GS-1

SARRTHI IAS

MAINS MODULE

HISTORY

MODERN HISTORY

INDIA NATIONAL MOVEMENT



NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

ORIGIN OF CONCEPT OF NON-COOPERATION

British rule because of cooperation of indians

Mahatma Gandhi said in his renowned book Hind Swaraj (1909) that British rule in India was founded with the participation of Indians and had persisted only because of their cooperation.

Without indians comply british will end

If Indians failed to comply, British control in India would end in a year, and Swaraj would take its place.

Success of the Rowlatt Satyagraha

With the success of the Rowlatt Satyagraha under him, Gandhiji decided to take things to the next level, from Satyagrah to Non-Cooperation.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SARRTHI IAS

BACKGROUND OF MOVEMENT

Launch

On August 1, 1920, the 'Non-Cooperation-Khilafat' Movement was launched.

Calcutta Congress resolution

In September 1920, the Congress passed a resolution in Calcutta, presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, agreeing to Gandhiji's plan for non-cooperation with the government until the wrongs of Punjab (Jalianwala Bagh) and Khilafat were undone and Swaraj was established.

Each with its own special objective

Various socioeconomic groups engaged in this movement, each with its own special objective, and it was ratified in Nagpur Session in December 1920.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

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BACKGROUND OF MOVEMENT

Swaraj's appeal

They all reacted to Swaraj's appeal, although the term meant different things to different people.

Challenged the foundations of the British Empire

For the first time since the 1857 insurrection, non-cooperation challenged the foundations of the British Empire.

Boost to the movement

Gandhiji famously stated, "**Swaraj is possible within one year if non-cooperation is maintained** as a movement."

Students participation

Thousands of students deserted British schools and universities, and a new crop of **national schools and institutions arose, including Jamia Milia, Kashi Vidyapith, Bihar Vidyapith, and others.** These institutes were led by many leaders, including Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Zakir Hussain.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

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BACKGROUND OF MOVEMENT

Tilak-Swaraj fund

The Tilak-Swaraj fund, established to honour Tilak and fuel national feelings, was oversubscribed by more than Rs 1 crore.

Opposition of Jinnah

Jinnah and Malviya opposed the idea of Swaraj, and Jinnah quit the Congress after a 15-year association.

Participation of leaders

Many prominent nationalists from the Central Provinces, including Motilal Nehru, Prushottam Das Tandon, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, G B Pant, and Lal Bahadur Shastri, took part. Lala Lajpat Rai led the Punjab peasants, Baba Ram Chandra led the Avadh peasants, and Pattabhai Sitaramaiya led the Andhra peasants.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SARRTHI IAS

BACKGROUND OF MOVEMENT

Non-cooperation in Towns

The movement began with middle-class participation in cities. Thousands of students quit government-run institutions and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned, and lawyers ceased practising.

Council elections of 1920 boycotted

The council elections of 1920 were boycotted in all provinces except Madras, where the Justice Party, the non-Brahman party, believed that entering the council was one way to obtain power.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

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SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- **Unprecedented enthusiasm throughout the country & Gandhi's leadership accepted by masses.**
- **Evolution of political consciousness of the India Muslims.**
- **Hindu-Muslim unity-** First time Both Hindus & Muslims collaborate for a national goal i.e Swaraj.
- **Economic consequences:**
  - **Boycott of British Goods:** The boycott of British goods, especially textiles, significantly impacted British economic interests in India.
  - **Promotion of Swadeshi:** Encouraged the use of Indian-made goods and revitalized indigenous industries.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- **Political Impact-**
  - **Challenging Colonial Authority**: Demonstrated the potential to challenge British authority without the use of violence.
  - **Political Training**: Provided political training and experience to a new generation of leaders and activists.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

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SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- **End of Moderate Phase**
  - **Shift in Tactics:** Marked a clear departure from the earlier moderate phase of petitions and constitutional reforms to more direct action.
  - **Rise of Gandhi:** Solidified Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in the Indian National Congress and the broader freedom movement.
  - **Non-Cooperation in Rural Areas:** The movement moved from cities to rural areas, including peasant and tribal areas.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

REASONS FOR GANDHI WITHDREW FROM THE MOVEMENT

- **Chauri-Chaura incidents:** Gandhi believed that people had not fully learned or grasped the nonviolent way. Incidents like Chauri-Chaura might spark the kind of passion and energy that would render the movement violent in general.
- **Violent movement:** A violent movement could be readily suppressed by the colonial authority, which could exploit the incidences of violence as a reason to utilise the State's armed force against the protestors.
- **Signs of wear and tear**: 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.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SARRTHI IAS

REASONS FOR GANDHI WITHDREW FROM THE MOVEMENT

- **British Not interested in negotiations:** The government appeared to be not interested in negotiations.
- **Khilafat issue faded:** The agitation's core focus, the Khilafat issue, likewise 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.
- **Rewrote 'The Treaty of Sevres':** The British rewrote 'The Treaty of Sevres' in favour of Turkey. The cause of unity vanished, and Muslims were no longer associated with Congress.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

REASONS FOR GANDHI WITHDREW FROM THE MOVEMENT

- **Ali brothers' and Muslims' support:** The Ali brothers' and Muslims' support was **religious rather than nationalistic**. As their support for the cause dwindled, so did theirs.
- **Moplah incident:** The Moplah incident caused tremendous hostility between Hindus and Muslims.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SARRTHI IAS

REASONS FOR GANDHI WITHDREW FROM THE MOVEMENT

ACHIEVEMENTS	FAILURES
• **Congress became a popular party:** Previously, one of the most serious criticisms levelled against Congress was that it was a party of elites representing just a fraction of the population. • **Participation of all sections:** For the first time, participants came from all sections. From the 1920 Congress Session, the joining cost was significantly cut, as was the age of joining, taking it into even villages and expanding its mass base. • **Powerful leaders emerged:** The Khilafat movement produced several powerful leaders, including Maulana Azad, Saifuddin Kitchlew, M A Ansari, and others.	• **Swaraj not accomplished:** Swaraj, as declared, was not accomplished in a year. Many people were disappointed by this. • **Muslim Alienation:** Failure of Non-Cooperation also means failure of Khilafat. The Ali brothers blamed Congress for their failure. Further congressional actions drew less enthusiastic cooperation from Muslims. • **Divide in Congress:** With the recall of the movement, many disliked it, while others grew eager to participate in provincial elections, giving birth to the Swaraj Party. • **Revival of Revolutionary activity:** This also gave birth to the second phase of revolutionary activity following Bengal's division.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1919 TO 1922)

SARRTHI IAS

REASONS FOR GANDHI WITHDREW FROM THE MOVEMENT

ACHIEVEMENTS	FAILURES
• **Charkha as a National Symbol:** Gandhi provided fresh intellectual backing in the shape of nonviolence and satyagraha, which later became crucial tools for national resistance. • **Muslims also participated:** With the exception of the Moplah insurrection in Malabar, the movement saw Muslim participation. • **Remove British fear:** Removed people's fear of British might from their thoughts. • **Educational institutes formed:** Many educational institutes were formed, including Jamia Milia Islamia, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Kashi Vidyapith, Gujarat Vidyapith, and others.	• **Mass Reach:** Khadi was unaffordable to the poor, which drove the middle and lower classes away from the movement.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

- The Government of India Act of 1919, the 1923 elections, and several other key events led to the formation of the Swaraj Party. The Party fought against the British Raj to give the Indian people more political and self-government freedom.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

SARRTHI IAS

REASONS FOR FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

Decision to call off

Gandhiji's decision to call off the agitation enraged the masses. His judgement was harshly criticised by his colleagues, including Motilal Nehru, C R Das and N C Kelkar, Vithalbhai Patel, G S Kaparde, S Srinivas Iyenger, and M R Jaykar, who founded the Swaraj Party.

Congress Khilafat–Swarajya Party

The 'Congress Khilafat-Swarajya Patty' laid the groundwork for the 'Swaraj Party' on January 1, 1923.

Enter legislative councils

It then proposed a restrictive programme that would encourage its members to enter legislative councils (established under the Montford Reforms of 1919) by contesting elections in order to wreck the legislature from within and use moral pressure to compel the authority to concede to the popular demand for self- government.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

REASONS FOR FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

Pro-changers & No-changers

- The supporters of the entry into the council were known as **'Pro Changers,' and included C R Das, Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and N C Kelkar**, while the opponents were known as **'No- Changers,' and included Vallabhai, Rajendra Prasad, Vijiaraghavachariar, and C Rajgopalachari.**
  - **Gaya session:** The proposal for admittance of pro-changers was rejected in the Congress Gaya Session.
  - **Productive work among the masses:** They (No-Changers) stated that entering councils would distract them from doing productive work among the masses and that legislatures entering councils would eventually get pulled into the system and converted to become rubber stamps.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

REASONS FOR FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

Swaraj Party as a part of the Congress

- Pro-Changers seized on the concept and established the Swaraj Party. Later, in a meeting in Delhi in 1923, the conflicts were resolved to a significant extent, and it was proclaimed that the Swaraj Party is a part of the Congress.
  - **Initially Gandhi's opposition:** When Gandhiji returned from prison, he was initially hostile to the idea of Council Entry, as well as the idea of Swarajists impeding council operations on ideological grounds.
  - **Accept the constructive work:** As the British hoped for an interruption Gandhi began to accept the constructive work of Swarajists in Congress, and **Swarajists were given full support at the Belgam Session of 1924.**

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

REASONS FOR FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

Dominion Status as immediate goal

The Sawaraj Party's manifesto stated that "while swaraj is the ultimate goal of the party, the immediate goal would be Dominon Status" and that "it is a party within Congress and not a rival party."

Non-cooperation within the legislature

It claimed that they will engage in non-cooperation within the legislature, disrupting business and drawing attention to national issues.

Elections and Repercussions

The party ran in the 1923-24 elections and gained a majority of seats despite having less time to prepare. It also created **coalition governments in provinces and raised crucial topics in legislative assemblies.**

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

Reasons for decline of Swaraj Party

Withdraw from legislatures

Following the **death of CR Das in 1925, Swarajists decide to withdraw** from legislatures in response to the government's failure to implement self-rule reforms.

'Responsivist Party

However, other members elected to stay and join a distinct party, the 'Responsivist Party,' which still supported cooperation with the British (Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malviya, NC Kelkar, and M R Jayakar).

1926 election performance

Due to community campaigns by other parties, weakening leadership, anti-incumbency, and other factors, the party **did not do as well in the 1926 elections** as it had previously.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

EVALUATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

SUCCESS	SWARAJIST FAILURES
• **Defeating the Public Safety Bill:** Nonetheless, it managed to pull off some good jobs, such as defeating the Public Safety Bill of 1928, which attempted to deport subversive elements inspired by communist ideology. • **Filled the political void:** They filled the political void left by Gandhiji's absence from the political scene when the national movement was at its weakest. • **Exposed the hollowness:** They exposed the hollowness of the 1919 Act.	• **Unable to make a dent in government policies:** They were unable to make a dent in government policies and were soon drawn into power politics. • **Unable to connect:** They were unable to connect with the general public. • **Alienated Muslim supporters:** They alienated Muslim supporters of rural interests.

SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

EVALUATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

SUCCESS	SWARAJIST FAILURES
• **Political awareness:** The active engagement of Motilal and CR Das in the assembly drew the attention of the media, which served to pique people's interest in the workings of Legislative assemblies and raised their political awareness level. • **Revealed the true nature of regional governments:** It revealed the true nature of regional governments as well as the **hollowness of the 1919 reforms.** • **Intensive budget study:** It also effectively revealed the budget, and for the first time, an intensive budget study was performed.	• **Suffering of Bengal's peasants:** They were likewise powerless to alleviate the suffering of Bengal's peasants.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

- **Introduction:** Created in reaction to the nationalist movement, the commission was tasked with investigating the functioning of the constitutional system facilitated by the 1919 Act in India and making recommendations for modifications. The Simon Commission was established in **1928.**
- **Committee to review the progress of the governance model:** The Indian population demanded that the burdensome diarchy system of government be revised, and the Government of India Act 1919 itself stated that a committee would be constituted after ten years to review the progress of the governance model.
- **Not a single Indian member:** The Indian people were enraged and insulted because the Simon Commission, which was to determine India's future, did not include a single Indian member.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

PROPOSALS OF SIMON COMMISSION

- **Outline of a new constitution:** An outline of a new constitution was proposed.
- **Diarchy should be abolished:** Diarchy should be abolished, and Ministers accountable to the Legislature should be entrusted with all provincial responsibilities. It was staunchly opposed to diarchy in the centre. Instead of a diarchy, it advocated for a responsible provincial government.
- **Proposed a fully federal union:** It proposed that a fully federal union, embracing both British India and the Princely States, was the only long-term answer for a united, autonomous India.
- **Franchise be expanded:** It proposed that the franchise be expanded and the Legislature is expanded.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

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IMPACT OF THE APPOINTMENT OF SIMON COMMISSION ON THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

- **Massive socio economic reforms along socialist lines:** It provided a boost to radical elements demanding not only complete independence but also massive socioeconomic reforms along socialist lines.
- **Organise mass action:** When the Simon Commission was announced, the Congress, which had no active plan, was given an issue on which to organise mass action.
- **Prospects for Indian unity:** Lord Birkenhead's challenge to Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution was embraced by many political groupings, and therefore prospects for Indian unity appeared bright at the moment.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

SARRTHI IAS

RECOMMENDATIONS OF NEHRU REPORT (1928)

- India should be granted **Dominion Status** with a Parliamentary form of government and a **bi-cameral legislature consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives.**
- The Senate will have 200 members elected for seven years, while the House of Representatives will have 500 members elected for five years.
- The **Governor-General will make decisions based on the advice of the Executive Council**. It will be collectively accountable to the legislature.
- In India, a **federal form of government** should be established, with the **Centre retaining residuary powers.**

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

SARRTHI IAS

RECOMMENDATIONS OF NEHRU REPORT (1928)

- There will be **no separate electorate for minorities** because it incites communal feelings; therefore, it should be abolished and a joint electorate established.
- There will be no reserved seats for Punjabi and Bengali communities. However, Muslim seats may be reserved in provinces with a Muslim population of at least 10%.
- The **judiciary must be separate from the executive.**
- At the Centre, Muslims should account for one-quarter of the population.
- Sind should be separated from Bombay if it can demonstrate financial independence.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

SARRTHI IAS

WHY REPORT WAS OPPOSED?

- **Abolished the Communal/Separate Electorate:** It abolished the Communal/Separate Electorate, which enraged the Muslim League and other minority populations.
- **Dominion Status:** It requested Dominion Status rather than complete Independence - on this point, even Jawahar Lal disagreed with his father (as seen by his desire for Purna Swaraj a year later). The 'Independence for India League' was founded by Nehru and Subhash.
- **Sectarian clash:** The report was not accepted by the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, or fervent Sikhs, and it prepared the scenario for a sectarian clash.

SIMON COMMISSION (1928)

DEMAND OF PURNA SWARAJ (1929)

- The Indian National Congress, on 19 December 1929, passed the historic **'Purna Swaraj' – (total independence) resolution – at its Lahore session.**
- A public declaration was made on **26 January 1930 –** a day which the Congress Party urged Indians to celebrate as **'Independence Day'.**
- The declaration was passed due to the breakdown of negotiations between leaders of the freedom movement and the British over the question of dominion status for India

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1930

- Following the government's inaction on the Nehru Report and its failure to agree on any demand for even dominion status, Gandhiji sought a fresh strategy amid mounting discontent among the Congress and the nation as a whole.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1930

DEMANDS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

- **Demand for Purna Swaraj:** On January 31, 1930, shortly after the demand for Purna Swaraj was made, he submitted a **letter to Viceroy Irwin outlining eleven demands (11 points).**
- **Broaden objective:** The objective was to broaden the demands so that all classes within Indian society could connect with them and join forces in a single campaign.
- **Prominent Demands:** These included, among other things, **total prohibition, the release of political prisoners, the levy of duty on foreign cloth, the issuance of fire arm licences, the reduction of land revenue by 50%,** the reduction of the Rupee Sterling exchange ratio to make Indian exports profitable, the reserve of coastal shipping for Indians, and the abolition of the salt tax.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1930

DEMANDS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

- **Most stirring demand:** The most stirring demand was to **repeal the salt charge.** Salt was something that was consumed by both the rich and the poor, and it was one of the most important food items.
- **Exposed the most repressive face of British authority:** Mahatma Gandhi exposed the most repressive face of British authority by taxing salt and granting the government a monopoly on its production.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1930

EVALUATION OF MOVEMENT

POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
• **Historic salt march:** Mahatma Gandhi began his historic salt march with 78 of his loyal volunteers, including Sarojini Naidu. The Congress gave Gandhi the authority to initiate the Civil Disobedience Movement. • **Mass participation:** Thousands swarmed to hear Mahatma Gandhi wherever he went, and he explained what he meant by swaraj and exhorted them to defy the British peacefully. • **Broaden objective:** The objective was to broaden the demands so that all classes within Indian society could connect with them and join forces in a single campaign.	• **Not move all social groupings:** The abstract concept of swaraj did not move all social groupings. • **Untouchables:** One such group was the nation's 'untouchables,' who began calling themselves Dalit or oppressed in the 1930s. • **Muslims are apathetic:** Except for the NWFP under Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Muslims are apathetic. They were polarised by leaders' communal rhetoric as well as the government's favourable response to their demands. • **Lukewarm support**: The Industrial Class is only providing lukewarm support.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1930

EVALUATION OF MOVEMENT

POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
• **Support of Industrial class:** The industrial class wholeheartedly supported Gandhian demands in full since they considered them as more of an economic nature.	• **Poor participants:** Peasants were poor participants.

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NON-COOPERATION VS. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

- **Contravene colonial laws:** Instead of simply refusing to cooperate with the British, as they had done in 1921-22, people were now asked to contravene colonial laws. As a result, there was an ideological evolution.
- **Ultimate freedom:** The goal this time was ultimate freedom.
- **Gandhi into the international stage:** Although Muslim involvement was low at the time, as was labour participation, this campaign launched Gandhi into the international stage, and for the first time, women joined in huge numbers in a national movement.

SARRTHI IAS

NON-COOPERATION VS. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

- **Countrywide participation:** In NCM, the movement was restricted to certain areas of the country whereas, in CDM Several Indian leaders actively participated in this movement.
- **Decline:** Non-cooperation movement faded once it grew violent following the Chauri Chaura incident, whereas, in CDM after Mahatma Gandhi signed a pact with Irwin, the campaign declined.

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WHY WAS SALT SELECTED AS THE IMPORTANT THEME?

- **Most inhuman poll tax:** As Gandhi put it, "There is no other article, outside of water, by taxing which the government can reach the starving millions, the sick, the maimed, and the completely helpless... it is the most inhuman poll tax."
- **Instantly linked the ideal of swaraj:** Salt, like khadi, instantly linked the ideal of swaraj with a most palpable and universal grievance of the rural poor.
- **Symbolic association with mass suffering:** It afforded the urban public the chance of symbolic association with mass suffering.

SARRTHI IAS

GANDHI - IRWIN PACT -PROPOSED CONDITIONS

- **Suspends its civil disobedience campaign:** The Indian National Congress suspends its civil disobedience campaign.
- **Participation in RTC:** Of the Indian National Congress in the Round Table Conference.
- **Withdrawal of restrictions:** Withdrawal of all ordinances issued by the British Government imposing restrictions on the activities of the Indian National Congress.
- **Removal of the salt tax:** The removal of the salt tax permitted Indians to lawfully produce, trade, and sell salt for their own private use.

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – PHASE I (1905–1917)

SARRTHI IAS

REFUSED OF THE BRITISH

- **Police investigation:** The Congress' request for a police investigation into arrests and atrocities committed during the Civil Disobedience movement was denied.
- **Not accept the commutation:** We will not accept the commutation of Bhagat Singh's and his companions' sentences.
- **Refused to accept the extremist demand:** The accord also refused to accept the radicals' demand for the rapid restoration of lands confiscated during the campaign.

SARRTHI IAS

KARACHI SESSION (MARCH 1931)

- **Congress Resolutions at Karachi**
  - The Delhi Pact or Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed
  - The goal of Purna swaraj was reiterated.
  - Two resolutions were adopted, one on **Fundamental Rights and the other on National Economic Programme**, which made the session particularly memorable.

SARRTHI IAS

SIGNIFICANCE OF SESSION

- **Endorsed Gandhi-Irwin Pact:** It endorsed the Delhi Pact or the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
- **Resolution on Fundamental Rights:** It moved a resolution on Fundamental Rights for the first time, and the draught resolution was written by Jawahar Lal Nehru (the session was presided over by Vallabhai Patel).
- **Underlined it as a goal of purna swaraj:** It explained the concept of Purna Swaraj for the first time and underlined it as a goal.

SARRTHI IAS

SIGNIFICANCE OF SESSION

- **Interests of minorities will be protected:** It also stated that the interests of minorities will be protected, as well as their culture.
- **Recognised sacrifices:** It recognised Bhagat Singh's and others' valiant sacrifice.
- **Foundation of Congress's political and economic agendas:** The Karachi Resolution is significant because it became the foundation of Congress's political and economic agendas in succeeding years.

SARRTHI IAS

OUTCOMES OF SECOND RTC

- **Formation of NWFP and Sindh:** The formation of two new Muslim-majority provinces, NWFP and Sindh.
- **Indian Consultative Committee:** Formation of an Indian Consultative Committee.
- **Communal Award:** The possibility of a unilateral Communal Award.
- **Conservative government:** Churchil's new right/**conservative government refused to place Congress on an equal footing** and took a strong stance; as a result, the new Viceroy refused to meet with Gandhiji.
- **Congress was proclaimed illegal:** Gaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru were both imprisoned, the Congress was proclaimed illegal, and a slew of restrictions were put in place to prevent gatherings, rallies, and boycotts.

SARRTHI IAS

OUTCOMES OF SECOND RTC

- **Harsh stance against Gandhi:** The press was restrained, and Congress was still facing a ban. Former Viceroy Irwin had taken a harsh stance against Gandhi, and the new Viceroy Willington and Secretary of State decided not to engage any more.
- **Relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement:** Mahatma Gandhi relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement with profound trepidation. The movement lasted more than a year, but by 1934, it had lost steam owing to government harassment.

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NATIONALISTS' NEXT LINE OF ACTION

- **Council entrance:** Satayamurti proposed a council entrance on the Swarajist line to break the lull in activities, which was later approved by Bhulabhai Desai and M A Ansari. As a result, Congress ran in the 1934 Central Legislative Elections and won with a large majority.
- **Congress Socialist Party:** Within Congress, an alternate ideological evolution occurred, and the Congress Socialist Party emerged as a left-leaning party.
- **Nonviolent resistance could not be won:** Meanwhile, many nationalists believed that nonviolent resistance to the British could not be won.

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – PHASE I (1905–1917)

NATIONALISTS' NEXT LINE OF ACTION

- **Hindustan Socialist Republican Army:** The Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA) was created in 1928 as an offshoot of the Hindustan Republican Association visibly influenced by socialist principles at a conference in Ferozeshah Kotla field in Delhi.
- **HSRA targeted symbols of British power:** Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das, and Ajoy Ghosh were among its leaders. The HSRA targeted some of the symbols of British power in a series of dramatic activities across India.
- **Bomb in the Legislative Assembly:** Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta detonated a bomb in the Legislative Assembly in April 1929. An effort was made the same year to blow up the train that Lord Irwin was travelling in.

COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) AND POONA PACT (1933)

- Following the failure of Round Table Talks, the British government declared that if a consensus on the separate representation of minorities could not be established, a unilateral communal award would be made. The government kept its promise in the shape of the 1932 Communal Award.

COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) AND POONA PACT (1933)

SARRTHI IAS

COMMUNAL PRIZE AND ITS AFTERMATH

Separate electorates

On 4 August 1932, British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald issued the Communal Award to grant separate electorates to minority communities in India, including Muslims, Sikhs, and Dalit.

Special constituencies

The depressed classes were allotted a number of seats to be filled by special constituencies in which only voters from the depressed classes could vote.

Award was opposed by Congress

The award was opposed by Congress and other nationalist groups since it provided for a separate electorate and was seen as part of Britain's 'Divide and Rule' programme.

English Attack on Hindu-Muslim Unity

Mahatma Gandhi was outraged by the award and strongly opposed it. Gandhi referred to the prize as an "English Attack on Hindu-Muslim Unity."

COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) AND POONA PACT (1933)

SARRTHI IAS

CONCERNS OF GANDHI

Abolition of untouchability and discrimination, not greater separation

He contended that what Dalits require is the abolition of untouchability and discrimination, not greater separation. He envisaged similar implications in the award of Muslims having separate electorates and eventually wanting a separate nation.

Hunger strike

To protest this Award, he went on an indefinite hunger strike at Yerwada Central Jail on September 20, 1932.

Support for Communal Award

Many members of minority communities, most notably Dalit leader Dr B R Ambedkar, supported the Communal Award.

COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) AND POONA PACT (1933)

SARRTHI IAS

CONCERNS OF GANDHI

Seats reserved

Madan Mohan Malviya worked as a mediator between Gandhi and Ambedkar, and after lengthy discussions, Gandhi and Dr Ambedkar agreed to establish a single Hindu electorate, with Dalits having seats reserved within it (in reality, Dalit seats were increased following the Pact). This is known as the Poona Pact.`

Religious electorates

Other religious electorates, such as Muslim and Sikh, remained separate.

Opposition

However, traditional Hindus were vehemently opposed to his initiatives.

Gandhi redoubled his efforts

Following this deal, Gandhi redoubled his efforts to help the Dalits. He **founded the magazine Harijan and spent a year doing community work for Dalits** and disseminating the idea of untouchability.

COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) AND POONA PACT (1933)

SARRTHI IAS

Reaction to the Communal Award

Congress

Congress opted not to accept or reject the Communal Award formally without the consent of minorities despite opposing the separate electorates.

Ambedkar

- Ambedkar, irrespective of Gandhi's declaration of "fast unto death", was not in the mood to give up the demand.
  - He called Gandhi's fasting declaration merely a political move rather than a moral fight.

Various other leaders

- Nationalists were also **vehemently opposed to the effort to separate the depressed classes** from the rest of the Hindus by treating them as separate political entities.
- The leaders of the depressed classes were very happy with the Award and the leadership of Ambedkar was being universally accepted.

POONA PACT (1932)

- After several deliberations between Ambedkar and Gandhi, a formula based on the principle of the joint electorate was signed on September 24, 1932,called the “Poona Pact”.The Communal Award was amended, and the government accepted it as such

POONA PACT (1932)

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POONA PACT

- The Poona Pact is one of the most important events in the history of depressed classes. For the first time, the **issue of political representation of the depressed classes was brought to the fore of national politics.**
- **Political emancipation:** The nature of social emancipation of the depressed classes was now changed to political from social.
- **Success of the Gandhian perspective of reform:** Gandhi, through the Poona Pact, somehow managed to keep the Hindus united, as well as, to ensure the inclusion of Depressed Classes (Harijans, as per him) into the process of decision-making.

POONA PACT (1932)

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POONA PACT

- **Reservations in the Indian Constitution:** The promises of the Poona Pact regarding the reservations found a reflection in the Indian Constitution.
- **Ambedkar's leadership:** It cemented the leadership of Ambedkar for downtrodden classes.
- **Struggle against untouchability:**
  - It held the entire country, not just the Congress Party, morally responsible for the uplift of the oppressed classes.
  - It accelerated the struggle against untouchability nationwide.
  - It was an unequivocal acknowledgement by upper-class Hindus that the oppressed classes were the most discriminated members of Hindu society.

POONA PACT (1932)

IMPACT OF POONA PACT

- **Failed to achieve the ultimate goal:** Despite providing significant political rights to the oppressed classes, the Poona Pact **failed to achieve the ultimate goal of depressed class emancipation. It allowed the same old Hindu social structure to persist while also giving birth to a slew of issues.**
- **Pact turned the poor into political tools:** The Pact turned the poor into political tools that could be employed by majoritarian caste Hindu outfits.
- **Rendered the oppressed classes leaderless:** It rendered the oppressed classes leaderless since **authentic representatives of the classes were unable to defeat the stooges picked and sponsored by caste Hindu organisations.**

POONA PACT (1932)

IMPACT OF POONA PACT

- **Hindu social order:** By **denying the impoverished classes a distinctive and distinct life,** it subjected them to the Hindu social order.
- **Hampered the development of an ideal society:** The Poona Pact may have hampered the development of an **ideal society founded on equality, liberty, fraternity, and justice.**
- **Rights and freedoms of the Dalits:** It pre-empted the rights and freedoms of the Dalits by refusing to identify them as a separate and distinct element of national life and safeguards for the Dalits in the Constitution of independent India.

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