

# RAS

Rajasthan Administrative Services

Rajasthan Public Service Commission

Volume - 3

History of India



# RAS

# History of India

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## 8 CHAPTER

# The Mass Movement: Gandhian Era (1917-1925)

|     |   | PREVIOUS YEAR                             | QUES    | TIONS                                  |  |  |
|-----|---|---|---------|--|--|--|
| QI. | Who was the President of the special session of Indian National Congress held in Calcutto<br>in September, 1920 in which the resolution of Non-Cooperation Movement was passed? |   |         |  |  |  |
|     |   |   |         |  |  |  |
|     |   |   |         | (2023)                                 |  |  |
|     | (1)   | Dadabhai Naoroji                          | (2)     | Maulana Abul Kalam Azad                |  |  |
|     | (3)   | Lala Lajpat Rai                           | (4)     | Vijaya Raghavachari                    |  |  |
|     | (5)   | Question not attempted                    |         |  |  |  |
| Q2. | Whic  | h of the following election/s of the Cen  | tral Le | gislative Assembly was/were held under |  |  |
|     | the o   | Government of India Act, 1919?            |         | (2018)                                 |  |  |
|     | (A)   | 1926                                      | (B)     | 1937                                   |  |  |
|     | (C)   | 1945                                      |         |  |  |  |
|     | Selec   | ct the correct answer using code given b  | elow:   |  |  |  |
|     | Code  | s:  |         |  |  |  |
|     | (1)   | (A) only                                  | (2)     | (B) and (C)                            |  |  |
|     | (3)   | (A) and (C)                               | (4)     | (A). (B) and (C)                       |  |  |
| Q3. | Choo  | se the correct chronological order of the | follow  | uing events: (2018)                    |  |  |
|     | (i)   | Lucknow Pact                              | (ii)    | Formation of Swaraj Party              |  |  |
|     | (iii)   | Jallianwala Massacre                      | (iv)    | Death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak           |  |  |
|     | Selec   | ct the answer from the following code:    |         |  |  |  |
|     | (1)   | (i), (iv), (iii) & (ii)                   | (2)     | (iv), (iii), (i) & (ii)                |  |  |
|     | (3)   | (i), (iii), (iv) & (ii)                   | (4)     | (i), (ii), (iii) & (iv)                |  |  |
| Q4. | Iden  | tify the incorrect statement about Gover  | nment   | of India Act 1919: (2016)              |  |  |
|     | (1)   | The Government of India Act 1919 came     | e into  | force in 1921.                         |  |  |
|     | (2)   | This Act is also known as Morley Minto    | Refo    | rms Act.                               |  |  |
|     | (3)   | Montagu was the Secretary of State fo     | or Indi | a and Lord Chelmsford was the Vicerog  |  |  |
|     |   | of India.                                 |         |  |  |  |
|     | (4)   | This Act separated the Central and Pro    | vincial | subjects.                              |  |  |

Analysis- Indian National Movement (1915-1940)-Indian nation movement is very important for RAS exam perspective as every year one or more than questions are asked. Generally questions are asked from Congress session, chronology of events and pact, Govt of India act (1919, 1935). This chapter is highly relevant for RAS mains exam where candidates comprehensive understanding is tested so mains perspective focus should be on reasons, significance and weakness of the movements (Like Non Cooperation-Khilafat, Civil Disobedience).

Keeping this in mind we have covered this chapter holistically.

The Gandhian era is marked by mass-based struggle. Earlier, the nationalists' activities were confined to a few intellectuals and groups, however, with the arrival of Gandhiji the national movement took a turn and it marked a new era in the history of freedom struggle in India. Under his leadership, Indians came together and united themselves against their common enemy.

## Gandhi's Early Life

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: Born on 2nd October 1869, in Porbandar, Gujarat.
- Study: Law in London and went to Natal in South Africa to work in a law firm in 1898.
- South Africa: His ideologies developed and changed when he faced racial discrimination at the hands of Europeans or the whites.
- Pietermaritzburg station incident (June 7, 1893) during his visit to Pretoria, despite having a first-class ticket, Gandhi was asked to move to a third-class compartment because of his race.
  On his refusal to comply, he was thrown out of the train at Pietermaritzburg station.
- The train incident left Gandhiji shocked and angered at the racial treatment accorded to Asians and Africans. He decided to stay in South Africa to organize the Indian workers to enable them to fight for their rights.

## <u>Gandhi's Struggle in South Africa</u> <u>Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894–1906)</u>

- Gandhiji sent petitions to the authorities in South Africa and Britain to let the authorities know of the plight of Indians, and hoped that they would take sincere steps to redress their grievances.
- > 1894: Gandhiji set up the Natal Indian Congress.

- > 1903: Started a newspaper Indian Opinion (in Hindi, English, Gujarati, and Tamil) to unite different sections of Indians and voice their grievances. The word "Satyagraha" was coined for the first time in the paper.
- > 1904: Set up Phoenix Ashram, here he published his first book 'India Home Rule' (in English).

  His cottage in this ashram was called Sarvodaya.

## The Phase of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha (1906-1914)

- > He made use of passive resistance or civil disobedience, which was called satyagraha. He campaigned against many issues such as:
  - ✓ Against Registration certificates (1906): It was mandatory for Indians to carry all time their Registration certificates. This was a discriminatory rule and Gandhi resisted this through Satyagraha.
  - ✓ Against Restriction of Indian migration: Indians in the leadership of Gandhi defied this rule
    by crossing over from one province to other without showing license.
  - ✓ Against Poll tax and Invalidation of Indian marriages: a poll tax was imposed on ex-indentured Indians also a Supreme court order invalidated all marriages not conducted according to christian rituals. These rules angered Indians and resisted in the leadership of Gandhi.
  - ✓ Gandhi also protested against the Transvaal Immigration Act by illegally migrating from Natal into Transvaal.

#### Mahatma Gandhi's Technique of Satyagraha -

- > Three basic tenets: Truthfulness, non-violence, and fearlessness.
- > Non-cooperation and boycott are its weapons.
- > Accept suffering in the struggle against the wrong-doer.
- > No hatred feeling even toward the enemy.
- > Always follow the right path and never bow before the evil, whatever the consequence.
- Means equally necessary as end.

## Mahatma Gandhi's Arrival in India

- > January 1915: He returned to India.
- > On the advice of his political guru, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, he decided to tour the country to oversee the condition of the masses and not to get politically involved in any matter for at least one year.
- > Gandhi was not in favor of Home Rule agitation as Britain was in the middle of a war. He advocated for a non-violent satyagraha to meet nationalist aims.
- During 1917 and 1918, he was involved in three struggles—in Champaran, Ahmedabad, and Kheda.

## Champaran Satyagraha (1917)

- > Gandhi's first Civil Disobedience in India.
- The European planters forced Champaran peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 their land, known as the tinkathia system, and sell it at fixed prices. Rajkumar Shukla, a local farmer, invited Gandhi to address their issues.
- Gandhiji along with Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul-Haq, Mahadeo Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani reached Champaran to probe into the matter.



- The government appointed a committee to go into the matter and Gandhiji was a member of this committee. He successfully argued for the abolition of the tinkathia system and secured partial compensation for the farmers. This marked Gandhi's first victory in India's civil disobedience movement.
- Gandhi convinced authorities that the tinkathia system should be abolished and the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them (only 25% of the money taken should be compensated).

#### Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)

- > First Hunger Strike of Gandhiji in India.
- March 1918: Gandhi took up the cause of workers of the cotton mill of Ahmedabad over the issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus. The mill owners wanted to discontinue the bonus but the workers demanded a rise of 50% in their wages to keep up with the wartime inflation caused by Britain's involvement in the First World War.



- Result: The mill owners agreed to a 20% wage hike. So, the workers went on strike.
- The workers sought help from Anusuya Sarabhai, a social worker and sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, a mill owner and president of the Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association. She asked Gandhi to intervene, believing he was respected by both the mill owners and the workers.
- ➤ Gandhiji on analyzing the situation asked the workers to go on a strike and demand a 35% increase in wages instead of 50%. Gandhiji asked workers to follow the strategy of non-violence while on strike.
- On the fourth day of the strike, the tribunal gave its decision awarding the workers a 35% wage hike.

## Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- > First Non-Cooperation of Gandhiji in India.
- Due to drought and subsequent crop failure in 1918, the peasants of the Kheda district in Gujarat were demanding a suspension of revenue tax. But the Government refused the peasant's demand
- > Gandhiji supported the peasants on this issue and asked the farmers not to pay the taxes.
- > The non-cooperation was led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel along with Narahari Parikh, and Ravi Shankar Vyas. Finally, the government agreed with the farmers and was ready to recover tax only from those peasants who could afford to pay.

#### Importance of these three events

- > The movements demonstrated Gandhi's style and method of politics
- > The movements allowed Gandhiji to study the affairs of the state and of the masses and thus helped in understanding their strengths and weaknesses.

## Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Government of India Act, 1919

- > It came into force in 1921. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford was the Viceroy of India.
- The elections of the Central Legislative Assembly were held under the Government of India Act, 1919 in the year 1926 and 1945.
- Separate electorates for Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans also.
- > Provided for setting up a Central Service Commission for recruiting civil servants.
- Separation of Central and Provincial subjects; provincial subjects were further divided into Transferred subjects and Reserved Subjects
- > Provision for 3 out of 6 members of Viceroy's executive council to be Indian.
- > Introduced bicameralism and direct elections

### Provincial Government (Legislative)

- Expansion of legislative councils, women were given voting rights
- The governor could veto bills and issue ordinances.
- The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.

#### Central Government (Legislative)

- Introduced bicameral legislature.
- The Council of State had a term of 5 years and had only male members.
- The Central Legislative Assembly had a term of 3 years.
- Secretary of State for India to be paid out
   of the British exchequer.

## Government of India Act, 1919

#### Provincial Government (Executive)

- Introduced Dyarchy in Provinces Rule of two -Executive Councilors and Popular Ministers.
- Division of Subjects
- I.Reserved Subjects: Administered by the Governor through the executive council.
- 2. Transferred Subjects: Administered by Ministers nominated from the elected legislative council members.
- Ministers: Responsible to the legislature; Executive Councilors: Not responsible to the legislature.
- In case of failure, Governor takes over the administration of transferred subjects.

#### Central Government (Executive)

- Non responsible government at all India level.
- The chief executive authority was the governorgeneral.
- The viceroy's executive council had eight members (3 of them were to be indians).
- In the provinces, the reserved subjects were under the control of the governor-general.
- The governor-general had the power to restore cuts in grants, certify bills rejected by the central legislature, and issue ordinances.

**NOTE:** Secretary of State for India and Governor-General: Can interfere in Reserved Subjects; Limited interference in Transferred Subjects.

## Congress's Reaction

- Bombay session 1918: Special session presided over by Hasan Imam, the Congress termed the reforms "disappointing" and "unsatisfactory" and demanded effective self-government instead.
- Annie Besant found the reforms "unworthy of England to offer and India to accept".
- > Surendranath Banerjea was in favor of accepting the government proposals.

## The Rowlatt Act (1919)

- The Rowlatt Act was officially called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.
- The act was recommended by a committee headed by Sir Sidney Rowlatt, to investigate the 'seditious conspiracy' of the Indian people.
- > The act allowed the arrest of Indians without a warrant on the mere suspicion of treason. There was no court of appeal above that panel.
- The law of habeas corpus was suspended as per this act and restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly were re-imposed in India.

#### Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act— First Mass Strike

- > Gandhi called the Rowlatt Act the "Black Act" and gave a call for a mass protest at an all-India level.
- > February 1919: Gandhiji organized a Satyagraha Sabha and roped in younger members of Home Rule Leagues and the Pan Islamists.
- Methods of resistance: A nationwide hartal (strike) along with fasting and prayer, civil disobedience against specific laws, and courting arrest and imprisonment.
- Satyagraha was to be launched on April 6, 1919.
- Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab at that time.

## <u> Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (April 13, 1919)</u>

- > On 6th April 1919, Gandhiji was arrested and subsequently on 9th April nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were arrested by the British officials.
- Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, a senior British officer was entrusted with the responsibility to impose martial law and restore order in Punjab



- following the arrests. He issued a proclamation forbidding people from leaving the city without a pass and from organizing demonstrations or processions or assembling in groups of three or more.
- > On Baisakhi day, people unaware of the prohibitory orders gathered in the Jallianwala Bag.

  Brigadier-General Dyer arrived and ordered fire on the unarmed crowd without any warning.
- > In protest, Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood
- > Gandhiji gave up the title of Kaiser-i-Hind, bestowed by the British for his work during the Boer War.
- > Gandhiji withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.
- > Udham Singh, who bore the name Ram Mohammad Singh Azad, later assassinated Michael O'Dwyer in London in 1940. Udham Singh was hanged for his deed.
- > October 14, 1919: Hunters commission was formed to investigate the matter of Jalianwala bag massacre. Three Indians were among the members of the committee, namely, Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan, and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan.
- > Committee did not impose any penal or disciplinary action on Dyer because of the Indemnity
  Act that was passed by the government to protect its officers.
- > C. Shankaran Nair single Indian member of Viceroy council resigned in opposition to Rowlatt Act.

## Non Cooperation Khilafat Movement

> 1919-1922: Khilafat movement and the Non-Cooperation movement were organized to oppose British rule in India. The movements adopted a unified plan of action of non-violence and non-cooperation.

#### Causes -

- a. The Rowlatt Act, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre exposed the brutal and uncivilized face of the foreign rule.
- b. The Hunter Commission on the Punjab atrocities proved to be eyewash. The House of Lords (of the British Parliament) endorsed General Dyer's action.
- c. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms with their ill- conceived scheme of Dyarchy failed to satisfy the rising demand of the Indians for self-government.
- d. The economic situation of the country in the post-War years had become alarming with a rise in prices of commodities, decrease in production of Indian industries, increase in burden of taxes and rents etc.

#### Khilafat Issue

- Muslims all over the world regarded the sultan of Turkey as their spiritual leader Khalifa. They demanded that Khalifa should retain control over Muslim sacred places, and be left with sufficient territories after territorial arrangements.
- > British after Ist World war removed Khalifa from its power because Turkey had allied with Germany and Austria against the British.
- In early 1919, a Khilafat Committee under leadership of the Ali brothers (Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali), Maulana Azad, Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani was formed, to force British government to change its attitude towards Turkey.

## Development of the Khilafat Non-Cooperation Programme

In november 1919, the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi called for a boycott of British goods. Gandhi, as president of the Committee, aimed to unite Hindus and Muslims against British rule. However, M.A. Jinnah opposed the Khilafat movement, believing it would mix religion with politics, despite the Muslim League supporting it.



- May 1920: The Treaty of Sevres was signed which completely dismembered Turkey.
- > June 1920: Gandhiji was asked to lead a program of the boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts at an all-party conference in Allahabad. Gandhi decided to start a movement from August 1920.

- September 1920: At a special session of the Congress in Calcutta, Gandhiji launched the non-violent, non-cooperation movement. It was approved by Congress.
- Objectives
  - a. Redress the injustice done to Punjab (Jallianwala Bagh tragedy)
  - b. Khilafat issue.
  - c. Attain Swaraj for India using peaceful and legitimate means.
- The method of non-cooperation included boycott of-
  - ✓ Educational institutes run by the Government.
  - ✓ law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead.
  - ✓ Legislative councils
  - ✓ Foreign cloth and use of khadi
- Other Methods -
  - ✓ Promote the practice of hand-spinning.
  - ✓ Renunciation of government honors and titles
  - ✓ Campaign for non-payment of taxes to be launched.
  - ✓ Promote Hindu-Muslim unity and work for removal of untouchability.

#### NOTE: December 1920 - The Nagpur Session (President-C. Vijayraghavachari) endorsed-

- √ The program of non-cooperation
- ✓ Attainment of Swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means making use of mass struggle.
- ✓ A congress working committee (CWC) of 15 members to be set up to lead the Congress.
- ✓ Membership fee was lowered to 25 paise.
- ✓ Provincial congress committee were organized on linguistic basis.

#### Spread of the Movement

- Gandhiji along with Ali's brothers undertook a nationwide tour.
- Thousands of students left government schools and colleges.
- Jamia Millia Islamia was established in 1920 at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth in 1921 along with Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Bihar Vidyapeeth.
- Many lawyers like Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das etc gave up their practices.
- Foreign clothes were boycotted and burnt publicly, and their imports fell by half.
- Picketing of shops selling foreign liquor and goods.
- > The Tilak Swaraj Fund was established to finance the movement and it was oversubscribed, and one crore rupees were collected.
- Congress volunteer corps were established.

- July 1921: Ali brothers asked Muslims to resign from the Army calling it irreligious.
- > Gandhiji supported the call and a similar resolution was passed by the Congress committees.

  The Ali brothers were arrested for this.
- Local movements also erupted in various parts of the country such as the Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), Eka Movement (UP), Moppila Revolt (Malabar), and the Sikh agitation in Punjab.

## People's Response

- The middle-class population participated in the movement in its initial phase, however, later they stayed away due to a lot of reservations about Gandhi's program.
- > Small business groups lent support to the movement as the economic boycott had led to decreased imports, and it benefited from the use of swadeshi. The big business groups remained skeptical towards the movement, fearing labor unrest in their factories.
- > Peasants participated in huge numbers.
- > Students became active volunteers of the movement, and thousands of them boycotted the government schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges.
- Women came out in large numbers and even offered their ornaments for the Tilak Fund. They took an active part in the picketing of shops selling foreign cloth and liquor.
- Muslims participated in massive numbers and the movement was marked with communal unity, despite the events like Moppila Uprisings.

#### Government Response

- > Police resorted to firing which took the lives of a number of people.
- > Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Organizations were declared unlawful and illegal.
- > Public meetings were banned and most of the leaders barring Gandhiji were arrested.
- > Government imposed severe repressive measures on the protesters.
- Volunteer corps were declared illegal, the press was controlled and most of the nationalist leaders except Gandhiji were jailed.

## Chauri Chaura Incident

- February 5, 1922: The police beat up the leader of a group of volunteers campaigning against liquor sales and high food prices and then opened fire on a Congress procession of 3000 peasants at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh.
- > To avenge this, the agitated crowd burnt the police station with policemen inside who had taken shelter there, killing 22 policemen.
- Gandhi, on witnessing the violent trend of the movement, immediately announced the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement.



- > 12 February 1922: The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli (Gujarat) and withdrew the Non Cooperation Movement.
- > C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru did not support the suspension of the movement.
- In March 1922, Gandhiji was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail.

#### Why Gandhiji Withdrew the Non-Cooperation Movement?

- Gandhiji suspended the movement for its non-violent nature as he believed that such violence could easily be suppressed by the colonial regime.
- Movement needed to halt as masses were showing signs of fatigue.
- ➤ Central theme of agitation: Khilafat question was not more relevant as in November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal Pasha and deprived the sultan of political power. Turkey was then made a secular state.

#### Significance of Non-Cooperation Movement

- Urban Muslims were brought into the fold of the movement, Hindu-Muslim unity was at its peak.
- 2. The leaders toured the country extensively and politicized every stratum of the population—
  the artisans, peasants, students, urban poor, women, traders, etc.
- 3. The masses had now lost the fear of colonial rule and its mighty repressive organs.
- 4. Gandhi emerged as undisputed leader and transformed congress from elite organization to mass base organization.
- 5. Movement had a great geographical reach as classes which had never participated, also participated in this movement like Bijolia movement of Rajasthan.
- 6. Anti liquor campaign had led to significant loss of revenue in Punjab, Bihar etc.
- 7. Movement brought the issue of untouchability to national level for the 1st time.
- 8. National education institution like Jamia, Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Gujrat Vidhyapeeth were established.