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Rowlatt Satyagraha (April 1919)

- 1) By MG & not by INC
- 2) against Rowlatt Act/ Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act:
 - a) 2 bills passed by ILC in February 1919; GOI 1919 in Dec 1919 therefore not by CLA.
 - b) Passed despite unanimous opposition by all Indian members of ILC.
- 3) For MG it was **breach of promise** of gradual self govt made by Montague Statement 1917 & upcoming Montford reforms as via these acts British wanted to continue having draconian powers of Defense of India Act 1915 which was only for WWI (1914-19) period.
 - a) Br were anxious due to fear of communism after Oct Revolution (1917) in Russia. Communist Party of India (CPI) had been setup in 1920 in Tashkent under M.N. Roy (*then again setup in India in 1925)
- 4) **Events:**
 - a) It was 1st mass strike & 1st all India movement as MG asked Indians to go on a nationwide nonviolent strike.
 - b) MG's arrest led to widespread violence especially in Punjab (where INC leaders Dr. Satya Pal & Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew were arrested).
 - c) Then **General Dyer** (*Colonel Reginald Dyer) applied martial law, with approval of **LG O'Dwyer**, in Punjab. It barred gathering of people.
 - d) **13 April 1919 Jallianwala Bagh massacre** by General Dyer.
 - i) People had gathered in a peaceful manner to celebrate Baisakhi & to protest arrest of leaders they were fired upon without warning.

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- ii) 379 died as per official records while as per INC 1500 died.
- iii) Continuous firing for 10 minutes
- iv) Dyer had no remorse and stated to Hunter Committee(1919) that would have used more force if got chance.
- e) After Jallianwala Bagh, MG withdrew the movement because overwhelmed by violence

5) **Result=**

- a) MG realized that he needed control over INC for a controlled mass movement & that Indians need training in non-violent satyagraha.
- b) High participation in urban areas by workers but low participation in rural areas
- c) Importance = 1st all India movement & beginning of mass politics.

Khilafat (1920-24) & Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM 1920-22)

1) Reasons =

- a) (Grievances common to all): WWI related inflation & food security issue+ unemployment + 12 million died due to Spanish flu + dissatisfaction with Rowlatt Act 1919 & GOI Act 1919 + Jallianwala Bagh 1919 + Hunter Committee (Oct 1919) (1920 report) did not hold Dyer accountable.

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b) Khilafat issue i.e. Harsh Treaty of Sevres 1920 with Ottoman empire after WWI (1914-19) which was breach of promise to Indian Muslims. Due to Khilafat issue there was political rise of Ulemas among Muslims e.g. Deoband School & Firangi Mahal at Lucknow (both in UP). Within ML1906 there was rise of radical Muslims like Md Ali, Abul Kalam Azad. Also Jinnah had united ML1906 & INC at Lucknow Pact 1916. MG wanted to increase Hindu-Muslim unity.

2) Action =

- a) March 1919: Khilafat committee set up by Ali brothers (Md Ali & Shaukat Ali) in 1919. Other leaders were Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasrat Mohani.
- b) They demanded revision of Treaty of Sevres so dignity of Khalifa be maintained by giving him suitable territory & control over Muslim religious places + Arabs should not be under rule of non-Muslims.
- c) they requested MG to take leadership & in **June 1920 Allahabad Conference of Khilafat Committee launched Khilafat Movement** by giving call for boycott of titles, civil services & army + no tax campaign.
- d) **Aug 1920:** Tilak died (while alive, he had opposed supporting a religious goal as it may lead to rise in communal fervour & communal tensions later).
- e) Now MG saw "once in a 100 year opportunity" for Hindu-Muslim unity therefore convinced INC to launch NCM(1920-22) e.g. convinced leaders like C.R. Das who were otherwise more inclined towards council work to oppose British (**GOI 1919 adjournment motion) because

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- i) Br had recently repressed HRL 1916-18
- ii) B.C. Pal resigned from INC in August 1920 as
 - (1) did not want supremacy of one leader but of party i.e. didn't want personality centric INC
 - (2) Opposed strict adherence to Non-Violence as supreme.
 - (3) didn't approve of unclear definition of Swaraj as defined by MG i.e. enlightened anarchy with Stateless society.
- iii) Annie Besant & Jinnah opposed extra-constitutional struggle & resigned from Congress. They believed that masses won't be able to stay non-violent in face of British repression.

Special Calcutta Session September 1920

- 1) President= Lala Lajpat Rai
- 2) INC launched NCM with goal of- Swaraj + passed resolution for demanding grievance redressal for Punjab wrongs & Khilafat wrongs
- 3) MG promised Swaraj in 1 year
- 4) INC decided that Non-Cooperation (NC) to be done for 1 year & if Swaraj not achieved in 1 year then a Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) to be started.
- 5) Decided that in 1st phase of 1yr of NC, call to be given for:
 - a) [*Boycott]
 - a. Leave titles & honors
 - b. boycott Br institutions i.e. councils, courts, educational institutions
 - c. boycott British goods

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- b) [*Swadeshi] use panchayats + use khadi + national education
- c) [*Constructive Work] do picketing of liquor shops + anti untouchability campaign + build Hindu-Muslim unity.

INC Nagpur Session Dec1920

- 1) Here INC was taken over by MG (**NCM launched by Special Calcutta session in Sep 1920.)
- 2) **INC goal** now = **Swaraj by peaceful means** instead of constitutional means. Therefore, INC adopted method of non-violent extra constitutional mass struggle.
- 3) **[@Organisation]:**
 - a) Congress Working Committee (**CWC**) of 15 members set up so movement is carried on even if top INC leaders arrested (****CWC = top executive body & All Indians Congress Committee (AICC) is like assembly).
 - b) Provincial Congress Committees (**PCCs**) formed on linguistic lines.
 - c) **4 ana fee** for INC membership (1/16 of Rs = 1 ana) so masses join INC.
 - d) INC to use **Hindi** as far as possible
 - e) therefore, MG strengthened INC Organisation & moved INC from class politics [*elites] to mass politics (*coz of method, Hindi, 4 ana, PCC)
- 4) Decided that **2nd phase of CDM to include:**
 - a) No tax campaign [*CD] +
 - b) resignation from govt services [*NC but stronger than CD. Hence notice rising tempo i.e. 2nd phase of stronger opposition than 1st phase= hallmark of MG movements]

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Events

- 1) Tilak swaraj fund by MG-was over subscribed (1cr) Tilak died in august 1920.
- 2) **Gandhi Reading 1920 Talks 1921 –**
 - a) (**one year to be over thus Br feared CDM + also notice MG style of S-T-S=reason for talks)
 - b) failed because Reading 1920 wanted MG to criticise parts of speech by Ali brothers where they supported violence. Therefore MG defeated DnR
- 3) **Visit of Prince of Wales Nov 1921-** (*Br=Eng+ Ireland+ Scotland+ Wales) The visit led to national wide strikes by workers as the Prince represented the Crown/Colonial Ruler. (*in cities, masses= workers). However during these strikes there was violence against Parsis, Christians & Landlords who supported the visit. Now MG became cautious & decided that no CDM at all India level & CDM only in Bardoli via No Tax campaign (* feared movt will turn violent like rowlatt satyagrah)
- 4) **Chauri chaura 1922 (United Provinces of Agra & Oudh (1902))**
 - a) Here 22 policemen were burned alive after police shot dead 3 satyagrahis.
 - b) Now MG decided to withdraw NCM + suspended CDM that was to be started in Bardoli [*only M of NCM was withdrawn i.e. INC not to ask ppl to do Non Cooperation but INC to continue Non Cooperation by boycotting Councils as a political party]
 - c) INC passed **Bardoli resolution** which stated that training in non-violent satyagraha via Constructive Work (*CW) must before next movement (**CW = apolitical + used for training in non-violent satyagraha)

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- d) Br gave death sentence to 170 people + after appeal in courts finally 19 were hanged i.e. 22 Satyagrahis for 22 policemen.

5) RESULT

a) Negatives

- i) Low participation by middle class in boycott of institutions (*selfish interest of jobs + initially MG more of a rural leader) (*Middle Class is in Urban areas)
- ii) low capitalist participation (*[*Businessman wants to be pro govt]eg importers contd to import Br goods)
- iii) Khadi was expensive; + not enough national education institutions.
- iv) anti-untouchability priority only for MG & not other INC leaders (*INC dominated by UC)
- v) Movement turned violent
- vi) Communal violence due to increased religiosity & high role of Ulamas in mobilizing Muslim masses. (*even @Swadeshi ML1906 sought of support of Ulamas as they controlled masses). Eg Moplah Revolt 1921 in Malabar + communal violence in different parts from 1922-24. Therefore, HM unity was temporary.
- vii) Revolutionaries had joined NCM enthusiastically but highly disappointed by withdrawal in 1922 (*saw hope in MG after Br repressed Extremists & them)

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- viii) Khilafat movement ended when people of Turkey themselves ended rule of Khalifa to set up a secular republic under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924.

b) Positives

- i) Rowlatt Acts repealed in March 1922
- ii) Supporting Khilafat issue strengthened INC in NWFP (*a MMP-muslim majority province, created as CC province from Punjab in 1901, full province in 1932).
- iii) Strong WC participation Eg strikes in Assam – in tea plantation, railways, streamer(ship) services led by JM Sen Gupta + strike during visit of Prince of Wales Nov 1921(**WC in INM – swadeshi0511 – initiation, HRL1618 – education, NCM2022 – action)
- iv) Even revolutionaries joined NCM
- v) (@Rural) Strong peasant participation & peasant movements like Awadh Kisan Sabha1920 & Eka movement 1921 (both in UP) merged into NCM.
- vi) Tribals participated e.g. in Andhra violated forest laws (*link rampa rebellion)
- vii) Strong LC participation & 1st -time untouchability became issue of mainstream politics (*tilak @HRL16-18 also tried) (*Link 1886 Rule of INC of no social issues to be raised. This changed now)
- viii) Great show of H-M unity except in Malabar
- ix) Economic boycott – great success as import of British goods halved (**@ swadeshi ☺)

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- x) CR Das left legal practice & this was great inspiration
- xi) Boycott of Councils- great success as only 5% voted in 1920 elections to
CLA
- xii) Anti-liquor campaign great success & it also led to women participation
- xiii) 1st time **new regions** participated eg Rajasthan, Gujarat, Sindh,
NWFP, UP, South India
- xiv) Strong regional leadership developed e.g. Bose, Nehru, Patel.
- xv) In Akali movement 1920-25, Akalis supported NCM from 1921 leading to
rise of nationalism & Punjabis shed their loyalist image + there was Hindu
Muslim Sikh unity in Akali Movt.

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