


THE MAKING OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT : 1870S-1947

A nation was thought as a large group of people of the same race and language. But after the renaissance, by **nation** we take a country considered especially in relation to its people and its social or economic structure. The word 'national' means 'related to a whole nation as opposed to any of its parts'. **Nationalism** is a popular sentiment that places the existence and well being of the whole nation highest in the scale of political loyalties. In political terms, it signifies a person's willingness to work for the nation against foreign domination whether political, economic or cultural. Nationalism also implies a group's consciousness of shared history, beliefs and values.

The Emergence of Nationalism

Before the 18th century, the idea of nationalism was quite unknown. Among the first modern manifestations of nationalism was the French Revolution. From 1789 the French Revolution excited liberal Italians. Before 1861, Italy consisted of separate states that have retained a strong sense of regional identity. Foreign invasions and dominations caused many Italians to see possibilities of forging a united country free of foreign control. Long efforts and struggles led to the proclamation of the kingdom of Italy in 1861. Similarly, Germany was a mere grouping of states. In 1871, all states united to form the kingdom of Germany. It was the force of nationalism that within 25 years after the World War II, 66 new nations came into existence.

Changes in the lives of peasants and tribals, the decline of crafts and growth of industries, educational changes in the nineteenth century, social and religious reform led people think **what is this country of India and for whom is it meant** ? Gradually came the answer. The nation India was the people of India — all the people irrespective of class, colour, caste, creed, language or gender. And the country, its resources and system were meant for all of them. This answer came from the fact that the entire country was united as one political unit under Ashok's rule. People **rediscovered their past** which brought about a sense of pride among Indians contributing to the national awakening.



Almost all the sections of the population were economically exploited due to British revenue policies. Indians who did not participate in the Revolt of 1857, also saw the British commit inhuman atrocities to 'punish' Indians for participating in the revolt. The British rule promoted the attitude of social hatred and racial arrogance towards Indians. For example, specific Railway compartments were reserved for Europeans, Indians were not allowed to enter certain restaurants and parks. Indians could not possess arms. Indian magistrates could not hear cases involving British subjects. Moreover, the British also subjected Indians to verbal abuse and humiliation. These situations created awareness in all the Indians that the British were exercising control over the resources of India and the lives of its people. Until this control was ended India could not be for Indians. A large number of educated Indians got inspiration from the revolutionary and nationalist movements in other countries.

Formation of Indian National Congress

The awareness in the Indians began to be clearly stated by the political associations formed after 1850, especially those that came into being in the 1870s and 1880s. Most of these were led by English educated professionals such as lawyers. These were—the Indian Association founded by Surendranath Banerjee in 1851, the Bombay Association (1852), Madras Native Association (1852), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870) founded by Justice Ranade and the Bombay Presidency Association (1885) by Pherozeshah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabji. Though these associations functioned in specific parts of the country, their goals were stated as the goals of all the people of India, not those of any one region, community or class. They believed that the Indian people should be empowered to take decisions regarding their affairs.

The dissatisfaction with British rule especially in educated Indians intensified in the 1870s and 1880s. Previously the English-educated Indians admired the British rule in India. In 1878, Vernacular Press Act allowed the government to confiscate the assets including printing presses of the newspaper, if they published anything objectionable. This was an effort to silence the critics of the government. In 1883, Ilbert Bill was introduced in British Parliament to empower the Indian judges to hear the cases involving European persons. There was a furore and the white opposition forced the government to withdraw the bill. The educated Indians felt very much insulted on the racial attitudes of the British. This controversy intensified the desire to form an all India organisation of educated Indians.

72 delegates from all over the country met at Bombay in December 1885 and founded the Indian National Congress. The early leadership of the Congress was from Bombay and Calcutta. Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C. Bannerji, Surendranath Bonerji, Romesh Chandra Dutt, S. Subramania Iyer and others. Dadabhai Naoroji was a businessman settled in London and for a

time member of the British Parliament. He was a publicist, that's, he publicised his ideas by circulating information, writing reports and speaking at meetings. Naoroji held British rule responsible for poverty in India. A retired British official, A.O. Humme, brought Indians from the various regions together. A newspaper The Indian Mirror saw the Congress as the future Parliament for India for the good of all the country people. Badruddin Tyabji, as President of the Congress in 1887 said, "the Congress was composed of the representatives of all the different communities of India."



Dadabhai Naoroji

The Viceroy's council remained aloof and remote from the problems people faced. Indian Council Acts helped to unite the people against the British rule. From the beginning the Congress sought to speak for, and in the name of, all the Indian people. Its chief aim was to present popular demands before the government and to bring together leaders from different parts of the country.

The Moderate Ways of the Early Years

In the first twenty years (1885–1905) the Congress acted moderately in its objectives and methods. The moderate leaders felt that the British had respect for the ideals of freedom and justice and so they would accept the just demands of Indians. So, they tried to make the government aware of the feelings of the Indians—professional groups, zamindars, industrialists as well as the peasants, labourers and forest dwellers.

- (i) Promoting the spread of education.
- (ii) Elected representatives in the provincial and central legislative councils; Legislative councils be made more representative, given more power.
- (iii) Recruit Indians for high government posts and holding the Indian Civil Service examination in India.
- (iv) Reduction in revenue tax and more funds for irrigation.
- (v) Changes in economic policies of the government to encourage growth of Indian industries.
- (vi) Freedom of speech and expression.
- (vii) Treatment of Indian labourers abroad be cared for.
- (viii) Sufferings of forest dwellers caused by an interfering forest administration be removed.
- (ix) Cut in military expenditure.
- (x) The Repeal of the Arms Act.
- (xi) Exports of the food grains to Europe had created food shortages, so it should be decreased.

The moderate leaders also wanted to develop public awareness about the unjust nature of British rule by publishing newspapers and giving speeches. They showed how British rule was leading to the economic ruin of the country.



Lala Lajpat Rai

No Prayers, No Petitions

The leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak discarded the policy of prayers and petitions. They strongly promoted **radical ways** to express their opinions and demands. They began to explore more radical objectives and methods. They emphasised the importance of self-reliance and constructive work. The unsympathetic attitude of the British and the failure of the moderates to achieve anything concrete led to the belief that their methods would not bear fruit. As Lala Lajpat Rai said, " ... the main objective of founding of Congress was to save the British empire from danger, not to aspire for political freedom of India".

These leaders seeking **more radical objectives and ways** were known as the '**Radicals**'. They argued that people must rely on their own strength, not on the so called 'good' intentions of the the government; people must fight for swaraj. Tilak raised the slogan, " Freedom is my birth right and I shall have it." He edited the Kesari, a Marathi newspaper which became one of the strongest critics of British rule.



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

The British got alarmed by the National Movement pursued by both the Hindus and Muslims unitedly. In order to break up this unity they started practicing the policy of 'Divide and Rule'. Bengal was the largest province of British India comprising Bihar and parts of Orissa. In 1903, Viceroy Curzon, proposed to divide the province into two parts for administrative convenience. East Bengal (today Bangladesh) was a Muslim majority province while West Bengal was a Hindu majority province. The partition was meant to disrupt Hindu-Muslim unity and make the national movement weak. People of Bengal strongly reacted to the partition proposal. Large public meetings and demonstrations were organised. All sections of the Congress—The Moderates and the Radicals—opposed it. The partition of Bengal infuriated people all over India. As a matter of fact, they realised the mischief and tactics of Lord Curzon. Still the partition was introduced in 1905.

The Victory of Ethiopia over Italy in 1896 and the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904-1905 broke the myth of the invincibility of the European imperialist powers and inspired the Indian national leaders particularly the radicals.


To oppose the partition of Bengal the Indian leaders such as Aurobindo Ghosh, etc. started the Swadeshi and the Boycott Movement. Seeing the strong opposition, the British government undid the partition in 1911.

The Swadeshi Movement and Boycott Movement

The word 'Swadeshi' literally meant 'of one's own country' and aimed at promoting indigenous industries by boycotting use of British goods. The Swadeshi movement was strongest in Bengal but with echoes elsewhere too— in deltaic Andhra, for instance, it was known as the Vande Mataram Movement. To fight for swaraj, the radicals advocated mass mobilisation and boycott of British institutions and goods. People



Thousands joined the demonstrations during the Swadeshi movement



were asked to abstain from buying foreign products. Huge bonfires were organised to destroy British-made goods. Students persuaded shopkeepers not to sell British products. People also boycotted schools and colleges.

The Muslim League

A large number of Muslims were fighting shoulder to shoulder by joining the Congress. The British, nevertheless, succeeded in weaning away a section of upper class Muslims to their side and encouraged them to start separate organisations. Actually, the British spread the propaganda that the Congress was a party of the Hindus only. They also said that a representative government in India would be dominated by the Hindus as they were in majority. In 1906, the All India Muslim League was formed at Dacca. The lead in its formation was taken by the Agha Khan and Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk also helped in the formation of the League. Lord Minto, the Viceroy, encouraged them in their cause in order to weaken the nationalist movement. The league supported the partition of Bengal. It desired separate electorates for Muslims, a demand conceded by the government in 1909. This was done to create a communal divide. Some seats in the Councils were now reserved for Muslims who would be elected by Muslim voters. This tempted politicians to gather a following by distributing favours to their own religious groups.

Split in the Congress


The Swaraj or self-rule was the ultimate goal of the Congress. But to the moderates this swaraj had a limited implication— it implied right of participation in governance while accepting the rule of the British monarchy. The moderates were opposed to the use of boycott. They felt that it involved the use of force. In the 1907 Surat session of Congress, the moderates and the radicals formally split. After the split the Congress came to be dominated by the moderates with radicals functioning from outside. The two groups reunited in December 1915.

Morley-Minto Reforms

Government of India Act of 1909 was passed based on the suggestions of British Secretary of State for India, Morley and Viceroy Minto. This was an attempt to appease the moderates in Congress by announcing certain political concessions. According to this act, an Indian member, S.P. Sinha was accepted into the Viceroy's Executive Council. The number of elected members in the Central and Provincial Legislature Councils increased. However, their powers remained advisory. These members were to be elected by landlords, industrialists, businessmen, universities and local bodies. The system of separate electorates for Hindu and Muslim voters was maintained. They were to elect leaders from their own communities.

The Lucknow Pact

The British came into conflict with Turkey in the First World War. As the Sultan of Turkey was considered head of the Muslim world, the Muslims



were annoyed with the British. In the 1916, Lucknow Session of the Congress, the Muslim League and Congress were united. They decided to work together for representative government in the country.

The Impact of First World War

The British used Indian resources and soldiers to fight the war. The government increased taxes on individual incomes and business profits. Increased military expenditure and the demands for war supplies led to a sharp rise in prices which created great difficulties for the common people. But the business groups reaped high profits from the war. However, the war created a demand for industrial goods (jute bags, cloth, rails) and caused a decline of imports from other countries into India. So, Indian industries expanded during the war. On the other hand the villages were pressurised to supply soldiers for this war. A large number of soldiers were recruited and sent to fight abroad. The Indian leaders hoped that if they extended support to the British during the war, their demands would be granted after the war was over.

Many Indian soldiers were killed in the war. Many returned after the war. They had now completely understood the ways in which the people of Asia and Africa were being exploited. They had now a desire to oppose colonial rule in India. Furthermore, in 1917 there was a revolution in Russia. News about peasants and workers' struggles and ideas of socialism circulated widely, inspiring Indian nationalists.

Meanwhile, the Home Rule Movement began which was led by Tilak. It spread all over India demanding self-government.

In face of Indian National Movement gaining strength, the British secretary of state announced in 1917 that their aim was to gradually develop self-governing institutions. This created great hope among the Indians. However, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 proved to be a disappointment.

The Mass Movement

After 1919, the struggle against British rule gradually became a mass movement, involving peasants, tribals, students and women in large numbers and occasionally factory workers as well. Certain business groups too began to actively support the Congress in the 1920s. It was in these circumstances that Mahatma Gandhi emerged as a mass leader.

Arrival of M.K. Gandhi on the Scene

Mohan Das Karmchand Gandhi was born in 1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat. He completed his barrister-at-law in England. He went to South Africa as a lawyer. In 1895, Gandhiji founded the Natal Congress there to fight against racial discrimination. His South African experience greatly contributed in shaping his ideas and methods of non-violent struggle. He led Indians in non-violent marches against racist restrictions. He

came in contact with various types of Indians : merchants, lawyers and workers from all social groups.

Satyagraha

Gandhiji's policy of non-violent resistance is known as satyagraha. It drew influence from several sources, such as the Upanishads, Jainism, Leo Tolstoy and John Ruskin. The essence of his satyagraha was to oppose the wrong without hunting the oppressor. Even while resisting evil a true Satyagrahi would love the evildoer and not show any signs of hatred.

Gandhiji arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa at the age of 46. He spent his first year in India travelling throughout the country, understanding the people, their needs and the overall situation. One of his first struggle was to fight for the cause of Indigo peasants in Champaran in Bihar in 1917. He succeeded in removing some of the grievances of the indigo peasants. There he came in contact with Rajendra Prasad. Next he took the cause of textile workers in Ahmedabad in 1918 and succeeded in getting some concessions for the workers from the government. At Kheda in 1918, the Satyagraha offered by the peasants to protest against oppressive land revenue was the most successful protest. There he came in contact with Vallabhabhai Patel.

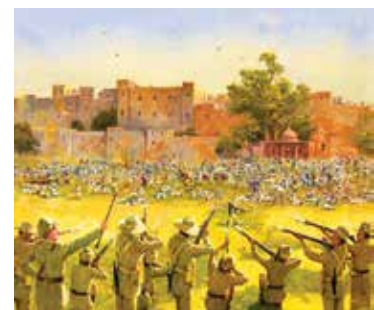
The Rowlatt Act, 1919

A commission headed by Justice Sydney Rowlatt investigated the nature of discontent and the cause of revolutionary activities. On its recommendation Rowlatt Act was passed in March 1919. The Act curbed fundamental rights such as the freedom of expression and strengthened police powers. The Act empowered the government to arrest any person without assigning any reason or ground for the arrest, search any place without warrant and imprison any person without a trial. It raised a storm of protests throughout the country. Gandhiji started the Anti- Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and April 16, 1919 was observed as Satyagraha Day. This was the first all India struggle against the British government. There were hartals and Public meetings at various places throughout the country. On 6 April 1919, Gandhiji was arrested. This was followed by arrest of Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew in Punjab. On Baisakhi Day (13 April, 1919) a peaceful and unarmed protest rally of men, women and children was held in an open but enclosed ground called Jallianwala Bagh. A British officer General Dyer alongwith his troops, without any warning or asking the people to disperse, started firing at them. The park had a small exit gate, it too was closed. In just ten minutes about a thousand persons were killed and two thousands wounded (Fig 20.6). The firing stopped only after ammunition had been exhausted. This was one of the most ghastly incidents in the history of civilisation.

On learning about the massacre, Rabindranath Tagore expressed the pain and anger of his country by renouncing his knighthood conferred



Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel



Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh on 16 April 1919

on him by the British. Gandhiji declared that he had lost all faith in the goodness of the British government. The British held an enquiry into the incident conducted by Hunter commission which justified the firing. But Dyer faced criticism from many quarters for his brutal act.

Khilafat Agitation and the Non- Cooperation Movement



Abdul Kalam Azad

With the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) was defeated. This led to abolition of the title of Sultan as Khalifa or spiritual head of the Muslim World. The territories of Turkey were also to be divided among the Allies. The Muslims all over the world were enraged by this. Indian Muslims were also keen that the Khalifa be allowed to retain control over Muslim sacred places in the erstwhile Ottoman Empire. In India, two brothers Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, supported by Abdul Kalam Azad and others started the Khilafat Agitation to support the Khalifa or the Caliphate. Gandhiji took up the cause of the Khilafat Agitation and made determined efforts to make it a common cause of Hindus and Muslims so as to unite them. He made it a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement on 1st August 1920. This was to further intensify the Freedom Struggle on peaceful lines. Gandhiji urged the Congress to campaign against Punjab wrongs (Jallianwala massacre), the Khilafat wrong and demand swaraj through Non-Cooperation Movement.



Chitta Ranjan Das

The Non-cooperation Movement gained momentum through 1921-22. Many prominent leaders began taking active part in the movement. Thousands of people and their leaders willingly courted arrest. Thousands of students left government controlled schools and colleges. Many lawyers such as Motilal Nehru, Chitta Ranjan Das, C. Rajagopalachari and Asaf Ali gave up their practices. British titles were surrendered and legislatures boycotted. People made bonfires of foreign cloth and khadi became a symbol of freedom. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922. By the beginning of February 1922 about 30,000 persons were in jails in various parts of the country.

Widespread Participation of the People

People from all communities and classes in rural and urban areas took part in the Non-Cooperation Movement. Large parts of the country were on the brink of a powerful revolt. Mostly people resisted British rule non-violently. In some cases, people interpreted Gandhiji's call in their own manner. People thought of Gandhiji as a kind of messiah, as someone who could help them overcome their misery and poverty. Gandhiji wished to build class unity, not class conflicts yet peasants could imagine that he would help them in their fight against Zamindars, and agricultural labourers believed he would provide them land. In many forest villages, peasants proclaimed swaraj and believed that 'Gandhi Raj' was about to be established. Actually there was a wide effect of the Gandhiji's look as a Mahatma—a sage, clad in half dhoti and chadar.

Using Gandhiji's name peasants and tribals undertook actions that did not conform to Gandhian ideals. People linked their movements to local grievances. For example, in Assam, tea garden labourers, shouting 'Gandhi Maharaj ki Jai' demanded a big increase in their wages. In Punjab, the Akali agitation of the Sikhs sought to remove corrupt mahants, religious functionaries of Sikh gurdwaras, supported by the British. In Kheda, Gujarat, Patidar peasants organised non-violent campaigns against the high land revenue demand of the British. In the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh tribals and poor peasants staged a number of forest satyagrahas, sometimes sending their cattle into forests without paying grazing fee.

Ahimsa (Non-violence), the Basis of Struggle

"..... the eternal law of suffering as the only remedy for undoing wrong and injustice. It means positively the law of non-violence. You have to be prepared to suffer cheerfully at the hands of all and sundry and you will wish ill to no one, not even to those who may have wronged you.

Non-violence comes to us through doing good continually without the slightest expectation of return. "

— Mahatma Gandhi

The Happenings of 1922–1929

Gandhiji was against violent movements. In an incident police fired a peaceful demonstration at Chauri chaura, district Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. Some miscreants set the police station on fire killing 22 policemen. When this news of violence reached Gandhiji, he immediately called off the Non-cooperation Movement all over the country even though it was at its peak.

In 1927, the British government in England decided to send commission headed by Lord Simon to decide India's political future. The **Simon Commission** had no Indian representative. The decision created an outrage in India. All political groups decided to boycott the commission. When the Commission arrived it was met with demonstration with banners saying 'Simon Go Back'. Lala Lajpat Rai leading one such demonstration against the Commission was seriously injured in a lathi charge by the police. Later he died.

Some revolutionary nationalists wanted to fight colonial rule through a revolution of workers and peasants. One such revolutionary killed Saunders, police officer, who had led a lathicharge that caused the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. B.K. Dutt threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 April 1929. The aim, as their leaflet explained, was not to kill but, to make the deaf 'hear', to remind the foreign government of its callous exploitations. Some revolutionaries were arrested and executed.


At the annual session of the Congress held at Lahore under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru in December 1929, a resolution demanding 'Purna Swaraj' (complete independence) was adopted.



Demonstrators oppose the Simon Commission



Bhagat Singh (the famous revolutionary)



The Congress then unfurled the flag of independence. Consequently, 'Independence Day' was observed on 26 January 1930 all over the country. From this day onward until independence, 26 January was celebrated as Independence Day.

The Civil Disobedience Movement (1930–1933)

Now the Freedom Struggle took an important turn. Gandhiji declared Civil Disobedience — “Disobedience to be civil has to be open and non-violent”. The Civil Disobedience Movement was started by a long march on foot known as 'Dandi March'. It was to break the salt law, according to which the state had a monopoly on the manufacture and sale of salt. The Salt March related the general desire of freedom to a specific grievance shared by everybody. On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji left the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad alongwith his followers for Dandi, a town on the western coast of India, about 385 km from Ahmedabad. They walked for 24 days and reached Dandi on 6 April 1930. Thousands of people joined the march in the way. Gandhiji and people broke the government law by gathering natural salt found on the seashore and boiling sea water to produce salt.



Breaking the salt law by picking up a lump of natural salt

Soon the Civil Disobedience Movement in its different forms spread throughout the country. Peasants, tribals and women participated in large numbers. The colonial rulers unleashed terror and violence on the participants. During the role of repression the British government responded by torturing children, women, workers, peasants and rich landlords alike.

Women from diverse backgrounds participated in the national movement. It gave the national struggle an immense force. Women leaders made speeches, taught spinning and organised prabhat pheris (morning marches) between prison terms. Sarojini Naidu was a significant leader of the Dandi March. She was the first Indian woman to become President of the Indian National Congress (1925). Ambabai of Karnataka, a young widow picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. She was arrested several times and served a sentence. These are just two names to exemplify.



Sarojini Naidu

The people in 562 odd Princely states were fed up with the oppression by rulers. They had formed Praja Mandals to fight this oppression. In 1927, the All India States People Conference with Balwant Rai Mehta as secretary was formed. It soon became a very strong movement.

Poona Pact

In 1932, the British government announced the Communal Award in response to the demands for separate electorate made by the representatives of the Muslim League and by Dr. Ambedkar at the second Round Table Conference at London (March 1931). In accordance to this award separate electorates were provided for Hindus, Dalits and Muslims in the new federation of India. This had upset Gandhiji who undertook fast unto death in jail. The issue was, however, resolved and

an agreement, called Poona Pact, was signed between Gandhiji and Dr Ambedkar. It resulted in the reservation of seats for the Dalits in place of separate electorate.

Provincial Autonomy

The British passed the Government of India Act in 1935. The Act suggested the creation of an All India Federation of British Indian Provinces and Indian States. It prescribed provincial autonomy but only 14 per cent of the population was to have the right to vote. The system of Dyarchy was introduced at the centre. Reserved subjects such as Defence, External Affairs and Police were reserved for the Governor General alone. The Transferred subjects like health, education, etc were the responsibility of the Legislature. The government announced election to the provincial legislatures in 1937. The Congress formed governments in 7 out of 11 provinces.

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out. The British declared war on India's behalf without even consulting Congress. However, Congress leaders were ready to support the British in war. But, in return, they wanted independence to India after the War. The British refused and the Congress ministries resigned in protest.

Quit India Movement

To seek the support of Indian leaders in the Second World War, Cripps Mission came to India in March 1942. It proposed dominion status for India (a country under British Empire) after the war was over. The proposal was rejected by both the Congress and the Muslim League.

On 8 August 1942, the All India Congress Committee passed the 'Quit India' resolution and decided to launch the third mass movement against the British. Gandhiji told the British to quit India immediately. To the people he said, "do or die" in your effort to fight the British— but you must fight non-violently. Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested the next day but the movement spread throughout the country. The police fired at the demonstrators. Communications and symbols of state authority were attacked all over the country. At many places the demonstrators clashed with the police. Many thousands were killed, wounded and arrested. But the revolt ultimately brought the British Raj to its knees.



People died in police firing (Quit India Movement, August 1942)

Indian National Army

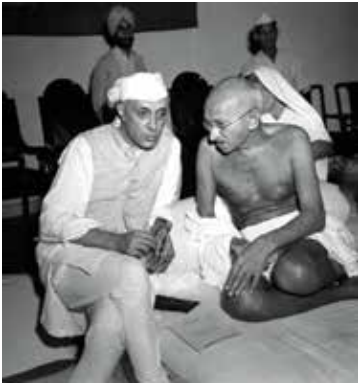
Subhash Chandra Bose passed ICS in 1920 but he did not serve the British government. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1920. In 1938, he was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress. In 1939, he quit the Congress and formed his own party named All India Forward Bloc. In January 1941, he secretly left his Calcutta home and went to Singapore via Germany. On 21 October 1943, Subhash Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji, proclaimed the formation of the Provisional Government of Independent India (Azad Hind) in Singapore. With the help of Rash Bihari Bose he organised



Subhash Chandra Bose

Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauz) or INA, in short, comprising of about 45,000 soldiers. The slogan 'Dilli Chalo' of the Azad Hind Fauz and salutation 'Jai Hind' became a source of inspiration for Indians both inside and outside India. By early 1944, the INA with the help of Japanese came close to Indian Border in Manipur and Kohima. In August 1945, Japan had to surrender in the Second World War. Netaji is said to be in a plane which crashed in August 1945. Some INA soldiers were caught by the British and tried.

Towards Independence and Partition



Jawahar Lal Nehru listens to Gandhiji (July 1946)



Chakravarti Rajgopalachari

In 1940, the Muslim League had moved a resolution demanding 'independent states' for Muslims in the north-western and eastern areas of the country. From the late 1930s, the League began viewing the Muslim as a separate 'nation' from the Hindus. At the end of the war in 1945, the British opened talks between the Congress, the League and themselves for the independence of India. The talks failed because the League saw itself as the sole spokesperson of India's Muslims. The Congress could not accept this claim since a large number of Muslims still supported it.

British Prime Minister Atlee sent out a mission of three of his cabinet ministers to India on 24 March 1946, known as the Cabinet Mission to examine the demand of the Muslim League for a separate state. This mission suggested that India should remain united and constitute itself as a loose confederation with some autonomy for Muslim majority provinces. Based on the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission plan, the elections to provincial assemblies were held in July 1946. The Indian National Congress formed the interim government at the centre headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Muslim League was greatly disturbed and it declared 16 August 1946 as the Direct Action Day. It led to Hindu-Muslim riots killing more than 5 lakh people especially in Noakhali in East Bengal. The Muslim League, in spite of its earlier hostile stand, finally joined the interim government. But it continued with its demand for a separate state.

On 20 February 1947 Mr. Atlee unilaterally declared in the British Parliament that Britain would leave India and transfer power to responsible Indian hands. The announcement was immediately followed by appointment of Admiral Lord Mountbatten as new Viceroy of India on 3 June 1947. Mountbatten announced the plan for transfer of power and partition of India. Princely states were free to join India or Pakistan or remain independent. The Indian Independence Act 1947 was introduced in British Parliament on 4 July, 1947. At the stroke of midnight hour on 15 August, 1947 India became independent. Jawahar Lal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of Independent India. Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as the first Governor General of independent India. A separate state of Pakistan comprising West Punjab, Sind and North-West Province and East Bengal also came into being. After Lord Mountbatten, Chakravarti Rajgopalachari became the first and the last Indian Governor-General of India.

In Other Parts of the World

In 1935, thousands of communists under Mao Zedong marched to third base Shaanxi, from the Jiang xi province, which had been encircled by opposing troops. The march was 6000 miles long. This incident is known as the 'Long March' in the history of China. After this, Mao emerged as the undisputable leader of China.

Communists are those who believed in communism i.e. a political system in which the government controls the production of all food and goods and there is no privately owned property.



Key Words

- » Boycott : to refuse to buy something, to use something or take part in something as a way of protesting.
- » Electorate : group of citizens eligible to vote.
- » Radicals : who wanted swaraj through mass action and freedom from British rule.
- » Moderates : who believed in peaceful persuasion under the British rule.
- » Revolutionaries : people who believed in the use of force to remove oppressive rule.
- » Swadeshi : of one's own country.
- » Swaraj : self-rule.
- » Communal : differences on the basis of religions.
- » Dyarchy : form of government where responsibilities are shared by two authorities.
- » Satyagraha : putting up resistance for truth and justice without the use of force.
- » Ahimsa : non-violence.
- » Dominion Status : a state under the British empire.
- » Interim Government : a temporary or a provisional government.

SUMMARY

- ▶ By nation we take a country considered especially in relation to its people and its social or economic structure.
- ▶ The word 'national' means related to a whole nation as opposed to any of its parts. Nationalism is a popular sentiment that places the existence and well-being of the whole nation highest in the scale of political loyalties.
- ▶ Among the first modern manifestation of nationalism was the French Revolution (1789-1793).
- ▶ The nation India was the people of India—all the people irrespective of class, colour, caste, creed, language or gender. And the country, its resources and systems were meant for all of them.
- ▶ 72 delegates from all over the country met at Bombay in December 1885 and founded the Indian National Congress. Its chief aim was to present popular demands before the government.
- ▶ The way of the moderate Congress leaders was petition and persuasion while the radicals wanted to fight for swaraj.
- ▶ To oppose the partition of Bengal the Indian leaders started the Swadeshi and the Boycott Movement. Seeing the strong opposition the British government undid the partition in 1911.
- ▶ In 1906, All India Muslim League was formed at Dacca. It supported the partition of Bengal. It desired separate electorates for Muslims, a demand conceded by the government in 1909.
- ▶ The Rowlatt Act 1919 empowered the government to arrest any person without assigning any reason or ground for the arrest, search any place without warrant and imprison any person without a trial.

- ▶ Gandhiji started the Anti-Rowlatt Satyagraha in April 1919. On 13 April 1919 a British officer ordered his troops to fire on a rally of peaceful and unarmed people. About a thousand persons were killed and two thousands wounded.
- ▶ With the end of the First World War Turkey was defeated and the title of Sultan as Khalifa or spiritual head of the Muslim world was abolished.

Exercise Time

A. Tick (✓) the only correct choice amongst the following :

- Indian National Congress was founded in _____.
a. 1685 b. 1785 c. 1880 d. 1885
- The way of the _____ radicals was to fight for swaraj.
a. moderates b. defeated c. radicals d. founded
- The _____ Congress supported the partition of Bengal.
a. moderates b. Muslim League c. Indian National d. persuasion
- _____ Pact was signed between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar.
a. Chennai b. Lucknow c. Poona d. Delhi
- _____ ordered to fire on the rally in the Jallianwala Bagh.
a. General Dyer b. Saunders c. British d. Sultan

B. Fill in the blanks :

- The Non-cooperation Movement was called off because of the _____ incident.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement started with the _____.
- _____ became the first Prime Minister of independent India.
- The Sultan of Turkey was the _____ or spiritual head of the Muslim world.
- In July 1946, the Indian National Congress formed _____ government at the centre.

C. Match the Following :

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1. 1885 | a. Lucknow Pact |
| 2. 1916 | b. Quit India Movement |
| 3. 1927 | c. Formation of the Indian National Congress |
| 4. 1942 | d. Cabinet Mission |
| 5. 1946 | e. Simon Commission visits India |

D. Write true (T) or False (F) against the following statements in given brackets :

- Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as the first Governor-General of independent India.
- Chauri-Chaura incident resulted in calling off the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The early phase of the Indian National Movement was dominated by the revolutionaries.
- A Satyagrahi was supposed to keep peace and non-violence to achieve his goals.
- The Government of India Act 1935 created an All-India Federation.



E. Define the terms :

1. Moderates
2. Radicals
3. Revolutionaries
4. Satyagraha
5. Dyarchy
6. Dominion Status
7. Interim Government

F. Answer in one word or one phrase :

1. From which place did Dandi March begin ?
2. When was the Indian National Congress founded ?
3. When was the partition of Bengal affected ?
4. Who gave the slogan, 'Freedom is my birthright' ?
5. How many persons were killed at the Jallianwala massacre ?
6. How many people were killed in the riots at Noakhali, East Bengal ?

G. Answer these question briefly :

1. Why were people dissatisfied with British rule in the 1870s and 1880s ?
2. Who were the Moderates ? How did they propose to struggle against British rule ?
3. How was the politics of the Radicals within the Congress different from that of the Moderates ?
4. What was the Rowlatt Act ? How did Indians agitate against the Rowlatt Act ?
5. What economic impact did the First World War have on India ?
6. How was Khilafat Agitation linked to Non-Cooperation Movement ?

H. Answer these questions in detail :

1. How was the growth of nationalism in colonial India different from nationalism in Europe ? Discuss the factors that were responsible for the growth of nationalism in India.
2. Discuss the various forms that the Non-Cooperation Movement took in different parts of India. How did the people understand Gandhiji ?
3. How were the methods of Swadeshi, Satayagraha and Ahimsa unique of their own kind ?
4. Discuss those developments that led to the creation of Pakistan.
5. Describe the principle of 'Divide and Rule'. How did the British apply it in British India ?
6. Discuss the contribution of Gandhiji in India's freedom struggle.

PROJECT WORK

1. Find out how the national movement was organised in your city, district, area or state.
2. Collect pictures of events during the Indian freedom struggle.
3. On an outline map of India mark the places associated with India's freedom struggle.