

Indian Nationalism & the National Movement

The single most question-dense theme in Paper I, Section A — and the one aspirants most often leave half-revised. One clean pass today, Nation-idea to mass struggle.

Revise → write a little → don't break the chain.

8 PYQs sit inside this one chapter | 2015 → 2025 | 10m & 15m | 1857 · Moderates–Extremists · Revolutionaries · Satyagraha · Peasants · Workers

Colour key: ■ Scholars / thinkers ■ Key terms ■ Definitions ■ Verbatim quotes

1 Nation, Nationalism & the Nation-State

A **nation** is a **historical**, not natural or eternal, unit. Older bonds were kinship, locality, clan, caste, tribe, religion; modern nations are large, anonymous communities whose members never meet yet imagine one collective.

- **Benedict Anderson** → nations are “**imagined communities**”.
- **Eric Hobsbawm** → “**invented traditions**”: modern nationalism creates / reshapes tradition for political ends.
- **Walker Connor** → the nation is “**intangible, psychological**” — hence a shadowy, illusive idea.

Three definitions to carry into the exam

Scholar	Basis of the nation	Limitation
Ernest Renan	Rejects race / biology / geography. Nation rests on will, memory, consciousness, shared historical experience — a “daily plebiscite” in spirit.	Too inclusive: many non-national groups share memory & will.
Joseph Stalin	Historically constituted, stable community with common language, territory, economic life & psychological make-up in a common culture.	Too narrow: many real nations lack one or more of these.
Ernest Gellner	Two bases — culture (shared culture) or will (mutual recognition). Decisive claim: nations are made by nationalism , not the reverse.	Industrial logic under-explains colonial nationalism.

“Nations are not something eternal. They have begun; they will end. They will be replaced, in all probability, by a European confederation.”

— Ernest Renan

Gellner — nationalism is “**a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.**”

The nation should have its own representative state; political & national boundaries should match; sovereignty is claimed in the name of the people.

2 Theories of Nationalism

NON-MODERNIST



EVOLUTIONIST



MODERNIST



CULTURAL

Spectrum: how old is the nation — ancient sentiment → modern construct

A.D. Smith's ethno-symbolism bridges the antiquity claim and the modernist claim.

Approach	Scholar	Core claim
Non-modernist	Naturalist	Nationalism is a natural, inherent human sentiment. <i>Weakness:</i> why did it surge only in modern times?
	Perennialist	Nations endure across history; ancient tradition justifies present claims. Hobsbawm replies many such traditions are “invented”.
	Evolutionist — Anthony D. Smith	Modern nations grow from pre-existing ethnic ties , myths, memories & cultural continuity (ethno-symbolism). Not reducible to industrialisation.
Modernist	Elie Kedourie	Nationalism is a doctrine invented in early 19th-century Europe — ideological, not structural.
	Ernest Gellner	Nationalism is a child of industrial society : it needs standardised language, mass education, mobile labour, common culture — supplied by the state. <i>Limit:</i> weak for non-industrial colonies.
	Tom Nairn	Nationalism tracks uneven capitalist development (core vs periphery). In colonies it is a response to imperial domination — explains Asia/Africa better.
Cultural	Herder, Humboldt	Nation = a cultural-linguistic community ; language shapes thought; not a mere contract. <i>Limit:</i> can turn exclusionary / ethnic.

“there is only one class in the state, the volk, and the King belongs to this class as well as the peasant.”

— **Johann Gottfried Herder**

Assessment. No single theory fits all. In Europe → industrialisation & state-building; in colonies → imperial domination & uneven development; in India → anti-colonial struggle, civilisational memory, cultural reform, economic critique, the caste question and democratic politics together shaped nationalism.

3 Indian Nationalism — Colonial Denial & the Nationalist Reply

Colonial denial of Indian nationhood

Argument: India is fragmented by caste, religion, region, tribe, language; British rule is needed to hold it together; the Congress is only a thin middle-class agitation. Voiced by **James Mill, Elphinstone, Elliot, Dowson, W.W. Hunter, H.H. Risley, V.A. Smith, Valentine Chirol** — sharpest in:

“there is not and never was an India ... no Indian nation, no ‘people of India’, of which we hear so much.”

— **John Strachey**

“India is not a political name, but only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa ... the territories of many nations and many languages.”

— **Sir John Robert Seeley**

The nationalist reply — two registers

“Nation-in-the-making” (modernist)	“Ancient unity” (cultural)	Synthesis
Surendranath Banerjea: India a “nation-in-the-making”, built by political education & reform. R.C. Majumdar: Congress later gave reality to unity. Tara Chand: nationhood a recent product of economic / political change.	Radha Kumud Mookerji: fundamental geographical & cultural unity since early times. Har Bilas Sarda, Lala Lajpat Rai: ancient nationhood. K.P. Jayaswal (<i>Hindu Polity</i>): ancient republics, parliaments, supremacy of law.	Tagore: assimilative civilisation, unity by absorption. Subhas Chandra Bose: “fundamental unity” amid diversity. Nehru: “unity in diversity”, held by invisible cultural threads.

“fundamentally India has been a nation for the last 2,000 years.”

— **Lala Lajpat Rai**

Distinctive features of Indian nationalism

Territorial, not ethnic/religious

Plural — accepts diversity

Anti-imperialist

Civil & non-coercive

Novel, not eternal-nation claim

Mass-based over time

Two-Nation Theory & Partition

Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not invent separatism but converted it into a **political doctrine of self-determination** — Muslims as a nation, not a minority. India's constitutional answer: **secular citizenship**.

"Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies ... they belong to two different civilisations."

— M.A. Jinnah, Lahore address

Scholar	Reading of Jinnah / Lahore (1940)
Stanley Wolpert	Few alter history, fewer the map, hardly anyone creates a nation-state — Jinnah did all three.
Ayesha Jalal	Lahore Resolution as a bargaining counter — acceptable to majority-province Muslims, unacceptable to Congress.
Venkat Dhulipala	Pakistan imagined as a "New Medina" — an Islamic state, not merely a refuge.

4 Rise of Indian Nationalism



The Great Revolt of 1857

More than a military outbreak, less than modern nationalism — but a lasting **memory of resistance**. Participants: sepoys, dispossessed princes, landed aristocracy, artisans, peasants.

Scholar	View of 1857
John Seeley	A sepoymutiny , without full popular / national character.
K. Datta	Mainly a military outbreak used by princes & landlords.
R.C. Majumdar	Neither first, nor national, nor a war of independence.
C.A. Bayly	Diverse motives; rebels had no modern idea of an Indian nation.
V.D. Savarkar	The nationalist reading: <i>The Indian War of Independence, 1857</i> .
S.N. Sen	Began as mutiny, ended as a war of independence.
Thomas Metcalf	"something more than a sepoy mutiny but something less than a national revolt."
S.B. Chaudhari	"a real approach to the freedom movement of later age."

UPSC 2018 · 10m Revolt of 1857 — 'Sepoy Mutiny' or 'First War of Independence'?

Post-1857 agrarian unrest

- Indigo Revolt, 1859–60** — resistance to forced indigo; **Dinabandhu Mitra**'s *Neel Darpan* exposed it.
- Pabna Agrarian League, 1873** — against zamindari oppression → Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885.
- Deccan Riots, 1875** — attacks on moneylenders' bonds → Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, 1879.

Educated sympathisers: **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee**, **R.C. Dutt**, **Surendranath Banerjea** — rural grievance entered public debate.

Western education, press & associations

Macaulay & **Charles Wood** wanted a loyal clerical class; the new **intelligentsia** instead absorbed liberal ideas, then turned critical of racial exclusion & the **economic drain**. Vernacular press — *Bengalee*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Kesari*, *Mahratta*, *The Hindu*, *Tribune* — built public opinion (**Rev. James Long** on its reach via kathaks).

Early associations	Maturing associations
British Indian Association, 1851; Bombay Association, 1852; Madras Native Association, 1852.	Indian Association, 1876 (S. Banerjea); Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 1870 (M.G. Ranade); Bombay Presidency Association, 1885 (Pherozeshah Mehta , Badruddin Tyabji , K.T. Telang); Madras Mahajana Sabha, 1884.

Indian National Congress, 1885

Dec 1885, Bombay · 72 delegates · President **W.C. Bonnerjee** · organised with **A.O. Hume**. Aims: legislative reform, Indian participation, political unity, removal of racial / religious / provincial prejudice. Early limits: petitions, narrow base.

Historian	On the early Congress
Anil Seal	Local interests & elite competition.
C.A. Bayly	Local politics mattered more than the all-India Congress.
John R. McLane	Leaders held a sincere nationalist vision.
Bipan Chandra	The organised beginning of anti-colonial ideology .

5 Intellectual Resistance to Colonialism

Bhikhu Parekh classifies Indian responses into four:

Traditionalists — defend inherited tradition

Modernists — adopt Western ideas/tech

Critical Traditionalists — indigenous core + select Western

Critical Modernists — indigenous culture + European rationality

- **Anthony Giddens** reads modernity as human transformation of the world + industrial / market economy + nation-state & mass democracy.
- **Homi K. Bhabha** — **colonial mimicry**: the colonised imitate, remaining “almost the same, but not quite”; slippage & ambivalence let imitation become resistance.
- Indian instances: **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** (Western reason, orthodox life); **M.G. Ranade** — foreign ideas grow only when grafted on indigenous roots.

Rationalism, universalism & incipient nationalism

Rammohan Roy (monotheism, universal ethics) · **Akshay Kumar Dutt** (rationalism) · **Derozio** (questioning) · **Dayanand Saraswati** (Vedas through reason; an oppressive *indigenous* ruler preferable to a benevolent foreign one) · **Lokhitwadi** · **Keshub Chandra Sen** · **Swami Vivekananda** (**spiritual nationalism**, collective salvation).

Limits. Confined to the educated middle class; caste hierarchy & patriarchy persisted; the emotional pull of tradition capped reform; revivalist symbols sometimes excluded minorities.

6 Moderates → Extremists → Revolutionaries

MODERATE 1885–1905

EXTREMIST / SWADESHI 1905–

REVOLUTIONARY armed action

GANDHIAN mass phase

Independence, 1947

The arc of strategy — petition → mass agitation → armed challenge → mass Satyagraha

6.1 Moderate nationalism & constitutionalism (1885–1905)

Leaders: **Dadabhai Naoroji**, **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**, **Surendranath Banerjee**, **M.G. Ranade**, **Pherozeshah Mehta**. Method: **the 3 P's** — petitions, prayers, memorials — plus speeches, resolutions, council work, appeals to British liberal opinion. **Naoroji**: the British are justice-loving; demands must be shown reasonable. **Ranade**: British rule as historical preparation. **Gokhale**: conditions not yet ripe for direct action.

Defence	Achievement	Contemporary criticism
Bipan Chandra : Moderates laid the constitutional foundation ; not mere submissiveness — they exposed colonial injustice. Shekhar Bandyopadhyay : fused Western constitutionalism with indigenous democratic imagination.	Built a political language ; produced the drain theory ; decolonised educated minds; prepared the militant & Gandhian phases.	Tilak : constitutional method before an alien bureaucracy is “political suicide”. Sri Aurobindo : it reflected “intellectual bankruptcy”. Nehru : it cannot work where there is no constitutional government.

6.2 Extremist / militant nationalism & Swadeshi

Triggers: failure of moderate methods, **Curzon's** repression, economic distress, the **Partition of Bengal** (announced 19 Jul 1905, implemented 16 Oct 1905 — ostensibly efficiency, actually to split the *bhadralok* and divide Hindus & Muslims). Leaders: **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** (Maharashtra), **Bipin Chandra Pal** (Bengal), **Lala Lajpat Rai** (Punjab), **Sri Aurobindo**. Programme: **Swaraj**, **boycott**, **Swadeshi**, **national education**, **passive resistance**; Ganapati & Shivaji festivals as mobilisation.

“Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it.”

— Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Sri Aurobindo in *New Lamps for Old* dismissed moderate politics as “political mendicancy”.

Swadeshi — **Sumit Sarkar's four trends**

Moderate

Constructive Swadeshi

Political extremism

Revolutionary nationalism

Institutions: Bengal Chemicals; Bengal National College, 1906; **Satish Chandra Mukherjee's** Dawn Society; **Tagore's** Shantiniketan. Idiom: **Atma-Shakti** (Tagore, *Swadeshi Samaj*, 1904), Sakta imagery, Vivekananda's “alternative manliness”.

Limits: weak Muslim & lower-caste (Rajbanshi, Namasudra) participation; costlier Swadeshi goods; social coercion in boycott; the **Surat Split, 1907**.

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Differentiate Moderate from Extremist / Militant Nationalism — objectives & means.

Dimension	Moderates	Extremists
Goal	Gradual reform, representation, later Home Rule.	Swaraj , demanded more directly.
View of British	Trusted British liberalism / goodwill.	Rejected benevolence; rule shown as exploitative.
Means	Petitions, prayers, memorials, constitutional agitation.	Boycott, Swadeshi, national education, passive resistance, mass mobilisation.
Signature	Naoroji — communicate reasonable demands.	Tilak — “Swaraj is my birthright...”.
Contribution	Drain theory, ideological critique.	Emotional, cultural & mass energy.

Bipan Chandra: both phases were necessary predecessors of Gandhi's **struggle–truce–struggle** strategy.

6.3 Revolutionary nationalism

Influences. Internal: **Bankim Chandra's** *Anandamath* / “Vande Mataram”, **Vivekananda's** Shakti, **Tilak's** Gita, **Aurobindo**.

External: American, Irish & Italian struggles, **Mazzini & Garibaldi**, Japan's 1905 win, the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Region	Bodies & figures	Early actions
Maharashtra	Chapekar Brothers; V.D. Savarkar ; Mitra Mela, 1900; Abhinav Bharat , 1904 (Mazzini's Young Italy).	Assassinations; ideological groundwork.
Bengal	Anushilan Samiti ; Jugantar ; Pramathanath Mitra ; Barindra Kumar Ghosh ; Bhupendranath Datta .	Rangpur dacoity, 1906; Muzaffarpur attack (Khudiram Bose & Prafulla Chaki); Manicktala / Alipore case — C.R. Das defended Aurobindo , acquitted.

Tilak: the bomb had changed Indian politics.

Ghadar & international links

Ghadar Movement (USA, 1913): **Lala Hardayal's** paper *Ghadar*; aim — overthrow British rule, a Panchayat-Raj / republican state; **Barkatullah Khan** built Asian branches; **Raja Mahendra Pratap's** Kabul provisional government. The **Komagata Maru** incident & WWI sharpened revolutionary feeling.

HRA → **HSRA**

Body	Figures & goal	Landmark
HRA , 1924	Sachindranath Sanyal , Ram Prasad Bismil , Ashfaqulla Khan , Chandrashekhar Azad . Goal: <i>Federated Republic of the United States of India</i> ; organise workers & peasants.	Manifesto <i>The Revolutionary</i> , 1 Jan 1925; Kakori, 1925 — four hanged.
HSRA , 1928	Bhagat Singh , Sukhdev , Shiv Verma , Azad . Ideology: socialism, secularism, anti-communalism, classless society ; Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Lahore).	Saunders, Dec 1928; Assembly bomb, 8 Apr 1929 (“make the deaf hear”, <i>Inquilab Zindabad</i>); Jatin Das's 63-day fast; Bhagat Singh , Rajguru , Sukhdev hanged 23 Mar 1931.

“Chaos is necessary to the birth of a new star.”

— HRA manifesto, *The Revolutionary*, 1925

Chittagong & women revolutionaries

Chittagong Armoury Raid, 18 Apr 1930 — **Surya Sen** (“Master Da”) seized armouries, declared a provisional government; hanged 12 Jan 1934. Women: **Pritilata Waddedar**, **Kalpana Dutt**, **Shanti Ghosh**, **Suniti Chaudhury** — challenging gender roles, widening the movement's moral appeal.

Assessment. Shattered the myth of British invincibility, inspired youth, kept complete independence alive in passive phases, linked nationalism with **socialism & secularism**, internationalised the struggle, produced **martyrdom as political memory**. Limits: secretive, urban middle-class, thin mass base; individual heroism could not replace mass movement.

“INA was to become a much more powerful enemy of the British empire in defeat than it had been during its ... triumphal march on Delhi.”

— Christopher Alan Bayly

UPSC 2020 · 15m Trace the role of militant and revolutionary movements in the Indian national movement.

7 First World War & Nationalist Politics

War impact: heavier taxation (super-tax, 1917), price rise, food exports, crop failures, falling real wages, strikes, forced recruitment. **Nationalist miscalculation:** many backed the war expecting self-government; the empire fought to preserve itself.

Home Rule Movement

Two leagues — **Annie Besant's** (Madras base, all-India reach; paper *New India*) & **Tilak's** (Marathi-speaking areas). Membership ~60,000 by 1917; Besant's interment provoked wide protest; she became Congress President, 1917. **Peter Robb:** government was internally divided on handling it.

Lucknow Pact, 1916

Congress–League cooperation; Moderates & Extremists reunited. Congress accepted **separate electorates**; Muslim representation protected. The **high point of Hindu–Muslim cooperation** — but separate electorates later deepened communal logic.

Rowlatt Satyagraha & Jallianwala Bagh

Rowlatt Act, 1919 — detention without trial; Gandhi's Satyagraha Sabha called the nationwide **hartal of 6 Apr 1919**.

Jallianwala Bagh, 13 Apr 1919 — **General Dyer's** firing; official figures 379 killed, 1,200 injured; **Tagore** renounced his Knighthood. Effect: Gandhi emerges as all-India leader; nationalism turns mass-oriented.

8 Mahatma Gandhi & Mass Nationalism

South Africa (1893–1914): Pietermaritzburg humiliation → Natal Indian Congress, 1894; *Indian Opinion*, 1903; Phoenix Settlement; first **Satyagraha**, 1906 (Asiatic Registration Act). Influences: **Tolstoy**, **Ruskin** (*Unto This Last*), **Thoreau** (*Civil Disobedience*), **Emerson**, **Carlyle**, and Hindu–Jain–Buddhist–Bhakti traditions.

SATYA — truth

+

AHIMSA — active non-violence

→

SATYAGRAHA — soul-force

→

SWARAJ — self-rule

The Gandhian chain: ethical means → political end

Hind Swaraj, 1909 — Editor–Reader dialogue; critique of modern civilisation; moral regeneration & non-cooperation. **A.L.**

Basham: concepts rooted in Indian tradition, Western ideas only sharpened them. **Thomas Pantham:** **integral democracy** — freedom linked to ethical life. **Anthony Parel:** Swaraj fuses national independence, freedom from poverty, individual liberty & spiritual self-rule.

“Swaraj ... without Swadeshi is a lifeless corpse; Swadeshi is the soul of Swaraj.”

— M.K. Gandhi

Champaran · Kheda · Ahmedabad (1917–18)

Struggle	Issue & result	Scholar note
Champaran, 1917	Tinkathia indigo system; Raj Kumar Shukla invited Gandhi → Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918.	Jacques Pouchepadass: peasants were active agents. Judith Brown: Gandhi worked through local intermediaries.
Kheda, 1918	Drought / plague; demand for revenue remission (Vallabhbhai Patel joins).	David Hardiman: no clear victor, but Gandhi gained a political base.
Ahmedabad, 1918	Mill strike; arbitration → 35% rise; Gandhi's first hunger strike .	Sumit Sarkar: success rested on personal ties, not easily repeatable.

The three mass movements

Movement	Form	Verdict
Non-Cooperation 1920–22 (Nagpur)	Surrender titles; boycott schools, courts, foreign goods; khadi; Hindu–Muslim unity (Khilafat); anti-untouchability.	A.R. Desai : first mass basis. Anil Seal : “in many respects a debacle”. Withdrawn after Chauri Chaura, 1922 .
Civil Disobedience 1930	Dandi March (12 Mar–6 Apr 1930, 78 followers, 240 miles); salt as universal symbol; no-rent / no-revenue; Sholapur parallel govt.	Bipan Chandra : tactical retreat at Gandhi–Irwin Pact, 5 Mar 1931. Judith Brown : strategic move to preserve unity.
Quit India 1942	AICC, 8 Aug 1942; leaders jailed at once; sabotage, strikes, parallel governments — least controlled phase.	Francis Hutchins : unfinished revolution. Gyanendra Pandey : appropriation of Gandhian symbols.

CDM & capital — the debate: **R.J. Moore & Sumit Sarkar** (business pressure), **Claude Markovits** (uneasy alliance), **Basudev Chatterjee**, **David Hardiman** (receptive, not a puppet), **Anil Seal** (bourgeoisie not monolithic).

Quit India regional patterns: Ballia & **JP Narayan / Lohia** underground (Bihar); **Tamralipta Jatiya Sarkar & Matangini Hazra** (Bengal); **Satara Prati Sarkar** with a bahun base (**Gail Omvedt**). **Madhushree Mukerjee**: war policy & the Bengal famine deepened anger. Critics: **Ambedkar**, **M.N. Roy**, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League, **Rajagopalachari**.

“a post-dated cheque upon a falling bank”

— **M.K. Gandhi, on the Cripps offer**

“Here is a mantra ... The mantra is: ‘Do or Die’.”

— **M.K. Gandhi, Quit India, 1942**

UPSC 2017 · 10m Gandhi’s success lay in transforming political *and* non-political movements into a unified nationalist movement.

9 Satyagraha as Strategy

Satyagraha = Satya (truth) + Agraha (firm insistence) — truth-force, soul-force, love-force. Not passive submission: **disciplined non-cooperation with injustice**, joined to self-suffering, moral courage & openness to settlement. Gandhi read the colonial state as **semi-authoritarian** — resting on force *and* consent (titles, courts, councils, education, finance, opinion).

“Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha ... It excludes all violence or hate.”

— **M.K. Gandhi, Young India, 1924**

STRUGGLE — war of manoeuvre

↔ **TRUCE — war of position**

→ **builds hegemony / consent** →

capture of state power

Struggle – Truce – Struggle: both phases expand the movement’s hold on the people

Gramscian reading. **Antonio Gramsci** distinguished the **war of manoeuvre** (frontal assault) from the **war of position** (long fight for hegemony through institutions & consent) — “no state ruled by naked force alone.” **Bipan Chandra** reads the Congress strategy as exactly this: a counter-hegemonic, struggle–truce–struggle politics aimed at wresting state power. Gramsci himself wrote of Gandhi’s passive resistance as a war of position that “at certain moments becomes a war of movement.”

Scholar	Verdict on Gandhian strategy
Bhikhu Parekh	“a radical tool to overcome social antagonism.”
Bipan Chandra	Gandhi had “deep insight into the psychology of the masses.”
Arnold Toynbee	Made it impossible for Britain to rule — yet possible to leave “without rancour and without dishonour.”
M.N. Roy & B.R. Ambedkar	Critics: Gandhian method restrained more radical social transformation.

UPSC 2015 · 10m Comment on Satyagraha as a Strategy. **UPSC 2023 · 10m** Satyagraha and Indian Nationalism (150 words).

10 Peasant Movements & Nationalism

Causes. High revenue demand Zamindari / Ryotwari / Mahalwari pressure Indebtedness, moneylender Forced cash crops Famines, loss of land Commercialisation, arbitrary rents — peasants came to see **state, landlord & moneylender as one oppressor.**

Movement	Year	Note
Indigo · Pabna · Deccan	1859–75	Early agrarian resistance (see §4).
Champaran · Kheda	1917–18	Gandhi's entry into Indian Satyagraha.
Awadh (Baba Ramachandra) · Eka (Madari Pasi)	1920–22	Tenant militancy in the UP.
Mappila Rebellion	1921	Agrarian + communal in Malabar.
Bardoli Satyagraha (Vallabhbhai Patel)	1928	Against 22% revenue enhancement.
All India Kisan Sabha (Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, 1st Pres.)	1936	Demanded abolition of zamindari, tenancy rights.
Tebhaga · Telangana	1946–51	Anti-colonial politics fused with agrarian class struggle.

Historiographical debate

School	Argument
Marxist	R.P. Dutt, A.R. Desai: bourgeois Congress restrained peasants when property was threatened. D.N. Dhanagare: constructive work as “ tension management ”. Kapil Kumar: support used, economic Swaraj neglected.
Subaltern	Ranajit Guha: the peasant as maker of his own rebellion , with his own consciousness. Gyanendra Pandey: independent Awadh roots. Shahid Amin: peasants reinterpreted Gandhi in their own terms.
Congress-defence	Mridula Mukherjee: the national movement awakened peasant consciousness; nationalist cadres organised many struggles.

“To acknowledge the peasant as the maker of his own rebellion is to attribute ... a consciousness to him.”

— Ranajit Guha

“The Indian cultivator is born in debt, lives in debt, and dies in debt.”

— Malcolm Darling

Staffan Lindberg later marked the shift from “**Land to the tiller!**” to “**Remunerative prices!**”

UPSC 2025 · 10m Explain briefly the role of Peasant Movements after 1857 and before independence.

11 Working Class & Trade Union Movements

A modern working class formed through plantations, coal, railways, cotton & jute mills, iron & steel — under 12–16 hour days, low wages, child labour & bondage. **Dipesh Chakrabarty** on Bengal working-class consciousness.

Workforce by 1914	Three phases
Cotton mills 264 → 2.6 lakh · Jute mills 60 → 2 lakh · Railways → 6 lakh · Plantations → 7 lakh · Mines → 1.5 lakh.	I. 1850s–1918 sporadic, philanthropic (Lokhande, S.S. Bengalee); Congress neglect — opposed Factory Acts 1881/1891. II. 1918–37 AITUC, 1920 (1st Pres. Lala Lajpat Rai); communist militancy — Bombay Textile (1928), Calcutta Jute (1929). III. 1937–47 Congress ministries, anti-war strikes, Quit India, INA & RIN-Mutiny solidarity (1945–46).

Nationalist relationship. Congress was cautious — sought labour support but avoided class war; Gandhi favoured **arbitration & trusteeship** (Ahmedabad TLA stayed outside AITUC). **E.M.S. Namboodiripad:** Congress under-served workers. **Rajnarayan Chandavarkar:** workers were not pawns — they held nationalist *and* class identities at once. **Chitra Joshi:** Gandhi's labour engagement had both reach & limits.

UPSC 2022 · 10m Analyse the workers' movement in India in the pre-Independence period.

12 Women in the National Movement

Participation breached patriarchal boundaries — from **Rani Lakshmi Bai & Begum Hazrat Mahal** to **Sarojini Naidu, Madame Bhikaji Cama, Sucheta Kripalani, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Hansa Mehta, Dakshayani Velayudhan, Durgabai Deshmukh**. Revolutionaries: **Pritilata Waddedar, Kalpana Dutt, Lakshmi Sahgal**. Bodies: YWCA, 1875; **All India Women's Conference**, 1927.

Scholar	Reading
Geraldine Forbes	Women's participation transformed the public sphere.
Uma Chakravarti	Nationalism mobilised women but kept emancipation secondary .
Tanika Sarkar	The use of motherhood both empowered & constrained women.
Partha Chatterjee	Women placed in the "inner" domain as bearers of culture.

Assessment. Women entered public politics in large numbers, yet patriarchal limits remained and women's issues were not always central to the Congress agenda.

★ Power Quotes — carry these into the hall

"Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."

— **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**

"something more than a sepoy mutiny but something less than a national revolt."

— **Thomas Metcalf, on 1857**

"Nations are not something eternal. They have begun; they will end."

— **Ernest Renan**

"a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent."

— **Ernest Gellner, defining nationalism**

"India is not a political name, but only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa."

— **J.R. Seeley, the colonial denial**

"Hindus and Muslims ... belong to two different civilisations."

— **M.A. Jinnah, Lahore, 1940**

"Swaraj ... without Swadeshi is a lifeless corpse; Swadeshi is the soul of Swaraj."

— **M.K. Gandhi**

"a post-dated cheque upon a falling bank."

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"a radical tool to overcome social antagonism."

— **Bhikhu Parekh, on Gandhian strategy**

"To acknowledge the peasant as the maker of his own rebellion is to attribute ... a consciousness to him."

— **Ranajit Guha**

"The Indian cultivator is born in debt, lives in debt, and dies in debt."

— **Malcolm Darling**

◆ Scholar Index — can you recall what each said?

A.L. Basham · A.R. Desai · Akshay Kumar Dutt · Anil Seal · Anthony D. Smith · Anthony Giddens · Anthony Parel · Antonio Gramsci · Arnold Toynbee · Ayesha Jalal · Bal Gangadhar Tilak · Bankim Chandra Chatterjee · Basudev Chatterjee · Benedict Anderson · Bhikhu Parekh · Bipan Chandra · B.R. Ambedkar · Chitra Joshi · Christopher Alan

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≡ How UPSC Asks It

Theme	Year	Marks
Revolt of 1857 — mutiny or first war of independence	2018	10
Moderate vs Extremist / Militant nationalism — objectives & means	2017	10
Militant & revolutionary movements	2020	15
Gandhi — political & non-political into a unified movement	2017	10
Satyagraha as a strategy	2015	10
Satyagraha and Indian Nationalism (150 words)	2023	10
Peasant movements after 1857 and before independence	2025	10
Workers' movement in the pre-Independence period	2022	10

➤ Today's Practice

1. Revolt of 1857 — a 'Sepoy Mutiny' or a 'First War of Independence'? **2018 · 10m**
2. Trace the role of militant and revolutionary movements in the Indian national movement. **2020 · 15m**
3. Explain briefly the role of Peasant Movements after 1857 and before independence. **2025 · 10m**

Tonight on @psirbyamitpratap — model answers to today's three. Write your attempt first, then check against them. Blank on a scholar or a date above? It is all there in full in your Foundation / OGP class notes and handouts — revise that page, then write the answer. The point of this capsule is recall, not first learning.

See you tomorrow with Day 16.