



Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)

- The launch of Non-Cooperation movement in 1920-21 marked the beginning of mass movements in the history of the Indian freedom struggle. It was unprecedented in the sense that, non-violence, as a means of political protest, was adopted for the first time at an all India level. In fact, non-violence became a major tool in all the future mass movements launched by the Congress. Moreover, it was for the first time that the Congress officially sanctioned a movement mounting a strong opposition to the British colonial government.

Causes:

- Rowlatt Act (1919):** Indians had hoped for concessions in lieu of their support to the British war efforts, once the First World War ended. But, all their hopes were dismayed, as the imperialist bureaucracy had other plans. In fact, instead of any favor, a draconian law, the Rowlatt Act, in March 1919, was imposed on the Indian masses. It was draconian in the sense that, it perpetuated the wartime restrictions in India. It provided arbitrary powers to

the imperialist government, whereby it could arrest any individual without any warrant and without subsequent trials.

- Jallianwala Bagh massacre:** The brutal massacre of the masses protesting against the Rowlatt Act, exposed the barbaric nature of the British rule. In fact, people gathered in Jallianwala Bagh, on the day of Baisakhi, April 13, 1919, to protest against the arrest of their popular leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. Then, Amritsar Commander General Dyer, without any warning, ordered to open fire on an unarmed crowd of several thousands. Consequently, thousands of people were killed mercilessly and many were wounded.
- Hunter Committee report:** The Hunter committee report on the massacre exasperated the Congress leadership further more. In fact, this report justified the inhumane massacre on various grounds and it even acquitted General Dyer.
- The Khilafat issue:** Gandhi considered the emergence of Khilafat issue as yet another opportunity to launch a mass struggle against the British. Khilafat movement was basically a politico-

religious movement, launched by the Muslims in India. It intended to pressurize the British to reinstate the post of Khalifa of Turkey.

In fact, in order to get Muslim support during the course of the First World War, the British had promised to respect the integrity and sovereignty of Turkey. But, as the war ended, the British adopted a punitive approach towards Turkey.

Causes of the Khilafat movement:

- After the end of 1912-13 Balkan War, the London conference was organized in 1913, whereby an anti-Turkish policy was adopted by the European powers. As a result, the Muslim League was disheartened by the British.
- Then, in Paris Peace Conference, organized after the end of the First World War, Turkey was badly humiliated by the victor parties. In this way, the post of Khalifa was abolished. However, Khalifa was considered as a religious guru by the sunni Muslims. Thus, it caused discontent among the Muslims.
- Similarly, even though consistent demands were made by the Muslim League, but the government refused to provide autonomy to Aligarh Muslim University. So, it also antagonized the members of the Muslim League.

Causes behind Gandhi's support to the Khilafat movement

- Gandhi sympathized with the cause of the Khilafat movement. Moreover, he considered this movement as a golden opportunity to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity.
- He intended to oppose the British policy of 'divide and rule' with the policy of 'unite and fight'.
- Moreover, Gandhi's support to Khilafat must be understood in the context of contemporary geopolitics. In fact, after the end of the First World War, almost all the powers considered Western

imperialist forces to be invincible. But, Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha stood strong against those imperialist forces. So, while supporting the cause of Khilafat, Gandhi also joined the anti-imperialist faction against the West.

Events

- Under nationalist influence, the Muslim League passed the resolution for Non-Cooperation. Moreover, Gandhi created pressure on the Congress to launch an all India movement on the issues of Punjab wrong, Khilafat wrong as well as on the issue of Swaraj. Though, most of the Congress leaders were against the resolution of Gandhi, but it did not stop him from launching the Non-Cooperation movement on August 1, 1920. However, Congress accepted this resolution in the Calcutta session of September, 1920 and approved it in the Nagpur session of December, 1920.

Programs under the Non-Cooperation movement

- The Non-Cooperation movement included two different programs i.e. destructive programs and constructive programs. The destructive programs included renunciation of government honours and titles, boycott of government schools and colleges, boycott of law courts, boycott of foreign goods etc.
- On the other hand, constructive programs included, establishment of national education institution, establishment of village panchayats, promotion to spinning and knitting, Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability and emphasis over discipline of non-violence. Gandhi had assured the masses that, if the above mentioned programs were implemented successfully, then the Swaraj would be achieved within a year itself.

- Thus, Gandhiji and Jamanlal Bajaj renounced their titles 'Kaiser-i-Hind' and 'Rai Bahadur' respectively. Moreover, some of the renowned lawyers of their times like Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Saifuddin Kitchlew renounced the practice of law in courts. In order to make the movement sustainable, a large number of indigenous schools and colleges were opened to support the education of Indian youth. Some important institutions included, Jamia Milia Islamia, Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Bihar Vidhyapeeth and Gujrat Vidhyapeeth.
- Charkha was widely promoted and Tilak Swaraj fund was institutionalized. Even the membership of the Congress had seen an unprecedented increase and one crore rupees were collected in the Swaraj fund. Moreover, Khadi became a symbol of the national movement.
- The boycott of foreign goods was more convincingly followed so that Swadeshi elements could be strengthened further.
- After an intense violent Chauri-Chaura incident on 5th February, 1922, Gandhiji decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement on February 12, 1922.

Social Participation during the Non-Cooperation movement

- It was for the first time that peasants, students and intellectuals, Muslims as well as women participated in a movement.

Contribution of the Non-Cooperation

- Non-Cooperation movement was the first mass movement under leadership of the Congress. In fact, there was participation of different social groups during the course of this movement. Thus, Congress no longer remained to be an organization of handful of elites.
- The movement was spread extensively at regional level as well. Unlike earlier Congress movements, which spread only in the politically active regions, this

movement deeply influenced the regions like Bihar, United Province and other unconventional parts of the country.

- The policy of Boycott and Swadeshi benefitted indigenous industries. In fact, under constructive works programs of the Congress, various institutions for promotion of national education were established; for example- Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Jamia Milia Islamia etc. Moreover, Charkha was promoted in the rural areas and anti-untouchability movements were organized.
- There were structural changes in the Congress and committees were constituted at the village, taluka and district levels.
- Hindu-Muslim unity was also promoted during the course of this movement.

Limitations of the Non-Cooperation movement

- As Gandhiji called off the movement, a widespread discontent prevailed among the masses, especially among the youth. For instance, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his disagreement and Subhash Chandra Bose considered it as a national crisis. At the same time, a joint front created between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement dissolved.
- By promoting a religious issue of Khilafat to launch a nationwide movement, a wrong precedent was set in the Indian politics. It was later misused by Muslim League and thus communal elements were encouraged in the Indian politics.

Question: Discuss the background behind correlation between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements?

Answer: Due to the emergence of nationalist elements within the Muslim League, it was already distancing itself from the British. Then, due to some immediate events, the Muslim League under the influence of young leadership, adopted a resolution to launch the Khilafat movement.

1. During the struggle between Ottoman Empire and the Christian states of Eastern Europe, the Western world sided with the Christian states.
2. Even after strong opposition by the League, the government established its control over the management of Aligarh Muslim University.
3. After the end of the First World War, Turkey was severely punished under the secret Treaty of Sevres.
 - Muslim League passed Khilafat resolution, in June 1920, in Lucknow. It was supported by Gandhi. Moreover, he even put pressure on the Congress to launch an all India movement on the issues of Punjab excesses, Khilafat excesses and also on the issue of Swaraj.
 - Though, everyone in the Congress was not in support of Gandhi's proposal to launch the movement but, a special session of the Congress was convened in September 1920, in Calcutta, whereby it formally accepted the resolution of the Non-Cooperation movement. However, Gandhi had already begun canvassing for the movement in August 1920 itself. Finally, the Non-Cooperation resolution was approved by the Congress in its Nagpur session of December 1920.
 - In this way, a correlation between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement was established during the course of the Indian National Movement.
- Gandhi challenged the British approach of 'divide and rule' with his 'unite and fight' policy.
- Prof. Irfan Habib has highlighted a global perspective of the Khilafat issue. He emphasized that, after the end of the First World War, almost all the powers considered Western imperialist powers as invincible. But, Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha single handedly stood strong against Western imperialism. So, against this background, while supporting the cause of Khilafat, Gandhi also joined the anti-imperialist faction against the West.
- Gandhi believed in composite nationalism, as a result various socio-religious and caste groups while professing their separate identity could become an integral part of the common national identity.

So from the above arguments, it can be concluded that Gandhi's intention was not to promote religion in politics, rather to serve the national interest. Thus, his secular image should not be questioned upon.

Question: Critically examine the contribution of Non-Cooperation Movement during the course of the Indian National Movement:

Answer: Non-Cooperation movement can be credited with popularizing Congress leadership in nationwide politics. It also transformed the structure and objective of the Congress. It can be understood in following way-

1. The Congress movements were often limited to certain affluent sections, castes, classes in specific regions like, Bhadrak of Bengal, Chitpawan Brahmins of Maharashtra and Brahmans of Madras. But, Non-Cooperation movement influenced even unconventional areas like- Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.
2. Participation of Indian populace was massive in this movement. It had seen

Question: Does Gandhi's decision to launch a nationwide Non-Cooperation movement on the Khilafat issue put a question mark on his secular image? Give arguments in support of your view.

Answer: Intermixing religion with national politics definitely proved to be a long term irritant due to short sightedness, but still it is wrong to question Gandhi's secular approach. For this, the following reasons can be highlighted-

the participation of various social groups including educated middle class, peasants, laborers, women and Muslims. It was the first mass movement under the leadership of the Congress.

In a way, it was the largest mass movement across the contemporary world. Thus, Lord Dufferin could no longer declare Congress to be a representative of microscopic minority.

3. Also, Non-Cooperation movement widened the objective of independence. In fact, along with political freedom, its emphasis was also on social freedom. Thus, one of its important campaigns was against the evil practice of untouchability.
4. Non-cooperation movement while emphasizing the policy of boycott, promoted indigenous industries. Also, through its constructive programme, it established institutions for promoting national education. For example, Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Jamia Milia Islamia, Bihar Vidhyapeeth etc.
5. During the course of the Non-Cooperation movement, organisational reforms were also encouraged. For example, in order to further strengthen the Congress as an organization, it was stratified into different branches at village level, taluka level, district level, provincial level and national level as well.

But, there is another side to the picture as well. Non-Cooperation movement also had its own limitations, which were as follows-

1. To launch a nationwide Non-Cooperation movement on the Khilafat issue merged religion with politics.
2. When Gandhiji called off the movement abruptly, it created discontent among the masses. For instance, Jawahar Lal Nehru, expressed his disappointment, and Bose portrayed it as a national calamity. Moreover, a joint front between the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation also dissolved.

Even after above mentioned limitations, contribution of the Non-Cooperation movement was immense during the course of the Indian National Movement.

Question: Highlight the importance of the new objectives that got added to the vision of Indian Independence since the twenties of the last century. (250 words, UPSC-2017)

Answer: The twenties of twentieth century proved to be a constructive phase during the course of the Indian National Movement. In fact, during 1920s, new objectives and programs were integrated and thus, a new dimension was added to the national movement.

Earlier freedom struggle was limited to political freedom only, but during this phase meaning of freedom was widened to include economic and social freedom as well. These newly integrated objective completely transformed the nature of Indian politics.

During the 1920s, political and economic fronts of the national movement came near to each other. Moreover, emphasis was also given on elimination of internal conflicts prevailing within Indian society. These conflicts primarily prevailed between industrialists and labourers as well as between zamindars and peasants. Also, leftist i.e. communist and socialist groups became quite active during this period and continued to mobilize peasants and labourers. Apart from that, Trade Union movement was encouraged and even provincial Kisan Sabha such as Bihar Kisan Sabha, U.P. Kisan Sabha etc. were founded. During this period All India Trade Union was formed.

Objective of Social freedom

Along with caste movements, the movements to secure women's rights also added widened social dimensions of the national movement. During 1920s, Ambedkar in Maharashtra and Ramaswami Naicker in Madras made the issue of caste based exploitation as the national priority and even Gandhi also accepted it. Similarly, Annie Besant and Sarojani Naidu

campaigned for securing voting rights for women.

In this way, since the third decade of the twentieth century, Indian National movement turned to be more inclusive in nature.

Trends emerged in the mainstream national movement during the period between the Non-Cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement

- Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements were major landmarks in India's freedom struggle, but the period between these two seminal developments was not politically stagnant either.

Rural Constructive Programs

- Gandhi along with a group of Congress workers turned towards rural constructive programs and he remained engaged in those programs since 1924 to 1929. The rural constructive program included popularising the use of Charkha (spinning wheel), Prabhatpheris, cleaning of roads, organization of village panchayats, abolishment of untouchability etc.
- Bipin Chandra declared it as a strategy of struggle-truce-struggle i.e. Gandhi launched a movement and then while taking a pause, consolidated gains of that movement and also prepared the ground for the next struggle. Upon superficial observation, Gandhi's rural constructive program seem to be only symbolic and practically ineffective in nature, but in reality it had played a significant role in promoting Gandhian nationalism in rural India and widening the social base of the Congress.

Swaraj Movement

- After Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation movement, the Congress got divided into two groups i.e. 'No-Changers' and 'Swarajists'. 'No-Changers' emphasised that, Congress should concentrate all its energy towards rural constructive programs. Some of the

important leaders associated with this group were- Chakravarty Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, M.A Ansari etc. The No-Changers believed that, Gandhian constructive programs were essential to spread consciousness among rural masses before the launch of a movement.

- On the other hand, leaders like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Vitthal Bhai Patel refused to agree with the No-Changers. Instead of boycott of elections, this group preferred to contest upcoming elections and enter into the legislative councils. In this way, they intended to carry forward the ideals of Non-Cooperation movement into the councils' works and thus, to continue their protest against the British Raj. They believed that, with the membership of the council, they would be in a better position to expose the British hypocrisy of constitutional reforms. Thus, on January 1, 1923 they declared foundation of a new party as 'the Swaraj Party'.
- Even Swaraj Party also adopted the programs of the Congress and also emphasised on the importance of constructive programs. The only difference was that, this party was in support of contesting upcoming elections
- Then, Swaraj Party not only contested but registered a massive success in the elections held on November 1, 1923. In fact, it secured 42 out of the total 105 seats in the central assembly. Moreover, it secured majority of the seats in Central province, whereas, it emerged as the largest party in the Bengal assembly. Even in Bombay and United Province, its performance was praiseworthy. However, due to caste based politics and communalism, it failed to secure majority in Madras and Punjab.
- However, even after all their efforts and the support of all the social groups, the Swarajists failed to produce any long term impact through their politics of 'council entry'. Thus, the movement

disintegrated soon and the Swaraj Party was dissolved by the year 1926. Despite this, a significant contribution of the Swaraj Party was that, it reenergised the movement during its lukewarm phase.

Simon Commission (1927)

- In order to assess the functioning of the system of Diarchy, a commission was to be constituted ten years after its introduction in 1919. In this context, Simon Commission was constituted with the membership of seven, in November 1927. However, all the political parties in India opposed the commission on the following grounds-
1. The commission was constituted two years before its stipulated time.
 2. All the seven members of this commission were whites, while Lord Sinha (Satyendra Prasanna Sinha) and Saklatvala were the members of the British parliament.
 3. Indian nationalist stressed that, only a nationalist body could frame a constitution for India.
 4. Indian nationalists declared that, Swaraj was their birth right. So, Indians need not to prove their qualifications to receive it.
- As the Simon Commission arrived at Bombay coast on February 3, 1928, a nationwide boycott movement was started by almost all the political groups in India. Even, the Indian Liberal Federation, founded under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee, and the Muslim League under Jinnah vehemently opposed the commission. Moreover, Hindu Mahasabha also participate in this boycott movement against the commission.
 - In United Province, Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant protested against it. In Lucknow, Khaliquzzaman organized a protest to oppose the commission. Moreover, in Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai led the movement to oppose the Simon Commission, but he

succumbed to the injury caused due to lathi charge against the protestors. However, Simon Commission published its report in 1930.

Significance of the boycott movement against the Simon Commission

- It mobilized Indians to protest against the British Empire. Thus, it revitalized the national movement.
- There was large scale participation of students in this movement. In fact, it was for the first time that, a large number of students participated gained experience in a political movement. Consequently, various student unions emerged in the future.
- The demand of Self-rule gained much more importance for the masses during the course of this movement. Moreover, the demand for a nationalist constitution was greatly emphasized.

Nehru Report (1928)

- The development of the first self-drafted constitution of India i.e. Nehru report, is linked with the issue of Simon Commission. In fact, the secretary of state for India, Lord Birkenhead, had challenged political parties in India to prepare a constitution for India, whereby a common consensus among majority of the political groups could be developed. Consequently, Congress session was organized in 1928 and a committee with the mandate to draft a constitution for India was constituted under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru.
 - In December 1928, Nehru Report was presented to the All Parties Conference in Calcutta. It had the following main features-
1. The report proposed the "Dominion Status" for India, on the model of Dominion Status prevailing in other states under British Control. Under this system, the British would control defense and foreign affairs whereas, India would enjoy an autonomous jurisdiction in all other internal matters.

2. There was emphasis over the provision of citizenship of India along with the declaration of the fundamental rights.
3. Similar to the center, a responsible government was proposed at the provinces, which would be under the Executive Council of Governor. However, the overall structure of government was maintained to be unitary in nature, whereby residuary powers were to rest with the center.
4. Nehru Report proposed to discontinue with the system of separate electorates and create a joint electorate, whereby interests of minority groups were to be accommodated. In fact, a Universal Adult Suffrage was proposed in this report.
5. It also proposed an equal status for women, freedom to form an organization and separation of state from religion.
6. Moreover, it was declared in this report that, if the demand of Dominion Status was not accepted by the government by December 31st, 1929, then the Congress would demand complete independence (Purna-swaraj).
- **Failure:** In fact, there was conflict between the Muslim League and the Congress on some crucial issues like the issue of separate electorates. At the same time, the Nehru Committee was under pressure of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh League and thus did not accommodate the demands made by Jinnah. Consequently, the Muslim league decided to part its way from the All Parties Conference.

Lahore Session of 1929 and Demand for Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence)

- There was rising influence of youth on the Congress. These youth favored the demand of Complete Independence over Dominion Status. In fact, in order to create a wider acceptance for the resolution of Purna Swaraj, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose founded a pressure group, the

'Independence for India League' within the Congress.

- Due to Gandhi's backing, Jawaharlal Nehru was elected as the president of the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1929. In this session, many important decisions were made, which were as follows-
 1. In this session, resolution for Purna Swaraj was accepted by the Congress.
 2. Also, the resolution for Civil Disobedience Movement was accepted.
 3. In the midnight of 31st December, 1929, the Indian Tricolor flag was hoisted on the bank of the river Ravi and also, Congress asked the masses to observe 26 January, 1930 as Independence Day in the entire country.
- In a way, the Lahore resolution and declaration of Purna Swaraj was no less than a movement, because with this resolution, India moved ahead towards a new objective.

Participation of various social groups in the national movement during 1920s

Growth of Revolutionary Nationalism

- The failure of Non-Cooperation movement led to widespread discontent among the youth. Thus, a section of young population, disenchanted with the Gandhian means of protest, turned towards Revolutionary Nationalism. Consequently, Hindustan Republican Army was founded by revolutionaries Sachin Sanyal and Yogendra Chandra Chatterjee, in Kanpur, in 1924. It was founded with the objective to overthrow the imperialist power through armed resistance and to establish a federal, republic and a unified state of India.
- In order to gather funds, Hindustan Republican Army robbed a train carrying ammunition, at town of Kakori, in central Uttar Pradesh. But, most of the revolutionary leaders were arrested and tried under Kakori Conspiracy case. In the end, Ram Prasad Bismil, Thakur Roshan Singh, Ashfaqullah Khan and

Rajendra Lahiri were awarded with death sentences.

- However, after the Kakori robbery case, the party was reorganized by a revolutionary Chandra Shekhar Azad. Then, in a meeting at Firoz Shah Kotla, in 1928, the party was renamed on the initiative of Bhagat Singh, as 'Hindustan Socialist Republican Army'. In fact, it was deeply influenced by Socialist ideology.
- When Civil Disobedience Movement was at its peak in the country, then Surya Sen, a teacher in a national school at Chittagong, raided Chittagong armoury and captured it on 18 April, 1930. After this raid, Surya Sen declared establishment of a Provisional Revolutionary Government in India, whereby he himself became the president. Also, there was a large scale participation by women in the revolutionary organization.
- In the end, the revolutionaries failed to displace the British rule. However, the contribution of the revolutionaries can never be undermined because, they had always emerged to fill the void during the lukewarm phase of the mainstream national movement. In fact, through their priceless self-sacrifices, they always inculcated nationalist sentiments amongst the masses and thus, revitalized the whole national movement.

Consciousness among Peasants:

- During 1920s, various peasant organizations were constituted at the level of provinces. For instance, Kisan Sabha was founded in Awadh, which started the Bedakhli (Summary Evictions) Roko Movement in 1920-21. Then, under leadership of Madari Pasi, Eka movement was organised in North-Western United Province in 1921-22. Moreover, on the Kerela coast, Moplah peasants revolted against the Hindu landlords, which at times turned into intense communal riots between both the communities. Then, in 1928, peasants at Bardoli invited Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

to lead the Bardoli Satyagraha, whereby all the peasants resolved not to pay any taxes. Also, Sahjanand Saraswati founded Bihar Kisan Sangh in 1929.

Labour Movements

- During this time, a consciousness emerged even among the laboring classes. They participated in large numbers, in the 1920 Non-Cooperation Movement. Then, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded in the year 1920, presided by Lala Lajpat Rai.
- In fact, Communist leaders also played a significant role in organizing the laborers. During this period itself, "Peasant and Workers Party" and "Girni Kamgar Union" were founded by the Communists

Consciousness among Women

- During 1920s, a consciousness among women also emerged. In fact, women leaders like Annie Besant and Margaret Cousins founded various women organizations. Moreover, they also established the Women's Indian Association as an Indian branch of the International Women's Association.
- Then, women leaders like Annie Besant and Sarojini Naidu raised the issue of female franchise in a serious manner. Due to their efforts, women could get voting rights in Bihar province between 1921 and 1930.
- In 1927, All India Women's Conference was founded in 1927. It raised many issues ranging from Women's education to female franchise.
- Moreover, Gandhian movements also played a significant role in spreading consciousness among women. It is believed that, as compared to other popular movements of the world, including the movements under Lenin of Soviet Union, Mao Tse-Tung of China and Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam, participation of women was much larger

in the movements under Gandhian leadership.

Depressed Class Movements:

- During 1920s, the scope and meaning of 'freedom' widened to include both social as well as economic freedom. Thus, the depressed class movements should be understood in this context.
- E V Ramaswamy Naicker and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar played a significant role in spreading consciousness among the people of lower castes. In order to oppose the caste system, they burnt the copies of Manusmriti. Also, E V Ramaswamy started the Self Respect Movement against the caste system and published the journal Kudi Arasu to spread his ideas. Thus, he prepared the base for Dravidian movement.
- Dr. Ambedkar not only organized Mahars but throughout his life, he struggled for the rights of lower caste people and women. Also, he promoted the idea of social justice for their upliftment.
- **Dr. B R Ambedkar took the following steps to protect the interest of depressed classes:**
 1. He instructed Mahars to give up on cleaning activities and carrying corpses.
 2. He focused British efforts towards the upliftment of Dalits.
 3. He raised the issue of fundamental rights and separate electorates for Dalits, before the Simon Commission and Round Table Conference.
 4. He raised the issue of exploitation of Dalits within the legislative council and he ensured the protection of Dalit rights in the Constituent Assembly.

Model Questions

1. **Since the decade of the 1920s, the national movement acquired various ideological strands and thereby expanded its social base. Discuss. (250 words, UPSC-2020)**

2. **Many voices had strengthened and enriched the nationalist movement during the Gandhian phase. Elaborate. (250 words, UPSC-2019)**

Growth of Communalism

Jinnah's alienation from Congress during 1920s

- As the mass movement began under the leadership of Gandhi, Jinnah became insecure about his political status among the masses. As a result, Jinnah diverged from the Congress and emerged as a leader of the Muslim League. Thus, He promoted his communal identity among the Muslim populace.
- However, he still remained to be a liberal communalist. It could be well observed in opposition of Simon Commission by a faction of Muslim League under his leadership. Moreover, though a faction of Muslim League under Shafi Khan was completely against the joint electorates proposed by Nehru Report, but Jinnah was ready for talks on this issue.
- In fact, Nehru Report was put forth for consideration in the All Parties Conference on 22 December, 1928, in Calcutta, presided over by Dr. Ansari. During this conference, Jinnah proposed three amendments in Nehru Report with the intentions to develop consensus on the system of joint electorates and also to protect the Muslim interests. These proposals were as follows-
 1. One third seats to be reserved for Muslims in Central Legislative Councils.
 2. Muslims to be given representation based on population in five Muslim majority provinces.
 3. Residual powers to be transferred to the provinces.
- But, the All Parties Conference failed to develop a consensus. Consequently, Jinnah joined the Muslim League faction of Shafi Khan and the gulf between the League and Congress widened.

The Delhi Declaration of Jinnah

- After failure of the All Parties Conference in Calcutta, Jinnah came up with Delhi Declaration, whereby he put forth his fourteen points formula. These fourteen points demand became the basis of Muslim communal politics in India. Some of the important demands in Jinnah's declaration were-
1. The constitution of India to be federalist in nature, whereby residual powers would remain with the provinces.
 2. At least one third of the seats to be reserved for the Muslims in Central Legislative Council.
 3. To provide autonomy to all the provinces in a uniform manner. Also, to give
 4. In order to ensure the representation of all the communal groups, the system of separate electorates to be adopted.
 5. No bill or resolution to be passed by any legislature, if three fourth members of a particular community consider it to be against their interests.
- Apart from these, the fourteen points demand also included; full religious freedom for all the communities, separation of Sindh from Bombay and to have adequate representation of Muslims in the services and self-governing bodies.

