

CHAPTER 3

NATIONALISM IN INDIA

TEXTBOOK EXERCISES

Q.1. Explain :

- (a) Why growth of nationalism in the colonies is linked to an anti-colonial movement ?
- (b) How the First World War helped in the growth of the National Movement in India ?
- (c) Why Indians were outraged by the Rowlatt Act ?
- (d) Why Gandhiji decided to withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement ?

Ans. (a) The growth of Modern nationalism in the colonies is linked to an anti-colonial movement because people discovered their unity in the process of their struggle against

colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied many different groups together. For example in India, different groups and communities came together under the banner of Indian National Congress and took part in the various movements which were anti-colonial or against the British.

(b) The First World War had created a new economic and political situation in India as given below :

- (i) The defence expenditure had increased.
- (ii) War loans were taken and more taxes were imposed.
- (iii) Custom duties were raised.
- (iv) Income tax was introduced.
- (v) The rise in prices led to extreme hardships for the people.
- (vi) There was widespread discontentment in the rural area due to forced recruitment of soldiers.

(vii) Epidemic of influenza spread. It is estimated that 12 to 13 million people died in famines and the epidemics.

People had thought that their problems and hardships would be over at the end of the war. But nothing happened. They were now ready for a struggle against the British. Thus, World War I helped in the growth of the national movement in India.

(c) Indians were outraged by the Rowlatt Act (1919) because they had hoped that after the war their hardships would be over and the government would take steps to improve their condition. On the other hand, the government got the Rowlatt Act passed in the Imperial Legislative Council against the united opposition of the Indian members. The Act gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities. It allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years. These provisions meant the suspension of two principles of justice – trial by jury and habeas corpus – the rights safeguarding against illegal imprisonment. The Rowlatt Act was considered as Black Law and the Indians under the leadership of Gandhi decided to oppose it.

(d) Gandhiji decided to withdraw Non-Cooperation Movement because it was turning violent in many places and satyagrahis needed to be properly trained before they would be ready for mass struggles. For example in Chauri-Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district, UP, twenty-two policemen were brutally killed after they had fired on a political procession. There had been disturbances in Madras and Calcutta also. The Chauri-Chaura incident made it clear that the country was not yet ready for mass Civil Disobedience. So, he prevailed upon the Congress Working Committee to call off the movement.

Q.2. What is meant by the idea of *satyagraha* ?

Ans. The idea of *satyagraha* emphasised the power of truth and the need to search for truth. By *satyagraha*, Gandhiji meant adhering to truth under all circumstances. For him if the cause was true and the struggle was against injustice, then physical force was not necessary to fight the oppressor. *Satyagraha* is a pure soul-force. A satyagrahi appeals to the conscience of the oppressor and does not inflict pain on him.

Q.3. Write a newspaper report on :

- (a) The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.
- (b) The Simon Commission.

Ans. (a) The Jallianwala Bagh massacre

Amritsar,

13 April, 1919

Yesterday, the innocent people of Punjab who had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh had to face the bullets of General Dyer. There were thousands of men, women and children. Most of the people were from outside Amritsar and had come to celebrate the festival of 'Baisakhi'. As it is stated, General Dyer had issued a declaration prohibiting public meetings and imposition of martial law. Dyer entered the area and blocked all the exit points and without warning the unarmed crowd, ordered his troops to open fire. The firing went on till the ammunition was exhausted. After the massacre, the wounded were left without medical help. The exact number of casualties is not known but it is estimated to be in hundreds. It included people of all ages including women and children who had come there to celebrate the festival of 'Baisakhi'.

(b) Simon Commission

New Delhi,

15 January, 1928

The new Tory government in Britain has appointed a Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon in response to the nationalist movement in India. The commission will look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes. It is really strange that though object of the commission is to look into an Indian problem but no Indian has been appointed as its member. This is gross injustice and must be resisted by the Indians at all levels on its arrival in India.

Q.4. Compare the images of Bharat Mata in this chapter with the image of Germania in Chapter I.

Ans. There are two images of Bharat Mata one by Abanindranath Tagore and the second by another artist. In the image by Tagore, Bharat Mata is portrayed as an ascetic figure. She has been shown as calm, composed, divine and spiritual. In the second figure, Bharat Mata has been shown with a trishul, standing beside a lion and an elephant. Both symbols have different forms. Thus, in India Bharat Mata has acquired many different forms from an ascetic figure to symbol of power and authority.

On the other hand, the image of Germania by Philip Veit wears a crown of oak leaves which stands for heroism. Thus, there is one similarity between Bharat Mata and Germania—both have an element of bravery i.e., power, authority and heroism.

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Q.1. Generally what is understood by modern nationalism in Europe ?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) Formation of secular states | (b) Formation of religious states |
| (c) Formation of nation states | (d) Formation of federal states |

Ans. (c) Formation of nation states.

Q.2. How did national consciousness emerge in India, Vietnam and many other colonies ?

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) Anti-colonial movement | (b) Anti British movement |
| (c) Anti-Europe movement | (d) Anti-French movement |

Ans. (a) Anti-colonial movement.

Q.3. Which of the following methods was adopted by the British government in India regarding recruitment in the army during World War I ?

- (a) Recruitment on the basis of competition.

- (b) Forced Recruitment.
- (c) Optional Recruitment.
- (d) Compulsory Recruitment for five years.

Ans. (b) Forced Recruitment.

Q.4. The aim of Satyagraha at Champaran was to inspire the peasants to struggle against the

- (a) Oppressive plantation system.
- (b) Growth of opium.
- (c) Oppressive revenue system.
- (d) Excess revenue in case of failure of crops.

Ans. (a) Oppressive plantation system.

Q.5. In 1917 Gandhiji organised a Satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district for

- (a) Remission of loans.
- (b) Remission of revenue.
- (c) Grant of loans.
- (d) Relaxation of revenue collection.

Ans. (d) Relaxation of revenue collection.

Q.6. When did the Jallianwala Bagh massacre take place in Amritsar ?

- (a) 11 April 1919
- (b) 12 April 1919
- (c) 13 April 1919
- (d) 14 April 1919

Ans. (c) 13 April 1919.

Q.7. Who was the spiritual head of the Islamic world in 1919 ?

- (a) Ottoman Emperor
- (b) King of Saudi Arabia
- (c) King of England
- (d) None of the above.

Ans. (a) Ottoman Emperor.

Q.8. It was decided to start Non-Cooperation Movement in support of Swaraj in Dec. 1920 in the session of Congress at

- (a) Madras
- (b) Nagpur
- (c) Calcutta
- (d) Delhi

Ans. (b) Nagpur.

Q.9. Why was foreign cloth boycotted during Non-Cooperation Movement ? Which of the following is the most appropriate answer ?

- (a) A symbol of western economic domination.
- (b) A symbol of western political domination.
- (c) A symbol of oppressive rule.
- (d) A symbol of foreign rule.

Ans. (a) A symbol of western economic domination.

Q.10. What kind of labour *begar* is ?

- (a) Labour given wheat in lieu of payment.
- (b) Labour with payment of minimum wages.
- (c) Forced labour without any payment.
- (d) None of the above.

Ans. (c) Forced labour without any payment.

Q.11. Which one of the following leaders was associated with the formation of the Swaraj Party within the Congress ?

- (a) Jawaharlal Nehru
- (b) Motilal Nehru
- (c) Mahatma Gandhi
- (d) Rajendra Prasad.

Ans. (b) Motilal Nehru.

Q.12. Why did the Indians oppose the Simon Commission ?

- (a) There was no Indian member
- (b) There was only one Indian member
- (c) All were Indian members
- (d) All were Muslim members.

Ans. (a) There was no Indian member.

Q.13. Which of the following actions was not responsible for enraging the hill people of the Gudam Hills of Andhra Pradesh in the early 1920s.

- (a) Closing of large forest areas.
- (b) Preventing people from grazing their cattle.
- (c) Forcing them to contribute *begar* for road building.
- (d) Allowing the people to collect fuelwood and fruits from the forests.

Ans. (d) Allowing the people to collect fuelwood and fruits from the forests.

Q.14. Who was the President of Congress Session in December 1929 at Lahore ?

- (a) Motilal Nehru
- (b) Jawaharlal Nehru
- (c) Subhash Chandra Bose
- (d) Rajendra Prasad.

Ans. (b) Jawaharlal Nehru.

Q.15. How many trusted volunteers of Gandhiji accompanied him in his famous salt march in March 1930 ?

- (a) 75
- (b) 76
- (c) 77
- (d) 78

Ans. (d) 78.

Q.16. Which of the following was the difference between the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920 and the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 ?

- (a) Non-Cooperation with the British.
- (b) Boycott of foreign cloth.
- (c) To break colonial laws.
- (d) Picketing of liquor shops.

Ans. (c) To break colonial laws.

Q.17. When was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed ?

- (a) 5 March 1931
- (b) 15 March 1931
- (c) 25 March 1931
- (d) 5 March 1932.

Ans. (a) 5 March 1931.

Q.18. For the rich peasants the fight for Swaraj was a struggle against

- (a) high prices of grains
- (b) low prices of grains
- (c) high revenues
- (d) None of the above.

Ans. (c) high revenues.

Q.19. Which of the following was the cause for business classes to participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement ?

- (a) Protection against import of foreign goods.
- (b) To export their goods.
- (c) To buy foreign goods without any restrictions
- (d) To sell Indian goods without any restrictions.

Ans. (a) Protection against import of foreign goods.

Q.20. Through which pact the issue of separate electorates for *dalits* was resolved between Gandhi and Ambedkar in 1932 ?

- (a) Poona Pact
- (b) Bombay Pact
- (c) Delhi Pact
- (d) Nagpur Pact.

Ans. (a) Poona Pact.

Q.21. How was the identity of India visualised in the 20th Century ?

- (a) Durga Mata (b) Bharat Mata
(c) Germania (d) Kali Mata.

Ans. (b) Bharat Mata.

Q.22. Who among the following wrote 'Vande Mataram' as a hymn to the motherland ?

- (a) Abanindranath Tagore (b) Rabindranath Tagore
(c) Mahatma Gandhi (d) Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay

Ans. (d) Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

QUESTIONS OF 3/5 MARKS

Answers should be in about 80/120 words :

Q.1. Narrate the events leading to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on 13 April 1919 ? What were its effects ?

Ans. (a) The events leading to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on 13 April 1919 were as given below :

(i) In March 1919, Rowlatt Act was passed despite the united opposition of the Indian members. It gave powers to the government to detain political prisoners without trial for two years.

(ii) Gandhiji decided to start non-violent civil disobedience against Rowlatt Act with a *hartal* on 6 April, 1919.

(iii) The government decided to follow a repressive policy. Local leaders were arrested in Amritsar and Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi.

(iv) On 10 April, 1919, police firing on peaceful procession in Amritsar led to widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations.

(v) On 12 April, 1919, Martial Law was imposed and General Dyer took command.

(vi) On 13 April, 1919, i.e., Baisakhi day, villagers gathered in a fair in Jallianwala Bagh. They were unaware of the Martial Law that had been imposed. Dyer entered the area and blocked the exit point. He opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds. He declared later that his object was to 'produce a moral effect', i.e., create in the minds of satyagrahis a feeling of terror and awe.

(b) Effects : (i) After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre crowds took to the streets in many north Indian towns. There were strikes, clashes with the police and attacks on government buildings.

(ii) The government, on the other hand, followed a policy of repression. They humiliated and terrorised people. *Satyagrahis* were forced to rub their noses on the ground. They were forced to crawl on the streets and *salam* all *sahibs*. People were flogged. Some villages around Gujranwala in Punjab were bombed. As the violence spread, Gandhiji called off the movement.

Q.3. Describe the events leading to Non-Cooperation Movement in support of Khilafat as well as for Swaraj.

Ans. The events leading to Non-Cooperation Movement were as given below :

(i) Suspension of Rowlatt Satyagraha : After the suspension of the Rowlatt satyagraha Gandhiji felt the need for launching a more broad-based movement in India. It was, therefore, necessary to bring Hindu-Muslim together for such a mass movement.

(ii) Hindu-Muslim Unity : After the defeat of Turkey in World War I there were rumours that harsh terms would be imposed on the emperor of Turkey who was also the Khalifa or the

spiritual head of the Muslims. The Indian Muslims decided to defend the temporal powers of the Khalifa. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali — two brothers, met Gandhiji who saw this as an opportunity to bring two communities closer and start a unified national movement.

(iii) Congress sessions at Calcutta and Nagpur : In the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920, inspite of opposition of some leaders, Gandhiji convinced leaders to start a Non-Cooperation Movement in support of Khilafat as well as for *swaraj*. However many within the Congress were reluctant to boycott the council elections scheduled for November 1920, and they feared that the movement might lead to violence. But finally at Nagpur session in December 1920, a compromise between two congress groups was worked out and the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.

Q.4. Describe the different stages in the Non-Cooperation Movement ? How was public support mobilised.

Ans. (a) According to Gandhiji, there should be two stages during the Non-Cooperation Movement :

(i) First, there should be surrender of titles and boycott of civil services, army, police, courts, legislative councils, schools and foreign goods.

(ii) Secondly, in case of repressive policy by the government, a full civil disobedience campaign should be launched.

(b) Through the summer of 1920, Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali toured extensively, mobilising popular support for the movement. People were acquainted with the movement in order to get their maximum participation.

Q.5. Describe the people's participation in the Non-Cooperation Movement in the towns. What were its economic effects ?

Ans. (a) In the towns, middle classes participated in the movement in the following ways :

(i) Students left the schools and colleges. Headmasters and teachers resigned. Lawyers gave up their practice.

(ii) Elections were boycotted except in Madras, where Justice Party, took part in elections.

(iii) Foreign goods were boycotted.

(iv) Liquor shops were picketed.

(v) Foreign clothes were burnt in huge bonfires.

(vi) Many traders refused to import foreign cloth or trade in foreign goods.

(b) Economic effects of Non-Cooperation Movement were as given below :

(i) The import of foreign cloth decreased from ₹ 102 crore to ₹ 57 crore between 1921 and 1922.

(ii) In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade.

(iii) People discarded foreign clothes and started wearing only Indian clothes. This led to increased production by the Indian textile mills and handlooms.

Q.6. What were the causes for the gradual slowing down of the Non-Cooperation Movement in the cities ?

Ans. The movement slowed down in the cities gradually for the following reasons :

(i) *Khadi* was more expensive than the mill produced cloth and the poor could not afford it.

(ii) British institutions were boycotted but the process of establishing Indian institutions was slow. So, the students and teachers started joining the British institutions again in the absence of alternative Indian institutions. Similar was the position of courts.

Q.7. List all the different social groups which joined the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921. Describe the causes for joining, objects and activities of the peasantry of Awadh in the movement.

Ans. (a) List of all the different social groups which joined the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921 is given below :

- (i) Middle class – Headmasters, teachers, lawyers and students in the cities.
 - (ii) Poorer peasantry in Awadh.
 - (iii) Tribal peasants of Andhra Pradesh.
 - (iv) Plantation workers in Assam.
- (1) Poorer peasantry in Awadh : During the Non-Cooperation Movement, the peasants of Awadh under the leadership of Baba Ramchandra – a *sanyasi*, participated.
- (i) Causes : (a) The *talukdars* and landlords demanded high rents and other cesses from the peasants who had to do *begar* also.
- (b) As tenants, there was no security of tenure and no right over the leased land.
- (2) Object and demands : The demands included reduction of revenue, abolition of *begar*, and social boycott of oppressive landlords.
- (3) Activities during the movement : (a) In many places, *nai-dhobi bandhs* were organised by *panchayats* to deprive landlords of the services of even barbers and washermen.
- (b) By October 1920 *Oudh Kisan Sabha* was formed. It was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (c) In 1921, the houses of *talukdars* and merchants were attacked, bazars were looted, and grain hoards were taken over.
- (d) The local leaders told peasants that Gandhiji had declared that no taxes were to be paid and land was to be redistributed among the poor.
- (4) Results : As the peasants struggle had turned violent, the Congress was unhappy. So the hopes and objects of the peasants could not be achieved.

Q.8. Write a short note on the participation of tribal peasants in the Gudam Hills of Andhra Pradesh in the Non-Cooperation Movement.

Ans. (i) Causes for participation : (a) The colonial government had closed large forest areas, preventing people from entering the forests to graze their cattle, or to collect fuelwood and fruits.

- (b) These restrictions had affected their livelihoods as well as their traditional rights.
 - (c) They were forced to contribute *begar* for road building.
- (ii) Activities : They adopted the method of a militant guerrilla. They attacked police stations and attempted to kill British officials and carried on guerrilla warfare for achieving *swaraj*.
- (iii) Their leader and his views : Alluri Sitaram Raju led them in the militant guerrilla movement. He was influenced by Gandhiji and persuaded them to wear *khadi* and give up drinking. He believed in the use of force for liberation of the country. He was captured and executed in 1924 and became a folk hero.

(iv) Importance : This shows that tribal people were also influenced by Non-Cooperation Movement and took part in it in their own way. Tribal peasants, however, could not achieve their objects because such activities were not approved by the Congress.

Q.9. Describe why did the plantation workers of Assam join the Non-Cooperation Movement ? What were its results ? What was the importance of movements of plantation workers and other such movements ?

Ans. (a) Object : Under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859, plantation workers in Assam were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission. In practice they were rarely given such permission. So, their object of joining the movement was to get the freedom to move freely in and out of the confined space in which they were enclosed. Their hope was to retain a link with the village from which they had come. They hoped that under Gandhi Raj everyone would be given land in their own village.

(b) Results : During the Non-Cooperation Movement the workers defied the authorities. However, when they tried to go home, they could not reach their destinations due to railway and steamer strike. They were caught by the police and brutally beaten up. Thus they could not achieve their object because they had their own vision of swaraj which was not consistent with the Congress ideology.

(c) Importance : The objects of movement of plantation workers and other such movements (of tribal people in Gudem Hills of Andhra Pradesh) were not defined by the Congress programme. They interpreted the term Swaraj in their own ways. However, such movements had their importance. They raised slogans of 'Swatantra Bharat' and identified themselves with an all-India agitation and acted in the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

Q.10. Write a short note on Swaraj Party.

Ans. After the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922, there were two groups in the Congress. Some leaders were tired of mass struggles and wanted to participate in the council elections. They were of the opinion that the British policies should be opposed within the councils. They should ask for more reforms and demonstrate that these councils were not truly democratic. These leaders were C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru who formed Swaraj Party for fighting elections and to return to council politics.

The other group was led by younger elements like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose who were in favour of more radical mass agitation and for full independence. However, the *swarajists* were allowed to fight elections. They succeeded only to some extent in 1923. In 1926, elections they did not succeed due to death of C.R. Das.

Q.11. Describe the main events leading to Salt Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930.

Ans. The following events took place leading to the Salt Satyagraha or the Civil Disobedience Movement in March 1930 :

(i) Worldwide economic depression : As a result of worldwide economic depression, in India agricultural prices fell. The demand for agricultural goods declined and export decreased. The peasants could not sell their harvests and it became difficult for them to pay their revenue.

(ii) Simon Commission : In 1928, Simon Commission was constituted to look into the functioning of constitutional system in India and suggest reforms. However, as no Indian member was appointed, it was opposed by all political parties by holding demonstrations.

(iii) Announcement of Lord Irwin in October 1929 : Lord Irwin announced in October 1929 that 'dominion status' would be granted to India in an unspecified future and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution would take place.

(iv) Lahore Congress 1929 : The Congress leaders were not satisfied by the announcement of Lord Irwin. There were radicals (Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose), liberals and moderates in the Congress. At the Lahore Congress session under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, resolution for '*Purna swaraj*' was passed. 26 January, 1930 was celebrated as Independence Day. Gandhiji was authorised to start a movement for the achievement of '*Purna swaraj*'. Thus, salt satyagraha was started.

Q.12. Describe the major demand that was put forward by Gandhiji in his letter dated 31 January, 1930 to Viceroy ? What was the object of the demands and why was abolition of salt tax included in these demands ?

Ans. (a) The demands put forward by Gandhiji in his letter dated 31 January, 1930 were specific demands of different classes, from industrialists to peasants as well as of general interest. The major demand was the abolition of salt tax.

(b) The object of the demands was to bring all classes together in a united campaign. He included the demand to abolish the salt tax because salt was consumed by the rich as well as poor. It was one of the most essential items of food. The monopoly of the government over its production revealed the most oppressive policy of the British government. So to attract each and everyone into the movement, Gandhiji included abolition of salt tax in his eleven demands. The demands were, however, not accepted by the Viceroy.

Q.13. Describe briefly the Salt March or Dandi March undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi.

Ans. Gandhiji in his letter on 31 January, 1930 had written to Lord Irwin that if his eleven demands were not fulfilled by 11 March, 1930, the Congress would launch a Civil Disobedience Movement. As the demands were not fulfilled, Gandhiji started march from his *ashram* in Sabarmati to the Gujarat coastal town of Dandi. He was accompanied by his 78 trusted followers. The march continued for 24 days about 10 miles a day. During the march Gandhiji explained to the people, the meaning of *swaraj* and urged them to defy the British laws. On reaching Dandi on 6 April, he ceremonially violated the salt law, manufacturing salt by boiling sea water.

Q.14. Describe the various activities that took place during the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement. How was the Civil Disobedience Movement different from the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920 ?

Ans. (a) The activities were as follows :

- (i) Boycott of foreign cloth.
- (ii) Picketing of liquor shops.
- (iii) Refusal of peasants to pay revenue and *chaukidari* taxes.
- (iv) Resignation by village officials.
- (v) Violation of forest laws.

(b) Under the Non-Cooperation Movement, people were asked not to cooperate with the Britishers in the hope that British rule in India would collapse and *swaraj* would come.

On the other hand, under Civil Disobedience Movement, people were asked not only to refuse cooperation with the British but also to break colonial laws such as salt law. Thus, thousands broke the salt law, manufactured salt and demonstrated in front of government salt factories. Foreign cloth was boycotted, and liquor shops were picketed. Peasants refused to pay revenue and *Chaukidari* taxes. Village officials resigned. Forest people violated forest laws.

Q.15. Describe the policy of the government during the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Ans. (i) In the beginning, the government ignored the movement but with its intensification, the government began arresting the Congress leaders.

(ii) The arrest of leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan led to violent clashes in Peshawar. Gandhi's arrest also led to attacks on police posts, municipal buildings, lawcourts and railway station by the industrial workers in Sholapur.

(iii) The government followed a more repressive policy. Peaceful satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten. About 100,000 people were arrested.

Q.16. Why did Gandhiji call off the Civil Disobedience Movement and entered into a pact with Lord Irwin? What were the main provisions of the Pact of 5 March, 1931?

Ans. The government's policy of arresting Congress leaders led to violent clashes at different places. For example, on Gandhiji's arrest, the industrial workers in Sholapur attacked police posts, municipal buildings, lawcourts and railway stations that symbolised British rule. Under such conditions, Gandhiji decided to call off the movement. On the other hand, it was decided to hold second Round Table Conference and the government desired Congress to participate in it. So, negotiations between Congress and the Viceroy took place that led to Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March, 1931. By this Pact, Gandhiji consented to participate in the second Round Table Conference in London and the government agreed to release the political prisoners.

Q.17. Describe the second phase of Civil Disobedience Movement.

Ans. Gandhiji went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. The Round Table Conference, however, failed. Gandhiji returned empty handed. On his return, he found that the government was following a repressive policy. Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru had already been arrested. Congress had been declared illegal. The government had taken many steps to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts.

Gandhiji restarted the movement again on 1 January 1932. It continued but soon lost its momentum and was withdrawn in 1934.

Q.18. Mention the reasons for which the rich peasant communities took active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Ans. The reasons for the rich peasant communities for taking part in the movement were as given below :

(i) The rich communities like the Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh were producers of commercial crops. They were very hard hit by the trade depression and falling prices.

(ii) They were not in a position to pay revenue to the government. They joined the movement in order to get the revenue reduced. They even forced reluctant members to participate in the boycott programmes. For them the fight for *swaraj* was a struggle against high revenues.

(iii) The refusal of the government to reduce the revenue demand had led to widespread resentment among the rich peasants.

Q.19. Why did the poor peasantry join the Civil Disobedience Movement? Why did the relationship between the Congress and the poor peasants remain uncertain?

Ans. (a) Poor peasantry joined the movement in the hope that their unpaid rent to the landlord would be remitted because due to depression they were not in a position to pay the rent. Many of them were small tenants cultivating land they had rented from landlords. Their cash income had dwindled due to depression.

(b) The Congress was apprehensive of raising issues because that might upset the rich peasants and landlords. So, Congress did not support 'no rent' campaigns. Thus, the relationship between the poor peasants and the Congress remained uncertain.

Q.20. Describe the participation by the business class in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Ans. (a) Causes : They were against colonial policies that restricted business activities.

(b) Aim : They wanted protection against imports of foreign goods and a rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that would discourage imports.

(c) Activities : They gave financial assistance and supported Civil Disobedience Movement. They refused to sell or buy imported goods. Most businessmen came to see *swaraj* as a time when colonial restrictions on business would no longer exist and trade and industry would flourish without constraints. But after the failure of the Round Table Conference, business groups were no longer uniformly enthusiastic. They were apprehensive of the spread of militant activities. They were also worried about prolonged disruption of business, as well as of the growing influence of socialism amongst the younger members of the Congress.

Q.21. 'Not all social groups were moved by the abstract concept of *swaraj*'. Explain.

Or

Describe the limits of Civil Disobedience Movement.

Ans. Thousands of people in different parts of the country broke the salt laws and boycotted foreign cloth. Liquor shops were picketed by women who participated in protest marches and manufactured salt. But there were many social groups that did not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement. These were as given below :

(i) Untouchables : Untouchables or *dalits* or oppressed for long had been ignored by the Congress because of the fear of offending the *sanatanis*, the conservative high caste Hindus. The result was that the *dalit* leaders organised themselves and demanded reserved seats in educational institutions and separate electorates for legislature councils. They thought that political empowerment would solve their problem. *Dalit* participation, was, therefore limited particularly in Maharashtra and Nagpur region where their organisation was strong.

(ii) Muslim participation : After the Non-Cooperation Movement, a large section of Muslim felt alienated from the Congress. Relations between Hindus and Muslims had worsened: There were communal riots in various cities.

However, efforts were made to bring two communities closer by solving the question of representation. But due to failure of these efforts, there was an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between these two communities. Thus large sections of Muslims remained alienated from the congress and did not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement. They feared that the culture and identity of minorities would be in danger under the domination of a Hindu majority.

Q.22. Describe the views of Mahatma Gandhi on untouchability. Describe efforts made by Gandhiji to get Harijans their rights.

Ans. (a) Mahatma Gandhi was against untouchability. He declared that *swaraj* would not come for a hundred years if untouchability was not eliminated. He called the 'untouchables' *harijan* or the children of God.

(b) (i) He organised Satyagraha to secure them entry into temples, and access to public wells, tanks, roads and schools.

(ii) He himself cleaned toilets to dignify the work of the *bhangi* (sweepers).

(iii) He persuaded upper caste to change their heart and give up 'the sin of untouchability'.

Q.23. Describe Poona Pact of September 1932.

Ans. After the announcement of Communal Award in August 1932 which gave separate electorate to *dalits*, Gandhiji began a fast unto death. Gandhiji believed that separate elector-

ates for *dalit* would slow down the process of their integration into society. Ultimately, Poona Pact was signed in September 1932. This gave the Depressed Classes reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils. They were, however, to be voted in by the general electorate i.e., by all the voters in a constituency.

Q.24. How did people belonging to different communities, regions or language groups develop a sense of collective belonging in India?

Ans. The sense of collective belonging came as explained below :

(i) Symbol of a figure or image : The identity of India was visualised with the image of Bharat Mata. The image was first created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Abanindranath Tagore painted his famous image of Bharat Mata. Devotion to mother figure was treated as evidence of one's nationalism.

(ii) Revival of Indian folklore : In the late nineteenth century, revival of folklore helped in the development of nationalism. Folk songs and legends, gave a true picture of traditional culture. It helped in discovering national identity and restoring a sense of pride.

(iii) Icons and symbols : More icons and symbols helped in unifying people and inspiring in them a feeling of nationalism. The examples are designing of a tricolour flag during Swadeshi movement, Swaraj flag by Gandhiji in 1921. The carrying of Swaraj flag during marches and demonstrations became a symbol of defiance.

(iv) Interpretation of history : The interpretation of history also helped in raising the sense of nationalism among the Indians. Nationalist history drew the attention of the Indians to the great achievements of the past as was done by the extremists like Lok Manya Tilak.

VALUE BASED QUESTIONS

Read the passages given below and answer the questions that follow :

1. "After arriving in India, Mahatma Gandhi successfully organised satyagraha movements in various places."

(i) Name the places where satyagraha movement was organised by Mahatma Gandhi.

(ii) What was the moral basis of satyagraha ?

Ans. (i) Mahatma Gandhi organised satyagraha at Champaran in Bihar (1916), Kheda (1917) and Ahmedabad (1918) in Gujarat.

(ii) The moral basis of satyagraha was truth. Gandhi said, "Satyagraha is not physical force. A *satyagrahi* does not inflict pain on the adversary; he does not seek his destruction...." Thus, satyagrahis pure soul force. Non-violence is the supreme *dharma*. It was on the basis of satyagraha i.e., soul force that we got our freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

2. "The sense of collective belonging came partly through the experience of united struggles. But there were also a variety of cultural processes through which nationalism captured people's imagination. History and fiction, folklore and songs, popular prints and symbols, all played a part in the making of nationalism."

(i) How the identity of the nation is often symbolised ?

(ii) Which of the above factors i.e., history, fiction, folklore, songs, popular prints and symbols played more important role in making nationalism ?

Ans. (i) The identity of the nation is most often symbolised in a figure or image. For example the identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of Bharat Mata.

(ii) The folklore and songs played an important role in the making of nationalism. In the late 19th century India, nationalists began recording folk-tales sung by bards and they toured villages to gather folk songs and legends. In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths.