CHAPTER- 3

KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The preceding chapters explain the working of a skilled leader and organizational skills to spread his ideals in a distinctive manner. Initially, he organized himself as a reformer and a model of his own ideals; sited the working of all his ideals through his model institution (Satyagraha Ashram); assisted in initiating educational institutes for the untouchables; presented a model of satyagraha technique through Rowlatt Satyagraha and a proposal for the economic salvation through Swadeshi. During this period he maintained links with some of the editors of the established local newspapers so to transmit his ideals in the different localities. All these activities facilitated him to create a space directly in the minds of the masses. Certainly the response from the masses was unanticipated and acknowledged by him too. Yet it supported him in giving credence to his technique and strength to move further in support of his idea which was projected by him before coming to India. Thus the basic idea through the following chapter is to trace Gandhi’s broad intent in joining the Khilafat struggle and to identify some related query’s as how he executed his idea through the different phases of the Khilafat struggle? How he was able to connect the Khilafat struggle into a mass struggle? Subsequently how the movement was responded by the Punjab and Punjabis? Primarily Gandhi’s view point has been considered which is generally overlooked while critically analyzing the Non-Cooperation Movement. Additionally, few analytical viewpoints are taken into account which provides a broader understanding of the Gandhian Movements.

First Phase
Gandhi with his astute vision sensed the magnitude of the Muslim issue during the emerging conditions of the World War I. ‘In 1914, I sailed from South Africa, reaching London on the 6th of August, i.e., two days after the declaration of war between England and Germany. Soon after, I read a series of articles in the [London] Times, speculating on Turkey’s
choice. I found the Mahomedans residing in London equally agitated. One morning we read the news that Turkey had joined Germany. I had no leisure then to study the Turkish question and pronounce judgment on the Turkish action, I simply prayed that India might be saved from the turmoil. Having had to explain to the Mahomedan friends in South Africa the events of the Tripolitan war and having understood their sentiments, I had no difficulty in gauging Mahomedan sentiment over the Turkish choice. Theirs became a much difficult position. I landed next year in India with ideas of Hindu-Mahomedan unity and the Turkish question and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions.\(^161\) He discussed the issue with some of the Muslim friends who were living in London and in South Africa and which facilitated him in shaping the idea. ‘At the very earliest stage of the War, even whilst I was in London organizing the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, I began to interest myself in the Khilafat question. I perceived how deeply moved the little Mussulman world in London was when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On my arrival in India in the January of 1915 I found the same anxiousness and earnestness among the Mussulmans with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the information about the secret treaties leaked out. Distrust of British intentions filled their minds and despair took possession of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussulman friends not to give way to despair but to express their fears and their hopes in a disciplined manner.’\(^162\) He was not only concerned but was contemplating something substantial which he indicated little later. After calculating a broad outlook on the issue and coming back to India he started working for the execution of his idea. For the execution he took certain steps at each level. At the first level he took the acquiescence of

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\(^{161}\) CWMG, Vol. 15, Speech on Khilafat, Bombay, Young India, 14-5-1919, pp. 295-96.

\(^{162}\) Letter to Viceroy, 22-6-1920, CWMG 17:502-03.
their religious leader Maulana Abdul Bari so to connect the ideal of non-violence with the religious traditions of the masses.

‘Had it not been for my talks with Barisahib, I would have hesitated to talk to you on a subject which is deeply religious. But he assured me that there was warrant enough for satyagraha in the Holy Koran. He agreed with the interpretation of the Koran to the effect that whilst violence under certain well-defined circumstances is permissible, self-restraint is dearer to God than violence, and that is the law of love. That is satyagraha—violence is a concession to human weakness, satyagraha is an obligation.’ To begin with, he carefully evaluated the stature of the established leaders of the Muslim community of India. ‘I had the privilege of being a guest of Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb of Firangi Mahal some time ago. We on this side of India, barring the Mohammedans, know little of this great and good man. He is one of the foremost religious preceptors in Islam and has thousands of followers all over India.’

He discussed the issue at length with the Muslim leaders so to calculate the level of intensity among the masses. He met Muhammad Ali in 1915 and found positive prospects for working together to achieve some common objectives. Gandhi shared his inner thoughts after meeting Ali Brothers in an interesting manner.

After my arrival in India, I began to find out good Mahomedan leaders. My desire was satisfied when I reached Delhi, and found the Brothers Ali, whom I had the privilege of knowing before. It was a question of love at first sight between us. When I met Dr. Ansari, the circle

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163 Speech on Khilafat, Bombay, *Young India*, 14-5-1919, CWMG 15:298.

of Mahomedan friends widened and at last it even included Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow. I have discussed the Mahomedan question with all these friends and many other Mahomedans throughout India and I feel that this question is the greatest of all, greater even than that of the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation; for it affects the religious susceptibilities of millions of Mahomedans. It is a remarkable fact, but it is true that Mahomedan women and children too are interested in this question. There is at the present moment suspicion, deep-rooted in the minds of the Mohemadans, regarding the intentions of the Imperial Government on this question. Though the viceroy is not unmindful of the gravity of the situation, I do feel that a declaration of British policy is necessary in order to conciliate the Mahomedan sentiment.165

However, the state of affairs were not straight enough as the leaders chosen by Gandhi were imprisoned in October 1914 during the World War I for publishing an article entitled “Evacuate Egypt”. They both were the editors of the leading newspapers Comrade (Mohamed Ali) and Hamdard (Shaukat Ali).166 Hasan shares Mohamed Ali’s initial endeavors and approach for the Khilafat issue.

Mohamed Ali was deeply committed to the promotion of Pan-Islamism, which he regarded as the Supernatural Sangathan of Muslims in five continents. . . In September 1913, he went on a ‘self-imposed mission’ to London to represent his community’s views on Khilafat, but received a cold reception from the Secretary of State and his colleagues at the India office. In some ways, Mohamed Ali was different from many of his

165 Speech on Khilafat, Bombay, Young India, 14-5-1919, CWMG 15:296.
166 Fn to Speech at Gujarat Political Conference-I, CWMG 14:51.
contemporary politicians who sought political power in order to bolster their social status in society and to promote their class interests. In Mohamed Ali’s case, on the other hand, politics was just a means to achieve certain higher social and religious ideals. These were in his opinion, the protection of Islamic institutions in India and abroad, and the promotion of the concept of Muslim brotherhood- a concept which had a great emotional and religious appeal to Mohamed Ali and his co-religionists. But neither of these ideals could be accomplished within the narrow framework of institutional politics. So, Mohamed Ali chose to stay out of legislatures and other self-governing bodies, and attempted to develop an independent base by reaching the man in the street, the maulvi in the mosque, the sufi in the khangah and the zamindar in his haveli. In this way he bridged the wide gulf which separated the educated classes from other groups amongst Muslims, and succeeded in promoting the Khilafat movement, which embraced virtually all sections of the Muslim community. He used religious symbols, interspersed his speeches with extensive quotes from the Quran and the Hadith, and related the institution of Khilafat and pan-Islamic ideology to the religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims. This explains the secret of Mohamed Ali’s success in agitational politics. His success should be measured in terms of his impact on political events and the extent to which he was able to mobilize popular support for the pan-Islamic ideology which he articulated with great force and fervour.  

After analyzing their case he acted as a moderator between Ali Brother’s counsel and the Government so to strengthen their appeal on the basis of

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reason. He was aware of the fact that the case placed in the constricted religious tone will lessen the chances of their release. ‘My quarrel is, therefore, not with a mental attitude, but with your impressing a Koranic text into service for a letter that would appeal to reason. Before your letter was received, I wrote to Bari Saheb saying that, in my opinion, no agitation for the release of the Brothers was likely to be successful before the Turkish Peace terms were declared.’ He directly appealed to the Viceroy for their release and at the same time in tuned the Government regarding the intensity of the resentment against the prolonged internment of their leaders as well as the Khilafat issue. Hasan observes that it was not only Gandhi but the other Hindu leaders were also in favor of their release. ‘Tilak, Annie Besant and Gandhi were the leading Congressmen who supported the agitation for the release of the Khilafat leaders, particularly the Ali Brothers. They realized that since the Ali Brothers enjoyed popular support amongst Muslims, by taking up their cause they would keep the Congress-League entente alive.’ Gandhi directly appealed the masses through their political organization i.e., All India Muslim League and openly assured Hindu support in their sessions.

What then does the Hindu-Mohammedan unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another’s sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today seeing that the Mohammedan are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mohammedan friendship for

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169 Hasan, p. 112.
the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the
Mohammedan claim.'

His anxiety for the release of Ali Brothers even prepared him to launch a
massive agitation for their release if the appeals fail to work. The leaders
of the Muslim community were keen to initiate the agitation for them
independently during the Rowlatt Satyagraha. ‘I am likely to a battle
royal over Mahomed Ali. If India carries out my plan, the Government of
India will be properly humbled. Hindus and Muslims, never united, will
become so, mother cow will be safe and we shall hear the triumph of
non-violence proclaimed all over the world. Before all this comes to pass,
however, I shall have to go through an ordeal myself. A power which has
till now brooked opposition from no Indian is sure to fight as if for its
very life when defied by a handful of Indians. Its fury then will be almost
unbearable. But I am resolved to face it all.’

Second Phase
The second level starts subsequently after the execution of his satyagraha
technique in the form of Rowlatt Satyagraha. After seeing the efficacy of
the technique he started portraying the Khilafat issue to Ali Brother’s
from a broader perspective which is understandable from one of their
correspondence. ‘I need hardly assure you that I shall labour for a proper
adjustment of the Mahomedan claims as adumbrated in my letter to the
viceroy and I have little doubt that if all the leading Mahomedans
unitedly presented the claim in becoming language, it will create a world
opinion in its favour such that the league dare not resist it and England
must surely press before it.’ Each new development regarding the
Khilafat issue was stirring the Muslim leaders to contemplate further.
Gandhi was making his best efforts to counsel the leaders as well masses
of the Muslim community which is evident through his appeals.

172 Letter to Ali Brothers, 5-6-1919, CWMG, 15:343.
But it has been stated by The Times of India amongst others that there is as yet no authoritative and representative statement of the Mahomedan claim. You and you alone can mend this omission. There should be a calm, dispassionate and reasoned statement of the Mahomedan claim. In my humble opinion, you should set forth your minimum demands in such a way as to appeal to any impartial student of such matters. Time is running fast and unless you make a move at once in the desired direction, it may be too late to do anything; for the League of Nations is making rapid progress, as rapid as it is possible to make in view of world interests that are to be affected by its deliberations. And when you have drawn up the statement of your claim, you have to see how to enforce it.173

Gradually, he was shaping the Muslim stance on the Khilafat issue in accordance to his line of action and on the other front succeeded in presenting the Hindu support on the issue which is well observed during the Khilafat meetings in December 1919. ‘What is the Muslim Demand? The Khilafat means the Turkish Empire. Its authority should remain substantially what it was at the commencement of the War. The Allies may demand any guarantees they choose for the protection of the interests of non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. Turkish rule, however, should be preserved. Likewise, the Khalifa’s control over Arabia which is called Jazirat-ul-Arab and over other holy places of Islam should remain. It has been objected against this that Arabs too are Muslims; why should they not [it is asked] have swaraj in Arabia? Our Muslim friends reply that they have no objection to a scheme of swaraj for Arabia. Their only claim is that Arabia should not be subject to any but Muslim authority. This demand of the Muslims is perfectly just. If it is rejected and unrest spreads in consequence, the responsibility will not be the

173 Speech on Khilafat, Bombay, Young India, 14-5-1919, CWMG 15:298.
Muslims’ but the Government’s. During one of the conferences in Lucknow a resolution was passed to observe fasting, prayer and hartal on 17th October, 1919. It was termed as the 1st Khilafat Day. He was prepared to step at the next level with the Ali Brother’s support as all the groundwork was already done in their absence during the preliminary phases.

**Third Phase**
The Third level for the execution of Gandhi’s idea starts immediately after the release of Ali Brother’s i.e., in the beginning of 1920. They were chosen to place the Muslim demand by way of Deputation to the Viceroy. The Deputation was represented by the prominent leaders of both the communities so to notify the intensity of the Khilafat issue. Prior to any false impression, Ali Brother’s with other leaders made their position clear as according to them they accepted the satyagraha way-out only in the particular state of affairs and not with a commitment to its righteousness.

“When you offer satyagraha, invite me to join you; at other times, I am not with you.” Listening to these words and accepting this as the agreement between us, the Brothers and Hasrat Mohani Saheb made their departure. The three have but one thought day and night- how to secure justice on the Khilafat issue. The Brothers do not put unqualified faith in satyagraha. Hasrat Mohani Saheb, however, whispered to me in passing, “I cannot say whether satyagraha can always be a practicable proposition but, for this purpose and these times, I too believe that there is no other weapon like it. I shall therefore certainly propagate it.”

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The frank confession of the leaders disturbed Gandhi and therefore he made himself clear by stating his state of mind while one of his correspondences. 'I have already written to Dr. Ansari about the Khilafat question. But I feel that I should write to you also. My talk with Hasrat Mohani has left me much disturbed. According to him nobody believes in non-co-operation. But it has been taken up merely to conciliate me. Now in a matter so important as this there should be no question of conciliation and I would not have anything simply for my conciliation. Moreover non-co-operation to be successful has got to be taken up most enthusiastically by all, and no great cause has ever prospered if it has been handled without faith in it. I would therefore like you to discuss this with Hakimji and let me know on his own behalf as also yours as to what is the real situation. There is no doubt in my mind that if this difficult Khilafat question is to be settled satisfactorily the Mussulmans of India will not only have to know their own mind but they must be prepared for sacrifices beyond measures. If there is no spirit of sacrifice at least they should get rid of a man like myself. I can secure no diplomatic triumph. I can only guide along the difficult, narrow and thorny path of self-sacrifice allied to absolute truth. Where these are absent I should feel like a square man [sic] in a round hole.'

He reciprocated by insisting the leaders for the basic prerequisite which according to him was the commitment to the ideal and not otherwise. Subsequently, the first Indian Khilafat Deputation led by Muhammad Ali moved to London and reached there on 26th February, 1920. Gandhi encouraged the leaders of the deputation in a following manner.

DEPUTATION HAS SACRED MISSION. IT HAS TO APPEAL NOT MERELY TO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND BRITISH OPINION BUT HAS TO WIN WORLD OPINION. (Capitals in original)

176 Letter to Razima, 27-3-1920, GW MG 17:293-94.
177 Telegram to Shaukat Ali, 31-1-1920, CWMG 16:522.
His statement to the Press was a stirring appeal for the masses at large. ‘The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an Imperial question of the first magnitude. The great prelates of England and the Mohammedan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.’\(^{178}\) The progress of his idea further led him to propose the Muslims to demonstrate their sentiments through another Khilafat Day on the 19th of March. Muslim leaders also placed their demands to the Viceroy in a following manner. ‘We have no desire to uphold any misrule such as has been attributed to Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for an independent commission of enquiry to investigate the charge of wanton cruelty said to have been practiced by Turkish soldiers in Armenia.’\(^{179}\) The Press statement on the Turkish treaty did not favored the Muslim demand and thus the discontent was made the basis to place the idea of non-co-operation. He presented the working of the non-co-operation and distinguished it in various stages. The activities took pace with the release of the Turkish peace terms which according to him were crushing in concern to Muslim demands. With the emerging state of affairs Muslim leaders found better prospects for Gandhi’s idea of non-co-operation. At the same time many apprehensions were openly exchanged by the prominent Hindu leaders as they were called at the Khilafat meetings. Finally, an executive committee was formed to organize the detailed programme and which further decided to commence the non-co-operation from 1\(^{st}\) August with an observance of prayer, fast and hartal.

Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticism as to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organizers propose to give effect to the whole

\(^{178}\) Letter to the Press, Young India, 10-3-1920, CWMG 17:73.

\(^{179}\) Appendix VI, Muslim Leaders representation to Viceroy, 22-6-1920, CWMG 17:586.
scheme at once. The fact however is that the organizers have fixed definite, progressive four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly, not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependants or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong-a broken pledge-a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check, if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or countenanced by any member of the Khilafat Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all on adequate scale. For no Government-much less the Indian Government-can subsist if the people cease to serve it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military- that third-is a distant goal. The organizers however wanted to be fair, just and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth, i.e., suspension of taxes, is still more remote. The organizers recognize that suspension of general taxation is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive class in conflict with the police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do
Amidst all these developments Hunter Committee Report was publicized which created resentment for not being justifiable against the act of Punjab Disturbances and especially General O’ Dwyer. Gandhi placed his idea of non-co-operation for the Punjab wrongs which initially was not acknowledged by the majority of the Congress leaders. Brown analyzes the state of affairs to be encouraging for the advancement of Gandhi’s endeavors.

The Khilafat and Punjab issues had both been simmering sources of political discontent, but they boiled over to make a double political crisis in the same month, May 1920, with the publication of the Turkish treaty terms and the Hunter report. This juxtaposition, over which Gandhi had no control, was immensely significant for his personal career because it put him in a situation where he both wanted and had some chance of acquiring control of the policies adopted by nationalist politicians in their relations with the raj. The Punjab and Khilafat ‘wrongs’ together resolved the ambiguity in Gandhi’s attitude to the British raj and prompted him to resort to non-cooperation with the rulers… As a result of this change of heart Gandhi moved from advising satyagraha in specific cases to suggesting total non-cooperation with the rulers, with the intention ‘so far to paralyse the Government, as to compel justice from it.’ This meant that he needed to gain and exert as much political power as possible in order both to organize non-cooperation on a continental scale and to persuade other leaders to adopt his suggestion.181

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180 How to work Non-Co-operation, Young India, 5-5-1920, CWMG 17:389-90.
181 Brown, pp. 246-47.
However, Lala Lajpat Rai took the lead by moving a resolution to boycott the coming Legislative Councils. Finally on the 3rd Khilafat Day, Gandhi made the first move by renouncing his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, Zulu War medal and the Boer War medal. In the middle of these developments one of the influential leaders i.e. Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, passed away on 2nd of August, 1919. On the other side, within no time the resistance emerged in the form of a manifesto by N. Chandavarkar with others so to suspend the movement till the Congress assent. By calling the manifesto as a crusade against the Non-Co-operation Movement he asserted for the advancement of the movement. ‘The Congress is after all the mouthpiece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one would like to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakeable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be folly to wait for the congress pronouncement. On the contrary one must act and demonstrate its efficacy so as to command acceptance by the nation.’

He continued his campaigning tours with Shaukat Ali to the South and then to Punjab and Sind. Hasan indicates Gandhi’s astute vision to gather support for a mass agitation.

This mood augured ill for the success of non-cooperation and posed a threat to Gandhi’s alliance with the Khilafatists. So he took the only possible course open to him which was to formally launch the non-cooperation movement a month before the Special Congress session was to meet at Calcutta. This was an extraordinary step. It was calculated to take the sting out of the campaign against non-cooperation and to give himself and his supporters enough time to mobilise support before the Calcutta Congress where he anticipated serious

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183 The Congress and Non-co-operation, Young India, 4-8-1920, CWMG 18:111-13.
opposition. Gandhi’s decision was also aimed at allaying the doubts of those Khilafat leaders who felt uneasy over the Congress attitude towards non-cooperation.184

At the Calcutta Congress session in the beginning of September everyone kept their stance in concern to the various aspects of the non-co-operation resolution moved by Gandhi but the sharp differences observed on the issue of the boycott of the councils and schools and due to which the voting process was taken into account.185 The principal leaders who opposed the resolution were Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, C. R. Das, Bipan Chandra Pal. The results were in favor of Gandhi’s non-co-operation resolution which evidently demonstrated skillful leadership. It certainly provided him a wider space to work in the Indian political arena.

I know that the proposed alteration has been subjected to hostile criticism in several newspapers of note. But the extraordinary situation that faces the country is that popular opinion is far in advance of several newspapers which have hitherto commanded influence and have undoubtedly moulded public opinion. The fact is that the formation of opinion today is by no means confined to the educated classes, but the masses have taken it upon themselves not only to formulate opinion but to enforce it. It would be a mistake to belittle or ignore this opinion, or to ascribe it to a temporary upheaval. It would be equally a mistake to suppose that this awakening amongst the masses is due to either to the activity of the Ali Brothers or myself. For the time being we have the ear of the masses because we voice their sentiments. The masses are by no means so foolish or unintelligent as we sometimes

184 Hasan, p. 171.
imagine. They often perceive things with their intuition, which we ourselves fail to see with our intellect. But whilst the masses know what they want, they often do not know how to express their wants and, less often, how to get what they want. Herein comes the use of leadership, and disastrous results can easily follow a bad, hasty, or what is worse, selfish lead.\footnote{\textit{Swaraj in one year}, \textit{Young India}, 22-9-1920, CWMG 18:270.}

Gandhi appreciated the thoughtfulness of the masses in favor of the non-violence ideal and acknowledged the vital role of a right leadership to educate the masses. ‘The non-co-operation movement was in full swing before the resolution of the Congress was passed and it is for that reason that congress acclaimed it… I believe that I have given practical shape to an idea which appeals to the people, and that this is the reason why the people have acclaimed my programme.’\footnote{\textit{Some Questions}, \textit{Navajivan}, 30-1-1921, 1966, CWMG 19:299.} It even led him to assert that if his non-violence ideal will be accepted as a faith then the Indians can get the swaraj within a year.\footnote{\textit{The Congress Constitution}, \textit{Young India}, 3-11-1920, CWMG 18:429.} It was a matter of amusement for many which was acknowledged by him. But the one who can assess his achievements might have reasons to support him in his endeavors. Gradually, he was able to capture a reasonable space in the political organizations of the major communities of India. In addition he got an opportunity for being a part for amending the constitution of the Congress. Subsequently by his way of working he incorporated his basic ideals in the A.I.C.C. constitution. Being a President of the All-India Home Rule League he amended its constitution in accordance to the Congress constitution. These changes were strongly opposed by leaders like M. A. Jinnah and M. R. Jayakar in the form of their resignations. However, he was confident to confront the opposition while apprehending their understanding to sense the popular expression.
I have shown that there is nothing improper in the constitution of the Swarajya Sabha. Why, then, have all these leaders left it? The simple answer is that the country is moving so fast now that our leaders cannot keep pace with it. In such circumstances, no matter how much we are pained we must go ahead. India will not have such an opportunity for a century, we cannot afford to miss it. We may only hope that when the leaders realize the value of the strong popular current, they will not hesitate to join it. Our duty, meanwhile, is to follow our chosen path with due civility, to bear with the leaders’ differences with us, to maintain respect with them and, undeterred by their disagreement, go ahead firmly, calmly and with full regard for moral principles. Truth comes to no harm. 

It is essential to notice that from the very beginning he was acting as an adviser to the Khilafat leaders. Being sagacious he reached the masses through the leaders of their own community and was always cautious to deal with the Muslim masses in their absence. ‘It has been suggested that I am to lead the movement. The statement is only partially true. I say this not out of humility merely but it is a literal fact. If the belief gains ground that I am leading the movement it may prove fatal to it. I am leading the movement in the sense that I am the adviser whose advice is most acceptable today and who has the determination not surpassed by anybody to carry out the programme of non-co-operation. But I do not pretend to represent Mussulman opinion. I can only try to interpret it. I could not stand alone and expect to carry the Mussulman masses with me. I should be very properly hooted out by a mixed Mussulman audience if I tried to make a point against the best Mussulman opinion in matters of religion. But if I were a Mussulman, I would not mind contesting issues before a

\[^{189}\text{Swarajya Sabha, Navajivan, 24-10-1920, CWMG 18:367-68.}\]
Mussulman meeting in the face of heavy odds against me. I consider myself to be a sagacious worker and my sagacity means no more and no less than a fine perception of my limitations.190 On the other hand for being the leading head, Ali Brothers vociferously express their constricted religious sentiment which was contrary to the non-violence ideal. In that case, Gandhi maintained his patience by being protective at the slightest indications and even convinced them to apologize when required. Whereas, the Government was keen for impeding the progress of the movement at a pretext and which they did by arresting Maulana Muhammad Ali at Wattiar on 14th September, 1921.191 Brown shares the position of the Government acutely in the Gandhi’s case.

Brown analyzed his astuteness to manage his position at a wider level so to skillfully confront the challenger. ‘Gandhi’s reputation was critical not just as one way of mobilizing support; it also determined to a very large extent the policy of the government towards him. The raj had to walk the tight rope of collaboration at all times, but increasingly as autocratic power was being tempered by schemes of constitutional reform, and public opinion in England would not tolerate repression where conciliation was possible. In such circumstances the rulers had to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of having Gandhi with or against them, and their decision depended primarily on their assessment of his following. As a result Gandhi’s public image became a pawn in politics.’192

190 The Non-Co-operation Committee, Young India, 23-6-1920, CWMG 17:506.
192 Brown, pp. 79-80.
The move was protested by issuing a manifesto and made the basis to commence the civil disobedience part of the movement. Consequently, the resolution was moved for initiating the civil disobedience at A.I.C.C meeting on November 4, 1921. With the gradual progress of the movement there emerged certain intricacies which captured the advisor of the movement too. Moplah outbreak incident and the riots in Bombay against the arrival of ‘Prince of Wales’ posed arguments against the religious basis of the movement and which were confronted by him in an ethical expression. ‘As soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man for instance cannot be untruthful, cruel or incontinent and claim to have God on his side. In Bombay the sympathizers of non-co-operation lost the moral balance. They were enraged against the Parsis and the Christians who took part in the welcome to the Prince and sought to “teach them a lesson”. They invited reprisals and got them. It became after the 17th a game of seesaw in which no one rally gained and everybody lost.’

The advisor of the movement was again confronted with the Chauri Chaura incident and which made him to sense the unpreparedness of the Indian masses to act in accordance to the ideals of the movement. Hasan observes some other reasons for the suspension the movement.

There seem to be two other reasons which might have influenced Gandhi to call off civil disobedience; firstly, the patchy success of the movement, and, secondly, the growing strains in his alliance with the Khilafatists, and his inability to control their activities. The resolutions passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference in July 1921 must have confirmed Gandhi’s fears of a possible outbreak of violence. He was also aware of the effects of the Moplah riots on Hindus, and although he tried to soothe their feelings it was of no avail. Hindus were becoming increasingly apathetic to the Khilafat cause and

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were anxious to extricate themselves from the travail of non-cooperation. It would have been a blunder on Gandhi’s part to disregard this fact in formulating his future political plans. The old postures seemed irrelevant, and the suspension of civil disobedience suddenly became a political necessity.\footnote{Hasan, pp. 192-93.}

It was not that easy for him to shatter the hopes of the spirited leaders and the masses at a wider level. Yet he was able to convince the working Committee with his skillful approach to pacify the violent forces and approved a resolution to call-off the movement on February 11/12, 1922. ‘The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting mass civil disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of mass civil disobedience being started and in spite of Government provocation. We must be sure of unauthorized portions not starting mass civil disobedience.’\footnote{CWMG, Vol. 22, The Crime of Chauri Chaura, Young India, 16-2-1922, 1966, p. 418.} He also convinced the masses with his ethical approach to counter the aggressive forces. ‘The drastic reversal of practically the whole of the aggressive programme may be politically unsound and unwise, but there is no doubt that it is religiously sound, and I venture to assure the doubters that the country will have gained by my humiliation and confession of error.’\footnote{CWMG 22:417.} At all these level there are certain observations which provided a better understanding for his broader intent.

\footnote{Hasan, pp. 192-93.}
\footnote{CWMG, Vol. 22, The Crime of Chauri Chaura, Young India, 16-2-1922, 1966, p. 418.}
\footnote{CWMG 22:417.}
Some important observations for Gandhi’s intended moves

Gandhi portrayed his movements as religious and appealed the masses to support his movement in the name of their own religion. Whether, it was Rowlatt or Khilafat movement, the idea somewhere struck the religious imagination of the Indian masses. The following passage indicates his way of appealing the masses for a peaceful crusade. ‘He was of the opinion that the present was a warfare between false Christianity and Islam. On the one side was the strength of arms and on the other side moral force.’\textsuperscript{197} Another way of appealing the masses is as follows, ‘I publish it all the more gladly in that it enables me to show that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-European. It is a struggle between religion and irreligion, powers of light and powers of darkness.’\textsuperscript{198}

In fact, the Indian political leaders who were alert in examining his actions were also apprehending his religious appeals behind the political moves. His active involvement at the political front might have confirmed the skepticism of many into a firm belief. They even blamed him for ‘intermixing the religion and politics. However, their arguments against him were confined within the constricted approach and which made them inept of focusing their speculations beyond. It is interesting to notice that this is a partial view of analyzing the basic intent of Gandhi. From the very beginning his intent was not confined to reform the Indian political, social, economic life but intended to work at a broader level. He wanted to establish the credence of his ideals which he did while channelizing the Khilafat issue.

I hope by my “alliance” with the Mohamedans to achieve a threefold end to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of Satyagraha and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Mohamedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not least to transform ill-will into affection for the British and

\textsuperscript{197} Speech at Khilafat Committee Meeting, Allahabad, 3-6-1920, CWMG 17:478.

\textsuperscript{198} The Inwardness of Non-Co-operation, \textit{Young India}, 8-9-1920, CWMG 18:235.
their constitution which inspite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm.\textsuperscript{199}

Above and beyond, his intent is signified through an Open Letter by Edmund Candler who was a well known English journalist and the Publicity officer in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{200}

Mr. Candler seems to suggest that my goal is something more than merely attaining justice on the Khilafat. If so, he is right. Attainment of justice is undoubtedly the corner-stone, and if I found that I was wrong in my conception of justice on this question, I hope I shall have the courage immediately to retrace my steps. But by helping the Mohammedans of India at a critical moment in their history, I want to buy their friendship. Moreover, if I can carry the Mohammedans with me I hope to wean Great Britain from the downward path along which the Prime Minister seems to me to be taking her. I hope also to show to India and the Empire at large that given a certain amount of capacity for self-sacrifice, justice can be secured by the peace fullest and cleanest means without sowing or increasing bitterness between the English and Indians. For, whatever may be the temporary effect of my methods, I know enough of them to feel certain that they alone are immune from lasting bitterness. They are untainted with hatred, expediency or untruth.\textsuperscript{201}

Here, it is essential to notice that Gandhi with his companion C. F. Andrews was working at another front for achieving the broad objectives. Through the Khilafat and then the Non-Co-operation movement they


\textsuperscript{200} CWMG, Vol. 17, Fn. 1, To Letter to Esther Fearing, 1-2-20, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{201} Khilafat: Mr. Candler's Open Letter, \textit{Young India}, 26-5-1920, CWMG 17:459-60.
both were able to create a dialogue on the non-violence ideal which is understandable through his writings and columns.

Mr. Andrews whose love for India is equaled only by his love for England and whose mission in life is to serve God, i.e., humanity through India, has contributed remarkable articles to *The Bombay chronicle* on Khilafat movement. He has not spared England, France or Italy. He has shown how Turkey has been most unjustly dealt with and how the Prime Minister’s pledge has been broken. He has devoted the last article to an examination of Mr. Mahomed Ali’s letter to the sultan and has come to the conclusion that Mr. Mahomed Ali’s statement of claim is at variance with the claim set forth in the latest Khilafat representation to the Viceroy which he wholly approves. Mr. Andrews and I have discussed the question as fully as it was possible. He asked me publicly to define my own position more fully than I have done. His sole object in inviting discussion is to give strength to a cause which he holds as intrinsically just, and to gather round it the best opinion of Europe so that the allied powers and especially England may for very shame be obliged to revise the terms. 202

*The Times* indicates some view point of Gandhi and C.F. Andrews understanding for one another. ‘Mr. Gandhi has written for the *Harijan* a note on Mr. Andrews legacy. The note says: “Nobody probably knew Charlie Andrews as well as I did. Gurudev was guru (master) to him. When we met in South Africa we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end. There was no distance between us. It was not friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. It was an unbreakable bond between two seekers and servants... It is possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate

202 Mr. Andrews’ Difficulty, *Young India*, 21-7-1920, CWMG 18:72-73.
till they evolved a formula acceptable to both. The legacy left by Andrews is worth the effort. That is the thought that rules me, whilst I contemplate the benign face of Andrews and what innumerable deeds of love he performed so that India may take her independent place among the nations of the earth”.203

**Comparative View to analyze Gandhi’s approach**

To substantiate the argument I place a comparative view to analyze Gandhi’s approach and a brief idea of the dialogue which was initiated by them. Firstly a brief view of some of the Indians while analyzing Gandhi’s approach. This is an extract from Lokmanya Tilak’s letter to Gandhi which indicates the kind of conversation between them and Lokmanya’s criticism for Gandhi’s religious approach.

“I am sorry to see that in your article on Reforms Resolution’ in the last issue, you have represented me as holding that I considered ‘everything fair in politics’. I write this to you to say that my view is not correctly represented therein. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of sadhus, and instead of the maxim ‘…’ as preached by Budha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna ‘…’. That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase ‘responsive co-operation’. Both the method are equally honest and and righteous but the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my Gita Rahasya.”204

Another correspondence with Gandhi was in defense of Malaviya and Shastriar which indicates a different kind of approach to analyze Gandhi’s religious appeals and which made them to acknowledge him as the Modern Buddha. ‘Mahatma Gandhi himself has said so much on the

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203 *The Times of India*, Heroic Deeds of Mr. Andrews, 10-4-1940, p. 11.

question of individual liberty and the importance of following one’s conscience, that we can hardly believe that he would, by any action of his, try to curtail the one, or silence the other. But that is what the article indirectly attempts to do. That there is ample scope for difference of opinion in the adoption of means to attain the end is conceivable, but that so great an individualist as Mahatma Gandhi should attempt, however remotely, to curtail the expression of different views, is not so easy to imagine. In conclusion, we appeal to Mahatma Gandhi not to make such equivocal statements, we appeal to the modern Buddha not to excite emotions, to base his arguments on reason alone, and trust he will see the impropriety of the statements he has made and will hasten to make reparation for the same. We trust Mahatma Gandhi will allow us the same honesty of conviction and freedom of opinion as Mahatma Gandhi claims for himself, though we have the misfortune to differ from him.'205

While a political meeting a similar kind of allegation was charged against him by an individual as for involving religion and politics. ‘You say you are not a dictator. Have you ever been guided by any leader to the smallest extent? Even in the Subjects Committee, you remained adamant as a rock. At times you ask us to follow the voice of our conscience; why are you, then, struggling so hard to canvas support for your view? Q: Are you not mixing religion and politics, as stated by Mr. N.V. Sharma? Can politics be for mahatmas?’206 These were some of the constricted views of the Indians which were confronted by Gandhi in such a manner. It was in reciprocity to Annie Besant’s statement. ‘Mrs. Besant was right when she once said that I wanted a political revolution. Only, the revolution should not be a simple revolution but an evolutionary revolution. But a revolution, I think, there must be. There is no alternative.’207

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205 In Defence of Malaviyaji and Shastriar, Young India, 27-10-1920, CWMG 18:383.

206 Some Questions, Navajivan, 30-1-1921, CWMG 19:298-300.

207 Discussion Aboard the “Gurkha”, 29-12-1920, CWMG 19:134.
Views in support of Gandhi's broader approach

Gandhi shared the views of one of his friend who has analyzed his approach beyond his saintliness and a politician's image. His friend views his initiatives as a good sign for the amalgamation of the East and West.

A kind friend sent me the following cutting from April of *East and West*: Mr. Gandhi has the reputation of a saint but it seems that the politician in him often dominates his decisions. He has been making great use of hartals and there can be no gainsaying that under his direction hartal is becoming a powerful political weapon for uniting the educated and the uneducated on a single question of the day. The hartal is not without its disadvantages. It is teaching direct action, and direct action, however potent, does not work for unity. Is Mr. Gandhi quite sure that he is serving the highest behests of ahimsa, harmlessness? His proposal to commemorate the shooting at Jallianwala Bagh is not likely to promote concord. It is a tragic incident into which our Government was betrayed, but is the memory of bitterness worth retaining? Can we not commemorate the event by raising a temple of peace, to help the widows and orphans to bless the souls of those who died without knowing why? The world is full of politicians and pettifoggers who, in the name of patriotism, poison the inner sweetness of man and, as a result, we have wars and feuds and such shameless slaughter as turned Jallianwala Bagh into a shambles. Shall we not now try for a larger symbiosis such as Budha and Christ preached, and bring the world to breathe and prosper together? Mr. Gandhi seemed destined to be the apostle of such a movement, but circumstances are forcing him to seek the way of raising resistances and group
unities. He may yet take up the larger mission of uniting the world.\textsuperscript{208}

Gandhi shared an opinion of English who responded with a similar kind of approach which they both were seeking through the ongoing dialogue. ‘This is an extract from the letter of an Englishman enjoying a position in Great Britain, to a friend in India. In this matter it is not English Imperialism which the Indian Mohammedans are up against, but the mass English liberal and humanitarian opinion, the mass of the better opinion of England, which wants self determination to go forward in India.’\textsuperscript{209} He was equally receptive to accept the shortcomings for advancing his initiatives and through which he was able to know Dr. Pollen’s matter of concern. ‘Permit an Englishman to send you a few words of appreciation of your work and career, and a few words of explanation. I am moved to do this by your remarks in Young India on Lord Reading’s speech. You have, it seems to me, the most valuable capacity of seeing and stating the simple truth in greater measure than any other living politician. You see the root of the trouble in India in the fact that the European in India looks down upon the Indian as an inferior. So do I. But what I want you to consider is, first, “whose fault is that?” And second, “How can it be amended”?\textsuperscript{210} One of his correspondences with a South African friend indicates the way his approach was shaped up in one of the newspapers of England. ‘South African friend who was living in England: Since returning from military service, however, I have noticed from the papers that you appear to be adopting a more militant attitude... I notice a report in \textit{The Times} that you are assisting and countenancing a union between the Hindus and Moslems with a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman

\textsuperscript{208} Neither a saint nor a Politician, \textit{Young India}, 12-5-1920, CWMG 17:405.

\textsuperscript{209} Khilafat, \textit{Young India}, 12-5-1920, CWMG 17:410.

\textsuperscript{210} Our Shortcomings, \textit{Young India}, 22-6-1921, 966, CWMG 20:257.
Empire or the ejection of the Turkish Government from Constantinople.\textsuperscript{211}

While analyzing Gandhi’s calculated steps to achieve his broad intent I observe that Gandhi and C.F. Andrews joined to permeate their liberal ideas around the globe so to recede the ever growing differences in the two major communities i.e. East and West (as discussed in the first chapter). Even though they both use to share their conflicting views but individually were putting their finest share in the execution of their idea. Thus while channelizing the Khilafat and the Punjab issue they created a dialogue which helped in reverberating the non-violence ideal around the globe.

PUNJAB DURING KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

After having an idea about Gandhi’s broad intent during the Khilafat issue and its execution through the different levels it is essential to trace its connectivity with the Muslim dominated locality. Various reasons have been discussed in the second chapter for Gandhi’s inability to connect with the masses of the Punjab before and during the Rowlatt Satyagraha. Therefore, it is important to know what exactly he did to introduce his ideals to the Punjabis? How he connected the Muslim dominated locality with his mass movement? How the leaders and the masses of the Punjab act in response to his movement?

Our second problem is the issue of the Punjab. A demand has been made by several persons that we keep away from the Peace Celebrations because of the sufferings of the Punjab. I differ here also. I have probed deeply into these sufferings of the Punjab. Others may have felt these equally, but I will not admit that anyone was more grieved than I was. Even so, I am of the opinion that we cannot mix up this issue with that of the Khilafat. Personally, I

\textsuperscript{211} Why I have joined the Khilafat movement, \textit{Young India}, 28-4-1920, CWMG 17:349.
feel that, whatever the sufferings of the Punjab, we cannot, on a local issue, dissociate ourselves from a celebration which concerns the whole Empire. We have other means by which to publicize the wrongs of the Punjab. Nor can we dissociate ourselves from the celebrations on the ground that justice has not been done in the matter of the Punjab, because we still hope for justice. It is for this purpose that the Hunter Committee is sitting and are Commissioners are working.\textsuperscript{212}

\textit{First Phase}

Above lines clearly explains the status of the Khilafat (National) and Punjab Wrongs (Local) issue in accordance to Gandhi and due to which he was reluctant to merge both the issues during the First level of the Khilafat struggle. Gandhi made his first physical presence in Punjab soon after the 1\textsuperscript{st} Khilafat Day but maintained his silence on the issue owing to the awaiting justice regarding Punjab Disorders. He focused himself in introducing his ideals in concern to education, Hindu-Muslim unity and Swadeshi by encouraging specially the students and the women of Punjab. Brown also acknowledges the inactiveness of Punjab in this phase of struggle.

Punjab, like Bengal, had a Muslim majority; but the whole province lacked political experience and organization and the Khilafat movement had not produced any change in the situation. The province virtually ignored Khilafat Day. Some Hindus would have been willing to join in observance if Muslims had led the way, but in some places like Hoshiarpur the Muslims refused pointblank, while in Lahore and Amritsar Muslims who generally

\textsuperscript{212} Punjab Letter, \textit{Navajivan}, 7-12-1919, CWMG 16:320.
closed their shops for part of Friday kept open for fear of being misunderstood.

Gandhi was inspired with Sarladevi Chaudhrani’s zest and found in her potential for being his women associate. She accompanied him many a times through his tours. Both of them were in constant touch through correspondence as they use to share their deep philosophical thoughts too. He even shared some of her thoughts in the form of articles through his columns. According to Gandhi she introduced new Swadeshi zeal not only in Punjab but throughout India due to her inherent abilities. ‘How to spin yarn and weave cloth is then the question. I know from personal experience that it is possible to flood the market with hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth if the standard cloth comes to be recognized as fit for wear. This cloth is called khaddar in Upper India. It is called khadi in the Bombay Presidency. Thanks to Sarladevi, she has shown that it is possible to make even saris out of khaddar. She thought that she could best express during National week by wearing khaddar sari and khaddar blouse. And she did it. She attended parties in her khaddar sari. Friends thought it was impossible. They thought a woman who had never worn anything but the finest silk or the finest Dacca muslin could not possibly bear the weight of heavy khaddar. She falsified all fears and was no less active or less elegant in her khaddar sari than in her finished silk saris. “If you do not feel awkward in that sari of yours, you may go anywhere and to any party and you will find it would be well with you.” It was with some such words that her great, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, blessed her when he saw her in her khaddar sari. I relate this sacred incident in order to show that two of the most artistic people of India found nothing inartistic in khaddar. This is the cloth I venture to introduce to the cultured families of India, for on its use hangs the immediate success of the swadeshi movement during its infant stage.”

Second Phase

Brown, p. 201.

CWMG, Vol. 17, The Uses of Khaddar, Young India, 28-4-1920, p. 353.
At the Second level of the execution some of the Punjab leaders like Lala Harkishen Lal accompanied Gandhi in the Khilafat meeting at Banaras. The only evidence which indicates for some activities on the 2nd Khilafat Day is the correspondence between Gandhi and Girdhari Lal (Deputy Chairman, Punjab Chamber of Commerce)\textsuperscript{215}. Through the letter Girdhari Lal inquired as whether Amritsar should observe hartal and extend the Hindu support for his resolution to which the reply was in affirmative.

YOU SHOULD OBSERVE HARTAL AND PARTICIPATE PUBLIC MEETING ACCORDANCE MY MANIFESTO. (Capitals in original)\textsuperscript{216}

\textit{Third Phase}

During the third level of the Khilafat movement the long awaited Hunter Committee Report was finally released in May, 1920. It was criticized by the majority of the members of the All India Congress Committee and the Home Rule League and protested by taking resolutions in the meetings. Conversely the reaction in the form of minor demands was not acceptable to Gandhi. He asserted that the only solution against the injustices was of non-co-operation which he shared during one of the speech on the Hunter Committee Report and through his letter to Viceroy.

The demands in this resolution go beyond those in the Congress Committee Report. The resolution calls for the impeachment of O’ Dwyer and his fellow officers. The Congress Sub-committee did not go so far, though the All-India Congress Committee has made this demand. My personal view still favours the Sub-committee report, but I move this resolution in deference to the wishes of the majority. I believe the Hunter Committee Report is a plain, deliberate shielding of the officials in the Punjab. If

\textsuperscript{215} Appeal for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund, 14-2-1920, CWMG 17:27.

\textsuperscript{216} Telegram to Girdhari Lal, 16-3-1920, CWMG 17:90.
I could have my way, I would bring in a resolution advising non-co-operation and satyagraha against this, for that is the only way to succeed in our aim.\textsuperscript{217}

It shows his preparedness to include the local issue in the ongoing struggle to which he was reluctant before. At this instant, he even with an example of one of the Martial Law officer tried to arouse the feelings of the Punjabis against the act of ‘Dwyerism’. ‘What is the Punjabi doing? Is it not the clear duty of the Punjabis not to rest until they have secured the dismissal of Mr. Smith and the like? The Punjab leaders have been discharged in vain if they will not utilize the liberty they have received, in order to purge the administration of Messer’s Bosworth Smith and company. I am sure that if they will only begin a determined agitation they will have the whole of India by their side. I venture to suggest to them that the best way to qualify for sending General Dyer to the gallows is to perform the easier and the more urgent duty of arresting the mischief still continued by the officials against whom they have assisted in collecting overwhelming evidence.’\textsuperscript{218} The initial contribution from the Punjabis was made by Lala Lajpat Rai who unlocked his silence for the first time after coming back to India since February, 1920. ‘Needless to say that I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the reformed Councils. For me it is but one step in the campaign of non-co-operation and as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat, Lala Lajpat Rai’s suggestion is doubly welcome.’\textsuperscript{219} As discussed above he took the decision of boycotting the legislature council at his own individual level which was broadly publicized by Gandhi as Punjab’s support in the ongoing Khilafat agitation.

\textsuperscript{217} Speech on Hunter Committee Report, \textit{Navajivan}, 4-7-1920, CWMG 17:513.

\textsuperscript{218} The Duty of the Punjabi, \textit{Young India}, 23-6-1920, CWMG 17:510.

\textsuperscript{219} Press Statement on Boycott of Reformed Councils, \textit{The Bombay Chronicle}, 30-6-1920, CWMG 17:521.
Lala Lajpat Rai has announced non-co-operation in the form of boycott of legislatures if justice is not done in the matter of the Punjab. So we can now take it that the Punjab too has joined the Khilafat agitation. Just as on this issue Muslims should take the lead, in the matter of the Punjab the Punjabis themselves should take the lead. If they do not adopt non-co-operation, one may say that the other parts of India cannot do so either. We shall hope that Lalaji will not stop with boycott of legislatures. Until we win, we shall have to go on extending the scope of non-co-operation, and be ready to take the four steps suggested earlier. I am convinced, however, that we should win if the whole nation joins in boycotting legislatures.220

Brown indicates Lajpat Rais’s approach little differently as according to her some provincial leaders of the Punjab pushed him for supporting Gandhi.

It was later said that Lajpat Rai was forced into this position by the Punjabi delegates who urged him to support Gandhi or imperil his position of provincial leadership. Whether this happened or not his speech made it plain that he found Gandhi’s compromise formula acceptable: to him it meant that India would stay in the British Empire provided she could do so on her own terms and not ‘at the dictation of anybody or by fear.’221

Brown acknowledges lack of evidence to confirm Lajpat Rai’s approach. Whereas Lajpat Rai clarifies his position and accepts it by asserting it to be a further step in the evolution.222 He shared his thoughts through the columns of The Tribune in a following manner.

220 Non-Co-operation, Navajivan, 4-7-1920, CWMG 18:4

221 Brown, p. 295.

Continuing Lala Lajpat Rai sounded a note of warning to both Moderate and Nationalist leaders saying that if they did not give a proper lead to the masses the latter would outdistance them before long. The masses of India, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, had been able to realize their strength. He appealed to Nationalist to leave their office desks and work with the masses. He had been appealing to everyone with whom he had come in contact to subdue their passions and forget the past, but it was against human nature to kiss the hands of those who had been instrumental in shedding the blood of their children (Shame, shame.) It would be a blot on their manhood if they were to wipe out from memory the wrongs perpetrated on them so long as the actual wrong doers were enjoying their offices in the country. The speaker was of opinion that they would be risking whatever little independence they possessed if they were to identify themselves with the bureaucracy.²²³

While his tours he visited Jullundhar, Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Gujarkahan with Shaukat Ali. He appealed both the communities on the basis of religion and asked them to lay their share in the Non-Co-operation Movement which they were not able to place before. ‘If the Hindus, forgetting their duty, do not join in making sacrifices, I shall tell them that someday even their religion will be in peril just as Islam is today. Ministers of Allied nations in Europe think that they can drive away the Muslims from Europe; likewise, they may want to enslave the Hindus. It behoves us, for the freedom of India, to stand by our Muslim friends so long as, loyal to their faith and religion, they are ready to make sacrifices.’²²⁴ He introduced the non-violence ideal while realizing the naïveté during the Jallianwala Bagh incident. He even appealed the

²²³ The Tribune, The present situation- Lala Lajpat Rai’s Speech, 30-4-1920, p. 3.

soldiers for non-co-operating. The response was instant as one of the Punjabi resigned from his post and presented his resignation before the commencement of the movement which was well appreciated by Gandhi. Saifuddin Kitchlew was one of the members of the non-co-operation committee and the president of the Punjab Students Conference, Gujranwala. He placed his own view on the council issue but did not laid stress due to the differences of leaders and therefore left the masses to their local leaders.225 ‘As we have already discussed that there were sharp differences on the boycott issue all through India but one of the Punjab leader who was not in agreement with Lajpat Rai’s stance was Chaudhry Rambhuj Dutt.’226 Though, he discussed the issue of councils at length in one of the informal conference in Lahore which was reported in The Hindu. The boycott of the schools was the other crucial issue on which prominent leaders like Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Hansraj showed their apprehensions in a following manner. ‘But will withdrawing children from schools, avenge the wrongs of the Punjab? Let an eminent educationist of the Punjab answer. Lala Hans Raj is a venerable gentleman universally respected for his learning and patriotism… Speaking of withdrawal of children from educational institutions, he warned the students of his great college against the risky step they were asked to take.’227 In response Gandhi answered to their apprehensions in an interesting manner.

I cast the accounts of the Government’s rule and found that it had taken away more than it had given. I saw that the Reforms gave no reforms, but made the position worse. The Government’s power is maintained not because of its machine-guns, but because of our deluded love for it. This love has taken three forms: Love for the councils, which Dwijendranath Tagore has compared to

226 Councils Boycott, Young India, 14-7-1920, CWMG 18:41.
227 The Times of India, Our duty in India, 22-11-1920, p. 12.
[Sita’s] infatuation for the illusory deer, love for the courts and love for education. I say nothing about titles and similar honours, for very few have them. But we are very much in the grip of the three above-mentioned infatuations. Our great leader, the learned and veteran Lala Lajpat Rai, is also their victim. Madan Mohan Malaviya, whom I have always revered, also believes that I have lost my head and that I am misleading the people. He thinks that it is dharma to enter councils and to attend schools. To my mind, it is a sin to enter councils and attend courts and an altogether heinous sin to attend schools.228

Gandhi again visited Rohtak with Shaukat Ali in concern to one of the maulvis case and further to Amritsar and Lahore in the month of October, 1920. He appraised Zafar Ali Khan’s (editor Zamindar) imprisonment, Amritsar’s share in the boycott off the councils and did gave his view regarding the lack of interest of the leaders of Punjab. He encouraged the Punjabis to take a lead without leaders in non-co-operating the Government and accepting the ideal of swadeshi.229 Gandhi conversed with the Khalsa College Students, Amritsar and appealed them on the basis of religion. After his visit he was in link with Raghunath Sahai (Head Master of Dayal Singh College) who tuned him about the emerging violent incident by the boys which were around hundred in number and Babu Kalinath Roy (editor Tribune) who inquired him for some misunderstanding during his discussion with the members of the Sikh League. His message was misunderstood by a Sikh correspondent due to the language differences as speculated by Gandhi. Thus, Gandhi was not able to communicate clearly with the Sikhs during their initial exchange of thoughts.230 There were people in Punjab who were credited

230 The Sikh League, Young India, 17-11-1920, CWMG 18:482-83.
by Gandhi for their innovative actions and thoughts as Pandit Gangaram Sharma shared his experiment in the form of national schools at primary level and Raizada Hans Raj of Jullunder for his proposal for the symbol on the swaraj flag. At the same time leader like Harkishen Lal was much apprehensive for the working of non-co-operation movement and which led him to prophesize that the programme would fail.\textsuperscript{231}

It was reserved for a Punjabi to make a suggestion that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hans Raj of Jullunder who, in discussing the possibilities of the spinning-wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our Swaraj Flag. I could not help admiring the originality of the suggestion.\textsuperscript{232}

Gandhi visited majority of the districts of Punjab for the collection of the funds. Funds were collected with the efforts of Lala Lajpat Rai. Firstly, he graced the Hariana Conference in February 1921, which was held under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. He spoke for the removal of untouchability, swadeshi by home-spinning, against liquor and the funds for executing national education. Further, he moved to Rohtak at a rural conference and laid the foundation stone of the Vaishya High School.\textsuperscript{233} Next, he appealed the people of Gujranwala and Rawalpindi sisters who first rallied and then bestowed him with their precious ornaments as a sacrifice for attaining the swaraj. He acknowledged the contribution as well as lack of each place for the swaraj fund. Seditious meeting act was enforced at some of the places of Punjab and due to which meetings were postponed and the leaders like Rambhuj Dutt and Dr. Saifudin Kitchlew were served with the orders for not addressing the masses.\textsuperscript{234} Amidst his campaigning in Punjab he was informed about the tragedy at Nankana.

\textsuperscript{231} Letter to Harkishen Lal, 28-11-192, CWMG 19:42.

\textsuperscript{232} The National Flag, \textit{Young India}, 13-4-1921, CWMG 19:561.

\textsuperscript{233} Speech at Rural Conference, Rohtak, 16-2-1921, CWMG 19:369.

\textsuperscript{234} Notes, \textit{Young India}, 9-3-1921, CWMG 19:416
Saheb on February 25, 1921 (as explained in the following chapter). He visited the place as well as assessed the various aspects of the tragedy from his level. After analyzing the sacrifices he was keen to channelize the sacrifices for the broader objectives. After the tragedy he came in contact with the leaders of the Sikh community and while interacting he searched some new facts in concern to their religious beliefs and the stance on the various issues. He was thoughtful before utilizing the Sikh awakening and therefore sensed their dynamism in the name of religion which if not channelized can obstruct the broader objectives. Sikh awakening showed their signs immediately by passing resolutions in concern to their demand for including Sikh black color in the swaraj flag. Gandhi was much aware of their constricted attitude therefore was prepared to channelize them patiently with reason. He was also come in contact with the Sikh owners of the distilleries in concern to his campaign against liquor. Gandhi in his notes of July, 1921 appraised Punjab in comparison to the other states for the highest fund collection and acknowledged Lala Lajpat Rai’s agility in collecting funds. He showed his contentment in concern to the boycott of Government education institutes, boycott of the courts by the lawyers and the working of Panchayats at various places.

The Punjab’s record in point of education is also not bad, though, seeing what the college students and the schoolboys had to go through in the Martial Law days, her record might have been better. Over 350 students are reported to have left their colleges permanently. Of these, 85, being among the most brilliant students, have joined the Indian national service. A board of national education has been established. The Guru Nanak Khalsa College, Gujranwala, has disaffiliated itself from the university. The Provincial Committee has opened a national college at Lahore. Eight old schools, some of them of high standing, have become nationalized, and fifteen new national schools have been started. I wish Mr. Santanam,
the secretary, had furnished the exact number of pupils studying in these national institutions. From what I know of some of these schools myself, the figure is not likely to be under five thousand. Nearly 25 teachers have left Government institutions. Forty-one lawyers have suspended practice, of whom only thirteen are getting subsistence allowance from the Provincial Committee. Panchayats have been established in nearly 80 places. The Punjab had, at the end of April, 258 Congress Committees. The average membership is about 75. The Rohtak District comes easily first with 47 Committees.235

In November, 1921 he was invited to confer degrees at National College, Lahore. He even advised the masses to boycott the welcome of the Prince and appreciated the municipal resolution against the removing of the Lawrence statue. The statue was in question due to its inscription which carried the note “Will you be governed by the pen or the sword”.236 His presence and expression further infused courage among the initiators and which further led to a confrontation with the police.

Thus what was but an ordinary incident in the affairs of a Municipality which has responded to the new awakening has become a matter of the highest public importance. The citizens, the ratepayers of Lahore must by public meetings support the councilors who have been instrumental in passing the resolution. The councilors must take prompt action and give notice, if they have not already done so, that unless Government show good reason to the contrary, the Municipality must do its duty and remove the statue. The commissioner has unintentionally given a golden opportunity to the civil resisters in the cleanest and the
most intensive manner. If the Government defy the Municipality and use its brute force to prevent removal of the statue, the civil resisters can, after due notice to the Government, proceed to the site with the intention of removing the statue and offer themselves for themselves for arrest or being shot if the Government so wishes. But this last step can only be taken when Lahorians are ready to act as one man.... Whilst I point out the drastic remedy of civil disobedience, I must warn the deliberation. My own experience of a Lahore crowd is that it does not think. It knows no discipline. The volunteers must work methodologically amongst the people to create an atmosphere of peace and discipline.237

The Government being anxious was advancing with the seditious meeting act as now they started arresting the individuals who exercise influence over the masses and the editors for gagging the local papers at a slightest pretext. Among them Maulvi Saiyad Habib (Siasat), Zafar Ali Khan’s son Akhtar Ali Khan (Zamindar), Sardar Sardul Singh, S.E. Stokes for contributing articles in the Tribune (Christian missionary, social worker and associate of Andrews), Sardar Khadag Singh (President Gurudwara Committee), Sardar Dan Singh (President Amritsar Congress Committee) were being arrested. Gandhi suggested the leaders for not disobeying the Government orders but the leaders of the Lahore stepped ahead with their zeal and continued their meets due to which Lala Lajpat Rai, K. Santanam, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Malik Lal Khan, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Gurbakshrai, S.E. Stokes, Agha Safdar were arrested but there arrests were encouraged by the masses within a peaceful way and was appreciated by Gandhi.238 More rigorous measures were taken by the authorities in Lahore and Jullundur to curb the activities of the movement which was confronted silently by the masses.

237 The Pen or The Sword, Young India, 17-11-1921, CWMG 21:450-51.
238 Notes, Young India, 15-12-1921, CWMG 22:8.
“Houses of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhary, Professor Ruchiram Sahany, Lala Lajpat Rai, Congress Committee offices, Khilafat offices, Sirajdin’s house, Sarla Devi’s press searched. Volunteers in Lahore and Amritsar severely beaten by the police. Prisoners reported to be caned in the Central Jail, Lahore”.239

In the initial stages the leadership of Punjab was not able to match up with Gandhi but gradually they marked impression on Gandhi with their passion for sacrifice. Therefore, the sacrifices of Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Khadak Singh, Agha Safdar of Sialkot, Lala Duni Chand of Ambala, Lala Sham Lal of Rohtak, Lala Girdhari Lal of Amritsar, Lala Duni Chand of Lahore, Lala Hansraj of Jullundur were able to capture much space in his columns during the final stages of the movement. ‘Here are two beautiful letters from Agha Safdar showing how the brave Punjabis are being hampered and tried and proving themselves true, how the gallant Sikhs are defying the whole strength of the Government stupidly directed against the erstwhile noblest friends and supporters, and how all the Punjab leaders are working with one mind and how they are all keeping an unruffled temper in the midst of exceptional difficulty.’240 Among them leader like Lajpat Rai, whose individuality was once categorized by Gandhi as “an agitator” was now appraised among the biggest prisoners he could ever think off.

The Government is determined to quash the movement at any cost. But it is beyond its ability to do so. Mr. Stokes’ arrest perhaps demonstrates the weakness of the Governments case as not even Lalaji’s does. Lalaji has no reward of war service to his credit. Lalaji is known to be “an agitator”. He is not a white man. When therefore Mr. Stokes is put away the strongest suspicion arises in respect

239 Notes, Young India, 19-12-1921, CWMG 22:61.
240 Notes, Young India, 15-12-1921, CWMG 22:5.
of the *bona fides* of the Government case even in the estimation of an outsider.\textsuperscript{241}

Gandhi shared one of the letter sent by Lajpat Rai in which he simplified his individualism by asserting that he embraced the captivity not for bargaining the materialistic changes for himself.

Lalaji has received a sentence of 18 months, so also has his comrade Pandit Santanam. Two others, Malek Lalkhan and Dr. Gopichand have got 16 months each. In a letter, written before the sentence was passed, Lalaji says in effect: “Do not worry about us. Do not think of our hardships and let the national cause suffer. Now that we are in for it, we should see it through. I did not go on for a hunger-strike. I would not do that in order to secure special privileges. I am writing a history of India for the national schools. Pandit Santanam is engrossed in the study of Sanskrit. It is not a small matter for India that nowadays men of stainless character and learning are taking the place of criminals in our jails. The history of Modern India commences now.”\textsuperscript{242}

Undoubtedly, non-violence ideal infused the spirit of sacrifice into the individuals of each community of Punjab. However, the Sikh community advanced further with their sacrificing spirit for their pious Gurudwaras. Still Government was advancing by curtailing the press liberty of *Partap*, *Kesari*, *Vande Matram* (Lajpat Rai) either by a closure orders or penalty.\textsuperscript{243} All these activities were suspended with Gandhi’s decision to call off the movement which has been discussed earlier in detail.

\textsuperscript{241} Notes, *Young India*, 8-12-1921, CWMG 21:532.

\textsuperscript{242} My Notes, *Navajivan*, 16-1-1922, CWMG 22:204.

\textsuperscript{243} Liberty of the Press, *Young India*, 12-1-1922, CWMG 22:177.
Conclusion

Brown analyzes the support of leaders during the non-cooperation in a mechanical manner. According to her Gandhi was able to create support at three different levels. The information which she shares for the Punjab at three different levels is in the following manner. At the first level she categorized leaders like Lajpat Rai who aligned after being pressed through the public opinion which have been discussed earlier. At the second level she categorized the support through the sub-contractors i.e., some of the Sikh leaders of the Gurudwara Movement and the Muslim leaders like Ali Brothers and at the third level the support was from the common masses. She also indicates that the extremist groups among the Sikhs supported Gandhi’s tactics and not the ideal.

But those who saw little point in such politics, the Pan Islamism journalists with their allies among the ulema, were Gandhi’s most ardent adherents. They were precisely the leaders more likely give him access to a new reservoir of support and power beyond the existing political nation, because they reduced political issues to the level of the tea shop, the market place and the mosque. If Gandhi could control them they were a group of subcontractors with tremendous potential, because in the network of mullahas they had a host of local men to spread their message and act as intermediaries with the Muslim masses.\(^\text{244}\)

However, there are certain observations which assist me in comprehending Gandhi’s approach in the case of Punjab during Khilafat and Non-Cooperation.

(a) He initially introduced his ideals to Punjabis but maintained silence on the Khilafat issue during his visit for the case study of Punjab Disorders. Being sagacious he appealed the Muslim community only in the presence of their influential Muslim leaders. In the third phase he jointly appealed with Maulana Shaukat Ali to the Punjabis for the

\(^{244}\text{Brown, p. 229.}\)
Khilafat. In addition, it was the Ali Brother’s presence which finally prepared him to merge the national and the local issue (Khilafat & Punjab) into mass movement for which he was reluctant before. Interestingly he broadly publicized Lala Lajpat Rai’s assertion to boycott the legislative councils as the Punjab’s support. Initially leaders were inactive and thus he openly suggested the masses of the Punjab to move forward at their own. It was their (Ali Brother and Gandhi) joint appeal which worked well to get support from the masses especially Muslims of the Punjab. Gandhi’s support to the Gurudwara Movement at the third level of non-cooperation movement added support of the Sikh community. In addition, the merger of the Punjab issue strengthened the public opinion in the third phase. All these factors worked well and forced leaders like Lajpat to actively respond during the Non-Cooperation Movement.

(b) Gandhi appealed the masses of the Punjab in the name of their own religion at the preliminary level to awaken the masses. At that level he made conscious efforts to introduce the ideal of non-violence through their religious teachings so as to create an everlasting bonding. According to him each religion carries the essence of non-violence ideal and thus was seeking to reinforce that aspect through one’s own traditions. Masses too were awakened in the name of their religion which was well seen through the Non Co-operation and the Gurudwara Movement. By seeing the sacrificing spirit of the Sikh community for their religious environs he guided them with his expertise and the nitty-gritty’s of the satyagraha technique. Through the non-cooperation phase he analyzed the constricted attitude of all the communities and thought of educating the awakened communities of Punjab. Therefore moving to the next level, he tried to instruct his ethical approach through their religious teachings. Various objections were raised against his ethical expression by the stanch religious leaders of the communities. The prominent political leaders like Ali Brothers even drifted from him on the issues which were contrary to their beliefs. However, Gandhi was hopeful to
gain the support of like-minded men to transmit his ethical approach which transcends the constricted confines of all the religions.

Gandhi with his astute vision sensed the magnitude of the Muslim issue during the emerging conditions of the World War I. After calculating a broad outlook on the issue he planned to execute his idea. For the execution he took certain steps at each level which has been analyzed in the following manner. Firstly he took the acquiescence of their religious leader Maulana Abdul Bari so to connect the idea of non-violence with the traditions of the masses. He met Muhammad Ali and found prospects working with him for some common goals. After analyzing their case he acted as a moderator between Ali Brother’s counsel and the Government so as to strengthen their appeal on the basis of reason. The Second level starts subsequently after the execution of his satyagraha technique in the form of Rowlatt Satyagraha. After proving the efficacy of his technique he started portraying the Khilafat issue from a broader perspective. Step by step, he was able to shape the Muslim stance in accordance to his line of action and succeeded in presenting the Hindu support on the issue which is well observed during the Khilafat meetings. He was all prepared to step at the next level which was possible only with the Ali Brother’s support as all the base work was already done in their absence during the preliminary phases. The third level for the execution of Gandhi’s idea was started immediately after the release of Ali Brother’s. The activities took pace with the release of the Turkish Peace Terms which according to him were crushing in concern to Muslim demands. In the emerging state of affairs Muslims leaders found better prospects in Gandhi’s idea of non-co-operation. Amidst all these developments Hunter Committee Report was publicized which was resented for being unfair against the injustices and especially the act of General O’ Dwyer. He placed his idea of non-cooperation against the Punjab issue but was widely criticized. Many leaders in opposition issued manifesto against his suggestion. By calling the manifesto as a crusade against the Non-Co-operation Movement he placed his stance for not suspending the movement up till the Congress approval. During the Congress special session the results
were in favor of Gandhi’s non-co-operation resolution which evidently demonstrated his organizational skill to gather support from the leaders of the masses. One thing which is essential to observe is that from the very beginning he was acting as an adviser to the leaders of the Khilafat movement. Being sagacious he reached the masses through the leaders of their own community and was always cautious to deal with the Muslim masses in their absence. On the other hand, while leading Ali Brothers were vociferous in expressing their constricted religious sentiments which were contrary to the non-violence ideal. In their case Gandhi was maintaining composure and was always advising them to be patient for the advancement of the movement as the Government was keen to arrest them at a pretext to impede the progress of the movement. With the gradual progress of the movement there emerged certain intricacies which captured the leading head as well as the advisor of the movement. Seeing the impending repercussions he convinced the working Committee with his skillful approach and approved a resolution to call-off the movement.

From the very beginning Gandhi portrayed his movements as religious and appealed the masses to support his movement in the name of their own religion. In fact, the Indian political leaders who were alert in examining his actions were also apprehending his religious appeals. His active involvement at the political front might have confirmed the skepticism of many into a firm belief. They even blamed him for ‘intermixing the religion and politics. Their arguments against him were confined within the constricted approach and which made them inept of focusing their speculations beyond. However, it is essential to distinguish that this is a partial view of analyzing the basic intent of Gandhi. From the very beginning his intentions were not confined to reform the Indian political, social, economic life but intended to work at a broader level. He wanted to establish the credence of his ideals which he did while channelizing the Khilafat issue. Comparative view of different opinions regarding Gandhi’s intent substantiates the argument. It is essential to note that Gandhi with his companion C. F. Andrews was working at
another front for achieving the broad objectives. Through the Khilafat and then the Non-Co-operation movement they both were able to create a dialogue on the non-violence ideal which is understandable through his writings and columns. While analyzing Gandhi’s calculated steps to achieve his broad intent I observe that Gandhi and C.F. Andrews joined to permeate their liberal ideas around the globe so to recede the ever growing differences in the two major communities i.e. East and West (as discussed in the first chapter and the last chapter). Even though they both use to share their conflicting views but individually were putting their finest share in the execution of their idea. Thus while channelizing the Khilafat and the Punjab issue they created a dialogue which helped in reverberating the non-violence ideal around the globe.