# **Chapter 8: Non-Cooperation**

# **Short Answers**

CSM 02: History of India and Indian National Movement

**Compiled by Prof. Ashok Vishandass** 

### This chapter contains:

- Lucknow Session of INC
- Justice Movement
- Champaran Satyagraha
- Rowlatt Act
- Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- Khilafat and Non-Coorperation Movement
- Beginning of Gandhian Movements
- Sikh Socio Religious Reform Movement
- Non-Cooperation Movement
- Revolutionary Activities

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### 1. Lucknow Session of INC

The Lucknow Session of Indian National Congress was presided over by Ambica Charan Mazumdar. It was the 31st session of the INC which was held in Lucknow. This session has gained historic importance due to the remarkable decisions made during the session. It marks the reconciliation of the moderates and the extremists after 10 years of ideological disputes after their split in the Surat session of 1907. Bal Gangadhar Tilak assured the moderates that the extremists would not adopt any agitational strategy or politics while protesting against the British, which led to the reconciliation. Also, the demise of Moderate leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta reduced the opposition for amalgamation of the factions of Congress (Extremists and Moderates) paving the way for Tilak and Annie Besant to dominate the Congress.

The Lucknow Pact was signed between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League in December 1916 in Lucknow. The pact was signed at the annual sessions held by both the parties to put forth the common political rules including the demands of the 'Self–Governance' of India after the war. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a member of both the parties had suggested in the session to put pressure on the Britishers for the liberalization of the country and allow its citizens to run their own country. Due to this, there arose a friendly relation between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League, and therefore Mohammed Ali Jinnah was given the title of, 'Ambassador of Hindu – Muslim Unity' by the nightingale of India, Sarojini Naidu.

# 1.1 Background

- During World War 1, the British fought against the **Ottoman Empire of Turkey**. This hurt the religious sentiments of Muslims and irritated the Muslin League.
- Also, the decision of the British to annul the Partition of Bengal annoyed the Muslim League which supported the British in 1905.
- British rejection of the establishment of the University at Aligarh further catalyzed Muslim agony.
- The congress wanted mass support for its struggle against the British.
- Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was a member of both the parties at the time persuaded both the parties to pressurize the British to give Indians more authority in ruling India, besides protecting Muslim Interests.
- For his effort to ensure reconciliation between the league and congress, Sarojini
   Naidu gave Jinnah the title of "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity".
- The session marked the reconsolidation of Hindus and Muslims, Moderates and Extremists and they began to collectively demand "home rule for India".
- It strengthened the Nationalist movement in India.

### 1.2 Readmission of Extremists to Congress

Several factors aided this reunion, such as:

Old controversies were no longer relevant.

- Both the Moderates and the Extremists recognised that the split had resulted in political inaction.
- Annie Besant and Tilak had worked hard to bring the two together.
- To assuage Moderate fears, Tilak declared that he supported administrative reform rather than overthrow of the government. He also **condemned violent acts.**
- The **death of Pherozeshah Mehta**, who led the Moderate opposition to the Extremists, made the reunion possible.

### 1.3 Lucknow Pact - Background

- By 1906, a League came to existence which was then known as the 'All India Muslim League' in a moderate sense, and the basic aim for the formation of this league was to establish a friendly relationship with the Britishers.
- However, due to the decision of the Britishers of the **partition of Bengal**, the League decided to change its stance for the Britishers.
- Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the then member of both the parties, the Indian National Congress, and the All India Muslim League decided to use the opportunity as a joint venture for both the parties and put forth the pressure on the reforms of the British.
- It was the first time when both the parties stood indifferently at a joint session.
- The extremists under the head of Tilak, and the moderates under the head of Gokhale decided to meet in Bombay, where they were then co-joined by the Muslim League and formulated their constitutional demands in a mutual discussion, this led to the idea of Hindu Muslim Unity.
- The Leaders of both the parties had then gathered at a place with similar thoughts and similar pitches for their demands.
- In October 1916 within a few months from the day of the meeting in Bombay, a total of 19 elected members from both the parties then addressed a memorandum to the Vicerov for discussion of the constitutional reforms.
- In November 1916 in the following meeting in Calcutta, the suggestions of the prior meeting were discussed and agreed upon.
- Ultimately, the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress confirmed their agreement in the annual session held respectively at Lucknow in December 1916 which was then known as, 'The Lucknow Pact, 1916.'

#### 1.4 Nature of Lucknow Pact

- Indian citizens shall have 'self-government.'
- Indian Council shall be put to an end.
- The British government shall be liable for the payment of salaries of the Secretary of State for any Indian affairs instead of the Indian funds.
- The president shall be elected by the Members of the Legislative Assembly themselves.
- The tenure for the **Legislative Assembly** shall be set for **5 years**.
- Until demanded, a separate electorate shall be provided for all the communities.
- The **Central Legislative Council** shall comprise **150 members**.
- The Council shall comprise at least half the number of members to be Indian citizens.

- About 1/5th of the members shall be nominated and the remaining 4/5th shall be elected.
- Muslims should be given representation in the Central Council with an average weightage of about 1/3rd of the total members.
- Except for the members who have been nominated, shall be elected based on the adult franchise.
- Minorities shall be given representation in proportion to their population.
- In the provincial legislatures, the number of Muslims shall be laid down by the provinces.
- While the League agreed to present the government with joint constitutional demands, Congress accepted the Muslim League's position on separate electorates, which would be maintained until any one community demanded joint electorates.
- Muslims were also given a fixed proportion of seats in all-India and provincial legislatures.

# 1.5 Analysis of Lucknow Pact

- Both the parties, Indian National Congress and the Muslim League had agreed on the proposal of a separate electorate, which meant that the Indian National Congress had readily understood the community politics and gave recognition regarding several communities residing in India with their selfish reasons and that had led to the partition of India in 1947.
- The weightage for the representation of the Muslims was noted, but this resulted in leaving the way open for any rise in communal politics in the future.
- The League stood nowhere in politics until the Lucknow Pact of 1916.
- There began riots for communalism in Bihar, United Provinces, and Bengal when it revealed continuous disagreement among the masses and their leaders.
- The legislature could not pass the decision if there was disagreement by the 3/4th members of any religion. This led to the introduction of communalism veto in the Indian legislature.
- The approval of one-third of representations for the Muslims on the basis of their being a minority was the biggest blunder, though the Muslims deserved it on the one hand, it sowed the seeds of communal politics on the other hand.
- The pact made it open and clear that India has different communities and each one of them has its own interests.
- The Muslim member's strength in the legislature was laid down province-byprovince. This was one of the most dangerous pacifist policies of congress. It not only recognized communal representation but also recognized communal privileges.
- Nevertheless, the Lucknow pact at that time was called a symbol of Hindu Muslim unity. The unity lasted only a few years.

#### 1.6 Outcome of the Pact

 While the Congress and the Muslim League made a concerted effort to present a united front, the Congress' acceptance of the principle of separate electorates implied that the Congress and the League came together as separate political entities.

- This was a watershed moment in the Muslim League's evolution of the two-nation theory.
- While the leaders of the two groups came together, efforts to bring the masses of the two communities together were ignored.
- The controversial decision to accept the principle of separate electorates, on the other hand, represented a serious desire on the part of Congress to allay minority fears of majority dominance.
- Furthermore, this reunion sparked a lot of excitement among the people.
- Even the government decided to appease nationalists by declaring its intention to grant Indians self-government in the future, as stated in Montagu's August 1917 declaration.

#### 1.7 Conclusion

The acceptance of separate communal electorates in the Lucknow pact led to the establishment of communal politics in India, and is also considered as the seed for the "two-nation theory" which led to the partition of India in 1947. With this pact, congress recognized the muslim League as the party representing the Muslims of India. The British came up with the Montagu-Chelmsford declaration, arrested Annie Besant, and imposed show-cause-notice on Bal Gangadhar Tilak leading to the destruction of the Home-rule Movement.

The Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League could be regarded as a watershed moment in the nationalistic struggle for freedom. The Lucknow Pact gave the impression of Hindu-Muslim unity in the national political scene. But it was only an impression and short-lived. The agreement between the parties on a separate communal electorate formally established communal politics in India.

# 2. Justice Movement – Socio Religious Reform Movements

The Justice movement was started by C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair, and P. Tyagaraja in Madras Presidency to secure jobs and representation for non-brahmins in the legislature. The Madras Presidency Association was founded in 1917 to demand separate representation in the legislature for the lower castes. In this article, we will learn about the Justice Movement which will be helpful in Modern Indian History preparation for the UPSC Civil service exam.

# 2.1 Background

- The conflict between Brahmins and non-Brahmins is at the heart of this movement.
- Non-Brahmans began to demand their rights and questioned the dominance of Brahmins in every sphere.
- In order to counter the growing clout of Brahmins in society and politics, Zamindars and Maharajas established the **South India Welfare Association** in Madras Presidency in 1916.
- Dr. TM Nair, Theagaroya Chetty, Dr. C Natesa Mudaliar, Panagal's Raja, and Sir A Ramaswamy Mudaliar were among the organization's eminent non-Brahman leaders.
- It began by publishing the **English newspaper 'Justice,'** and as its popularity grew, the society became known as the **Justice Party**.
- This Justice party ran in the election, and for the first time in Indian history, a cabinet was formed in the **Madras Presidency in 1921**.

#### 2.2 Formation of Justice Movement

- The Madras Non-Brahmin Association was founded in 1909 by two young lawyers, P Subramaniam and M Purushothama Naidu, in response to simmering feelings against Brahminical hegemony and the need to confront it head-on.
- The association failed for a variety of reasons, but it sowed the seeds for the Justice Party.
- The Madras United League was founded in 1912, with Natesa Mudaliyar as secretary. It was later renamed the Madras Dravidian Association.
- On November 20, 1916, around 30 prominent non-Brahmin leaders, including Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar, Sir PT Theyagaraya Chetty, TM Nair, and a woman Alamelu Mangai Thayarammal, came together to form the South Indian Liberation Federation (SILF).
- It was later known as the **Justice Party** after the 'Justice' newspaper launched to promote the movement's ideals.
- The meeting was held in Victoria's historic public hall.
- In 1938, Periyar was elected as the leader of the Justice party.
- In 1944, the Justice Party and the Self-Respect Movement were renamed Dravidar Kazhagam.

# 2.3 Factors Leading to Justice Movement

- Theyagaraya Chetty and TM Nair recognized the need to politicize the non-Brahmin movement after being defeated by Brahmin candidates in the imperial legislative council and local council elections, respectively.
- Despite being political rivals, Theyagaraya Chetty and Nair collaborated to launch SILF, thanks to the efforts of Natesa Mudaliyar.
- The Justice Party's formative years in power are responsible for Tamil Nadu's legacy of social justice.
- To legislate reservations, the party introduced what is known as communal G.O.
- Periyar, incidentally, left the Congress after the party failed to pass the communal G.O.

# 2.4 Objectives of the Justice Movement

- To promote the educational, social, economic, and political advancement of all communities in South India other than the Brahmins.
- To work for the development of non-Brahmins through a constitutional government.
- To create a government that is truly representative.
- To mobilize public opinion in support of Non-Brahmins' demands.
- Montagu Chelmsford's 1919 reform introduced dyarchy in the presidency, designating some departments for Indian Ministers to be chosen from elected members.
- The Justice party won the majority in the first election under dyarchy in 1920, and **A.Subbarayalu** became Chief Minister; after his death, **Raja of Panagal** became Chief Minister of Madras in 1921.
- Congress boycotted the elections as part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

### 2.5 Political Ideology of Justice Party

- It **fought against Brahmins** in civil service and politics, and this anti-Brahmin stance influenced many of its ideas and policies.
- It was **opposed to Annie Besant's Home Rule movement** because it believed it would benefit the Brahmins.
- In addition, the party campaigned against the non-cooperation movement in the presidency. It was at odds with M. K. Gandhi, owing to his support for Brahminism.
- Its distrust of the Brahmin-dominated Congress drove it to oppose the Indian independence movement.
- They obtained reservations for non-Brahmins through the Government of India Act
  of 1919 by petitioning the imperial administration, which was more than willing to
  oblige.

# 2.6 Significance

- In **December 1916**, the Justice Party issued its **non-Brahmin manifesto**.
- The manifesto became a significant document that would later shape the rise of the Dravidian movement.
- When the Justice Party was in power, women were granted voting rights, and a **noon-meal programme** was implemented.

- The party was also instrumental in allowing women to run for office, paving the way for **Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy** to become **India's first female legislator.**
- Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's pioneering efforts resulted in the **abolition of the Devadasi system** when the Justice party was in power.
- The Justice Party ensured an adequate number of opportunities for non-brahmins of all categories in education and employment through a Communal government order.
- They **eliminated Sudra and Panchama discrimination** in public transportation, roads, restaurants, and public wells.
- They established a newly formed **Hindu Religious Endowment Board** to regulate temple laws and provided lands to the **Panchamas** known as **Panchami Land**.
- They built new townships and industrial parks.
- Children from low-income families were given an education.
- For the first time, they implemented the "Noon Meal Scheme" in a few schools.
- The requirement of knowing Sanskrit as a prerequisite for medical school was removed, allowing non-brahmin students to enrol.
- Cooperative societies were encouraged. **Mirasdari's regime** was demolished. In 1923, various irrigation schemes were implemented.
- During the Justice Party regime, **Annamalai and Andra Universities** were established.
- Despite being given only a few departments by the British, the Justice Party provided the most successful government.

#### 2.7 Reasons for Decline of Justice Movement

- There was abuse of power and corruption.
- It lost support from the depressed and minority populations.
- Periyar's self-respect movement had become more radical. The Justice Party's pro-British stance is critical to its decline.
- Due to Periyar's refusal to enter electoral politics and Gandhi's growing popularity, the Congress won the Madras Presidency elections in 1937, and Rajagopalachari became the premier.
- To some extent, the Justice Party's image as an organization of rich landlords and Western-educated upper-caste non-Brahman intellectuals from Tamilnadu and Telugu countries contributed to its demise.
- The region's Dalits were not adequately represented.

### 2.8 Conclusion

Despite its limitations, the Justice movement was successful in abolishing the Devadasi system, promoting inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, and legalizing marriages without the presence of a Brahman priest, thereby reducing Brahminical dominance.

# 3. Champaran Satyagraha

Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first civil disobedience movement of India. Champaran district is a historic region in Bihar, India, that is now divided into the East Champaran district and the West Champaran district. Farmers in this region revolted against the British in 1914 and 1916 over the conditions imposed on indigo cultivation. Earlier, similar conditions existed in Bengal, but as a result of a major uprising in 1859-61, the peasants there won their freedom from the indigo planters. In this article, we will discuss the features of Champaran Satyagraha which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 3.1 Background

- Champaran is a district in the state of Bihar where tens of thousands of landless serfs, indentured laborers, and poor farmers were forced to grow indigo and other cash crops instead of food crops.
- The European planters had forced the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 of the total land area (called **tinkathia system**).
- When German synthetic dyes replaced indigo at the end of the nineteenth century, **European planters demanded high rents and illegal dues** from the peasants in order to maximize their profits before the peasants could switch to other crops.
- Furthermore, the peasants were forced to sell their produce at Europeandetermined prices.
- These items were purchased from farmers at a very low cost.
- They were oppressed by the landlords' brutal militias and were given negligible compensation, leaving them in extreme poverty.
- Even though they were in the grip of a **devastating famine**, the British government **imposed a heavy tax** on them and insisted on raising the rate.
- Without food and money, the situation became increasingly unbearable, and peasants in Champaran revolted against the government in indigo plant cultivation in 1914 (at Pipra) and 1916 (Turkaulia).

### 3.2 Features

- Gandhi was asked by **Rajkumar Shukla**, a local, to investigate the problems of farmers in the context of **indigo planters** in Champaran, Bihar.
- When Gandhi arrived in Champaran, accompanied by Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul-Haq, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani, the authorities ordered him to leave immediately.
- Gandhi defied the order and chose to face the consequences. This method of passive resistance or civil disobedience in the face of an unjust order was novel at the time.
- Finally, the authorities relented and allowed Gandhi to conduct an investigation.
- Gandhi was able to persuade the authorities to abolish the tinkathia system and compensate the peasants for the illegal dues extracted from them.
- As a compromise with the planters, he agreed to compensate them for only 25% of the money taken.

- Within a decade, the planters had abandoned the area. Gandhi had won India's first battle of civil disobedience.
- Brajkishore Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ramnavmi Prasad, and Shambhusharan Varma was also prominent leaders associated with the Champaran Satyagraha.

### 3.3 Conclusion

The first Satyagraha movement, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, took place in the Bihar district of Champaran in 1917. The Champaran Satyagraha was the first to be launched, but the term Satyagraha was first used in the **Anti-Rowlatt Act agitation**.

### 4. Rowlatt Act

The Rowlatt Act also known as the "Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919" was enacted by the British government in order to strengthen their grip on power over the common people. The Imperial Legislative Council passed this law in March 1919, giving them the authority to arrest anyone without a trial. To abolish this act, Gandhi and other leaders called for a Hartal (work stoppage) to demonstrate Indians' opposition to this rule, which became known as the Rowlatt Satyagraha. In this article we will discuss the Rowlatt Act which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

# 4.1 Background

- Following the end of World War I, the extremist faction in the Indian national movement was on the rise.
- The existing law, the Defence of India Act, was about to expire, and the British needed stronger measures to contain what they called terrorist elements who threatened their rule.
- The Rowlatt Act, passed by the British colonial government, gave police the authority to arrest anyone for any reason.
- The Act's purpose was to quell the country's growing nationalist upsurge. Gandhi called on the people to engage in satyagraha in protest of the act.
- The Rowlatt Committee Act, named after its president, Sir Sidney Rowlatt, was passed on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and effectively authorised the colonial British government to imprison any person suspected of terrorism living in British India for up to two years, and gave the colonial authorities power to deal with all revolutionary activities.
- The unpopular legislation mandated stricter press control, warrantless arrests, indefinite detention without trial, and juryless in camera trials for prohibited political acts.
- The accused were denied the right to know who was accusing them and what evidence was used in the trial.
- Those convicted were required to deposit securities and were barred from participating in any political, educational, or religious activities after their release.
- On February 6, 1919, two bills were introduced in the Central Legislature based on the committee's report, which was chaired by Justice Rowlatt. These bills became known as "Black Bills."
- They gave the police enormous powers, including the ability to search a location and arrest anyone they disapproved of without a warrant.
- The Rowlatt Act was passed on March 18, 1919, despite widespread opposition.

### 4.2 Features

- The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919 also known as the Rowlatt Act was passed by the **Imperial Legislative Council** in March 1919.
- The British government was given the authority to arrest anyone suspected of terrorist activity under this act.

- It also authorized the government to **detain such detainees for up to two years** without charge or trial. It gave the police the authority to conduct a search without a warrant. It also severely **hampered press freedom**.
- The Rowlatt Committee, chaired by a judge named **Sir Sidney Rowlatt**, after whom the act is named, made recommendations that were followed.
- Indian leaders and the general public were outraged by the act. The bills were dubbed "black bills" as a result of their appearance.
- The act was passed despite the unanimous opposition of the council's Indian members, who all resigned in protest. **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**, **Madan Mohan Malviya**, and **Mazhar Ul Haq** were among them.
- Gandhiji called a nationwide hartal on April 6th in response to this act. The Rowlatt
   Satyagraha was the name given to this protest.
- Gandhiji cancelled the movement after it was marred by rioting in some provinces, particularly in Punjab, where the situation was dire.
- The primary goal of the British government was to suppress the country's growing nationalist movement.
- The British were also concerned about a Ghadarite revolution in Punjab and the rest
  of India.
- Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew, both popular Congress leaders, were detained.
- When the act went into effect, there was widespread outrage, and the army was dispatched to Punjab to deal with the situation.

### 4.3 Outcome

- The Rowlatt Act sparked the largest mass movement against British rule since the Revolt of 1857, and it served as the spark that ignited the movement for independence, which later spread throughout India and eventually led to independence.
- Gandhi was opposed to the Rowlatt Act and called for mass agitation and an all-India hartal, or strike, in which Indians closed their businesses and fasted to protest the British.
- People from all over the country signed a Satyagraha pledge to follow a nonviolent path. Gandhi's hartal began on April 6, 1919, and was widely supported by the masses.
- The strike was successful in Delhi, but rioting and violence erupted in Punjab and other parts of India, forcing Gandhi to call a halt to the movement. He was disappointed to see that Indians were not prepared for nonviolent protest, which was the core principle of Satyagraha.
- On 10 April 1919, two Congress leaders, Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown location as part of a protest movement.
- People gathered at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on 13 April 1919 to protest this incident, which turned into one of the most heinous tragedies under British rule—the 1919 Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

### 4.4 Criticism

- Initially, Mahatma Gandhi was harshly critical of the Act, arguing that not everyone should be punished for isolated political crimes.
- The Act also enraged many other Indian leaders and the general public, prompting the government to take repressive measures.
- The Act empowered the government to imprison anyone suspected of terrorist activity for up to two years without a trial.
- It also allowed for indefinite preventive detention and arrest without a warrant. Other provisions included jury-free trials for prohibited political acts.
- Convicted individuals were required to deposit securities upon their release, as well as refrain from participating in any political, religious, or educational activities.
- The Rowlatt Act also severely restricted press freedom.
- The bill was opposed by all Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Regardless, the bill was passed.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The Rowlatt Act sparked the largest mass movement against British rule since the Revolt of 1857, and it served as the spark that ignited the movement for independence, which later spread throughout India and eventually led to independence. The Rowlatt Act was enacted to quell public unrest and thwart anti-British conspiracies. This act empowered the British government to imprison anyone suspected of terrorist activity without a trial for a minimum of two years. Gandhi's position as a leader of the nationalist movement was bolstered further by his actions in opposition to the Rowlatt Act. Gandhi organized a strike in which Indians would close their businesses as a form of protest.

# 5. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

On April 13, 1919, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, also known as the Amritsar massacre, occurred. A large peaceful crowd had gathered at Amritsar's Jallianwala Bagh to protest the arrests of pro-Indian independence leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satya Pal. In response to the protests, Anglo-Indian Brigadier R.E.H. Dyer surrounded the demonstrators with his Gurkha British Indian army units. He ordered his troops to shoot at the crowd after blocking the exit with his troops, and he continued to fire even as the protestors tried to flee. In this article, we will discuss the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

# 5.1 Background

- During World War I (1914–18), the British government of India enacted a series of repressive emergency powers to combat subversive activity.
- By the end of the war, the Indian people had high hopes that those restrictions would be relaxed and that India would be granted more political autonomy.
- In fact, the **Montagu-Chelmsford Report**, presented to the British Parliament in 1918, advocated for limited local self-government.
- Furthermore, in early 1919, the then-government of India passed what became known as the Rowlatt Acts, which essentially extended the repressive wartime measures.
- The acts sparked widespread outrage and discontent among Indians, particularly in the Punjab region. In early April, Gandhi called for a one-day general strike (Rowlatt Satyagraha) across the country.
- The arrest and expulsion of prominent Indian leaders (Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew) sparked violent protests in Amritsar on April 10, with soldiers firing on civilians and angry mobs killing several foreign nationals.
- Brig. Gen. Reginald Edward Harry Dyer was given command of a force of several dozen troops tasked with restoring order. A ban on public gatherings was one of the measures implemented.

### 5.2 Features

- The intense and harsh Rowlatt Act and the Rowlatt Satyagraha led to extensive mobility of people around the Punjab province and the situation was alarming for the British government.
- To tackle and control the situation, the imperial government launched the Martial Law, which further prevented the assemblage of more than 4 people at a place.
- This all was happening under the rule of **Lt. Governor of Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer**, and the prominent viceroy of India, **Lord Chelmsford**.
- The Jallianwala Bagh incident took place on 13th April, 1919, on the day of Baisakhi when a mob of peaceful protestors gathered at the Jallianwala Bagh.
- Along with the protestors, the park also had a crowd of people who came to celebrate Baisakhi.
- The British government, all frustrated and tired with the intense mob and protest, ordered General Dyer to open fire on the innocent and peaceful crowd at the park.

- The unstoppable firing for about 10 minutes took the lives of more than thousands of people including men, women, children, young and old.
- And almost 1500 people were severely injured after 1650 rounds of ammunition were exhausted.
- This violent tragedy hampered the mental stability of the Indians and led them to extensively condemn British authority.
- Although, there were few in Britain as well who criticized this act of British government like that of Winston Churchill and the former Prime Minister HH Ashquith.
- The **Hunter Commission** was set up by the British government to investigate the massacre. General Dyer was then relieved of his duty in the army in 1920.
- The Lt. Governor of Punjab Michael O'Dwyer was later in 1940, assassinated by Udham Singh in London who had witnessed the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre as a child. The governor was assassinated because he was the one who approved the actions of General Dyer.

### 5.3 Aftermath

- By the 22nd of May 1919, Rabindranath Tagore had learned of the massacre. He attempted to organize a protest meeting in Calcutta before deciding to resign his British knighthood as a "symbolic act of protest."
- The **Disorders Inquiry Committee** was formed on October 14, 1919, to investigate the massacre. It was later dubbed the **Hunter Commission**.
- The Hunter Commission was directed to issue a decision on the justification, or lack thereof, of the government's actions.
- All British officials involved in the administration during the Amritsar disturbances, including General Dyer and Mr Irving, were interrogated.
- The massacre at Jallianwalah Bagh infuriated the Indian people, prompting Mahatma Gandhi to launch the **Non-Cooperation Movement**.
- The Non Cooperation Movement (1920–22) was Gandhi's first large-scale and sustained nonviolent protest (satyagraha) campaign.
- The then-Government of India ordered an investigation into the incident (the Hunter Commission), which censured Dyer and ordered him to resign from the military in 1920.

### 5.4 Conclusion

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre is rightly regarded as a watershed moment in Indian history. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre permanently damaged relations between Indians and Britishers. Following the massacre, the government imposed martial law in Punjab, subjecting the people to the most heinous atrocities, such as public flogging of men, arrest and detention of people for no apparent reason, censorship of mails, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, and other novel punishments. The atrocities in Punjab sparked widespread condemnation.

# 6. Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement

The Khilafat movement and the Non-Cooperation movement were both mass movements formed in 1919-1922 to oppose British rule in India. Despite their disparate issues, the movements adopted a unified plan of action based on nonviolence and non-cooperation. During this time period, Congress and the Muslim League merged. Many political demonstrations were held as a result of the efforts of both of these parties. In this article, we will discuss the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement (1919-1922) which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 6.1 Background

- The growing resentment of British rule prompted the formation of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movement.
- In the First World War, Turkey fought against Britain. Turkey, as one of the defeated countries, was subjected to injustice at the hands of Britain.
- In 1919, a movement was formed led by **Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali (popularly known as the Ali brothers)**, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, and others to pressure the British government to correct these injustices.
- The Rowlatt Act, martial law in Punjab, and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre all revealed the brutal and uncivilised face of foreign rule.
- The Hunter Commission's report on the atrocities in Punjab turned out to be a sham.
- In fact, the House of Lords (the British Parliament) supported General Dyer's action, and the British public showed solidarity with him by assisting The Morning Post in raising 30,000 pounds for him.
- The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, with their ill-conceived Dyarchy scheme, failed to meet the Indians' growing demand for self-government.
- The country's economic situation had deteriorated in the post-war years, with rising commodity prices, a decrease in the output of Indian industries, an increase in the burden of taxes and rents, and so on.
- Because of the war, almost every segment of society suffered economic hardship, which fueled anti-British sentiment.

### 6.2 Khilafat Issue

- Muslims all over the world, including India, regarded Turkey's Sultan, Khalifa, as their spiritual leader (Caliph).
- During World War I, Turkey sided with Germany and Austria against the British.
- During the First World War, Indian Muslims supported the government with the understanding that the sacred sites of the Ottoman Empire would be in the hands of Khalifa.
- However, following the war, the Ottoman Empire was divided, Turkey was dismembered, and the Khalifa was deposed.
- This infuriated Muslims, who saw it as an insult to Khalifa. The Khilafat Movement
  was founded by the Ali brothers, Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali, in opposition to
  the British government.
- Between 1919 and 1924, this movement was active.

- To force the British Government to change its attitude toward Turkey, the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani formed the All India Khilafat Committee in early 1919.
- As a result, the groundwork for a nationwide uprising was laid.
- In November 1919, an All India Khilafat Conference was held in Delhi, and a call was issued to boycott British goods.

### 6.3 Development of Khilafat Non-Cooperation

- For a time, the Khilafat leaders' actions were limited to meetings, petitions, and deputations in support of the Khilafat.
- Later, however, a militant movement emerged, demanding active agitation such as the cessation of all cooperation with the British.
- As a result, at the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi in November 1919, a call for a boycott of British goods was issued.
- The Khilafat leaders also stated unequivocally that unless the post-war peace terms were favourable to Turkey, they would cease all cooperation with the government.
- Gandhi, the president of the All India Khilafat Committee at the time, saw the issue as a platform from which mass and united non-cooperation could be declared against the government.

# 6.4 Congress and Muslim League's Stand on Khilafat Issue

- The Congress's support was critical to the Khilafat movement's success.
- Although Mahatma Gandhi supported Satyagraha and non-cooperation against the government on the Khilafat issue, the Congress was divided on this course of action.
- Later, the Congress felt compelled to lend its support because it represented a
  golden opportunity to bring Hindus and Muslims together and to increase Muslim
  participation in such mass movements.
- The Muslim League also decided to fully support the Congress and its political agitation.

### 6.5 Non-Cooperation Khilafat Movement

- A joint Hindu-Muslim deputation was sent to the viceroy in early 1920 to seek redress of grievances on the issue of Khilafat, but the mission was unsuccessful.
- In February 1920, Gandhi declared that the Khilafat issue had overshadowed the issues of Punjab wrongs and constitutional advancement, and that he would soon lead a non-cooperation movement if the terms of the peace treaty did not satisfy Indian Muslims.
- Turkey was completely dismembered by the Treaty of Sevres, which was signed in May 1920.
- An all-party conference in Allahabad approved a boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts, and Gandhi was appointed to lead it.
- The Khilafat Committee began a non-cooperation campaign, and the movement was formally launched.

### 6.6 Special Session in Calcutta

The Congress approved a non-cooperation programme at a **special session in Calcutta** (**September 1920**) until the wrongs of the Punjab and Khilafat were righted and swaraj was established. **Lala Lajpat Rai presided** over the Special Session. The following items were supposed to be included in the programme:

- Boycott of government schools and colleges; boycott of law courts in favour of justice being administered through Panchayats;
- Boycott of Legislative Councils; (there were some differences over this as some leaders like C.R. Das was not willing to include a boycott of councils, but bowed to Congress discipline; these leaders boycotted elections held in November 1920 and the majority of the voters too stayed away).
- Foreign cloth should be boycotted in favour of khadi, and hand-spinning should be practised.
- Renunciation of government honours and titles; the second stage could include mass civil disobedience, such as resignation from government service and nonpayment of taxes.
- During the movement, participants were expected to work for Hindu-Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability while remaining nonviolent.

### 6.7 Nagpur Session

The Nagpur Session was held in December 1920. It was presided over by C. Vijayaraghavachariar. At the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress:

- The non-cooperation programme was endorsed.
- An important change in Congress creed was made: instead of achieving selfgovernment through constitutional means, the Congress decided to achieve swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means, committing itself to an extra constitutional mass struggle.
- A Congress Working Committee (CWC) of 15 members was formed to lead the Congress from now on.
- **Provincial Congress Committees** were formed on a linguistic basis; ward committees were formed; and the entry fee was reduced to four annas.
- Gandhi declared that if the non-cooperation programme was fully implemented, swaraj would be implemented within a year.

#### 6.8 Role of Mahatma Gandhi

- Mahatma Gandhi was a key figure in both the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- He actively participated in disseminating the Non-Cooperation Movement's policies and programmes throughout the country.
- He and other loyalists toured the country to rally public support and mobilise the masses in support of the movement.

- The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements were both mass movements formed to oppose British rule in India between 1919 and 1922.
- Despite their disparate issues, the movements agreed on a unified strategy based on nonviolence and non-cooperation.
- Between 1919 and 1920, the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the supreme leader
  of the national movement signalled the beginning of a new era in India's struggle
  against colonial and exploitative British rule.

# 6.9 Spread of the Movement

- Gandhi went on a nationwide tour with the Ali brothers. Around 90,000 students left government schools and colleges to attend one of the 800 new national schools and colleges that sprang up during this period.
- These educational institutions included Jamia Millia at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, and Bihar Vidyapeeth and were organised under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain, and Subhash Bose (who became the principal of National College at Calcutta).
- Many lawyers, including Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, C. Raja Gopalachari, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel, Asaf Ali, T. Prakasam, and Rajendra Prasad.
- Foreign cloths were publicly burned, and imports were cut in half.
- Picketing was carried out in a number of locations, including shops selling foreign liquor and toddy shops.
- The Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed, with a total of one crore rupees collected. The parallel police force emerged as a result of the Congress volunteer corps.
- The Ali brothers issued a call to Muslims in July 1921 to resign from the army because it was unreligious. In September, the Ali brothers were arrested for this.
- Gandhi echoed their call and directed local Congress committees to pass similar resolutions.
- Congress directed local Congress bodies to begin civil disobedience if it was determined that the people were prepared for it.
- In Midnapore (Bengal) and Guntur (Andhra Pradesh), there was already a no-tax movement against union board taxes.
- Strikes in tea plantations, steamer services, and Assam-Bengal Railways had been organised in Assam. **J.M. Sengupta** was a key figure in these strikes.
- The visit of the Prince of Wales to India in November 1921 sparked strikes and protests.
- Many local struggles arose as a result of the spirit of defiance and unrest, including the Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), the Eka Movement (UP), the Mappila Revolt (Malabar), and the Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants in Punjab.

### **6.10** Government Response

 Talks between Gandhi and Viceroy Reading broke down in May 1921 because the government wanted Gandhi to urge the Ali brothers to remove portions of their speeches that suggested violence.

- Gandhi recognised that the government was attempting to divide him from the Khilafat leaders and refused to fall into the trap.
- The government retaliated harshly against the protestors in December.
- Volunteer corps were declared illegal, public meetings were prohibited, the press was silenced, and most leaders, with the exception of Gandhi, were arrested.

#### 6.11 Chauri Chaura Incident

- On 5th February, 1922, the day when civil disobedience was to be launched, the Chauri Chaura incident took place and changed the whole scenario.
- At Chauri-Chaura, in **Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh**, police tried to stop a procession of Congress and Khilafat activists.
- Irritated by this behaviour, some activists attacked them and the police opened fire at them.
- Infuriated, the entire procession attacked the police and when the police took shelter inside the station, the station itself was set on fire, killing all of its occupants.
- Shocked by this incident Gandhiji withdrew the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- The civil disobedience at Bardoli was also postponed. Gandhi stated that without adequate discipline and restraint on the part of the people, the movement had proved to be a 'Himalayan Blunder'.

# **6.12** Evaluation of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements

- The movement drew urban Muslims into the national cause.
- Nationalist sentiments reached every nook and cranny of the country, politicising every stratum of the population—artisans, peasants, students, urban poor, women, traders, and so on.
- The politicisation and mobilisation of millions of men and women gave the national movement a revolutionary flavour.
- Two myths underpinned colonial rule, one that such a rule was in Indians' best interests, and second, that it was unbreakable.
- The first myth had been debunked by moderate nationalists' economic critique. Satyagraha had challenged the second myth through mass struggle.
- The masses had lost their previously all-encompassing fear of colonial rule and its powerful repressive organs.

### **6.13** Impact of Non-Cooperation Movement

- The revolt came as a complete surprise to British authorities and provided massive encouragement to millions of Indian nationalists. The **country's unity was strengthened**, and many Indian schools and colleges were established.
- Swaraj was not achieved in a single year, as Gandhiji had predicted. However, it was a truly mass movement in which lakhs of Indians openly protested the government through peaceful means.
- The British government was taken aback by the magnitude of the movement.
- It drew participation from both Hindus and Muslims, demonstrating the country's **communal harmony**.

- The Congress Party's popularity among the people was established as a result of this movement.
- People became aware of their political rights as a result of this movement. They had
  no fear of the government. Throngs of people flocked to jails willingly.
- As a result of the boycott of British goods, Indian merchants and mill owners made a lot of money during this time. Khadi was given a raise.
- During this time, sugar imports from the United Kingdom fell dramatically.
- This movement also established Gandhiji as a populist leader.

### 6.14 Why Gandhi Withdrew the movement?

- Gandhi believed that people had not fully learned or understood the nonviolent method. Incidents like Chauri-Chaura may cause excitement and fervour, turning the movement violent in general.
- A violent movement could be easily suppressed by the colonial regime, which could
  use violent incidents as an excuse to use the state's armed might against the
  protestors.
- The movement was also showing signs of wear and tear. This was natural because it is impossible to sustain any movement at a high pitch for an extended period of time. The government appeared to be uninterested in bargaining.
- The central theme of the agitation, the Khilafat issue, also faded quickly. Turkey's people rose up in November 1922, led by Mustafa Kamal Pasha, and deposed the Sultan of political power. Turkey has been declared a secular state.
- As a result, the Khilafat issue became irrelevant. In Turkey, a European-style legal system was established, and women were granted extensive rights. Education was nationalised, and modern agriculture and industry flourished. The caliphate was abolished in 1924.

#### 6.15 Conclusion

The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, both founded in December 1917, resurfaced. As a result, the growing belief that all people were Indians suffered a setback. The Swarajist Party, led by staunch nationalists Motilal Nehru and Das, was split by communalism. A group known as "responsivists," which included Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, and N. C. Kelkar, offered cooperation to the government in order to protect so-called Hindu interests. Gandhiji went on a 21-day fast at Maulana Mohammed Ali's house in Delhi in September 1924 to atone for the inhumanity revealed in the communal riots. His efforts, however, were in vain.

# 7. Beginning of the Gandhian Movements

The Gandhian era of national struggle began in 1919 and lasted until India gained independence from British rule in 1947. The early Gandhian movements' success, such as Champaran Satyagraha (1917), Ahmedabad Mill Satyagraha (1918), and Kheda Satyagraha (1918), paved the way for Gandhiji's meteoric rise. Gandhi emerged as a leader during the freedom struggle. In this article, we will discuss the Beginning of the Gandhian Movements which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

#### 7.1 About Mahatma Gandhi

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, also known as Gandhi, was an Indian lawyer, anticolonial nationalist, and political ethicist who used nonviolent resistance to lead India's successful campaign for independence from British rule, and to later inspire movements for civil rights and freedom around the world.
- The honorific Mahatma, which was first applied to him in South Africa in 1914, is now used all over the world.
- When Gandhi became president of the Indian National Congress in 1921, he led
  nationwide campaigns to alleviate poverty, expand women's rights, foster religious
  and ethnic harmony, abolish untouchability, and, most importantly, achieve swaraj,
  or self-rule.
- Gandhi adopted the short dhoti made of hand-spun yarn as a symbol of identification with India's rural poor.
- He began to live in a self-sufficient residential community and to fast for extended periods of time as a form of introspection and political protest.
- Gandhi popularized anti-colonial nationalism among ordinary Indians by leading them in the 400-kilometer Dandi Salt March in 1930, which challenged the Britishimposed salt tax, and by calling for the British to leave India in 1942.
- He was imprisoned numerous times and for a long period of time in both South Africa and India.

#### 7.2 Rise of Mahatma Gandhi

- The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the supreme leader of the national movement between 1919 and 1920 marked the beginning of a new era in India's struggle against colonial and exploitative British rule.
- The Gandhian era of national struggle began in 1919 and lasted until India gained independence from British rule in 1947.
- The early Gandhian movements' success, such as Champaran Satyagraha (1917), Ahmedabad Mill Satyagraha (1918), and Kheda Satyagraha (1918), persuaded the masses that only the Gandhi method could defeat British rule.
- The situation in India in 1919-20 was extremely volatile due to a combination of factors such as a leadership vacuum, failure of moderate and extremist policies, and the Jalliawala Bagh massacre, which pushed Gandhiji to the forefront of the Indian national freedom struggle.

- The typical character of the Gandhian movement, as well as the success of the South African experiment, had also played a significant role in his ascension to the position of a supreme national leader.
- Gandhiji lived like most ordinary Indians and spoke commoners' language. Gandhiji fought for commoners' issues, and as a result, every section of Indian society developed a strong faith in Gandhian leadership.
- During the years 1919-20, he became a symbol of hope and inspiration for the common people, leading to his ascension to the position of an undisputed supreme national leader.

### 7.3 Nature of Gandhian Movements

- The Gandhian movement was a true **mass movement**, similar to moderate and extremist movements. He was adamant that no struggle against British rule would succeed unless the masses joined in.
- It was nonviolent in nature, egalitarian in outlook, secular and progressive in nature, strongly anti-colonial in appearance, and distinguished by the use of both constitutional and extra-constitutional methods.
- Gandhi's movement was a pan-India movement because it reached millions of Indians and was easily embraced by all segments of Indian society.
- Villagers had begun to participate in the national movement, which was no longer limited to towns and cities.
- Under Gandhiji's leadership, peasants, workers, women, students, and the business class had joined the nationalist struggle.
- Gandhiji defined the goal of Swaraj for the first time at the **Nagpur session of Congress in December 1920.**
- In Gandhiji's leadership, the Congress adopted the goal of 'Purna Swaraj' in order to strengthen the freedom movement on a large scale.
- The Gandhian movement was fundamentally a Satyagraha, or "search for truth." The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was Gandhiji's first Satyagraha movement.
- Gandhiji was always a staunch supporter of the truth, regardless of the consequences.
- He believed that it was humanity's responsibility to cooperate with good and avoid cooperation with evil. He saw British rule as a bad thing, which is why he opposed it.
- Because Gandhiji always emphasized using the right methods to achieve the right goals, the Gandhian movement was fundamentally an ethical and moral struggle. He never took advantage of anyone's weakness.
- Furthermore, it was distinguished by a transition between active and passive phases. During the active phase, Mahatma Gandhi led a mass agitation, and during the passive phase, he oversaw a village reconstruction program.
- It was centered on several themes, including the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, the abolition of untouchability, the promotion of cottage industry, the upliftment of women and lower castes, the prohibition of liquor alcohol, and the spread of vocational education.
- The Gandhian movement also made extensive use of STS (Struggle-Truce-Struggle) and PCP (Pressure-Compromise-Pressure) strategies.

• It was extremely successful because it was only due to the pressure exerted by the Gandhian movement that the British were forced to leave India in 1947.

# 7.4 Significance

- The Gandhian movement made a significant contribution to the success of India's struggle against British rule, but it should be noted that the Gandhian movement was not without limitations.
- Subhash Chandra Bose called the sudden withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement in February 1922, following the Chauri-Chaura incident, a "national calamity."
- The Non-Cooperation Movement was an important stage in India's struggle for independence from British rule.
- From August 1920 to February 1922, this movement was active. It was launched from the Khilafat platform, led by Mahatma Gandhi, and was backed by the Indian National Congress.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) was suspended as an example of this. It was the second great mass movement, launched on March 12, 1930, by Congress under Gandhiji's leadership.
- Gandhiji suspended the CDM on March 5, 1931, through a pact signed with Lord Irwin.
- It created a disillusioned atmosphere in the national struggle because Gandhiji completely failed to take all of the leaders into confidence when making decisions.

### 7.5 Contribution of Gandhian Movements

#### **Champaran Satyagraha (1917)**

- Gandhi's first active involvement in Indian freedom politics was the Champaran agitation in Bihar.
- Farmers in Champaran were being forced to grow Indigo and were being tortured if they objected.
- The farmers sought Gandhi's assistance, and Gandhi was able to gain concessions from the authorities through a calculated nonviolent protest.

### Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- When floods devastated Kheda, a village in Gujarat, the local farmers petitioned the rulers to waive the taxes. Here, Gandhi launched a signature campaign in which peasants pledged not to pay taxes.
- In addition, he organized a social boycott of mamlatdars and talatdars (revenue officials). In 1918, the government relaxed the terms of revenue tax payment until the famine ended.

### Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)

- Gandhi used Satyagraha and hunger strike for the first time during an industrial dispute between the owners and workers of a cotton mill in Ahmedabad.
- The owners wanted to withdraw the plague bonus from the workers, while the workers demanded a wage increase of 35%.
- During Gandhi's peaceful strike, he went on hunger strike.
- The Ahmedabad Mill strike was successful, and the workers received the wage increase they desired.

#### **Khilafat Movement (1919)**

- Gandhi had a significant impact on the Muslim population. This was evident in his participation in the Khilafat Movement.
- Following World War I, Muslims feared for the safety of their Caliph or religious leader, and a worldwide protest was organized to combat the Caliph's collapsing status
- Gandhi became a prominent spokesperson for the All India Muslim Conference and returned the Empire medals he had received while serving in the Indian Ambulance Corps in South Africa.
- His role in the Khilafat quickly elevated him to the position of a national leader.

#### **Movement Against Non-Cooperation (1920)**

- Gandhi realized that the British were only able to stay in India because of the Indians' cooperation. In light of this, he called for a non-cooperation movement.
- With the help of Congress and his indomitable spirit, he persuaded the people that peaceful non-cooperation was the key to independence.
- The foreboding day of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre sparked the non-cooperation movement.
- Gandhi established the goal of Swaraj, or self-government, which has since become the motto of the Indian freedom movement.

#### 7.6 Conclusion

Mahatma Gandhi was the visionary who led India to independence. For over 250 years, India was ruled by the British. At the request of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. Gandhi's contribution to the Indian freedom movement is incalculable in words. He and other freedom fighters forced the British to leave India. His policies and agendas were nonviolent, and his words inspired millions of people.

# 8. Sikh Socio Religious Reform Movements

Socio-Religious reform movements among Sikhs (Sikh SSRM) began at the end of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the Khalsa College in Amritsar. The Khalsa College was founded in Amritsar in 1892 as a result of the efforts of the Singh Sabhas (1870) and with British assistance. As a result of similar efforts, this college and schools promoted Gurumukhi, Sikh learning, and Punjabi literature in general. This article will explain to you about the Sikh Socio-Religious Reform Movements which will be helpful in Modern Indian History preparation for the UPSC Civil service exam.

# 8.1 Background

- When the Akali Movement arose in Punjab after 1920, the Sikh momentum gained traction.
- The Akalis' main goal was to improve the management of Gurudwaras or Sikh Shrines that were under the control of priests or Mahants who treated them as private property.
- A law was passed in 1925 that gave the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee the authority to manage Gurudwaras.
- Baba Dayal Das spread the nirankar (formless) concept of God.
- By the end of the nineteenth century, a new reform movement known as the Akali Movement had emerged to address the corrupt management of Gurdwaras.

#### 8.2 Gurudwara Movement

- Prior to 1920, the Sikh Gurudwaras were governed by **Udasi Sikh mahants**, who treated Gurudwara offerings and other income as their personal income.
- The British government-backed these mahants to counter the rising tide of nationalism among Sikhs.
- The situation deteriorated to the point where the priest of the golden temple issued a hukamnama (injunction) against Ghadarites, declaring them renegades, and then bestowed a saropa on General Dyer, the butcher of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
- The **Gurdwara Reform Movement** launched an agitation to free the Gurudwaras from these corrupt mahants and hand them over to a representative body of Sikhs.
- In November 1920, under increasing pressure from nationalists and Gurudwara agitators, the Gurudwaras were placed under the control of an elected committee known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Prablandhalk Committee.
- The movement for Gurudwara liberation quickly evolved into the **Alkali movement**, which later split into three streams: **moderate nationalist reformers**, **progovernment loyalists**, and a political organ of Sikh communalism.

#### 8.3 Nirankari Movement

- Baba Dayal Das (1783-1855) founded this movement of purification and return.
- In the 1840s, he advocated for the restoration of Sikhism to its roots, emphasizing the worship of one God and **nirankar (formless)**.

- Such an approach entailed the rejection of idolatry as well as the prohibition of eating meat, drinking liquor, lying, cheating, and other vices.
- It emphasized Guru Nanak and Sikhism prior to the establishment of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur, which distinguished them from the Namdaris.

### 8.4 Namdhari Movement

- Baba Ram Singh (1816-1885) founded it in 1857 after becoming a disciple of Balak Singh of the Kuka movement in 1841.
- The movement was founded on a set of rituals modeled after Guru Gobind Singh's founding of the Khalsa, with the requirement of wearing the five symbols but carrying a stick instead of a sword.
- The followers of the movement were required to abandon their worship of gods, idols, tombs, trees, snakes, and so on, as well as to refrain from drinking, stealing, falsehood, slandering, backbiting, and so on.
- Furthermore, because **cattle protection was important**, beef consumption was strictly prohibited.

#### 8.5 Akali Movement

- The **1920s Akali movement**, which began as a strictly religious movement to reform Gurdwaras, or Sikh holy temples, quickly took on a political dimension and became an integral component of India's liberation struggle.
- Apart from being anti-imperialist, the Akali movement, also known as the Gurdwara Reform Movement or Gurdwara agitations, describes the Sikhs' long-running struggle in the early twentieth century for the freedom of their Gurudwara, or holy temple.
- Nonviolent agitation marches, divans or religious meetings, and protests for Sikhs to express their freedom to control their place of worship drew fervent support, especially from rural people.
- Finally, the government had to give in to public pressure and allow the Sikhs to administer their shrines.
- The **Gurdwara Act of 1925** established the **SGPC**, a Sikh representation organization that serves as the custodian of all significant Sikh places of worship.

#### 8.6 Babbar Akali Movement

- The **Babbar Akali Movement** took place between **1921 and 1925**.
- The majority of the Babbar Akalis were returned, Canadian immigrants.
- Some of them were **Gadharites** because they had actively participated in the **Gadhar Movement** (Gadhari Babbeys).
- The Babbar Akalis were Guru Sikhs who opposed the British government's imperialist policies.
- The Babbar Akalis were opposed to Gandhi's nonviolence and non-cooperation formula.
- They were upset because of the **Nankana Sahib tragedy**, which resulted in the slaughter of hundreds of innocent Sikhs.

• They rejected the peaceful reformation struggle in the Sikh shrines and decided to lead their movement independently, without the company or cooperation of the dominant Akali leadership.

# 8.7 Singh Sabha

- On October 1, 1873, a small group of prominent Sikhs led by Thakur Singh Sandhawalia and Giani Gian Singh founded the Singh Sabha of Amritsar to strengthen Sikhism.
- The Sabha's goals were to restore Sikhism to its original purity, to publish historical religious books and periodicals, to spread knowledge, to sing Punjabi, to return Sikh apostles to their faith, and to involve Englishmen in the Sikh educational program.
- Later, the Amritsar Singh Sabha was imitated by a newer, more democratic organization, the Lahore Singh Sabha.
- After a while, the Singh Sabhas were overwhelmed by other organizations like Khalsa
   Diwani and, in 1920, by a struggle for control over Sikh places of worship.

### 8.8 Conclusion

The diversity of religious communities in Punjab resulted in the most socio-religious movements of any region of South Asia. Furthermore, divisions within and between religious communities surfaced frequently. The rising tide of rationalist and progressive ideas in the nineteenth century could not be ignored by the Sikh community. Various gurus led religious and social movements among Sikhs in an attempt to bring about positive changes in the Sikh religion. The Singh Sabha, the major Sikh acculturative movement, was split between pre-British elite centered in Amritsar and a new rising group in Lahore.

# 9. Non-Cooperation Movement

The Indian National Congress (INC), led by Mahatma Gandhi, launched the Non-cooperation Movement on September 5, 1920. The party introduced the Non-Cooperation programme during a Congress session in Calcutta in September 1920. The non-cooperation movement was active from September 1920 to February 1922. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Indian freedom struggle. The Non-Cooperation Movement was launched in the aftermath of a series of events, including the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, and was put on hold due to the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922. In this article, we will discuss the Non-Cooperation Movement which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

### 9.1 Features

- The Non-Cooperation Movement was a pivotal stage in India's independence from British rule. Following the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Mahatma Gandhi led it. Its goal was to use nonviolent means to oppose British rule in India.
- As a form of protest, Indians were asked to relinquish their titles and resign from nominated seats in local bodies.
- People were asked to resign from their positions in the government and were told to take their children out of government-controlled or aided schools and colleges.
- They were asked to **boycott foreign goods and use only Indian-made goods**, as well as to boycott legislative council elections.
- Individuals were asked **not to serve in the British army**. It was also planned that if the preceding steps failed to produce results, people would refuse to pay their taxes.
- **Swarajya, or self-government,** was also demanded by the INC. Only completely non-violent means would be employed to get the demands fulfilled.
- The non-cooperation movement was a watershed moment in the independence movement because it demonstrated that the INC was willing to forego constitutional means to achieve self-rule for the first time.
- Gandhiji had promised that if the movement was carried out to its conclusion,
   Swaraj would be achieved within a year.

### 9.2 Causes

- Indians believed that they would be rewarded with autonomy at the end of the war in exchange for their extensive support of manpower and resources to Britain during the First World War.
- However, the **Government of India Act 1919** was inadequate. Furthermore, the British enacted repressive legislation such as the Rowlatt Act, which enraged many Indians who felt betrayed by rulers despite their wartime support.
- Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Home Rule Movement laid the groundwork for the non-cooperation movement.
- The INC's extremists and moderates were united, and the Lucknow Pact also saw cooperation between the Muslim League and the Congress Party. With the return of the extremists, the INC took on a more militant tone.
- The people of India suffered greatly as a result of their country's participation in the war. Prices of goods began to rise, affecting the average person. Peasants suffered as

- well because agricultural product prices did not rise. All of this fueled resentment of the government.
- The repressive Rowlatt Act, as well as the brutal massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, had a profound impact on Indian leaders and the people.
- Their faith in the British justice system had been shattered, and the entire country rallied behind its leaders, who were advocating for a more aggressive and firm stance against the government.
- The Ali Brothers (Maulana Mohammed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali), Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani led the Khilafat movement.
- It received Mahatma Gandhi's support in convincing the British government not to abolish the caliphate. The leaders of this movement supported Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement and led a joint protest against the British.

# 9.3 Significance

- Congress evolved into the party of the common man. It now had widespread support from ordinary peasants, workers, and intellectuals.
- Charkha and Khadi came to represent Indian nationalism.
- Gandhi was able to see India for what it truly was. He realized that India's true power lies in the countryside, not in the cities.
- There was a need for a general awakening of the masses to their political rights and privileges, as well as a total loss of faith in the government system.
- People realized that only through their own efforts could India hope to be free.
- It demonstrated that the Congress was the only organization capable of properly directing national efforts to achieve freedom.
- The movement also revealed that the communal problem will be a major issue, and that this communalism problem is entirely state-sponsored.
- This movement also established Gandhiji as the leader of the masses.
- As a result of this movement, people became more conscious of their political rights.

#### 9.4 Criticism

- Gandhi's decision had thrown the Congress for a loop. The Jallianwallah Bagh tragedy, Swaraj, problems with Khilafat volunteers, and other factors prompted its inception. But none of them received a solution.
- In one year, Gandhi's idea of Swaraj proved to be a mirage.
- Many leaders, including Lala Lajpat Rai, opposed the boycott of educational institutions. Some leaders did not like how it began, many others did not like how it was conducted, and the majority of them could not digest the abrupt withdrawal.
- There was shock for the people of Punjab who were hoping for miracles to happen to punish the perpetrators of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Nothing happened, and the revolutionary activities in Punjab suffered another setback.
- Because Congress was left without a political programme, some new outfits arose in parallel.
- The lawyers' boycott of law courts was not as successful as the educational boycott.

# 9.5 Impact of Non-Cooperation Movement

- The revolt came as a complete surprise to British authorities and provided massive encouragement to millions of Indian nationalists. The **country's unity was strengthened**, and many Indian schools and colleges were established.
- Swaraj was not achieved in a single year, as Gandhiji had predicted. However, it was a truly mass movement in which lakhs of Indians openly protested the government through peaceful means.
- The British government was taken aback by the magnitude of the movement.
- It drew participation from both Hindus and Muslims, demonstrating the country's **communal harmony**.
- The Congress Party's popularity among the people was established as a result of this movement.
- People became aware of their political rights as a result of this movement. They had no fear of the government. Throngs of people flocked to jails willingly.
- As a result of the boycott of British goods, Indian merchants and mill owners made a lot of money during this time. Khadi was given a raise.
- During this time, sugar imports from the United Kingdom fell dramatically.
- This movement also established Gandhiji as a populist leader.

### 9.6 People's Response to Non-Cooperation Movement

#### Middle Class

- People from the middle classes led the movement at first, but later expressed reservations about Gandhi's program.
- Response to Gandhi's call was very limited in places like Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, which were centers of elite politics.
- The response to the call for resignation from government service, title surrender, and so on was not taken seriously.
- The movement provided an outlet for the interests and aspirations of the relative newcomers to Indian politics.
- In fact, leaders like Rajendra Prasad in Bihar and Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat saw non-cooperation as a viable political alternative to terrorism in the fight against a colonial government.

### **Business Class**

- The Indian business community supported the economic boycott because they had benefited from the nationalists' emphasis on the use of swadeshi.
- However, a segment of big businesses remained skeptical of the movement.
- They appeared to be concerned about labor unrest in their factories.

#### **Peasants**

• The participation of peasants was massive. Despite the fact that Congress was opposed to class warfare, the masses broke this restraint.

- In Bihar, the conflict between the 'lower and upper castes' over the former stealing the sacred thread became entwined with the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- In general, peasants revolted against landlords and traders.

#### **Students**

- Students became active members of the movement, and thousands of them transferred from government schools and colleges to national schools and colleges.
- Many students were accommodated in newly opened national institutions such as the Kashi Vidyapeeth, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, and the Jamia Milia Islamia, among others.

#### Women

- Women abstained from purdah and donated their ornaments to the Tilak Fund.
- They joined the movement in large numbers and actively participated in picketing in front of shops selling foreign clothing and liquor.

### **Hindu-Muslim Unity**

- Despite events such as the Moppila Uprisings, the massive participation of Muslims and the preservation of communal unity were significant accomplishments.
- In many places, two-thirds of those arrested were Muslims, and such participation had never been seen before or would be seen again.
- Gandhi and other leaders addressed Muslim masses from mosques, and Gandhi was even allowed to address Muslim women's meetings where he was the only male who was not blindfolded.

# 9.7 End of Non-Cooperation Movement

- Following the Chauri Chaura incident, the non-cooperation movement was disbanded.
- Despite the fact that he had single-handedly put an end to the national uprising, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on February 12, 1922.
- On March 18, 1922, he was sentenced to six years in prison for publishing seditious materials. This resulted in the movement's suppression, followed by the arrest of other leaders.
- Although the majority of Congress leaders remained steadfastly behind Gandhi, a
  few determined leaders, including the Ali brothers, broke away (Muhammad Ali and
  Shaukat Ali). In response to Gandhi's leadership, Motilal Nehru and Chittaranjan Das
  founded the Swaraj Party.
- Many nationalists believed that the non-cooperation movement should not have been halted because of isolated acts of violence, and most nationalists, while still believing in Gandhi, were discouraged.

#### 9.8 Conclusion

The Non-cooperation Movement came as a complete surprise to British authorities and provided massive encouragement to millions of Indian nationalists. The country's unity was strengthened, and many Indian schools and colleges were established. Indian products were encouraged. The 1920 Non-Cooperation Movement failed to achieve its immediate goal of establishing Swaraj in India. In response to various incidents of violence perpetrated by the masses, particularly the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922, in which the people clashed with the police, setting a police station on fire, Gandhiji decided to withdraw from the Non-Cooperation Movement.

# 10. Revolutionary Activities During 1920s

The abrupt withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement disillusioned many; they began to question the fundamental strategy of nationalist leadership. Because they were not drawn to the Swarajists' parliamentary work or the No-changers' patient, undramatic, constructive work, these younger nationalists were drawn to the idea that only violent methods could free India. As a result, revolutionary terrorism was resurrected. In this article, we will discuss the Revolutionary Activities During the 1920s which will be helpful for UPSC exam preparation.

# 10.1 Background

- Frustration over the failure of the political struggle in the early twentieth century, as well as government repression, led to the rise of revolutionary terrorism.
- The revolutionary terrorists believed that passive resistance could not achieve nationalist goals, so they adopted the bomb cult.
- During the First World War, revolutionary terrorists were subjected to harsh repressive measures, and their movement suffered a setback.
- The majority of them were released from prisons in late 1919 and early 1920s, as the government sought to create a favourable environment for the Montagu reforms. In 1920, the Non-Cooperation Movement was founded.
- Many of the revolutionary terrorist leaders were met by Mahatma Gandhi and C.R.
   Das, who urged them to join the nonviolent mass movement or, at the very least, to halt their activities.
- The revolutionaries recognised that the country had entered a new political era. Many of the leaders attended the National Congress session in Nagpur and joined the Congress.
- The abrupt suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in early 1922 following the Chauri-Chaura incident caused a wave of disappointment and discontent among the movement's young participants.
- Many of them became disillusioned with Gandhi's leadership and embarked on a very simple strategy of nonviolent struggle. They returned to the idea of a violent overthrow of British rule.
- In this regard, they were also inspired by revolutionary movements and uprisings in Russia, Ireland, Turkey, Egypt, and China.
- While the old revolutionary leaders resurrected their organisations, a slew of new revolutionary terrorist leaders emerged from the ranks of eager non-cooperators.

# 10.2 Revolutionary Activities in Punjab, UP, Bihar

- The **Hindustan Republican Association/Army, or HRA**, dominated revolutionary activity in this region.
- Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, and Sachin Sanyal founded the HRA in Kanpur in October 1924.
- Its goal was to organise an armed revolution to destabilise the colonial government.
- And in its place, establish a Federal Republic of the United States of India, the basic principle of which would be **adult franchise**.

• Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, or HSRA, was later renamed.

### 10.3 Hindustan Republican Association

- The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) was a revolutionary party founded by Ram Prasad Bismil and his associates to fight British colonial rule in India and, if necessary, achieve independence for the country through an armed rebellion.
- The main impetus for the formation of the party was Mahatma Gandhi's decision to call off the non-cooperation movement in 1922 as a result of the Chauri Chaura incident.
- While some leaders of the Indian National Congress split off to form the Swaraj Party, some of the younger nationalists and workers became disillusioned with the idea of nonviolence and looked to revolutionary movements to achieve freedom.
- Bismil had spoken out against Gandhi at the INC's Gaya session in 1922.

# 10.4 Yugantar

- The Yugantar (Jugantar) Party was colonial Bengal's most powerful revolutionary terrorist organisation.
- Barindra Kumar Ghosh established Yugantar (also known as Jugantar). He was Aurobindo's younger brother and a revolutionary and journalist in India.
- In April 1906, an inner circle of the Calcutta **anushilan samiti** led by Barindrakumar Ghosh and Bhupendranath Datta (with Aurobindo Ghosh's advice) launched the weekly Jugantar (New Era).
- The organisation is named after the Jugantar, the militant nationalists' mouthpiece.
- Barindra vowed to free India from British colonial rule through religious inspiration tempered by acts of violence, justifying Ksatriya murders in the name of human happiness.
- He launched a ferocious anti-Partition movement with revolutionary zeal.
- He and his twenty-one followers gathered weapons and explosives and built bombs, laying the groundwork for the Jugantar terrorist organisation.

### 10.5 Kakori Robbery

- The Kakori train robbery was the HRA's most significant action.
- The men boarded the 8-Down train in Kakori, a remote village near Lucknow, and stole the train's official railway cash.
- Many people were arrested as a result of the government's response to the Kakori robbery.
- 17 were imprisoned, four were sentenced to life in prison, and four were hanged: Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh, and Rajendra Lahiri.
- As a result, Kakori proved to be a setback.

### 10.6 Murder of Saunders (Lahore, December 1928)

• Just as the HSRA revolutionaries were beginning to shift away from individual heroic action, the death of Sher-i-Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai as a result of lathi blows received

- during a lathi-charge on an anti-Simon Commission procession (October 1928) prompted them to return to individual assassination.
- Saunders, the police official responsible for the Lahore lathicharge, was shot dead by Bhagat Singh, Azad, and Rajguru.
- They had misidentified Saunders as Superintendent of Police James Scott, who was in charge of the lathi charge against Lala Lajpat Rai and his followers.
- When Chandrashekhar Azad attempted to pursue Bhagat Singh and Rajguru as they fled, he was shot dead by an Indian constable.

### 10.7 Bomb in Legislative Assembly

- The HSRA leadership has now decided to inform the public about its new objectives and the need for a mass revolution.
- On April 8, 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were asked to throw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly in protest of the passage of the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill, both of which aimed to limit the civil liberties of citizens in general and workers in particular.
- The bombs had been purposefully designed to be harmless in order to make "the deaf hear."
- The goal was to be arrested and use the trial court as a forum for propaganda in order for people to become acquainted with their movement and ideology.
- In the Lahore conspiracy case, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were tried.
- In jail, these revolutionaries fasted in protest of the deplorable conditions and demanded honourable and decent treatment as political prisoners.
- On the 64th day of his fast, Jatin Das became the first martyr.
- In December 1929, Azad was involved in an attempt to blow up Viceroy Irwin's train near Delhi.
- In February 1931, Azad was killed in a police encounter in a park in Allahabad. On March 23, 1931, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were hanged.

# **10.8 Chittagong Armoury Raid**

- **Surya Sen** and his associates decided to organise an armed rebellion to demonstrate that it was possible to challenge the mighty British Empire's armed might.
- They intended to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries by occupying two major armouries in Chittagong.
- They also intended to destroy telephone and telegraph lines, as well as the railway line connecting Chittagong to the rest of Bengal.
- The raid took place in April 1930, and it was carried out by 65 activists under the banner of the Indian Republican Army—Chittagong Branch.
- Sen hoisted the national flag, saluted, and declared a provisional revolutionary government after the raid was successful.
- They later dispersed into nearby villages and raided government targets.
- Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in January 1934, but the Chittagong raid fired the revolutionary-minded youth's imagination, and recruits poured into revolutionary activist groups in droves.

### 10.9 Conclusion

Even though the revolutionary terrorists of the 1920s and 1930s failed to achieve their stated goal of leading a mass-based struggle, or even to establish contact with the masses, they made a significant contribution to the ongoing national struggle against colonialism. Their bravery and sacrifice, as well as their deep patriotism, inspired the Indian people, particularly the youth, and instilled pride and self-confidence in them. In northern India, Bhagat Singh and his comrades sowed the seeds of socialist thought and movement.