

**8**

213en08

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

In the last few lessons, you have been reading about the history of our civilization starting from the Pre-historic Age till the modern period. You have travelled down to this lesson on India's Freedom Movement. Don't you think it was a very interesting journey? You read how people lived in jungles, used crude stones to protect themselves, and got food by killing animals. You also read about the Bronze Age when metals were discovered and were used for cutting down small forests and also how its use made life more comfortable. This led us to the Iron Age and the beginning of Industrialization. You read how as society grew, some people became more powerful than the others. You also read how money and land became a source of greed for powerful nations. This led to protest and resistance against states and nations who tried to control the others by exploiting the natural and human resources and by ruling over them ruthlessly. One of these states happened to be our own country India. You shall read about India's long struggle for freedom in this lesson.

**OBJECTIVES**

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- identify the causes that led the rise of Nationalism in India
- trace the emergence of Indian National Congress
- discuss the various stages of the National Movement in India
- list the names of prominent leaders of the Indian National Movement
- discuss the role of Gandhi in this Movement

8.1 ORIGIN OF NATIONALISM

The rise of Nationalism is reflected in the spirit of Renaissance in Europe when freedom from religious restrictions led to the enhancement of national identity. This expression of Nationalism was furthered by the French Revolution. The political

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changes resulted in the passing of sovereignty from the hands of an absolute monarch to the French citizens, who had the power to constitute the nation and shape its destiny. The watchwords of the French Revolution - *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* - inspired the whole world. Many other revolutions like the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution, etc. (about which you have already read in Lesson 3) also strengthened the idea of Nationalism. In this lesson, you will read about the rise of Nationalism in India which emerged in the 19th Century after the revolt of 1857.

8.1.1 Rise of Nationalism in India

For India, the making of national identity was a long process whose roots can be drawn from the ancient era. India as a whole had been ruled by emperors like Ashoka and Samudragupta in ancient times and Akbar to Aurangzeb in Medieval times. But, it was only in the 19th Century that the concept of a national identity and national consciousness emerged. This growth was intimately connected to the anti-colonial movement about which you have already read in lesson 4. The social, economic and political factors had inspired the people to define and achieve their national identity. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle against colonialism.

The sense of being oppressed under colonial rule provided a shared bond that tied different groups together. Each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently. Their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. Several other causes also contributed towards the rise and growth of Nationalism. One set of laws of British Government across several regions led to political and administrative unity. This strengthened the concept of citizenship and one nation among Indians. Do you remember reading the lesson Popular Resistance Movements? Do you remember the way the peasants and the tribals rebelled when their lands and their right to livelihood was taken away? Similarly this economic exploitation by the British agitated other people to unite and react against British Government's control over their lives and resources. The social and religious reform movements of the 19th century also contributed to the feeling of Nationalism. Do you remember reading about Swami Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Henry Derozio and many others? They revived the glory of ancient India, created faith among the people in their religion and culture and thus gave the message of love for their motherland. The intellectual and spiritual side of Nationalism was voiced by persons like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Aurobindo Ghosh. Bankim Chandra's hymn to the Motherland, '*Vande Matram*' became the rallying cry of patriotic nationalists. It inspired generations to supreme self-sacrifice. Simultaneously, it created a fear in the minds of the British. The impact was so strong that the British had to ban the song. Similarly, Swami Vivekananda's message to the people, "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached", appealed to the Indians. It acted as a potent force in the course of Indian Nationalism.

Do you also remember reading about the establishment of printing press and how it helped in wide circulation of ideas like liberty, equality and fraternity? All these factors helped in the spread of Nationalism among the people of India.

Around this time many organizations were being formed which raised their voices against British rule. Most of these organizations were regional in nature. Some of these organizations were very active such as Bengal Indian Association, Bengal Presidency Association, Pune Public Meeting, etc. However it was felt that if these regional organizations could work jointly it would help the Indian masses to raise their voices against the British Rule. This led to the formation of Indian National Congress in the year 1885. We will discuss about this in the next section of this lesson.

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8.2 EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1885)

The Indian National Congress was founded by Allan Octavian Hume in 1885. Hume was a retired Civil Service Officer. He saw a growing political consciousness among the Indians and wanted to give it a safe, constitutional outlet so that their resentment would not develop into popular agitation against the British rule in India. He was supported in this scheme by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and by a group of eminent Indians. Womesh Chandra Banerjee of Calcutta was elected as the first President. The Indian National Congress represented an urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their betterment. Its leaders had complete faith in the British Government and in its sense of justice. They believed that if they would place their grievances before the government reasonably, the British would certainly try to rectify them. Among the liberal leaders, the most prominent were Firoz Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Ras Behari Bose, Badruddin Tayabji, etc. From 1885 to 1905, the Indian National Congress had a very narrow social base. Its influence was confined to the urban educated Indians.



Figure 8.1 *Indian National Congress (Session 1885)*



The early aims of this organization were limited only to communicate with British government on behalf of the Indian people and voice their grievances. It was rightly called the era of the Moderates. You will soon find out why?

8.2.1 Initial stages of Indian National Congress

The congress placed its demands before the government always in the form of petitions and worked within the framework of law. It was for this reason that the early Congress leaders were referred to as 'Moderates'. During its first twenty years the Congress made moderate demands. The members placed their demands before the Government always in the form of petitions and worked within the framework of law. It was for this reason that the early Congress leaders were referred to as 'Moderates' They asked for: (a) representative legislatures, (b) Indianization of services, (c) reduction of military expenditure, (d) education, employment and holding of the ICS (Indian Civil Services) examination in India, (e) decrease in the burden of the cultivators, (f) defense of civil rights, (g) separation of the judiciary from the executive, (h) change in the tenancy laws, (i) reduction in land revenue and salt duty, (j) policies to help in the growth of Indian industries and handicrafts, (k) introduction of welfare programmes for the people.

Unfortunately, their efforts did not bring many changes in the policies and administration of the British in India. In the beginning, the Britishers had a favourable attitude towards the Congress. But, by 1887, this attitude began to change. They did not fulfill the demands of the Moderates. The only achievement of the Congress was the enactment of the Indian Councils Act, 1892 that enlarged the legislature by adding a few non-official members and passing of a resolution for holding Indian Civil Services Examination simultaneously in London and in India. Many leaders gradually lost faith in the Constitutional process. Even though the Congress failed to achieve its goal, it succeeded in creating national awakening and instilling in the minds of the Indian people a sense of belonging to one Nation. They provided a forum for the Indians to discuss major national issues. By criticizing the government policies, they gave the people valuable political training. Though, They were not ready to take aggressive steps which would bring them in direct conflict with the Government. The most significant achievement was the foundation of a strong national movement.

The Britishers who were earlier supporting the Moderates soon realized that the movement could turn into a National force that would drive them out of the country. This totally changed their attitude. They passed strict laws to control education and curb the press. Minor concessions were given so as to win over some Congress leaders. The British Viceroy, Lord Curzon was a staunch imperialist and believed in the superiority of the English people. He passed an Act in 1898, making it an offence to provoke people against the British rulers. He passed the Indian Universities Act in 1904, imposing stiff control over Indian Universities. Curzon was out to

suppress the rising Nationalism in India. This was evident from what he did in 1905 about which you will read in the next section.

8.3. PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

What do you think happened in 1905? Curzon announced the partition of Bengal. The reason for partition was given as an attempt to improve administration. But the real aim was to 'Divide and Rule'. The partition was done in order to create a separate State for Muslims and so introduce the poison of communalism in the country. However the Indians viewed the partition as an attempt by the British to disrupt the growing national movement in Bengal and divide the Hindus and Muslims of the region. Widespread agitation ensued in the streets and in the press. People of different parts of India opposed the partition of Bengal all over the country. This opposition was carried on by organized meetings, processions and demonstrations etc. Hindus and Muslims tied 'rakhi' on each other's hands to show their unity and their protest.



ACTIVITY 8.1

(Do you know what 'rakhi' is? Write a paragraph on it. Connect it with the Indian festival of Raksha Bandhan.)

The use of Swadeshi (made in our own country by our own people) goods, business, national education and Indian languages were encouraged. The new nationalist spirit of self reliance- shed the fear of repression including imprisonment and painful torture by the British rule. It was Bal Gangadhar Tilak who realized the importance of boycott as a weapon that could be used to paralyze the whole British administrative machinery in India. The boycott and Swadeshi movements were instrumental in the establishment of swadeshi enterprises - textile mills, banks, hosiery, tanneries, chemical works and insurance companies. Swadeshi stores were opened. Volunteers supplied goods at the doorstep of every household. The movement spread to all classes and groups of people. Everyone, including women and children, came forward to take part. The most active were school and college students. This made the British reverse the partition of Bengal and unite it in 1911. During this time, the role of Radical Nationalists in the Indian National Congress, who were called the 'Garam Dal', came to be appreciated. They tried to involve people from all classes and groups including peasants, worker, students as well as women. They succeeded in uniting the Indian people against the common enemy - the British. The young people were roused to the highest level of patriotism and zeal to free their country. They helped in making people self confident and self reliant. They also revived the Indian Cottage industry.



8.4 THE RISE OF RADICAL NATIONALISTS

The mild policies of the Moderates in the Congress led to the rise of passionate, radical nationalists, who came to be called the 'Garam Dal'. Thus the first phase of the nationalist movement came to an end with government reaction against the Congress on the one hand and a split in the Congress in 1907 on the other. That is why the period after 1905 till 1918 can be referred to as the 'Era of Passionate Nationalists or Garam Dal'. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal (Lal-Bal-Pal) were important leaders of this Radical group. When the Moderates were in the forefront of the action, they had maintained a low profile but now they swung into action. Their entry marked the beginning of a new trend and a new face in India's struggle for freedom. According to them, the Moderates had failed to define India's political goals and the methods adopted by them were mild and ineffective. Besides, the Moderates remained confined to the upper, landed class and failed to enlist mass support as a basis for negotiating with the British.



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Figure 8.2 Lal-Bal-Pal

The Garam Dal realized that the British were out to exploit Indians, destroy their self-sufficiency and drain India of its wealth. They felt that Indians should now become free of foreign rule and govern themselves. This group, instead of making petitions to the government, believed in organizing mass protests, criticizing government policies, boycotting foreign goods and use of Swadeshi (home-made) goods etc. They did not believe in depending on the mercy of the Britishers, but believed that freedom was their right. Bal Gangadhar Tilak gave a slogan '***Freedom is our birth right and we must have it***'.

In 1916 the two groups were again united with the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant. Do you remember reading about her in an earlier lesson? She started working for

the Home rule movement in 1914. She was convinced that India should be granted Self-Government. In 1916, Muslim League and Congress also came to an understanding with each other and signed the Lucknow Pact. Later, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose became the eminent figures of Indian National Congress, who led the freedom movement of India forward.

**ACTIVITY 8.2**

Prepare a time line of the events of the history of Indian National Congress from its establishment to Independence. Collect photographs related to it and arrange them on this chart.

8.5 FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE (1906)

As the radical movement grew stronger the British began to look for ways and means to break the unity among Indian. They tried to do this through the partition of Bengal and by sowing the seed of communalism among Indian people. They motivated Muslims to form a permanent political association of their own. In December, 1906, during the Muhammadan Educational conference in Dacca, Nawab Salim Ullah Khan raised the idea of establishing a Central Muhammadan Association to take care of Muslim interests. Accordingly, on 30th December, 1906, the All India Muslim League was founded. Another prominent person, Aga Khan was chosen as its president. The main objective of the league was to protect and advance the rights of Muslims in India and represent their needs to the government. By encouraging the issue of separate electorates, the government sowed the seed of communalism and separatism among Indians. The formation of the Muslim League is considered to be the first fruit of the British master strategy of 'Divide and Rule'. Mohammad Ali Jinnah later joined the League.

8.6 MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS (1909)

Do you remember reading about the Indian Councils Act 1892, which enlarged the legislature by adding members to the Central Legislative Assembly? The Council Act of 1909 was an extension of the 1892 reforms, also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms after the names of the then Secretary of State (Lord Morley) and the then Viceroy (Lord Minto). It increased the members of the Legislative Assembly from sixteen to sixty. A few non-elected members were also added. Though the members of the Legislative Council were increased, they had no real powers. They remained mainly advisory in character. They could not stop any bills from being passed. Nor did they have any power over the budget.



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The British made another calculated move to sow the seed of communalism in Indian politics by introducing separate electorates for the Muslims. This meant that from the constituencies dominated by Muslims only Muslim candidates could be elected. Hindus could only vote for Hindus, and Muslims could only vote for Muslims. Many leaders protested against this communal electorate policy of the British to 'Divide and Rule'.

8.7 THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War started in the year of 1914, about which you have already read in the previous lesson. This War was fought among the nations of Europe to get colonial monopoly. During war time, the British Government made an appeal to the Indian leaders to join hands with them in their time of crisis. Indian leaders agreed but they put their own terms and conditions i.e. after the war was over, the British government would give Constitutional (legislative and administrative) powers to the Indian People. Unfortunately, the steps taken by the British government during the World War I created unrest among the Indian people. This was because the British government had taken a huge loan during war time which they had to repay. They increased rent from the land, i.e. lagan. They forcefully recruited Indians in the British Army. They increased the price of necessary goods and imposed taxes on personal and professional income. As a result, they had to face protest from the Indian society. Farmers and workers of Champaran, Bardoli, Kheda and Ahmedabad actively protested against the exploitative policies of British government. Lakhs of students left schools and colleges. Hundreds of lawyers gave up their practice. Women also significantly contributed in this movement and their participation became wider with the emergence of Gandhi. The boycott of foreign cloth became a mass movement, with thousands of bonfires of foreign cloth lighting the Indian sky.



ACTIVITY 8.3

Media played a very significant role in the success of Indian National Movement. Find out the names of some prominent newspapers of that time. Also the kinds of media publicity used during that time. Write a report.

8.7.1 Coming together of Naram Dal and Garam Dal

During the war time, The Naram Dal and Garam Dal came together in 1916 at Lucknow Congress session. The Muslim League and the Congress agreed to separate electorates and decided to give weightage to the other party wherever they were in minority. Both Congress and Muslim League jointly demanded self-

government which could no longer be ignored by the Government. The Lucknow session was also significant as the radical leaders of the Congress were attending it after the split in 1907. It brought Tilak into prominence and he remained an active member in the Movement till his death in 1920. The pact which took place between the Congress and Muslim League aroused great hopes and aspirations in the country. Simultaneously, the work done by the Home rule movement infused confidence and determination among the people. In order to pacify the Indians, the Montague-Chelmsford Reform came in 1919. It introduced Dyarchy - which was a kind of double government in the provinces. The provisional government was to be divided into two parts - one to be responsible to the Indian Electorate through the Legislature, and other to the Governor. The report also laid stress on the Indianization of the services.

In the First World War, Britain and its allied groups won the war. During the War, Muslims supported the government with an understanding that the sacred places of Ottoman Empire would be in the hands of Khalifa. But after the War, a new treaty was imposed on the Turkish Sultan and Ottoman Empire was divided. This angered the Muslims who took it as an insult to the Khalifa. Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali started the **Khilafat Movement** against the British government.

After the end of the First World War, the British government also passed another Act known as the Rowlatt Act. The Act authorized the British government to arrest and imprison any person without trial in a court of law. It also banned Indians from keeping any type of weapon. This angered the Sikhs, who kept a *kripan* (a type of small sword) with them as part of their religion. The Indians considered this Act as an insult to them. On 13th April, 1919 on the occasion of Baisakhi fair at Jallianwalla Bagh (Amritsar), people had gathered for peaceful protest against this Act. Suddenly, a British officer, General Dyer, entered into the park with his troops and ordered them to open fire on the crowd with their machine guns. This was done without any warning to the people. The Jallianwalla Bagh gates were closed and the people - men, women and children could not escape to safety. Within a few minutes about a thousand persons were killed. The massacre aroused the fury of the Indian people. Showing his anger and pain, the famous philosopher-poet Rabindra Nath Tagore returned his Knighthood to the British government.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 8.1**

1. Explain three causes which led to national consciousness among Indians during the British regime.
2. Why was British government interested in the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885?

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3. What were the differences between the Moderates and the Radicals?
4. Why did the Indian leaders support the British during the First World War?
5. Why was the Khilafat movement against British rule?

8.8 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI

Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi was a lawyer, trained in Britain. He went to South Africa in 1893 and resided there for twenty one years. The treatment of the Indians in South Africa by the British provoked his conscience. He decided to fight against the policy of racial discrimination of the South African Government. During the course of his struggle against the government he evolved the technique of *Satyagraha* (non-violent insistence for truth and justice). Gandhi succeeded in this struggle in South Africa. He returned to India in 1915. In 1916, he founded the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad to practice the ideas of truth and non-violence. Gopal Krishna Gokhale advised him to tour the country mainly in the villages to understand the people and their problems. His first experiment in *Satyagraha* began at Champaran in Bihar in 1917 when he inspired the peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation system. He also organised a satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda districts of Gujarat. These peasants were not able to pay their revenue because of crop failure and epidemics. In Ahmedabad, he organized a movement amongst cotton mill workers.



Figure 8.3 Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi



ACTIVITY 8.4

You are requested by the peasant community to contact Gandhiji and invite him to visit Champaran. Write a letter to him explaining the conditions of the peasants there and what you would like him to do for these people.

8.8.1 The Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22)

Gandhiji by this time, was convinced that no useful purpose would be served by supporting the government. He was also emboldened by his earlier success in Bihar. In the light of the past events and the actions of British government, he decided to launch a nationwide satyagraha against the proposed Rowlatt Act in 1919. He threatened to start the non-cooperation movement in case the government failed to accept his demands. Why do you think Gandhiji protested against the Act? It was because the Act gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities

and allowed detention of political prisoners without any trial for two years. Gandhiji wanted non violent civil disobedience against such unjust laws. The government paid no heed to it. Gandhiji, therefore, started his non-cooperation movement in August 1920, in which he appealed to the people not to cooperate with the British government. At this time, the Khilafat movement started by the Muslims and the Non-cooperation movement led by Gandhi merged into one common confrontation against the British Government.

For this Gandhi laid down an elaborate programme- (1) Surrender of titles and honorary offices as well as resignation from nominated seats in local bodies; (2) refusal to attend official and non-official functions; (3) gradual withdrawal of children from officially controlled schools and colleges; (4) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants; (5) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; (6) boycott of elections to the legislative council by candidates and voters; (7) boycott of foreign goods and National schools and colleges.

Later, it was supplemented with a constructive programme which had three principal features: (1) promotion of 'Swadeshi', particularly hand-spinning and weaving; (2) Removal of untouchability among Hindus; (3) promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Due to this appeal of Gandhiji, an unusual frenzy overtook the country. A large number of people, dropping their differences, took part in this movement. Over two-thirds of the voters abstained from taking part in the elections to the Council, held in November, 1920. Thousands of students and teachers left their schools and colleges and new Indian educational centers were started by them. Lawyers like Moti Lal

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Figure 8.4 *Gandhi during National Movement*

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Nehru, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari and Asif Ali boycotted the courts. Legislative Assemblies were also boycotted. Foreign goods were boycotted and the clothes were put on bonfire.

But, during this movement some incidents took place that did not match with the views of Gandhiji. The non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement, which started auspiciously, was marked by violence in August, 1921. The government started taking serious action. Prominent leaders were arrested. In two months, nearly 30,000 people were imprisoned. The outbreak of violence cautioned Gandhiji. Mob violence took place on February 9, 1922, at Chauri Chaura village, in Gorakhpur district of UP. This was followed by more violence at Bareilly. Gandhiji suspended his non-cooperation on February 14, 1922. He was arrested at Ahmadabad on March 18, 1922, and sentenced to six years simple imprisonment. The non-cooperation movement failed to achieve success, yet it succeeded to prepare a platform for the future movements. After taking back the Non-Cooperation movement, Gandhiji and his followers were busy in creative activities in village areas. By this he gave the message to the people to remove the cast based animosity.



ACTIVITY 8.5

In 1922, Gandhiji suspended his non-cooperation movement after Chauri Chaura incident, even when the movement was on its peak. Many people criticized the decision of Gandhiji. Imagine that you were a journalist at that time and you got an assignment to interview Mahatma Gandhi just after this movement. Write an imaginary dialogue of your discussions with Mahatma Gandhi asking him to justify his decision.

C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and other like minded persons hatched out a novel plan of non-cooperation from within the reformed councils. They formed the **Swaraj Party** on January 01, 1923. C. R. Das was the president of the party and Motilal Nehru the Secretary. The party was described as 'a party within the Congress' and not a rival organization. But, they could neither end nor amend the Act of 1919.

In 1927, British government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. The Commission was appointed to study the reforms of 1919 and suggest further measures for Constitutional reforms. The Commission had no Indian member in it. The Indians boycotted this all-White commission. Therefore, when this Commission arrived in India, it faced protests all over the country. Black flags were shown, demonstrations and *Hartals* took place all over the country and the cry of 'Simon go back' was heard. These demonstrators were lathi charged at a number of places by the British Police. Lala Lajpat Rai was severely assaulted by the police

and he succumbed to his injuries. This agitation against the Simon Commission gave a new strength to the National Movement of India.

Meanwhile, Indian political leaders were busy in drafting a Constitution. This is known as **Nehru Report** which formed the outline of the Constitution. Among its important recommendations were a declaration of rights, a parliamentary system of government, adult franchise and an independent judiciary with a supreme court at its head. Most of its recommendations formed the basis of the Constitution of independent India which was adopted more than twenty years later. At the historic annual session of Congress in Lahore in 1929, the Congress committed itself to a demand for *Purna-Swaraj* or complete independence and issued a call to the country to celebrate 26th January as *Purna-Swaraj* Day. On January 26, 1930, the Congress celebrated 'Independence Day'. On the same day in 1950 the Constitution of Independent India was adopted, making India a sovereign, democratic socialist republic. Since then January 26th is celebrated as Republic Day.

**Notes****8.8.2 Dandi March**

Around the same time, the government made a new law. They imposed taxes on the use of salt. This was opposed by the people, as salt was the basic need of the people. But, no attention was paid to demands of the people. During March-April, 1930, Gandhi marched from his Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the Gujarat coast for the purpose of raiding the Government Salt. The violation of salt law was his first challenge to the government. It was a peaceful march. Gandhi committed a technical breach of the Salt Law on 6th April, 1930, when he picked up the scattered sea salt from the coast to break this Law. In this movement farmers, traders and



Figure 8.5 Gandhi during Dandi March

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women took part in large numbers. The government arrested him in May 1930 and put him in Yervada jail at Poona. The campaign had a significant effect on British attitude toward Indian independence. Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931 was one of its examples. Gandhiji also went to London in 1931 and participated in the second round table conference as the sole representative of the Congress but no settlement could be arrived at. Although, Gandhi's arrest removed him from the active leadership of the movement, this civil disobedience continued. Special stress was laid on boycott of foreign goods particularly clothes.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, though a failure, was a vital phase in the struggle for the freedom. It promoted unity among Indians of different regions under the Congress banner. It provided an opportunity to recruit younger people and educate them for positions of trust and responsibility in the organization as also in provincial administration, which was captured in the 1937 elections. It gave wide publicity to political ideas and methods throughout the country and generated political awareness even in remote villages.

8.9 THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The reactionary policy of the British developed a deep hatred towards them among a section of the younger generation of India. They believed that India could achieve independence only by an organized revolutionary movement. As a result, they organized secret groups to launch revolutionary activities against the British. Youths were trained in aggressive methods of violence as a means of strength against the British. They attempted killing of unpopular British officials, committed dacoities to finance their activities and looted arms. Many of them, therefore, chose the path of violence to gain independence for India. They were called the revolutionaries. The centres of their activities were Punjab, Maharashtra, Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa. Prominent among these revolutionaries were Khudiram Bose, Prafulla Chaki, Bhupendra Nath Dutt, V. D. Savarkar, Sardar Ajit Singh, Lala Hardayal and his Gadar Party, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukh Deo, Chandra Shekhar Azad, etc. These revolutionaries organized secret societies, murdered many British officers, disrupted railway traffic, engaged in organized attack on British wealth. In order to overturn the British Rule through arms, Kakori Conspiracy was planned by Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah Khan and other team members of the Hindustan Republican Association in 1925. In 1928, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was formed by Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Batukeshwar Dutt and others. Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw a bomb inside the Central Legislative Assembly on 8th April, 1929 protesting against the passage of the Public Safety Bill and the Trade Disputes Bill while raising slogans of *Inquilab Zindabad* (long live the revolution), though no one was killed or injured in the bomb incident. Following the trial in court of this and other cases, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were

hanged in 1931. Their sacrifice provided an incentive to the people. They were regarded martyrs and became the symbol of national unity and aspirations.

*Bhagat Singh**Sukh Deo**Raj Guru**Chandra Shekhar Azad***Figure 8.6****ACTIVITY 8.6**

Gather a collection of movies based on Indian Nationalism. See those movies and identify the major issues of Nationalism raised through them. Do these movies really play an important role in sensitizing us towards Nationalism? Put your thoughts down in your diary and discuss this with your family and friends.

8.10 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST IDEAS

A significant feature of the twentieth century was the development of Socialist ideas in Congress and outside it. Peasants now started asking for land reforms, abolition of zamindari system and reduction in the revenue and debt relief. The All India Trade Union Congress which was founded in 1920 worked towards improvement in the workers' working and living condition. It mobilized the workers to the cause of complete independence which helped the movement to be broad based. Some of the prominent socialist and communist leaders were M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Abani Mukhopadhyaya, Nalini Gupta, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Gulam Hussain, Singaravelu Chettair, G.M. Adhikari and P.C. Joshi. They outlined the course of the revolution through transformation of individual strike into a general political strike, the development of spontaneous peasant movements, a nationwide movement for complete independence, as well as the spread of revolutionary propaganda amongst the police and the army. Struggle against imperialism was the rallying slogan. In 1936, when Nehru was the President of the Congress, he declared at the Lucknow Session that the solution to India's problems lay in the adoption of socialist ideas. Nehru was deeply influenced by Karl Marx. Even Subhash Chandra Bose was influenced by socialist ideas. Because of differences with Gandhi, Bose resigned from the Congress and formed his own 'Forward Bloc'.

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**Notes****8.11 THE COMMUNAL DIVIDE**

The policy of divide and rule was inaugurated right in the days of East India Company when the Britishers were establishing themselves as rulers of India. You have read how the Company set one Indian ruler against the other and ultimately it became the undisputable ruler. You have seen that, in the latter half of the 19th Century, Nationalism started growing. Now the British government found it prudent to vitalize their policies of divide and rule and drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims. The British had looked upon the Muslims with disfavor and suspicion since the revolt of 1857. But now they realized that in order to counteract the growing Nationalism, time had come to appease the Muslims. The Government seized every opportunity to set the Indians against one another on the basis of religion and creating hostility between them. Ultimately, in accordance with this policy, separate electorates for Muslims were established. You have read about the formation of the Muslims League which sowed the seeds of communalism. You will remember that the league had been formed on the encouragement of British officials.

The Communal Award of 1932 was a continuance of this policy, because it allowed separate electorates and reservation of seats to the depressed classes also. Separate electorates were first demanded by the Muslims in 1906 and introduced for them under the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1907. This was done with a view to building up Muslim communalism as a counterpoise against Indian Nationalism. Under the Montford Reforms (1919) they were extended for Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, etc. Under the Act of 1935 seventeen separate electorates were constituted. In reality, communal electorates were an unmixed evil. They hampered the growth of national unity. The two-nation theory appeared in 1938 and was clearly communicated by Jinnah in 1940. Once, the demand for Pakistan was made, it received direct and indirect encouragement from British authorities. The immediate cause of the emergence of the demand for Pakistan was the refusal of the Congress to form coalition ministries after the elections of 1937. The country seemed to be drifting towards anarchy and ruin. Under the circumstances, partition was accepted as a 'necessary evil', the only way of getting rid of British rule and preventing a complete breakdown of law and order.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 8.2**

1. How was Satyagraha different from the other protests?
2. Why was Simon Commission boycotted by Indians? Give two reasons.
3. Why did Gandhi withdraw the non-cooperation movement?
4. How was the approach of revolutionaries different from the others?
5. What do you understand by '*Purna-Swaraj*'?
6. How was communal divide in India promoted by the British?

8.12 ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE (1935-47)

The British Government prepared a White Paper in March, 1933. On the basis of this White Paper, a Bill was prepared and introduced in parliament in December, 1934. The Bill was finally passed as the Government of India Act on August 2, 1935. The most conspicuous feature of the Act of 1935 was the concept of an All India Federation comprising the Provinces of British India and the Princely States. It was compulsory for the Provinces to join the proposed federation. For the Princely States it was voluntary. The members from the provinces were to be elected, while the representatives of the States were to be nominated by the rulers. Only 14 percent of the population in British India had the right to vote. The powers of the Legislature were confined and restricted. It had no control over defense and foreign relations. The Act protected British vested interests, discouraging the emergence of national unity, rather encouraging separation and communalism. All nationalists, including Nehru and Jinnah, condemned the Act.

The Congress session met in Lucknow on 25th April, 1935. Though the Act was condemned, it was decided to contest the elections to resist British imperialism and to end the various regulations, ordinances and Acts, which were initiated against Indian Nationalism. In the 1937 elections the Congress swept the poll. Congress Ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven provinces. On March 18, 1937, the All India Congress Committee adopted a resolution on Congress policies in the legislatures. It claimed that the Congress had contested the elections “with its objective of independence and its total rejection of the new constitution, and the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame India’s constitution. The declared Congress policy was to combat the New Act and end it”. The immediate effect of the coming of the Congress Ministries was a feeling of relief. Political prisoners were released and a large measure of civil liberty was established. Agrarian legislation was also passed and this provided considerable relief to the peasantry. Basic education was intended to be made free and compulsory for every child.

8.12.1 National Movement during the Second World War

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Congress attitude was one of sympathy, though it refused unconditional cooperation. The Congress demanded that “India must be declared an independent union, and present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent”. The British did not agree and as a result all the ministries resigned in protest in 1939. A demand for Provisional National Government at the Centre was made at the instance of C. Rajagopalachari in 1940. It was turned down by the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. In October, 1940 was launched the Civil Disobedience Campaign. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer individual Satyagraha.

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Indian National Movement

All India Committee of the Cabinet, with Attlee as Chairperson, was set up and a draft declaration was made. In March, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with the draft declaration. It stated the British Government's desire to grant India 'Dominion Status' at the end of the war. Complete Independence was not promised. There was no mention of a national government of the Indian people. The Congress rejected the offer. The Muslim League, opposed to the creation of a single union, found the scheme unacceptable, as it did not unequivocally concede Pakistan. The Cripps Mission failed.

The struggle for independence was carried on by Subhash Chandra Bose from abroad. He found the outbreak of the Second World War to be a convenient opportunity to strike a blow for the freedom of India. Bose had been put under house arrest in 1940 but he managed to escape to Berlin on March 28, 1941. The Indian community there acclaimed him as the leader (Netaji). He was greeted with 'Jai Hind' (Salute to the motherland). He tried to raise an Indian army and urge his country people to rise in arms against the British. In 1942, the Indian Independence League was formed and a decision was taken to form the Indian National Army (INA) for the liberation of India. On an invitation from Ras Bihari Bose, Subhash Chandra Bose came to East Asia on June 13, 1943. He was made president of the Indian Independence League and the leader of the INA popularly called 'Azad Hind Fauj'. He gave the famous battle cry '*Chalo Dilli*'. He promised independence to Indians saying, '*tum mujhe khoon do, main tumhe Azadi dunga*' (You give me blood, I will give you freedom). In March 1944, the Indian flag was hoisted at Kohima.

Unfortunately, after that the movement collapsed. What happened to Netaji remains a mystery. It is said that he lost his life in an air crash in August 1945. But it could not be ascertained. The INA continued to occupy an honored place in India's freedom struggle. The intense patriotism of Bose and the soldiers of the INA proved a tremendous source of inspiration for the Indian people.



Figure 8.7 Subhash Chandra Bose and Indian National Army

8.12.2 Quit India Movement and After

The failure of the Cripps Mission made the Indians frustrated and embittered. It was felt that time had now come for launching another mass movement against the British rule. Discontent of Indian people was increasing due to wartime shortages and growing unemployment. There was a constant danger of Japanese attack. The Indian leaders were convinced that India would be a victim of Japanese aggression only because of British presence in India. Gandhiji said, “the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India”. Subhash Chandra Bose, who escaped from India in 1941, repeatedly spoke over radio from Berlin arousing anti-British feeling which gave rise to pro-Japanese sentiments.

The Congress under Gandhiji felt that the British must be compelled to accept Indian demands or quit the country. A meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Wardha passed the Quit India Resolution on 14th July, 1942 which was later endorsed and passed on 8th August at the Bombay session of the Congress. The Congress decided to launch a mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale. Addressing the Congress delegates on the night of 8th August, Gandhiji, in his soul stirring speech, said:

“I therefore want freedom immediately, this very night before dawn if it can be hadI am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. Here is a ‘mantra’, a short one that I give you. You may imprint on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The ‘mantra’ is ‘Do or Die’. We shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of slavery.”

But before the Congress leaders could start the movement formally, all important leaders of Congress were arrested before the dawn of 9th August 1942. Congress was banned and declared as an illegal organization. The Press was censored.

The news of the arrest of popular leaders shocked the nation. Their anger and resentment was expressed through numerous agitations, hartals, processions and demonstrations in all parts of the country. With most of the important leaders in jail, the movement took a different shape at different places. The people gave vent to their anger by burning government buildings, police stations, post offices anything that symbolized British authority. Railways and telegraphs lines were disconnected. At some places, such as in Balia district in U.P., Midnapore district of West Bengal and in Satara in Bombay, the revolt took a serious turn. Inspired by the ‘mantra’ of Gandhiji people were ready to make the supreme sacrifice. The British with its army and police came down heavily on the Indian people. The people were shot indiscriminately. The Quit India Movement became one of the greatest mass-



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movements of historical significance. It demonstrated the depth of national sentiments and indicated the capacity of the Indian people for sacrifice and determined struggle. After this movement there was no retreat. Independence of India was no longer a matter of bargain. It was to be a reality.



Figure 8.8 *Quit India Movement (August, 1942)*

At the end of the World War in 1945, the British government started to talk about the transfer of power to Indian Hindus and Muslims. The first round of talks could not be successful because Muslim leaders thought that the Muslim League was the only one who could represent Indian Muslims. The Congress did not agree upon it. In 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India to find a mutually agreed solution of the Indian Problem. The Mission held talks with the leaders of all prominent political parties and then proposed its plan of establishing Federal Government in India. Initially the plan was criticized by all political parties, but later all gave their consent to it. When the election to the Constituent Assembly took place, the Congress won one hundred ninety nine seats and the Muslim league won seventy three.

8.12.3 Partition and Independence of India

Differences soon arose between the Congress and the Muslim League concerning the powers of the Constituent Assembly. The League rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan in the middle of 1946. In September 1946, the Congress formed the government at the Centre. The League refused to be a part to it. Muslim League celebrated this day as a 'Direct Action Day' on 16th August 1946 to attain Pakistan. The conflict

resulted in widespread communal riots in different parts of India. Thousands were killed in the riots, lacks of people became homeless. In the mean time, Lord Mountbatten was sent as the Viceroy to India. He put up his plan in June 1947 which included partition of India. In spite of strong opposition by Gandhi, all the parties agreed to the partition and the Indian Independence Act, 1947 came into being. It created two independent states in the Indian sub-continent, i.e. Indian Union and Pakistan. India got its independence on 15th August, 1947. At the stroke of midnight (14th -15th August, 1947), transfer of power took place.

**Notes****ACTIVITY 8.7**

Imagine you were chosen by the British government as a member of the Cabinet Mission to talk to the members of the Indian National Congress and Muslim League and discuss how to transfer power after independence. Make a list of proposals that you would present before them?

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 8.3**

1. Write two basic features of the Act of 1935.
2. What was the demand of Muslim League?
3. What led to the participation of Congress in the elections after 1935?
4. Why were the Indian leaders concerned about the British presence in India during the Second World War?
5. What were the major causes of the partition of India?

**WHAT HAVE YOU LEARNT?**

- Renaissance, the French Revolution, American Revolution, Russian Revolution had promoted the idea of Nationalism in the world.
- Anti-colonial movement led to the rise of Nationalism in India in 19th Century. The contemporary social and religious reform movements also contributed to the rise of feelings of Nationalism.
- Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 only to communicate with British government on behalf of the Indian people and voice their grievances.

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Indian National Movement

- In 1905, Lord Curzon announced the partition of Bengal. The Indians viewed the partition as an attempt by the British to disrupt the growing national movement in Bengal and divide the Hindus and Muslims of the region.
- In 1906, Muslim League was formed in Dacca with the objective to protect and advance the rights of Muslims in India and represent their needs to the government.
- Difference in ideas led to split in Congress in 1907. Two groups i.e. Moderates (Naram Dal) and Radicals (Garam Dal) were formed.
- In the First World War, Indian leaders agreed to help the British Government on the condition that the latter would give Constitutional powers to Indians after the war.
- Gandhiji successfully experimented with the technique of Satyagraha in South Africa as well as Champaran, Kheda and Ahmadabad in India.
- Gandhiji started the mass movement in India against the British policies. He was the leader who could encourage and involve all sections of society in this movement.
- The revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Sukhdeo, etc. chose the path of aggressive movement against the British government.
- The seed of communal divide in India, sowed by the British, led to the future consequence of partition.
- The struggle for Independence was carried on by Subhash Chandra Bose from abroad. He became the leader of Indian National Army to liberate India from British.
- The Quit India movement paved the way for India's freedom. It was the final call from Gandhiji to 'Do or Die'.
- Muslim League demanded the formation of Pakistan for Muslims which led to the partition. India got its freedom on 15th August, 1947.



TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. In the initial years of its existence, what types of demands were put by the Indian National Congress before the British government?
2. Why was Lord Curzon interested in the partition of Bengal?
3. What was the significance of the *Satyagrah* of Gandhi in Africa? What was the nature of his *Satyagraha* in India?

4. Do you think that the Non-Cooperation movement was successful in its goal? Give two reasons in support of your argument.
5. Why was the Simon Commission asked to leave India?
6. Why did the Dandi March lead to the arrest of Gandhi?
7. What made the revolutionaries throw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly?
8. Discuss the role of Azad Hind Fauz led by Subhash Chandra Bose in the Indian National Movement.
9. How did the 'Quit India' Movement contributed to the independence of India?
10. Mention three causes that forced the Britishers give India independence in the twentieth century.

**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS****8.1**

1. Anti-colonial movement, political and administrative unity under British rule, revival of ancient India glory.
2. To give a safe and constitutional outlet to Indians, so that their anger would not develop into agitation against British.
3. Moderates believed in petition and requesting the British government to solve the grievances whereas Radicals believed in organizing mass protests, criticizing government policies, boycotting foreign goods and use of Swadeshi goods.
4. In the hope that the British government would provide Constitutional powers to the Indians after winning the war.
5. Because of the division of Ottoman Empire and insult of Khalipha.

8.2

1. Satyagraha means a non-violent insistence for truth and justice. Other protests were violent and aggressive in nature.
2. The Commission had no Indian members.
3. Outbreak of violence during the movement caused its suspension.
4. They chose the path of armed movement against the Britishers. Others were not in favour of this.
5. *Purna-Swaraj* means complete independence and sovereignty.

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6. By promoting separate electorates for Muslims, Sikhs, etc. and encouraging Muslim League to raise communal demands.

8.3

1. Princely States and the British Provinces all had to come under All India Federation. It restricted the power of legislature, i.e. no control over defense and foreign relations.
2. Muslim League demanded a separate nation for Muslims, i.e. Pakistan.
3. To gain constitutional power and change the British laws, Congress decided to participate in the elections.
4. Because British presence in India could lead to Japanese invasion during Second World War.
5. The communal divide, demand of Muslim League and lack of consensus between the political parties.

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India : Natural Environment, Resources and Development

9. Physiography of India
10. Climate
11. Bio-diversity
12. Agriculture in India
13. Transport and Communication
14. Population : Our Greatest Resource

