class

- unki pareshaani:- during WWI these people earned huge profit but when it ended British people started closing and restricting business activities
 - demands:-
 - i] protection against foreign goods
 - ii] rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that discourages import
 - iii] They formed Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress. 1920
 - iv] Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927
 - most businessmen came to see swaraj as time when colonial restriction would no longer exist and socialism among young ppl
- ⇒ Purshattandas Thakurdas ⇒ G.D Birla should be not there

④ Working class

- ⇒ worker class was not active in movement except for Nagpur.
- their contribution:-
 - i] Boycott of foreign goods.
 - ii] strikes were organised
 - iii] in 1930; 1000's of workers wore Gandhi caps and protested.

⑤ Women

- contribution:
- i] they protested
 - ii] manufactured salt
 - iii] picketed foreign cloth
 - iv] picketed liquor shops
- tab bhi → ① it did not change the stereotypical
- ↓
- Gandhi ji was stereotypical
- Congress did not allow women to hold a position.
- * moved by Gandhi's call; they began to see service of nation as sacred duty of women

The limits of civil disobedience.

① Caste

- not all social groups were moved by abstract concept of swaraj.
- For a long time Congress had ignored Dalits, for fear of offending the sanatanis the conservative high hindu-caste.

• But steps taken by MCR for upliftment:

i] He called untouchables harijans, or children of god.

ii] organised satyagraha to secure entry in temple, access to public wells, tanks, roads & schools.

iii] He himself cleaned Toilets to dignify the work of lehangi

iv] Persuaded upper caste to change their heart and give up the curse of untouchability.

• political soln that Dalits wanted:

i] demanding reserved seats

ii] separate electorate.

• Dr BR Ambedkar clashed with MCR at second round table conference by demanding separate electorates.

• Poona Pact of Sep 1932 -

⇒ It ~~given~~ gave the depressed classes reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils,

but they were to be voted in by general electorates.

* The sense of Collective Belonging.

Q. How did people belonging to different communities, region language group develop a sense of collective belonging?

A. i] Through the experience of united struggles

ii] variety of cultural processes through which nationalism captured people's imagination.

② Religion

• after decline of the Non-cooperation movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated by congress.

• From the mid 1920's the congress came to be more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist group like the Hindu Mahasabha.

• as relations between Hindu & Muslim worsen, that riots have large.

* Muhammad Ali Jinnah - a leader of muslim league, was willing to give up the demand for separate electorate, if Muslims were assured by reserved seats in central assembly.

↓
• MR Jayakar strongly opposed

↓
• resulting in partition after some time.

* How did people ~~catch~~ capture people's imagination?

By fiction, folklore and songs, popular prints and symbols.

① Symbolised in a figure or image.

1] Identity of India came to be visually associated with image of Bharat Mata.

Painted by Abanindranath Tagore

Created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

⇒ it portrays as an ascetic figure, she is calm, composed, divine and spiritual.

2] In 1870's he wrote 'Vande Mataram' as a hymn to the motherland

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay

later it was included in his novel Anandamath.

② Ideas of nationalism also developed through a movement to revive Indian folklore.

1] In Bengal Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths, and led the movement for folk revival.

2] In Madras, Natesa Sastri published a massive 4-volume collection of Tamil folk tales, 'The folklore of southern India'.

③ Icons and symbols

1] Swaraj flag

• 1921, Gandhiji designed the swaraj flag. (Tricolour)

• It had a spinning wheel in the centre, representing the Gandhian idea of self-help.

red, green, white

• Carrying the flag became a symbol of defiance.

Limits: When the past being glorified was Hindu, the people of other communities felt left out.