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- i) Harijan **Sevak Sangh** (1932)/ All India Anti-Untouchability League (1932)
- ii) Harijan **Sevak Fund** (1932)
- iii) to raise awareness - Harijan **Magazine** (1933), a **20,000 km** march, and **two fasts** . [**MG = organization man + recall Tilak Swaraj Fund 1920 for NCM]

4) **Result of CDM's 2nd Phase (1932-34)**

- a) **Low response** as **demoralization** after suspension of 1st phase (March 1930-March 1931)
- b) Neither Upper Castes nor Lower Castes (*UC, LC) were **enthusiastic** about Harijan campaign. LC were becoming more radical & wanted political & economic rights while MG mainly talked about social dignity.
- c) Govt **repression** did the rest, therefore CDM was ended in 1934.
- d) However, INC benefitted as it did very well in **1937 elections** in provinces held under GOI Act 1935 that came into effect in 1937.

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1929 INC Lahore Session

Irwin2631 rejected Delhi Manifesto (Nov 1929), thus in **Lahore Session 1929** with J.L. Nehru as President, INC decided:

1. INC goal to be Purna Swaraj.
2. 26 Jan 1930 to be celebrated as independence day by taking independence pledge (*That's why Constitution Day is 26 Nov as on this day in 1949 the constitution was adopted i.e. finalized. On 26 Jan 1950, Constitution of India came into effect i.e. applicable as law from now) .
3. INC rejected RTC (3 RTCs were held in – 1930, 1931, 1932). Hence did not participate in 1930 RTC.
4. Decided to withdraw from legislatures immediately (*CLA, CoS, PLAs)
5. AICC (*setup by Nagpur session 1920) empowered to launch CDM at **appropriate** time (*1928 decision was to launch in one year if no Dominion status. Why?-) because:
 - a. On one hand high pressure on MG to launch CDM & on other hand some opposed CDM.
 - b. Eg INC Muslim leaders wanted INC-ML1906 unity before a CDM like in Lucknow Pact (LP1916) before NCM (1920-22) (*so they don't face opposition from Muslim masses when they go and appeal to them)
 - c. Capitalist class was unsure about economic impact of a CDM at this juncture as Great Depression (GD1929) had begun in October 1929 with US Stock Market Crash (*US economy was deeply interlinked with world economy via import- export & FDI, & by 1914 US was the

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top economy hence a depression in US would mean a depression globally)

- d. ML1906 called CDM a ploy/trick of INC to setup Hindu raj
 - e. Sikh parties, Hindu Mahasabha, Justice Party of Madras (*a party representing lower castes & opposed to INC e.g. did not support NCM earlier) - opposed CDM as it would raise INC popularity among people
 - f. Communist Party of India (CPI1925) opposed due to directions from Comintern (or Third International- a body of all communist parties of the world & headed by Communist Party of USSR). CPI1925 took anti-INC stand & labeled Bose & Nehru & INC as agents of Bourgeoise (*capitalists) & INC a party of Bourgeoise.
6. Therefore, MG gave 11-point demands instead of launching CDM.
- a. These demands basically defined what would Swaraj mean for masses or what benefits will come to people if there would have been self govt.
 - b. Hence, if British are ready to give these benefits to masses themselves then INC ready to sacrifice its own party interests of political power, which would accrue with a successful CDM i.e. political power, over State.

MG's 11-point demands (Jan 1930)

Four Middle class/Bourgeoise issues

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1. **Lower the Exchange Rate** for Rupee in relation to British Pound to 1Rs=1s4d (* 1 shilling and 4 pence;). This means depreciation of Rupee that could boost Indian exports and discourage import of Br goods as imports will become costlier. [* Hence in line with Make In India i.e. domestic production]
2. **Protective tariffs** for Cotton (*i.e. import duty on imported cotton cloth)
3. Full status & powers to **Indian Tariff Board** (*so Indian Businessmen have say in deciding tariffs or import/export duties)
4. Pass- Postal Reservation Bill to reserve **50% seats in postal department** to Indians (* i.e. jobs for Western Educated Middle Class)

Two Peasants' issues

1. 50% **decrease in LR** & zero LR when famine.
2. Release **confiscated property** of those who participated in **Bardoli Satyagraha (1928)**.

Five General issues (*i.e. common to all)

1. Decrease **military expenditure & salary of civil servants**
2. Amend **Arms Act 1878** so Right to Bear arms to Indians for self defence
3. Total **Prohibition** on Alcohol & other intoxicants
4. **Release political prisoners** not guilty of violence
5. **Abolish salt tax** [* formed 8.2% of Govt Revenue] & **Govt salt monopoly** (**recall demand of British Indians Association (1851), Madras Native Association (1852), Bombay Association (1852) sent to Br Parliament before Charter 1853; [**Salt Act 1882** applied tax on salt & reaffirmed govt salt monopoly].

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Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM 1930-34)

1. Reasons-

- a. Rejection of MG's 11 point demands by Irwin
- b. Economic grievances generated by **Great Depression (GD1929)**:-
- c. **crash** in prices of **cash crops in international market**, that were exported like cotton & jute- hurt ryots (*recall- end of US Civil War 1861-65 led to fall in raw cotton prices contributing to Bombay Deccan Riots 1875)
- d. reduction in market prices of **wheat & rice** hurt ryots.
- e. Hence farm income crashed however **LR stayed the same**. Also **moneylenders** stopped lending & demanded repayment of old loans, therefore **peasants had to sell some land** for generating money for sowing season.
- f. **Working Class (WC)** was impacted due to low wages & lay offs (*unemployment due to GD1929)
- g. Therefore, masses were restless (* ryots in rural & WC in urban areas)

2. CDM took place in two parts/phases due to truce in between in form of Gandhi-Irwin Pact 1931 that led to suspension of CDM:

- a. 1930-31
- b. 1932-34
- c. *in between the two phases there was*
Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5th March 1931 & then 2nd RTC [Sep-Dec 1931, London] where INC participated.

3. CDM Plan of MG (*notice MG style of rising tempo i.e. gradual escalation): In 1st stage –

a. marches by leaders in coastal areas for illegal manufacture of salt i.e.

CD against salt law. **Salt was chosen as issue as**

i. Salt was consumed by everyone

ii. Salt issue will highlight British oppression of Indians even in regard to basic necessities.

iii. This would unite all especially poor.

iv. Salt -neither a Hindu Issue (*ML1906 ☹) nor a Bourgeoise issue (*CPI1925 ☹)

v. Less chance of immediate repression as abolishing salt tax wont hurt revenues of Govt much.

b. Non Cooperation (*NC) via:

i. Boycott of British institutions – Lawyers & Civil Servants to resign, **Boycott** of Courts

ii. Boycott of Br goods & use **swadeshi** goods e.g. Khadi

4. In CDM's 2nd Stage call to be given for–

a. no revenue campaign in Ryotwari & Mahalwari areas as here masses were LR payers.

b. non-payment of Chowkidari tax in Zamindari areas (a tax to pay for salaries of Chowkidars or village watchmen under Indian Police Act 1861). MG wanted an issue where Indians were united against Br and a No-Rent campaign in Zamindari areas would hurt unity among

Indians. Hence, high rents though the main issue among tenant ryots- was not picked up.

- c. Violation of **forest laws** in Central Provinces etc.

5. Implementation of CDM's 1st Stage (March 1930-May 1930)

- a. **Dandi march** in March 1930 from Sabarmati Ashram (setup in 1917) to Dandi coast for breaking salt law. Huge crowds joined MG including women.
- b. **Similar marches** by regional leaders e.g.
 - i. **K. Kellapan** in Malabar (*Calicut to Poyannur) +
 - ii. **C. Rajagopalachari** in Madras (from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaraniyam) +
 - iii. **Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani** in Assam [Sylhet to Noakhali in Bengal]
- c. **Andhra**: Camps of Salt Satyagraha setup.
- d. Also Non-Cooperation (*NC) began.

6. Implementation CDM 2nd Stage (May 1930-March 1931)

- a. **Dharsana Satyagraha** May 1930 in Gujarat
 - i. MG gave **prior warning** to British about peaceful raid at Dharsana salt works (**notice fearlessness of Satyagrahi + crimes are hidden but politics is public).
 - ii. Led to **MG arrest in May 1930** & now **2nd Stage implementation began**
 - iii. Raid was led by MG's son **Manilal & Sarojini Naidu**.

iv. Huge repression by British

- b. In **Assam** protests against **Cunningham Circular** in 1930-31 because it forced parents to give assurance of good behavior of their children (*i.e. prevent youth from joining CDM)

7. **Impact of 1st Phase of CDM (March 1930-March 1931) (Positives)**

- a. High participation in 1st phase in both **urban & rural areas**.
- b. **MG showed more radicalism** as he didn't withdraw movt despite initial violence.
- c. **Not just NC but also CD happened** at all India level & this was important progress in INM (*as people willing to bear repression & to go to jail as CD involves breaking law while NC doesn't).
- d. **1st time** massive participation of **capitalists** especially traders who stopped importing British cloth leading to **50% decrease in import** of foreign cloth (*unlike Swadeshi movt, & like NCM 1920-22). **Depression (GD1929) also contributed** to decline in imports as demand for goods crashed, **but still important role** was of traders.
- e. **1st time** large-scale **women participation** & in both **urban & rural** areas. People were shocked to see huge gatherings of women. **MG's morality** had decreased opposition of Indian men i.e. MG's image of Mahatma and MG's focus on women empowerment in the past contributed to women entering mainstream politics. (* notice **CW of past** by MG)

8. **Impact of 1st Phase of CDM (1930-31) (Negatives)**

a. No major Working Class (*WC) participation except in Sholapur & Nagpur as

i. CPI boycotted CDM

ii. Workers not attracted to non-violent (*NV) methods.

iii. MG also not much in favor of WC participation due to fear of violence as WC under influence of communism that favors violent methods

b. Low Muslim participation due to lack of Hindu-Muslim unity (*H-M unity) as no INC-ML unity this time.

c. Middle class youth not attracted to non-violent satyagraha because were inspired by revolutionaries like **Bhagat Singh**.

d. Capitalist participation decreased as financial losses increased.

e. Peasant participation decreased gradually due to property confiscation on non-payment of tax.

f. No Rent Campaigns were started by Tenant Ryots on their own as GD1929 led to decline in crop prices making them restless. This made MG cautious as no rent campaigns could have hurt unity among Indians (*Indian ryot vs Indian Landlord).

g. Govt repression led to decline, especially after Sept 1930 (*Movt had begun in March 1930)

9. Main reason for suspension by MG was the rising violence e.g.

a. Chittagong Armory Raid (1930-33) by Indian Republican Army of Surya Sen in East Bengal.

- b. Violence after arrest of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan (or Badshah Khan or Frontier Gandhi) in **Peshawar (NWFP)**. His followers i.e. Red Shirts or Khudai Khidmatgars were protesting against harsh methods of tax collection. When police repressed, they responded with violence.
- c. Huge violence by **workers in Sholapur** after arrest of MG in May 1930 e.g. burning of liquor & foreign cloth shops, of railway station and massive strike by textile workers. They even established a **parallel govt & Br had to impose martial law**.
- d. Therefore, **CDM suspended** under **Gandhi-Irwin Pact 1931** (**recall STS strategy of MG. This was hence a truce as masses got tired & violence escalated)

Gandhi-Irwin Pact 1931 or Delhi Pact 1931 (5th March 1931)

1) Reasons

- a) For MG- Rising **violence during CDM (*1st phase 1930-31)**
- b) For Br- **1st RTC 1930 was a failure** due to non-participation of INC. Also massive participation in CDM proved that any decision without INC won't have popular support.

2) Features:

- a) **CDM** was suspended.
- b) INC to participate in **2nd RTC 1931**.
- c) **Right to make salt** for personal use.
- d) Right to **Picketing** of Liquor shops.
- e) Withdrawal of **emergency** ordinances.

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- f) Release of **political prisoners** not charged with violence
- g) Cancellation of **finances** & return of **confiscated lands** of peasants.
- h) However, British rejected **commutation** of death sentence of **Bhagat Singh** (Martyr on 23Mar1931).

Karachi Special Session of INC (March 1931)

1. INC approved MG-Irwin 2631 pact.
2. passed **resolutions on Fundamental Rights (*FRs) & National Economic Program** (was influenced by socialism;) [*to convey to people that what INC will stand for in 2nd RTC]
3. **Defined Swaraj for masses** i.e. Political freedom must include **economic freedom** [*INC will get power what will people get-? Ans= economic freedom from oppression of poor by rich- such policies will be adopted by future self govt]
4. **S.C. Bose's** supporters showed black flags to MG ["MG Go Back"] due to failure to get commutation of death sentence of Bhagat Singh [though MG had tried]. Bose & others ensured that a **tribute is paid to martyrs**- Bhagat Singh & others.

2nd RTC September (December 1931)

1. Failed due to **deadlock over Minorities pact** as all minorities [*Muslims, Anglo Indians, Europeans in India, Indian Christians, Depressed Classes,] demanded separate electorates including depressed classes led by B.R.

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Ambedkar while MG & INC opposed. (*recall Nehru Report Aug 1928 desired joint electorates)

2. British rejected demand of **Purna Swaraj**.
3. Therefore MG announced **resumption of CDM (*2nd phase 1932-34)**.
4. **Br declared** that
 - a. **NWFP** to be made a full province [*made in 1932]
 - b. **Sind** to be separated from Bombay & be accorded full province status [*done in 1936]
 - c. **Communal Award (*i.e. separate electorates)** by Govt if Indians fail to reach consensus on joint electorates.
- b) Jan 1932- **INC banned by Govt + MG imprisoned** in Yeravda prison due to decision of resuming CDM.

Communal Award/MacDonald Award (Aug 1932)

- 1) By Br PM **Ramsay Macdonald** as Indians could not reach consensus on joint electorates.
- 2) It extended **separate electorates to depressed classes** as well (*other minorities had it since 1919).
- 3) **INC neither accepted nor rejected** it since separate electorates were demanded by depressed classes themselves & was not imposed by British.

Poona Pact (Sep 1932)

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1. MG feared that **separate electorates for depressed classes will divide Hindus permanently** & make **untouchability permanent**. MG wasn't against greater reservation with joint electorates.
2. Pact was signed after **release of MG after 21 day fast** unto death against Communal Award.
3. **MG & Ambedkar** signed on behalf of Lower Castes (*LC) & **Madan Mohan Malviya signed** on behalf of Upper Castes (*UC).
4. **Pact**
 - a. rejected Communal Award (Aug 1932)
 - b. demanded **greater reservation** for depressed classes – from 71 to 147 seats in PLAs + 18% reservation in CLA.

CDM 2nd Phase (Sep1932-34)

- 1) Jan 1932- [**INC banned + MG imprisoned** in Yeravda prison due to decision of resuming CDM]
- 2) **Sep 1932- MG released** on health grounds after his 21 day fast against separate electorates to depressed classes.
- 3) Primary focus was **anti untouchability campaign**-
 - a) Asked Hindus to do **penance** + MG appealed for **complete eradication** of Untouchability.
 - b) Worked on **internal reforms of Harijans** in domains of Education, Health, Hygiene, & appealed to harijans to remove untouchability among themselves.
 - c) To lead the campaign in an organized form, MG **setup**:

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