In the last few chapters we have been discussing the needs and problems of various classes of people in the Indian sub-continent from the mid 1700’s until the mid 1900’s. We have discussed how peasants, adivasis, industrialists, workers, women and middle class people were struggling to overcome their problems and improve the conditions of their lives.

As time passed, people involved in different agitations and struggles got to know about each other. They all had to face problems due to British rule. So they began working together to remove British rule and establish a new free nation. After all, they would be more powerful and more likely to succeed if they were united into one movement. This was the National Movement of India. People of all sections and classes participated in it with the dream of building a better future for themselves in a new nation.

A number of complicated questions arose in people’s minds when they began to dream of a new, independent nation.

One question was: What place would the different religious communities have in the new nation? Would Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, etc. all be given equal rights and equal importance? Or would Hindus have the highest place because they were the greatest in number? Some people formed organisations with the aim of carving out a better place just for their own community. These were known as communal organisations. The most important communal organisations were the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League.

Other questions that arose were: Would it be a nation for the zamindars or a nation for the peasants? Would it be for the mill owners or for the workers? For the adivasis or for the moneylenders? Some people had hopes of India developing on the Gandhian path. Others were making plans for development along capitalist lines. And other people wanted that free India should develop according to socialist ideals.

What improvements did each of these groups of people want for themselves?

What does the Preamble of the Constitution of India tell you about the common understanding evolved by the people about the goals of the Indian nation?
The early nationalist leaders analysed and exposed the character of British imperial rule in India. They showed that all the economic problems of the people of India were there because there was drain of wealth from India to Britain. They showed that the British were ruling over Indian people to serve their own interests and not as the rulers claimed, to help India become a modern and democratic self-governing country. They demanded that the British should implement in practice, what they claimed in their words. The Congress members would pass resolutions in their meetings and submit petitions to the British government to press for their demands.

From every corner of the country, newspapers being published by Indians also began discussing in detail various government policies and the problems faced by the people. It was hoped that the force of public opinion would make the British change their policies some day.

However, all these efforts did not affect the British government very much. The government felt that there was no need to pay heed to what a handful of educated people were saying.
Swarajya is Our Birthright

When it started becoming clear that the proposals and views of the Congress were not making any dent on the British government, the feeling of resentment grew stronger. Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote in his newspaper Kesari, “For twelve years we had cried ourselves hoarse, but nowhere has it touched the government.... Now it is necessary that we educated people go from village to village, tell the people what their rights are and teach them to fight for these rights.”

Tilak clearly stated that any government can run only so long as it has the support of the people. He would tell the people, “You must get to know your own power. If you do not want this government, it cannot last. It is you who lay roads and railway tracks, it is you who run post offices, who pay taxes. Do not live under the shadow of the British government’s mercy. Rise on your own strength so that you might win your rights.”

It was also Tilak who raised the inspiring slogan that was taken up by people everywhere: “Swarajya is my birthright and I shall have it.”

Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and many others also thought like this and spoke out in order to spread these ideas to others in Bengal and the Punjab. They came to be known as the extremist group (“गर्म दल”) in the National Movement. In contrast, people such as Ranade and Firozeshah stuck to their former methods, and came to be known as the moderate group (“नर्म दल”). People like Tilak and Annie Besant set up their organisations called Home Rule Leagues and opened their branches in many parts of the country. They organised lectures and discussion groups and distributed pamphlets to bring people together to fight for Home Rule or Swarajya.

What were the differences between the ideas and methods of the extremists and the moderates within the Congress?

The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements

Inspired by the desire to attain independence (स्वाधीनता) on their own strength rather than wait for the British, the people launched two movements:

The first was to boycott (to refuse to buy) British-made goods such as cloth and sugar. The second was to use swadeshi things, that is only those things that were made by the people of our country. In 1905 the Boycott Movement and the Swadeshi Movement rapidly spread among the people.

That same year, the Viceroy of the British government, Lord Curzon, divided the Bengal Presidency into two parts. The Bengal Presidency consisted of the areas that are now West Bengal, Bangladesh, Bihar, Orissa and parts of the Northeastern states. Hindus, Muslims, and people of other religions lived in the Bengal Presidency.

The two parts that were created by dividing Bengal Presidency were, West Bengal, which had more Hindus, and East Bengal, which had more Muslims. The effort to create a rift among the people of the country in this manner produced an immediate wave of angry protest. This further strengthened the efforts to resist British rule.

To show their protest, people boycotted foreign goods in huge quantities. In place after place, piles
of British-made cloth were set to fire. Because of this popular boycott, the import of British goods was greatly reduced. The Swadeshi Movement also began to catch on. Many people came forward to say, “We will set up our own industries, open our own colleges and schools, we will work among the people of the villages to solve their problems... we will run our own panchayats and courts...we will not remain dependent on the British for our development... we will develop on our own strength.”

This was the sentiment behind swadeshi. Inspired by this, many schools, colleges, factories, panchayats etc. were started.

Why did people think that the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements would lead to swarajya for the country? Discuss.

Do you think the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements would actually have weakened the British? Or would the British have given it as little importance as they did to the views of the moderate leaders of the Congress? Make an assessment.

In any case, the British government did feel forced to cancel the partition of Bengal. The province was reunited in 1911.

Revolutionary Terrorist Movements

Not everyone was convinced about the effectiveness of the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements. Some felt that spreading swadeshi to obtain self-rule would take far too long. They felt that another way of fighting the British would be more effective. This was to acquire arms and kill the British officers. After all, there were only a handful of Britishers in each district. “If people resolve firmly, British rule can be wiped out in a day,” wrote Aurobindo Ghosh in the newspaper Yugantar.
Ahimsa and Satyagraha

You must have learnt about Gandhiji and the important role played by him in the movement to free India from the British. It was his belief that if what we want is true, then we should be able to obtain it without force and violence - through ahimsa. Hence, we should only make an appeal towards the truth (satyagraha). It is not through violence that one should try to obtain truth.

Gandhiji made many programmes for launching satyagraha for swarajya. One such programme was non-cooperation - that people should refuse to cooperate with those who were unjust. The second was civil disobedience - that people should refuse to accept what they do not consider right (that is, they should disobey unjust rules and laws). We will discuss both of these in the following pages.

The National Movement took a new turn when Gandhiji joined it, in around 1915. Gandhiji’s method was to launch agitations for solving people’s specific day-to-day problems. For example, he would demand from the British government that it reduce the land tax, remove the tax on salt, lift the restrictions on the use of the jungle, and stop the sale of liquor (the government earned a hefty income through the sale of liquor). Under the leadership of Gandhiji, people would take to the roads in thousands to agitate for the solutions to their concrete problems. Thus, large numbers of people became involved in resisting the British government. Prior to this, never had the common people joined the National Movement in such large numbers.

It was also Gandhiji who launched the campaign to remove untouchability in the country so that those who had always been rejected could take part in the movement for a new nation.

Do you agree with the views of Aurobindo Ghosh? Have a discussion in your class.

You may have read about the life of Gandhiji in detail and would have come to understand many such things of his life. Read the section above and point out what important aspects Gandhiji added to the National Movement.

Gandhiji: above, as a lawyer in South Africa, and at left, wearing khadi. At right, a newspaper from 1919.
Protest against the Rowlatt Act

After 1915, as the demand for swarajya had begun to gather momentum, the British government took many steps to suppress this movement. In 1919, a law known as the Rowlatt Act was passed. Under this act, the government could put people in prison without bringing them to court. All over the country there were strikes against this law.

On 13 April 1919 one such protest meeting was taking place in Amritsar in a garden called Jallianwala Bagh. To teach the people a lesson, General Dyer fired on the hundreds of people who had gathered there. At least 400 people, including children, were killed.

Can you explain why people opposed the Rowlatt Act so strongly?

"I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

- General Dyer

These were the words in which General Dyer defended himself before an Inquiry Commission after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

The Non-cooperation Movement (1920-1922)

It was under such grave circumstances that Gandhiji launched the Non-cooperation Movement all over the country. After the revolt of 1857, this was the first major movement to take place at the same time all over the country against the British. Its objective was to display non-cooperation with the unjust British government. Special efforts were made by the Congress to get Hindus and Muslims together to oppose the British empire under a common programme called the Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movement.

“If the British want to run the government in India, they should run it themselves. Why should we handle their administration? “ saying this, many people resigned their government jobs. Among those who resigned was Munshi Premchand, the great writer, who was then a teacher in the government school at Gorakhpur. He left his school job and began working in a nationalist newspaper.

Innumerable students left government schools and
colleges and began taking admission in swadeshi schools. For example in Bihar, 41 swadeshi high schools and 600 swadeshi middle and primary schools were opened in which 21,500 students had been admitted by January 1922.

All over the country, a large number of lawyers left their practice in the courts. In many places, people refused to vote in the municipal council elections.

There were dharnas on shops selling British cloth and on liquor shops. Apart from a boycott of British goods, there were also efforts to boost swadeshi goods. To this, Gandhiji added a campaign for people to spin their own cotton on a charkha (this cloth is known as khadi). In every house this spread the desire to make the country self-reliant. In Bihar alone, 48 khadi bhandars were opened to distribute charkhas and cotton among people and 3 lakh charkhas were distributed.

In towns big and small, rallies of hundreds of people would go out and court arrest before the police. The police would rain lathi-blows to stop them, but people would not raise a hand against the police. As one procession would be beaten up while peacefully courting arrest, another one would roll up from behind, also expecting to be arrested, shouting slogans such as “Inquilab Zindabad!” “We will spin our charkhas to take swarajya” and “Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jail!” People would resist the violence of the British government with peace and resolutely appeal for the truth (satyagraha).

News of Gandhiji spread all over - in far away remote places, in small hamlets and villages everywhere. Peasants, adivasis, and workers were all filled with the enthusiasm and hope that in a few days British rule would come to an end - and Gandhiji’s swarajya would be established.

Wherever Gandhiji went in the country, tumultuous crowds would appear to see him. The peasants and adivasis had come to believe that under swarajya, Gandhiji would have the land tax reduced and put an end to the rules of the Forest Department. Throwing these rules to the wind, peasants and tribal people in many places took their cattle to graze in the jungles and also cut wood from the forests.
Elated by the possibility of swarajya, the Santhal adivasis of Jhargram looted bazaars and jungles controlled by the zamindars.

In Jalpaiguri, Santhals with Gandhi caps on their heads, attacked a group of policemen. They had come to believe that no bullet would be able to kill them as long as they wore the Gandhi cap!

In the tea gardens of Surma valley, 8,000 workers left the gardens to return to their villages. They went announcing on their way that ‘Gandhi Maharaj’ would give them land in the village!

In 1920-22, under the leadership of Baba Ramchandra, the peasants of Awadh were already engaged in protest against the zamindars. Now peasants at a large number of places in Uttar Pradesh refused to pay rent to the zamindars in the name of Gandhiji.

Thus, the whole country was in a state of ferment and a very powerful desire to fight against injustice and oppression, to fight for their rights, flared up among the people.

Then, in 1922, an incident in a place called Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh led to a change in tactics. The police at Chauri Chaura had beaten up a peasant very badly. In protest, a large number of peasants came to attend a rally. But when they reached the police station, the police began firing on them. Enraged at this, the peasants set fire to the police station which resulted in the death of 22 policemen. The government arrested many people for the offence and tried them in court. After the trial, 19 peasants were hanged to death and 150 people were sentenced to exile.

Upon hearing about what had happened at Chauri Chaura, Gandhiji suddenly called off the Non-cooperation Movement. This was because he felt this incident proved that people were not really ready to act on the principle of non violence and satyagraha.

The Call for Total Self Rule and the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-32)

In 1928, the British government constituted a commission under the leadership of a person named Simon, to frame the rules of administration for India. There was not a single Indian in this commission. This made it amply clear that the British government was not ready to believe that the people of India should have the right to run the administration of their own country.

Therefore, wherever, Simon went in India, there were rallies and strikes against him and the cry of “Simon go back!” resounded everywhere. The police used force to suppress these protests. In one such police action, Lala Lajpat Rai was seriously injured (see below) and died a few days later. Saunders, the British officer responsible for this police action was later killed by revolutionaries in December 1928.
In November, 1928, the big zamindars of Awadh had organised a welcome ceremony for Simon at Lucknow. There were many processions in protest against this. People wrote, “Simon go back” on balloons and released them at the venue of the welcome ceremony. In the demonstrations that took place in this protest a large number of people were beaten up by the police, of whom Jawaharlal Nehru was one.

In 1929, the Congress decided that under no circumstances should people agree to remain under British rule. It was time to fight for total self-rule. Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement as part of this struggle for poorna swarajya. That is, it was decided that the citizens of the country would openly, but peacefully, break the laws of the government.

Gandhiji decided to launch the movement by defying the Salt Act. According to this law, no one but the British government had the right to produce and sell salt. It could also claim a tax on it from the people. Paying a tax on salt was something that affected every person in the country, even poor, starving people. Gandhiji decided that the civil disobedience movement should begin by disobeying this very Salt Act. He marched on foot with his supporters from Sabarmati Ashram to a place called Dandi and on reaching the seashore, made salt. After this, salt was produced by people at hundreds of places along the coasts all over the country.

At other places, other laws of the government were broken. It was decided that the peasants would not pay the government any land tax. In areas where there were zamindars, the peasants were told to continue paying rent to the zamindars, but refuse to pay the chaukidari tax that the government took from them. In the forested areas of central India, the adivasis and peasants were asked to break the forest laws.

The government acted to suppress the movement. Gandhiji was arrested and kept behind bars. This step provoked many reactions against the British. For example, on hearing of Gandhiji’s arrest, the workers of the cloth mills of Sholapur in Maharashtra went on strike. They took out rallies, burnt liquor shops and attacked the police and the buildings of the court, municipality and the railway station. For almost seven days the workers uprooted British rule in Sholapur and established their own separate administration! They appointed all the office-bearers from the district magistrate to the thanedar from among the people of the town.

Once again there was a wave of agitations across the country in villages and in towns, big and small. At Raipur, Bhandara, Seoni, Amravati, Betul, adivasis and peasants defied the laws and cut wood from the forest in large quantities. The peasants of Uttar Pradesh not only refused to pay the chaukidari tax, they also withheld rent from the zamindars.
In those days, some new questions were coming to the forefront. Such as, should people fight only against British rule or also against powerful Indians who were responsible for injustice and inequality in society? Secondly, is violence absolutely wrong?

In the course of the freedom movement, many people began doing such things that Gandhiji felt were wrong. Many times people would be compelled to use violence. Secondly, instead of protesting only against the British, people began opposing those Indians as well who exploited them. For instance, peasants would stop paying their rent-share to the zamindars, and would torch the account books of moneylenders. The workers of the mills would stop their work to come out on strike. Workers in tea gardens would leave the gardens and go away. People spread all over, across remote villages and distant towns, had come to understand that Gandhiji had commanded them to fight for truth and justice in their own way. They would believe that they were following the command of Gandhiji.

But Gandhiji was against violence and also did not want that people agitate against the zamindars, moneylenders and mill owners. He believed that these quarrels could be solved through mutual understanding and affection. He wanted everyone to concentrate on fighting the British rule and wanted that other problems be raised after self-rule had been attained. Due to these concerns, many times Gandhiji tried to restrict the agitations of people and keep them within limits. The withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura incident is an example of this.

The ideas of people who held socialist beliefs differed somewhat from this. They supported movements which would bring justice to people from the British as well as from mill owners and zamindars. They wanted to bring about social, economic and political equality in the country.
For some years many socialists also worked in the Congress, but later they left the Congress and formed separate parties.

Among those who held socialist beliefs were S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, M.N. Roy, Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, Jaiprakash Narain, Jawaharlal Nehru etc. These people were beginning to conclude that organisations of peasants and adivasis should be formed and apart from the British, they should also struggle against the zamin-dars, money lenders and mill owners so that the new nation formed after independence would be a nation of workers and peasants. These people tried to give greater importance to kisan sabhas and labour organisations in the National Movement. In 1925, the Communist Party was also formed in India to work for the interests of workers and peasants.

Assess whether socialist strategies would have made India’s national movement stronger?

The Quit India Movement of 1942

In 1939, the Second World War broke out. It lasted until 1945. Britain, France, Russia and the United States of America together fought against Germany, Japan and Italy.

Britain wanted to use the people and money of India for this war. Congress demanded that in return for support in the war, India should be given self-rule. But the British government was in no mood to accept this demand. Ultimately, some 25,00,000 Indian soldiers fought for Britain.

It was in this context that in 1942 Gandhiji launched the Quit India Movement. Gandhiji, Nehru and other leaders were immediately arrested. This enraged the people even more. In the course of the protests, offices, courts, post offices and police stations of the British government were burnt in great numbers. Workers of Sholapur, Chennai and Kolkata went on strikes to demonstrate their protest and had clashes with the police. Thousands of people courted arrest.

Subhash Chandra Bose went over to Burma and raised an army with the help of Japan. With this Azad Hind Fauj, as his army was called, he marched towards Delhi. His intention was to defeat and drive away the British with the help of this army. In 1946, Indian sailors in the navy mutinied against the British government. There were strikes taking place everywhere. With such powerful opposition staring them in the face, the British rulers at last began to concede defeat. They felt weakened after the Second World War. In such a situation they found it extremely difficult to keep control over the rebellious people of India. In many such mass actions by workers, peasants, navymen, students etc, the Hindu and Muslim people worked unitedly. Nevertheless, communal minded leaders from both communities, were pressing for measures to protect their separate interests.
Partition into India and Pakistan

Some people feared that Muslims would not be given equal opportunities in a free India, since they might be dominated by Hindus, who would be in the majority. Thus in 1940 the Muslim League, under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, launched a mass campaign to press for the creation of a separate Muslim nation called Pakistan. There were horrible riots between Hindus and Muslims on many different issues.

The Labour Party government had come into power in Britain after the World War. It agreed to give up control over India at the earliest. But the question was, to whom should the British hand over their power? To the Congress, to the Muslim League, to the several Indian kings - to whom? Though intense efforts were made by various leaders to resolve this problem, they failed to agree to a united country, and ultimately most of them agreed to accept the partition of India.

The British partitioned India to make a separate nation named Pakistan out of the Muslim majority areas of Punjab, North West Frontier Provinces, Sindh and Bengal. It was decided to hand over power to India and Pakistan separately. This was done on the 14th of August, 1947 for Pakistan and on the 15th of August, 1947 for India.
Many of the Hindus living in Pakistan began coming to India and many of the Muslims living in India began going to Pakistan. But innumerable Hindus and Muslims continued to stay where they were. During these days, violence and rioting broke out between the Hindus and Muslims and much fear and hatred was spread. Gandhiji was not willing to accept all this. At the old age of 77, he came out in the middle of horrifying riots to pacify people. He said, “I want to fight it out with my life. I would not allow the Muslims to crawl on the streets of India. They must walk with self-respect.”

He was adamant on the principle that in India, the Hindus and the Muslims have equal place. This was not accepted by the Hindu communalists. One of them, Nathu Ram Godse, shot Gandhiji dead on 30 January, 1948. How the situation reached this pass and who was responsible for it, is a very complex story.

The Rule of Rajas and Maharajas Ends

You know that apart from the areas under British rule, there were many parts in India that were ruled by rajas and maharajas. There were 562 such large and small kingdoms in India. They had accepted the sovereignty of the British but when the British began to leave India the kings wanted to rule their kingdoms separately and independently. But in these kingdoms, too, there had been movements of common people, who wanted the rule of the rajas, zamindars, and jagirdars to come to an end. They too wanted to participate in a national government elected by the people. They wanted to ensure and protect the democratic rights of the people.

In 1947-48, the new free government of India included these separate big and small kingdoms into the state of India. There were some kings who did not agree to this and the task of getting them around was accomplished by sending the army into their kingdoms. Rajas and nawabs were removed and put on pensions. This pension was known as the privy purse. The task of getting these agreements made with the kings and princes was accomplished chiefly by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It was in this way that all the parts of today's India came together as one nation state.

Exercises

1. Explain the meaning of each of the following terms and describe how people participated in the movements related to them.
   - Boycott
   - Swadeshi
   - Non-cooperation
   - Civil Disobedience

2. Discuss the importance of the role played by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the National Movement.

3. What belief made Gandhiji prohibit the use of violence in movements of satyagraha?

4. Discuss why the people of India opposed the Rowlatt Act, the Salt Act and the Simon Commission.

5. What were the differences between Gandhiji and the socialists regarding the agitations of the common people?

6. Discuss the fears expressed by the Muslim League about the future of Indian Muslims.

7. What were the reasons behind the assassination of Gandhiji?

8. How many Indian kingdoms were there when the British left India? Can you think of the reasons why they were not keen to become part of the Indian nation? What place was given to these kings and nawabs in free India?

9. Did Hindus and Muslims struggle together for a free nation? Give some examples of such common struggles.
Below, people board a train to cross the new border. What happened to your family at the time of Partition?

Gandhiji coming out of a mazaar in Mehrauli a few days before his death.
A huge crowd in Delhi on 15th August 1947, as Nehru raises the Indian flag over the newly independent country from the Red Fort. The Jama Masjid is visible in the background.

A song by Prem Dhavan sung during the freedom movement.