

NOTES OF CHAPTER-2 NATIONALISM IN INDIA

NATIONALISM:

MEANING: loyalty and devotion to a nation

DEFINITION:

Nationalism is an ideology and movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty over its homeland

Or

A sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations.

NATIONALISM IN INDIA

In India, the growth of modern nationalism is connected to the anti-colonial movement. Due to colonialism, the congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi tried to forge groups together within one movement.

However, the unity did not emerge without conflict.

IMPACTS OF 1ST WORLD WAR ON INDIA AND THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENTS

The war created a new economic and political situation in the years after 1919.

Economic Situations

- ☐ It led to increase in defense expenditure which was financed by war loans and increasing taxes.
- ☐ Custom duties were raised and Income tax introduced to collect more money from Indians to fulfill the needs of defense expenditure.
- ☐ Through the war years prices of essential goods increased – doubling between 1913 and 1918. This led to extreme hardship for the common people.

Political Situations

War created a new political situation that helped in the growth of national movement in India:

- ☐ Indians contributed considerably to the British war effort by providing men and resources. About 1.3 million Indian soldiers and labourers served in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.
- ☐ Villages were called upon to supply soldiers. So the forced recruitment in rural areas caused wide spread anger against British government.
- ☐ The First World War began with an unprecedented outpouring of support towards Britain from within the mainstream political leadership. Contrary to initial British fears of an Indian revolt, Nonetheless, Bengal and Punjab remained hotbeds of anti colonial activities.
- ☐ The Defence of India Act 1915, was an emergency criminal law enacted by the Governor-General of India in 1915 with the intention of curtailing the nationalist and revolutionary activities during and in the aftermath of the First World War. It was granted the Executive very wide powers of preventive detention, internment without trial, restriction of writing, speech, and of movement

Healthcare Problems

- ☐ Then in 1918-19 and 1920-21, crop failure occurred in many parts of India because of insufficient rain, resulting in acute shortage of food, that caused a huge problem in front of the survival of common people
- ☐ This was accompanied by an influenza epidemic. According to the census of 1921, 12 to 13 million people died as a result of famine and the epidemic.

People hoped their extreme hardship will end after the war was over but that did not happen. At this stage a new leader appeared and suggested a new mode of struggle against the British rule.

THE IDEA OF SATYAGRAHA

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in **January 1915**. As you know he had come from South Africa where he had successfully fought the racist regime with a novel method of mass agitation which he called **Satyagraha**. Meaning of Satyagraha is **"Appeal for Truth"**

"Satyagraha emphasised the power of truth and the need to search for truth."

It suggested that if the cause was true, if the struggle was against injustice, then the physical force was not necessary to fight against oppressor. Without being aggressive, a Satyagrahi could win the battle through non-violence.

This could be done by appealing to the conscience of the oppressor: According to him people including the oppressors, had to be persuaded to see the truth, instead of being forced to accept truth through the use of violence. According to Mahatma Gandhi, people can win a battle with non-violence which will unite all Indians.

Execution of the Idea of Satyagraha

- ❖ **Champaran Satyagraha:** In 1917, Gandhiji travelled to Champaran in Bihar to inspire the peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation system and organised Satyagraha to provide the support.
- ❖ **Kheda Satyagraha:** In 1917, Mahatma Gandhi organised Satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat who were affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic. The peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue, and were demanding revenue collection be relaxed..
- ❖ **Ahmedabad Cotton Mill Satyagraha:** In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to organise a Satyagraha movement amongst the workers of largest cotton.

THE ROWLATT ACT

- ❖ The **Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919**, popularly known as the **Rowlatt Act** or **Black Act**, was a legislative council act passed by the [Imperial Legislative Council](#) in [Delhi](#) on **21 March 1919**, indefinitely extending the emergency measures of preventive indefinite detention, incarceration without trial and judicial review. It was passed on the recommendations of the **Sedition Committee (Rowlatt Committee)** and named after its president, British judge **Sir Sidney Rowlatt**.
- ❖ The British government passed the infamous **Rowlatt Act**, which gave enormous powers to the police to arrest any person without any reason whatsoever. The purpose of the Act was to curb the growing nationalist upsurge in the country.

Indian's Response toward The Rowlatt Act

- ❖ The purpose of the Rowlatt Act was to curb the growing nationalist upsurge in the country. Gandhi called upon the people to do [Satyagraha](#) against such oppressive "Act".
- ❖ Gandhi wanted non-violent civil disobedience against such unjust laws, which would start with a nation-wide hartal on 6th April.
- ❖ 6th April 1919 was observed as [Satyagraha Day](#), when people all over the country observed fast and hartal.
- ❖ In 1919, the country witnessed a remarkable political awakening in India.
- ❖ Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar and Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi.

JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE

- ❖ On April 9, 1919, two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation.
- ❖ This caused resentment among the Indian protestors who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders.
- ❖ On 10th April, 1919 the police in Amritsar fired upon a peaceful procession, provoking widespread attacks on banks, police stations and other government buildings.
- ❖ To curb any future protest government put martial law in place and law and order in Punjab was handed over to Brigadier-General Dyer.
- ❖ British General Dyer who want to teach Indians a lesson and not to indulge in any form of protests against the British

- ❖ On 13th April, Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighboring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the Amritsar gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh to celebrate the important auspicious festival of [Baisakhi](#), and peacefully protest against the arrest and deportation of two national leaders, Dr. [Satyapal](#) and Dr. [Saifuddin Kitchlew](#)..
- ❖ Brigadier- General Dyer arrived on the scene with his men. The troops surrounded the gathering under orders from General Dyer and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing more than 1000 unarmed men, women, and children. The casualty number estimated by the [Indian National Congress](#) was more than 1,500 injured, with approximately 1,000 dead.

Reaction of People & Nationalists Response

- ❖ After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, people became furious and went on strikes, clashes with police and attacks on government buildings.
- ❖ **Rabindranath Tagore** renounced his “Knighthood” in protest.
- ❖ **Mahatma Gandhi** gave up the title of **Kaiser-i-Hind**, bestowed by the British for his work during the **Boer War**.
- ❖ **Gandhi April 18, 1919**. was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence and withdrew the movement on
- ❖ The Indian National Congress appointed its own non-official committee that included **Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Abbas Tyabji, M.R. Jayakar**, and **Gandhi** to look into the shootings.
- ❖ Congress put forward its own view. *This view criticized Dyer's act as inhuman* and also said that there was no justification in the introduction of the martial law in Punjab.

Response of British Government

- ❖ After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, people became furious and went on strikes, clashes with police and attacks on government buildings.
- ❖ The government responded with brutal repression seeking to humiliate and terrorise people.
- ❖ The government formed a committee of inquiry to investigate the Jallianwala Bagh shootings.
- ❖ **On October 14, 1919**, the Government of India announced the formation of the **Disorders Inquiry Committee**.
- ❖ The committee was commonly known as **Hunter Commission** after the name of chairman, Lord William Hunter. It also had Indian members.
- ❖ In the final report submitted in March 1920, *the committee unanimously condemned Dyer's actions*.
- ❖ However, *the Hunter Committee did not impose any penal or disciplinary action against General Dyer*.

THE KHILAFAT & THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

- ❖ Meaning of Khilafat :- the rank, jurisdiction, or government of a Caliph
- ❖ Definition of Khilafat:- The chief spiritual authority of Islam as exercised by the Turkish sultans considered as Khilafat.
- ❖ The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924), was a pan-Islamic, political protest campaign launched by Muslims in British India to influence the British Government and to protect the Ottoman empire during the aftermath of First World War. The First World War had ended with the defeat of Ottoman Turkey.
- ❖ The Khilafat Movement was launched by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali with the help of some other Muslim leaders ([Maulana Abul Kalam Azad](#) and Dr. [Hakim Ajmal Khan](#) etc).
- ❖ There was a fear that the power of the spiritual head of the Islamic world (Khalifa) would be curtailed. To defend his power, an All India Khilafat Committee was formed in Bombay in 1919. In this way Khilafat leaders tried to put pressure upon the British Government to give better treatment to Turkey.
- ❖ In September 1920, Mahatma Gandhi convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for Swaraj.
- ❖ In January 1921 the Non-Cooperation – Khilafat Movement started.

THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- ❖ In his famous book Hind Swaraj (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come.
- ❖ Gandhiji believed that if Indians begin to refuse to cooperate, the British rulers will have no other way than to leave India.
- ❖ The Non-cooperation movement was launched on 5th September, 1920 by [Mahatma Gandhi](#) with the aim of [self-governance](#) and obtaining full independence as the [Indian National Congress](#) (INC) withdrew its support for British reforms following the [Rowlatt Act](#) of 21 March 1919, and the [Jallianwala Bagh massacre](#) of 13 April 1919
- ❖ In December 1920, in Nagpur Session the Non-Cooperation Movement was adopted. In January 1921 the Non-Cooperation – Khilafat Movement started.

Programmes of the Non Cooperation Movement

- ❖ Indians were asked to relinquish their titles and resign from nominated seats in the local bodies as a mark of protest.
- ❖ People had to resign from their government jobs.
- ❖ People were asked to withdraw their children from government-controlled or aided schools and colleges.
- ❖ People had to boycott foreign goods and use only Indian-made goods.

The main aim of the Non Cooperation movement was the demand of 'Swaraj' or the self government

The Movement in the Towns

The movement started with good participation from the middle-class in the cities.

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

The council elections were boycotted in most provinces except Madras. In Madras, the Justice Party, the party of the non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was one way of gaining some power – something that usually only Brahmins had access to.

Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore. The boycott of foreign cloths helped in increasing the demand of cloths made in India.

Reasons for Slowdown of Movement:

Khadi was more expensive than mill-made cloth. The poor people could not afford to buy khadi.

Boycott of British institutions posed a problem of lack of alternative Indian institutions. Such institutions were slow to come up. Students and teachers began coming back schools. Similarly, lawyers resumed their work in the courts

Rebellion in the Countryside

From the cities, the Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside. It drew into its fold the struggles of peasants and tribals which were developing in different parts of India in the years after the war. The peasants were against the high rents and many other cess which were demanded by talukdars and landlords. The peasants demanded reduction of revenue, abolition of begar, and social boycott of oppressive landlords.

In Awadh region Jawaharlal Nehru began touring the villages in June 1920. He tried to understand the problems of the peasants.

Awadh Kisan Sabha was set up by October 1920. It was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Baba Ramchandra and a few others. Within a month 300 branches have been set up. In 1921, the peasant movement was spread and the houses of talukdars and merchants were attacked, bazaars were looted, and grain boards were taken over.

Movement in Tribal Region

Tribal peasants gave their own interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi and the idea of swaraj. The tribals were prevented from entering the forests to graze cattle, or to collect fruits and firewood.

The new forest laws were a threat to their livelihood. The government forced them to do begar on road construction.

In the early 1920s, a militant guerrilla movement started spreading in the Gudam Hills of Andhra Pradesh. The government started closing down forest areas due to which their livelihood was affected. Finally, the hill people revolted which was led by Alluri Sitaram Raju who claimed that he had a variety of special powers. Raju was captured and executed in 1924

Swaraj in the Plantations

The plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission; as per **the Inland Emigration Act of 1859**. When the news of Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the plantations, many workers began to defy the authorities.

They left plantations and headed towards their homes. But they got stranded on the way because of a railway and steamer strike. They were caught by the police and brutally beaten up

Chauri Chaura Incident & End of the Movement

The **Chauri Chaura Incident** took place at [Chauri Chaura](#) in the Gorakhpur district of the United Province, (modern Uttar Pradesh) in British India on 5 February 1922, when a large group of protesters, participating in the **Non-cooperation movement**, clashed with police, who opened fire. In retaliation the demonstrators attacked and set fire to a police station, killing all of its occupants. The incident led to the deaths of three civilians and 22 policemen.

Mahatma Gandhi, who was strictly against violence, in February 1922 decided to roll back the Non-cooperation movement. Although he had stopped the national revolt single-handedly, on 10 March 1922, Gandhi was arrested. On 18 March 1922, he was imprisoned for six years for publishing seditious materials. This led to suppression of the movement and was followed by the arrest of other leaders

Although most Congress leader's remained firmly behind Gandhi, the determined leaders broke away. The Ali brothers would soon become fierce critics. [Motilal Nehru](#) and [Chittaranjan Das](#) formed the [Swaraj Party](#), rejecting Gandhi's leadership.

Many young nationalists like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose argued for more forceful mass agitation and for full independence.

Significance of The Non-Cooperation Movement

- The impact of the movement was a total shock to British authorities and a massive encouragement to millions of Indian nationalists.
- Unity in the country was strengthened and many Indian schools and colleges were made. Indian goods were encouraged.
- The non-cooperation movement aimed to challenge the colonial economic and power structure, and British authorities would be forced to take notice of the demands of the independence movement.
- The ideas of Ahimsa and non-violence, and Gandhi's ability to rally hundreds of thousands of common citizens towards the cause of Indian independence, were first seen on a large scale in this movement.

The effects of Non-Cooperation Movement on the economic front were immense.

- ❖ Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign clothes were burnt hugely.
- ❖ The import of foreign clothes halved between * 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from 102 crore to 57 crore rupees.
- ❖ In many areas, traders and merchants refused to trade in foreign goods and sometimes even they refused to finance foreign trade.
- ❖ As the boycott movement spread, people used only Indian clothes and began to discard foreign clothes. As a result, production of Indian textile mills and handloom went up largely.

CIRCUMSTANCES BEHIND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

- ❖ In the late 1920s Indian politics again shaped because of two factors. The first effect was the worldwide economic depression and the second effect was the falling agricultural prices. The Civil Disobedience Movement led by M.K. Gandhi, in the year 1930 was an important milestone in the history of Indian Nationalism.
- ❖ **Economic depression on Indian economy :**
 - a. Agricultural prices began to fall and collapsed in 1930.

- b. Demand for agricultural goods declined.
- c. It became difficult for the peasants to sell their harvest and pay revenue.
- d. The entire country was in crisis.
- e. It helped in reshaping the national movement.

❖ **The Simon Commission and its failure:**

The Statutory Commission was set up to look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes. Since the Commission did not have a single Indian member it was seen as an insult to the self respect of Indians. In 1928, Simon Commission arrived in India and it was greeted by the slogan 'Go back Simon' in every region of India wherever it arrived. British retaliated in a brutal manner against this kind of opposition. In one such opposition in Punjab where protesters were led by Lala Lajpat Rai, to suppress them police lathi charged on the protestors. In this incident Lala Lajpat Rai was fatally wounded and died after some time.

- ❖ **Oppressive Salt Act of 1882:-** British government passed Salt Act in 1882, which gave the British a monopoly on the collection and manufacture of salt, limiting its handling to government salt depots and levying a salt tax
- ❖ **Demand of Purna Swaraj:** In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress formalised the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' or full independence for India. It was declared that 26 January 1930 would be celebrated as Independence Day.

Gandhi's view about Salt and Important events before Salt March

- ❖ Gandhi's plan was to begin civil disobedience with a satyagraha aimed at the [British salt tax](#) of 1882, which gave the British a monopoly on the collection and manufacture of salt, limiting its handling to government salt depots and levying a salt tax.
- ❖ Salt was seen by Mahatma Gandhi as a powerful symbol that could unite masses. He believed an item of daily use could resonate more with all classes of citizens than an abstract demand for greater political rights. The salt tax represented 8.2% of the British Raj tax revenue, and hurt the poorest Indians the most significantly.
- ❖ Explaining his choice, Gandhi said, "Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life." To wage a struggle against the oppressive British policies and laws,
- ❖ Mahatma Gandhi sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands on 31st January 1930. These demands including reduction of land revenue assessments, cutting military spending, imposing a tariff on foreign cloth, and abolishing the salt tax. His strongest appeal to Irwin regarded the salt tax, represented the general interests and which all the classes identified with.
- ❖ On 2 March 1930 Gandhi again wrote to the [Viceroy, Lord Irwin](#), offering to stop the march if Irwin met eleven demands. The demands needed to be fulfilled by 11 March or else Congress will start a civil disobedience campaign..

THE SALT MARCH & THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

- ❖ The famous salt march was started by Mahatma Gandhi on 12th March 1930 accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers.
- ❖ Walking ten miles a day for 24 days, the march spanned over 240 miles (384 km), from [Sabarmati Ashram](#) to [Dandi](#), which was called [Navsari](#) at that time (now in the state of Gujarat).
- ❖ Growing numbers of Indians joined them along the way. When Gandhi broke the salt laws at 6:30 am on 6 April 1930.
- ❖ This event sparked large scale acts of civil disobedience against the [British Raj](#) by millions of Indians.

Main Activities of People During Movement

- The people refused to obey unjust laws. Gandhi led the Dandi March and broke the unjust salt tax law as a challenge to the British Government.
- Foreign cloth was boycotted and liquor shops were picketed.
- Peasants refused to pay revenue and taxes. People of the tribal areas also broke the forest laws.
- There were strikes, bandh, rallies, processions organised in all over India.
- Schools, colleges and government offices and institutions were boycotted.
- There was large- scale arrest of people and leaders who participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Spread of the Movement

- ❖ Around 60,000 people including Gandhiji himself were arrested by the government.
- ❖ There was widespread civil disobedience carried on by the people. Apart from the salt tax, other unpopular tax and laws were being defied like the forest laws, chowkidar tax, land tax, etc.
- ❖ The government tried to suppress the movement with more laws and censorship.
- ❖ The Congress Party was declared illegal. But this did not deter the satyagrahis who continued the movement.
- ❖ There were some incidents of violence in Calcutta and Karachi but Gandhiji did not call off the movement, unlike the previous time with the non-cooperation movement.
- ❖ C Rajagopalachari led a similar march on the southeast coast from Trichy to Vedaranyam in Tamil Nadu. He too was arrested for making salt
- ❖ There were similar marches and salt was produced illegally in Assam and Andhra Pradesh.
- ❖ In Peshawar, the Satyagraha was organised and led by Gandhiji's disciple, Ghaffar Khan. In April 1930 he was arrested. Khan's followers (called Khudai Khidmatgars) whom he had trained in Satyagraha had gathered in a marketplace called the Qissa Khwani Bazaar. There they were fired at by the British Indian Army despite being unarmed.
- ❖ People faced the batons and bullets of the police with supreme courage. No one retaliated or said anything to the police.
- ❖ Thousands of women also took part in the Satyagraha. On May 21, 1930, there was a protest against the Dharasana Salt Works by peaceful non-violent protestors led by Sarojini Naidu. The police lathi-charged the protestors brutally and it resulted in the deaths of 2 people with several others being injured.
- ❖ These events were reported in the international media and there was a condemnation of British policies followed in India. As reports and photographs of this extraordinary protest began to appear in newspapers across the world, there was a growing tide of support emerged for India's freedom struggle..

The British government was shaken by the movement. Also, its non-violent nature made it difficult for them to suppress it violently. By witnessing the horrific situation, Mahatma Gandhi decided to call off the movement and entered into a pact with Irwin on 5 March 1931.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhiji consented to participate in a Round Table Conference in London. When the conference broke down Mahatma Gandhi returned to India disappointed and he relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement, for over a year, it continued, but by 1934 it lost its momentum.

How Participants saw the Movement

- ❖ The Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh were active in the movement. They became enthusiastic supporters of the Civil Disobedience Movement. But they were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off in 1931. So when the movement was restarted in 1932, many of them refused to participate. The poorer peasants joined a variety of radical movements, often led by Socialists and Communists.
- ❖ To organise business interests, the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1920 and the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927 was formed. The industrialists attacked colonial control over the Indian economy and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement when it was first launched. Some of the industrial workers did participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1930 and 1932 railway workers and dock workers were on strike.
- ❖ Another important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the large-scale participation of women. But, for a long time, Congress was reluctant to allow women to hold any position of authority within the organisation.

Significance of the Civil Disobedience Movement:

- ❑ It shattered people's faith in the British Government and laid the social root for the freedom struggle, and popularised the new method of propaganda like the prabhat pheris, pamphlets etc.
- ❑ It ended the exploitative salt policy of British was followed by the defiance of forest law in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central province and the refusal to pay the rural 'Chaukidari tax' in Eastern India
- ❑ It pushed Indian freedom struggle into the limelight in western media.
- ❑ It brought a lot of people including women and the depressed classes directly in touch with the freedom movement.
- ❑ It showed the power of the non-violent Satyagraha as a tool in fighting imperialism.
- ❑ Gandhiji was released from prison in 1931 and he met with Lord Irwin who was keen to put an end to the civil disobedience movement and the media attention it had caught.
- ❑ As per the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the civil disobedience movement would be ended and Indians, in return, would be allowed to make salt for domestic use. Lord Irwin also agreed to release the arrested Indians. Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference in London as an 'equal'.

THE LIMITS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

- ❑ **Limited participation of Dalits:** Dalits participation in the civil Disobedience movement was very limited, particularly in Maharashtra and Nagpur region where their organization was quite strong.
- ❑ **No Participation of Muslims:** Some of the Muslim political organizations in India were also Lukewarm in their response to the Civil Disobedience Movement. After Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement Muslims felt alienated from the congress.
- ❑ **Dominant role of Sanatanis and Hindu Mahasabha:** The role of Sanatanis and Hindu Mahasabha was very dominant. Due to the fear of Sanatanis the conservative high class Hindus, congress ignored the Dalits. Congress was very close to Hindu Mahasabha. Hindus Mahasabha strongly opposed the efforts of compromise between Congress and Muslim League.
- ❑ **Clash between BR Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi:** In 1930 Dr B R Ambedkar clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second-round table conference by demanding separate electorate for Dalits.
- ❑ **Participants have different aspirations:** Participation had their own aspirations. There was a contrast between the demands of industrialist and working class. Contrast was also there in the demand of Rich peasants and poor peasants. United struggle was not there

Dalits addressed as untouchables were not moved by the concept of Swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi used to call them as **Harijans** or **the children of God** without whom swaraj could not be achieved. He organised satyagraha for the untouchables but they were keen on a different political solution to the problems of the community. They demanded reserved seats in educational institutions and a separate electorate.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar, who organised the Dalits into **the Depressed Classes Association** in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for Dalits

After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, Muslims felt alienated from the Congress due to which the relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was willing to give up the demand for separate electorates if Muslims were assured reserved seats in the Central Assembly and representation in proportion to population in the Muslim-dominated provinces.

But, the hope of resolving the issue at the **All Parties Conference** in 1928 disappeared when **M.R. Jayakar** of the **Hindu Mahasabha** strongly opposed efforts at compromise.

POONA PACT- SEPTEMBER 1932

Dr Ambedkar was in favour of a separate electorate for the Depressed Classes and this was laid down by him in the First Round Table Conference. He was representing the Depressed Classes in the conference.

Gandhi was against this idea and when **PM Macdonald** decided to grant communal awards to minorities and the Depressed Classes, he undertook a fast whilst in jail in Poona.

Gandhi was against this idea because he did not want to view the untouchables as being outside the folds of Hinduism.

Due to public pressure to end the fast unto death, Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi made the Poona Pact which laid down reserved seats for the Depressed Classes in the provincial legislatures for which elections would be through joint electorates.

The Poona Pact is an agreement between M K Gandhi and B R Ambedkar signed in the **Yerwada Central Jail**, Poona on September 24th, 1932 on behalf of the depressed class for the reservation of the electoral seats in the Legislature of the British Government.

THE SENSE OF COLLECTIVE BELONGINGS

Nationalist movements spread when people belonging to different regions and communities began to develop a sense of collective belongingness. Undoubtedly, this sense of collective belongingness developed through the experience of united struggles. But many cultural processes also contributed to it. History, fiction, folklore, songs, popular prints and symbols, all played a part in the making of nationalism. It was seen in India during its freedom movement.

Creation of Identity for Nation

The identity of a nation is most often symbolized in a figure or image. In the 20th century, the identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of Bharat Mata. This image of Bharat Mata was first created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in 1870, when he wrote 'Vande Mataram' for our motherland. Later, this song included in his novel Anandamath and widely sung by the freedom fighters. The image of Bharat Mata was first painted by Abanindranath Tagore. Later the image acquired many different forms as it was drawn by different artists.

Development of Nationalism through Folklore

Indian folk songs and folk tales sung by bard (wandering poets) played an important role for making the idea of nationalism. These gave true picture of traditional culture, which was corrupted by foreigners.

In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore and in Madras, Natesa Sastri collected massive collection of folk tales and songs, which led the movement for folk revival. As the National Movement developed, nationalist leaders accepted symbols which unified people.

Designing of National Flag

During the Swadeshi Movement, a tricolour (red, green and yellow) flag was designed in Bengal. It had eight lotuses representing eight provinces and a crescent moon representing Hindus and Muslims. By 1921, Gandhiji had designed the Swaraj Flag. It was a tricolour having a spinning wheel in the center representing the Gandhian ideal of self help. Carrying this tricolor flag (red, green and white) holding it overhead during marches, became a symbol of challenge for Britishers.

Nationalism through Ancient Indian History

Another means of creating feeling of nationalism was explaining the meaning of history again. The nationalist writers urged the readers to take pride in India's great achievements in the past and struggle to change the miserable conditions of life under British rule. Unification of people involved some problems. When the past that was being glorified was Hindu and the images celebrated were taken from Hindu iconography, the people of other communities felt left out

It means that people began to believe that they were all a part of the same nation and discovered some unity, which bound them together.

CONCLUSION:

In the first half of the twentieth century, various groups and classes of Indians came together for the struggle of independence. The Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi attempted to resolve differences, and ensure that the demands of one group did not alienate another. In other words, what was emerging as a nation with many voices wanting freedom from colonial rule.