SUMMARY

The 20th century saw many movements against the British Government in India and the Punjab. In this concern important were the Gadar Movement, the Satyagraha Movement, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, the Babbar Akali Movement and the Kirti Kisan Lehar. In order to prepare the balanced sheet or summary of the present study it will be appropriate at the very outset to write in brief about these movements one by one. The chapter number one stands for these movements as a whole.

Our chapter number two deals with the Gadar movement. By the beginning of the 20th century, peasants and small farmers in Punjab came into the forefront of public reactions against the British administration because they were under the debt. Repressive policies of the Government towards people in general were also the main reason for their protest. To improve their conditions some of them had gone to other countries, like U.S.A. and Canada and the countries of South East Asia. They engaged themselves as labour or agriculturists there wherever it was possible for them to do so. Their conditions were fraught with serious difficulties, because Indians were not treated cordially in
the Western countries and discrimination was faced by them on the basis of creed, colour and religion. It was not easy for them to settle down there. Another difficulty was the feeling of superiority among white man which had emanated to a large degree from a heritage of aggressive colonialism. The struggle of Punjabi immigrants in Canada and America against the immigration acts simultaneously became a struggle against the colonial rule in India. The British Government had not provided any protection and surety to the Indian immigrants to U.S.A. and Canada. It resulted in distrust and unsatisfaction spread against the Government in India between 1907 and 1913. They started organizing themselves for the freedom of India and for their own protection and prestige. For this purpose they established an organization in 1913 under the name of 'Hindustan Association of Pacific Coast' in Astoria of U.S.A. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna was the first president of this new organization, Lala Hardial was its secretary and Pandit Kanshi Ram as the treasurer. This organization started a newspaper on 1 Nov. 1913. It was the famous, 'Gadar' newspaper. One of the main objectives of this organization was to make India free from the British by violent means and set up a democratic system on the basis of equality and liberty in India. To fulfill this objective the
workers of Gadar movement came to India for performing revolutionary activities against British rule during the First World War (1914-1918). The first batch of the revolutionaries started from San Francisco in Aug. 1914. During the 1914-15 many ships carrying Gadar revolutionaries arrived in India and started the revolutionary activities against the British Government. But Kirpal Singh entered the party and he was an agent of British Government. He disclosed the secrets of this party to the police. Significantly, the party stood named as the Gadar party of Hindustan. The spy Kirpal Singh made the movement unsuccessful. There were many more reasons of or for its failure such as inability of the revolutionaries to keep secrets, lack of their experience, lack of arms and the efficiency of the British intelligence services throughout the empire. Despite efforts, this movement could not succeed in its real aims.

In spite of these limitations nevertheless, the movement had been of considerable importance. It was the first purely secular movement which aimed to liberate India by the violent means. For example, United India League was established (1911) and Hussan Rahim was its president. It may be added that the majority of the Gadar Party members were Sikh, its literature was published in
Gurmukhi its and meetings were held in the Gurdwaras. But Gadar movement had its leaders from all the other religions also. There were Hindus like Lala Hardyal and Ram Chandra and Muslims like Barkatuallah and Huassan Rahim. The party attracted and influenced other revolutionary groups in the country such as Satyagarha workers and Babbars to shed their religious biases while acting in politics.

The Gadrities did not fight in vain. Their movement was not a total failure. It deepened the national consciousness, evolved new strategies and methods of struggle, created new traditions of resistance, and the ideals such as democracy and human equality. After it there came a big radical change in the politics of Sikh community by 1918. It marked the end of the era of loyalty of the Sikhs to the British Empire or regime. Before it there were Singh Sabha Lehar and Chief Khalsa Diwan the two Sikh organizations that were loyal to the British Empire since the years 1872 and 1901. Although the Gadar was suppressed and submerged in the enthusiasm generated by the war, it continued to ferment and erupted a few years later during the Gurdwara Reform Movement which started in late 1920 and continued up to 1925. It had the flavor of Gadrities and revolutionary politics. Although the Akali
leadership had resolved to remain non-violent throughout their struggle, yet they could not keep the movement immune to revolutionary or national spirit between 1922 and 1925.

After the Gadar Movement there came the Babbar Akali Movement that was started in the year 1922. The Babbars were largely recruited from the ranks of the Gadar Party to avenge the excess perpetrated on the Punjab Sikhs. By preaching sedition and spreading disaffection the Babbars went about from place to place especially in Doaba. The Government took stringent measures to suppress the Babbars. After it (1923) some Gadrities organized themselves into the Kirti Kisan Party. It is because of the revolutionary zeal and politics of Gadrities that the Kirti Kisan Party represented the poor peasants, landless laborers and depressed classes of the Punjab, by there ideology and demands.

Finally, we can say, no organization in the region remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Gadar movement, because every movement had some kind of anti-colonial feeling or understanding. Nevertheless the Gadrities remained ahead of others in context of valor, sacrifice and consistency.

Our third chapter deals with the Satyagraha Movement. The
people of Punjab had given many services to the British during the World War (1914-18). But Punjabis got in return only medals and certificates that had little economic worth. During the war, the Government of India had armed itself with the Defence of India Act to watch and suppress revolutionary activities in the country. The Defence of the India Act was made only for the duration of the war and it was to end when the war would come to a close. But the situation being explosive, the Government was not ready to reduce the special powers vested in it by this act. In addition to that the Punjab Government adopted a repressive policy. The British Government decided to deal with violent activities of Gadrites and other revolutionary elements. For suggesting steps in this direction, a sedition committee was appointed by the Government of India with Justice S.A.T. Rowaltt as the president to make the report on what were termed as the criminal conspiracies connected with revolutionary movement in India. On the proposal of this committee the Government passed an Act on 21\textsuperscript{st} March 1919. This act was called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crime Act. By this act, police and magistrates got unlimited powers to suppress the revolutionary activities. They could arrest the nationalists from their homes or force them to leave themselves for particular places,
and even they could arrest them without any crime being made by them. Further, the Rowlatt Act had provoked feelings of fierce indignation and resentment throughout the sub-continent.

Mahatma Gandhi decided to protest against this official act. This protest of Gandhi took the shape of Satyagraha Movement. Mahatma Gandhi initiated the movement in 1919 by a hunger strike and this movement stimulated a chain of strikes and conferences throughout the country. The Punjab was one of the main centers of this agitation. The participation of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims to a great extent showed the success of his movement. One such conference was held at Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar on 13 April 1919. To suppress it General Dyer marched with his army. He occupied the only entrance and exit to the garden and, without giving any warning to the people to disperse, opened fire on the meeting. He killed 379 and wounded over 2,000 Indians. He imposed a martial law in the city and returned to his camp leaving the dying with the dead without any possibility of help reaching them. This event infuriated the whole country and resulted in a great awakening, resentment and anti-British literature.

The impact of the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy was far-
reaching. The character of Indian political milieu was completely changed quickly by the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy for the event proved to be a turning point in the history Indian National Movement. It gave impetus to the struggle for India’s freedom because people could no longer afford to be content. This Tragedy inspired the radical and revolutionary movements all over in India and particularly in Punjab like Babbar Movement and later Hindustan Republic Association and Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha (1928). Thousands of previously uncommitted Indians were drawn into the arena of political activism. After it, the Indian National Congress emerged as one of the strongest political parties in the Indian politics and various Indian nationalist elements and forces gathered around the flag of Congress and fought against the British rule during the 1930’s. Mahatma Gandhi had come forward with better zeal against the British carnage and emerged as a powerful national leader or accepted by various communities as their leader. The Gurdwara Reform movement also got motion from the prevailing anti-British temper of the people and loyal section of the Sikhs became powerless because after the tragedy this section had baptized General Dyer as a Sikh and presented him a Saropa through the Darbar Sahib Amritsar. The unity
among the members of the communities (Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims) unnerved the Punjab administration once again.

Finally it can be safely said that Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy undoubtedly marked a turning point in the History of freedom movement in India. This massacre infuriated and jolted the conscience of the Indian patriotic people. Never before had the people of India acted together on such a vast scale against British Rule since the day of 1857. After this tragedy the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims had joined together and generated a strong spirit of communal harmony. It was a way for the future of national integration of India or the national unity on the secular bases.

Gurdwara Reform Movement had been described through the forth chapter. The establishment of Shriomani Akali Dal in 1920 marked a new turn in the Punjab politics. The Akalis were the product of the Gurdwara Reform Movement. By the 19th century the administration of the Gurdwaras including Golden Temple had gone into the hands of priests (mahants), who were appointed or patronized by the Government. They always worked in the interests of British Government. They were usually corrupt and immoral. They had become the virtual proprietors of the Gurdwaras. In many cases, with the help of Government officials the mahants could get
the Gurdwara’s property transferred in their own names. Moreover, some of them had been leading luxurious life, and squandered large earnings of Gurdwaras on wine and women. Social and religious ideas of Singh Sabha Lehar had made a big impact on the Sikhs. The Chief Khalsa Diwan felt the need to get free their Gurdwaras from the hands of immoral priests but it could not succeed between 1902 and 1918. The Gurdwara Reform Movement was started by the Akalis to free the Sikh Gurdwaras from priests. They adopted the policy of non-violence to free their shrines. The Movement gave birth to new organization and ideas by 1919-20. Initially a conference was held at Akal Takhat in 1920 which resulted in the formation of S.G.P.C. (Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee) with the purpose of controlling and improving the administrative aspect of the Gurdwaras according to the Sikh code of conduct. Already the Central Sikh League was active since 1918. When Government took the side of priests, Akalis held morchas to get free the Gurdwaras. The Guru-Ka-Bagh, Morcha and the police interruption of Akhand Path at Jaito were the main events in this movement. Akalis faced many difficulties at the hands of Government and priests particularly during the Jaito Ka Morcha (1923).

Finally, the Government presented a bill called Sikh
The religio-political struggle of the Akalis was a direct action against the priests, Mahants and other vested interests in the Sikh shrines and consequently against the British imperialism. In fact, it was one of the most powerful and popular movement in modern India. Further the Gurdwara Reform movement was indirectly responsible for the political awakening in the princely states. The traditional concept of the Sikh loyalty on which O’ Dwyer had waxed eloquence had lost its force. The implicit faith of the English in the traditional loyalty of the Sikhs also received a rude shock. After the settlement of disputes over the Gurdwaras the Akalis from princely states began to agitate against the autocratic misuse of power by the maharajas.

The reform movement provided the Sikh community with a new type of middle-class national leadership, consisting of...
barristers, *vakils*, school teachers and retired military officers. During the movement the leadership of two different kinds came closer to each other as the Sikhs became inextricably involved in Congress activities, and the Gurdwara Reform movement became a part of the national movement. It was truly speaking main gestations of the Congress programme of non-cooperation at the provincial level that received an active sympathy and support from the Congress leadership as well as the people against the Government. After it the Sikhs could and did secure active sympathy and support of the Indian National Congress and other nationalist movements for their own struggle against British imperialism in Punjab. Gandhi visited Amritsar more than once between 1919 and 1947.

In fifth chapter we have narrated the Babbar Akali Movement. The Babbar Akali movement emerged when the Gurdwara Reform movement was passing through a critical stage of its own. While the Gurdwara Reform movement was prevailing peacefully up to February, 1921, the mahant of Nanakana Sahib had killed many innocent Akalis. After this event, Sikhs were much shocked and some zealot Sikhs started the violent movement against the enemies of Panth. It came to be known as the famous Babbar Akali
Movement. The Babbar Akali Movement was organized in 1921. In Doaba areas, the movement was at its height during 1922-23. The migrant Gadrites and retired army personal were involved in it. In fact, Babbar Akali movement was founded in March 1921 at a Sikh educational conference in Hoshiarpur. The ultimate objective of Babbar Akali movement was to throw British out by the violent means. Campaign for the spread of the aims and programs of the Babbar Akali movement in August 1922 was to start a paper on the duplicator by Karam Singh Daulatpur which became famous as the ‘Babbar Akali Doaba’. Kisan Singh Gargaj, Master Mota Singh, Narain Singh, Dalip Singh, Bela Singh were prominent and early leaders of the Babbar Akali movement. The movement progressed very well day by day. The Punjab Government found the situation out of control and adopted special measures to suppress the movement. The British Government did succeed in rounding up the Babbards. Total arrests by this time had numbered ‘226 of whom 104 were prosecuted under section 107, criminal procedure code. The arrested six Babbards Kishan Singh Gargaj, Babu Santa Singh, Dalipa Dhamian, Dharam Singh Hayatpur, Karam Singh Manko and Nand Singh Ghurial were sentenced to death and hanged to death on 27th Feb., 1926; other thirteen were sentenced to transportation for life. Thirteen to different terms of imprisonment
and forty were declared innocent and released. Despite sacrifices this movement could not achieve its objectives. Its main cause was unequal match of strength and resources between the Government and the Babbars.

The aim of Babbar Akali movement was an armed revolution in the country in cooperation with the noble army. But the Babbars were no more successful in their mission. There were many reasons responsible for their ultimate failure. The main cause was unequal match of strength and resources between the British Government and the Babbars. They had to suffer due to the shortage of money, arms and ammunition. They had tried to keep contract with the army and to procure arms and tried to purchase arms with the robbed money. But it was not sufficient for carrying out their mission. Another cause was that the Babbars were no more successful in keeping of their organization as a more secret than that of the Gadrities. The British C.I.D. did not have much difficulty in infiltrating the Babbar's inner circles. Another cause of failure of Babbars was the role of Jholichuks. Who gave their full cooperation to the Government against the Babbars. Some persons of Babbars became informer of the police after their arrest. This gave a big set back to the Babbars.
In addition to this the other parties like the S.G.P.C. and Indian National Congress though anti-imperialist in their own ways yet disapproved revolutionary methods of the Babbars. However their ideals and mission continued to work even after 1924. The S.G.P.C. radically protested against the activities of the movement and appealed to the people not to give any support to the Babbars. In spite of these reasons, the Babbar Akali Movement encouraged the national awakening and infusion of new spirit among the freedom fighters. Conclusively people realized their natural rights and started efforts to remove their imposed problems. Babbars drew their encouragement from the revolt of 1857 and Gadar Movement. But their movement also influenced greatly the later movements like Nau-Jawan Sabha and Kirti Kisan Party. Subsequently, they played progressive role in the freedom struggle of India by giving it a secular or non-communal touch.

We have dealt with the Kirti Kisan Lehar in sixth chapter. The Babbar Akali movement gave birth to the Kirti Kisan Lehar that made a big contribution to anti-British activities. The Kirti Kisan Lehar represented the poor peasants and landless labourers in the Punjab. Literally, the word ‘Kriti’ means the toiler. The party defined a Kirti as a person who performed his work with his hand.
and did not exploit other. With the origin of Kiriti, a monthly, Kiriti Lehar came into being in Punjab. In Feb. 1926 the first issue of the Kirti was published. Bhai Santokh Singh was prominent among the founding members of this paper. He was also an active member of Gadar party from 1914 to 1922. Santokh Singh felt that an organization for the working class was desperately needed. The Kirti emphasized the importance of organization of workers, because workers faced many problems in those days under the British Government. Accordingly, Kirti conferences were held in Hoshiarpur and Lyallpur in Oct. 1927. The conferences announced that the Kirti would start the work of organizing its poor brothers in the beginning of the year 1928.

On the invitation of Sohan Singh Josh and Bhag Singh Canadian a meeting was held at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 12, 1928 to organize the Kirti Kisan party. It was decided to organize peasants and labourers simultaneously. In this meeting ordinary peasants, leaders of Gadar lehar and Communist group also participated. It was unanimously resolved to name the organization as “Kirti Kisan Party”. Sohan Singh Josh was its secretary and M.A. Majid was its joint secretary. Kirti Kisan party criticized the Government through the Kirti newspaper for its anti-
Kisan policies. It demanded Government to reduce the land revenue and to provide them necessary facilities. Many of the peasants became members of Kirti Kisan party. Government enacted repressive policy to suppress Kirti Kisan party and gave some facilities to peasants. Gradually, many leaders of Kirti Kisan Lehar were involved in the Communist Movement and Kisan Sabhas during the 1930’s.

After it the Kirti Kisan Party attempted to make class consciousness an integral part of the freedom movement in the Punjab in the 1930’s. A united front of the working class, peasants and bourgeoisie was expected to play a vital role in conducting an effective and decisive fight against injustice, atrocities of the Government, and the fight against imperialism and capitalism. The leadership of the Kirti Kisan’s blamed the Congress for having failed enlisting the support of the masses and convinced that the involvement of the working class and peasants was the pre-condition for the success of any movement.

These movements such as the Gadar Movement, the Satyagraha Movement, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, the Babbar Akali Movement and the Kirti Kisan Party against the British have not been studied collectively so far. These movements
had made the 1920’s and the 1930’s an important period in the political and social life of Punjab. No historical account of Punjab or India’s freedom movement and its concerns is complete without their knowledge. Each movement played an important role to get India free.

These movements had many things in common although the differences among them were also significant. For example the Gadar Movement was as anti-British as the Satyagraha Movement was but these two movements were quite different in their origin, approach and method. Further, the Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Babbar Akali Movement had many common things such as their concern for the Gurdwaras and other interests of Sikh community. But the methods of Babbars were closer to the ones adopted by the Gadrities. Likewise the Kirti Kisan Lehar shared many things with the Communist movement yet the two remained distinct and worked parallel to each other for most of the time.

However, these movements as a whole display many drastically similar features. These were all anti-British, for the ultimate aim of them was to get India free from British by every possible way. To this extent they strengthen the freedom movement in India. Secondly, they were also anti-Colonial. The similarity
among all these movements is conspicuous in their ideological propaganda. They primarily confined themselves to the religious congregations, places like Gurdwaras or Dharamshalas of their villages for spreading their views among the masses. All the prominent leaders of all these movements propagated their ideological stances and objectives by using almost similar methods. Although these movements were active across the country but inarguably Punjab remained the epicenter of all these movements. The cause behind the genesis of these movements was primarily the oppressive policies of the British Government towards the Indians at all levels. All these movements attempted to influence the educated section of the society. For example members of the Gadar Party and Babbar Akalis tried to establish contact with the army by working in it. The involvement of the members of Gadar Party in all these movements reveals the ideological compatibility among them. As the member of Gadar Party Baba Bhagwan Singh Dusanj brought a Shahidi Jatha from Canada to the “morcha of Jaito” which took place during the Gurdwara Reform movement. Similarly the prominent Gadrities such as Karam Singh Daulatpur, Pyara Singh Langeri and Karam Singh Jingar worked for Babbar Akali movement. Moreover the Kirti Kisan Party was established by
the Gadrities who survived even after the suppression of the party by the British Government and came under the influence of communism.

Besides the above mentioned similarities they also differ to a considerable extent. For example Gadar party adopted violent means to achieve their objectives. However Satyagraha movement was in a radical contrast to the Gadrities, opposed to violence and had adopted the path of non-violence. Such a contrast is also quite evident in between the Gurdwara Reform movement and the Babbar Akali movement. These movements also differ in terms of their geographical bases. The Gadar Movement was an international movement. Its international character leads to its spread and establishment of its branches across the globe. This movement not only performed revolutionary activities in India but also shook the British Empire with its anti-British radicalism at the international level. The anti-British, anti-colonial movements in other countries exerted a formidable influence upon the ideology and functioning of this movement. The geographical spread of the Satyagraha movement embraces the entire India. Moreover the Satyagraha movement differs from other movements as only in this movement the primary membership of Congress played a leading
role in spreading its influence.

The Gurdwara Reform movement under the leadership of S.G.P.C. made the entire Punjab the epicenter of its activities. The influence of the Babbar Akali movement was primarily confined only to the Doaba area. The Kirti Kisan Lehar not only had relations with the other labour movements in India, but also maintained in intimate relations with the movements active across the abroad. Most of the members of this movement are from outside India. This is why it is termed as the reincarnation of the Gadar party. The Russian revolution extorted a formidable influence upon the ideological stance of this movement.

These movements mutually also influence each other to a great extent. For example the secular character of the Satyagraha movement was greatly indebted to the secular ideology of the Gadar Movement. Under the influence of Gadar movement Satyagraha movement brought the people of various communities closer to each other against the British Government. Prior to the emergence Gadar movement the movements within the Sikh community had shown loyalties towards the British Government. But under the influence of the Gadar party the Gurdwara Reform movement became anti-British in character. Gurdwara Reform movement
followed the path of non-violence under the inspiration of the Satyagraha movement under Gandhi, M.K. Similarly the Babbar movement adopted the Gadrites violent ideology under the influence of Gadar party, Babbar Akali decided to teach a lesson to the ‘jholichuks’, because the remaining members of the Gadar party killed the Kirpal Singh the main culprit responsible for the demise of Gadar movement. These movements mutually necessitated the emergence of each other. For example Rowlatt Act was formulated to suppress the activities of the Gadrites who had survived even after the collapse of Gadar movement. The Satyagarha movement emerged in opposition to this inhuman act committed by the British. Similarly, the Satyagraha movement influenced the Gurdwara Reform movement. The Sarbrah of Golden Temple Amritsar Arur Singh gave Saropa to the culprit of the Jalanwala Bagh tragedy. This created an atmosphere of distrust among the Sikh community. This resulted in the formation of the Gurdwara Reform movement. Immediately after this movement Babbar Akali movement came into existence which emerged as a reaction to the tragedy of Nankana Sahib.
It is quite evident from the above discussion that these movements reciprocally necessitated the emergence of each other and both collectively and individually contributed to the demise of British Empire in India.