CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION
The Non-Co-operation Movement greatly effected the people of Madhya Pradesh. This movement was able to infuse a new life into the hearts of rather dormant people of this province.

The political developments in India were responsible for the commencement of non-co-operation movement. In the year 1919 the cup of misery was full to the brim. This year the Rowlatt Bill was passed into law in the teeth of unanimous Indian opposition in and out of the Council. The same year witnessed the passing of a Reform Act, or, as the country as a whole rightly apprehended it to be, an apology or an eye-wash for real reform. In that year, also occurred the infamous but never forgettable Jallianwala Bagh massacre. An enquiry into the Punjab happenings was urged, both in England and in India. Finally the Government appointed a committee of enquiry under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter. The Congress refused to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee as the Government of Punjab refused to allow the leaders in prison to appear in person and tender evidence before the Committee. The first step in Non-Co-operation was thus taken.

Mahatma Gandhi, who had recently emerged in the Indian political scene, was greatly shocked to see the report of Hunter Committee. The Hunter Committee report destroyed once
for all Gandhiji's faith in British sense of justice.
Therefore he decided to commence the Non-co-operation Movement on August 1, 1920, with the object of redressing the twin wrongs of Punjab and Khilafat. The Congress also sanctioned the movement at its special session at Calcutta on September 4, 1920. At the same session Gandhiji incorporated the demand for Swaraj in his resolution and declared that Swaraj would be obtained in one year. The annual session of the Congress was held at Nagpur in December, 1920, where the N.C.O. programme was finally re-affirmed.

The programme of non-violent non-co-operation had two aspects: constructive and destructive. In the pursuance of the former, it was decided to raise a fund of one crore of rupees in the name of Tilak to finance the N.C.O. activities; to enrol a volunteer corps of one crore members and to distribute twenty lakh spinning-wheels to provide work for the unemployed or underemployed and to replace foreign cloth by handmade Indian cloth.

In regard to the latter, the main items were included in the 'Triple Boycotts' they were:

1. the boycott of schools and colleges owned or aided or recognised by the Government and the establishment of national educational institutions;

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2. the boycott of elections to the assembly and the provincial councils;
3. the boycott of the law courts by the lawyers.

Subsidiary items were: (1) the surrender of honours, titles;
(2) the boycott of British goods, and the encouragement of swadeshi; and
(3) the prohibition of drinking liquor. Non-payment of taxes was to be the culminating item of the programme.

With the result of Non-Co-operation Movement the country was profoundly stirred and an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm ran through India's teeming millions. Unparalleled scenes of fervour, devotion and sacrifice were witnessed everywhere.

For the first time the people of Madhya Pradesh got interested in national activities. They were emboldened and further prepared themselves to undergo any suffering and sacrifice. Of course local conditions, social, economic, and political accounted for the different responses accorded to Gandhiji's call for the N.C.O.M., in the Hindi and Marathi districts of the Madhya Pradesh. Hindi speaking area whole heartedly responded to the call of non-co-operation movement. whereas this call evoked little response from the Tilakites, who were unwilling to allow Gandhiji to weaken their influence in C.P. and Berar, or threaten their style of politics, but it
did win the support of men on the periphery of political life.

On the whole, the no-vote campaign had been a remarkable success. The prestige of law courts and government and aided educational institutions was greatly damaged. Some of the eminent lawyers of the province left their legal profession and thrown themselves heart and soul into the national movement. An unexpected measure of response, however, was noticeable in the field of National Education. Out of the portals of these institutions came the workers who made the freedom of India the mission of their lives.

The boycotts could not paralyse the Government, but they did remove the paralysis of Indian masses by creating a new sense of self respect and fearlessness among them and lowering the prestige of the foreign government.

The Nagpur Congress adopted the linguistic principle for the realignment of provinces. As a result the Central Provinces were divided into three separate units or provinces, which enabled the local politicians to develop their influence in their respective regions. This had an important consequences in the growth of the national movement in Madhya Pradesh. The Nagpur Congress also helped to make the congress organisation vigorous, disciplined and purposeful, possessing a vital programme and substantial financial resources. The Congress acquired clearly marked items of political and constructive activity. Under Gandhiji's leadership it not only inaugurated
the non-co-operation movement for political freedom, but the Khadi, prohibition and anti-touchability programmes for social reconstruction.

Newspaper, particularly the vernacular press generated a great political awakening amongst the people of this province. People for the first time realised their strength and felt that strong as the Government may appear with its armaments, it could not but fall at the feet of a nation determined to be free and determined to suffer for attaining that freedom. The Government deliberately ignored the sentiments of the people and tried to crush the movement by a policy of ruthless suppression. Notwithstanding this paralytic stroke the yearning for freedom grew, discontent and bitterness against foreign administration increased and above all, faith in Congress and its leadership remained intact.

There is no denying the fact that the Non-Co-operation Movement failed to achieve its proclaimed objects. It is also correct that Gandhiji overestimated the capacity of his followers. But one could not raise a whole nation to the great heights of perfect non-violence in one year, specially when the people regarded the doctrine as something new and when they had adopted it not as an eternal truth but only as a temporary expedient.

Non-Co-operation was able to do for the country within two years or so what former political movements could not do.
in the course of fifty years; it raised the pitch of political consciousness in India to a height never dreamt of before. Politics so far were the monopoly of the few; political agitation had seldom before gone below the surface. But now the Swaraj movement became a mass movement.

On the whole the Non-Co-operation Movement created a tremendous effect on the people of Madhya Pradesh. The History of Freedom Movement in Madhya Pradesh describes the effect in these words: "To a people, whom generations of subjection had rendered meek and helpless this was a new experience. To be able to look the mighty powers in the face, to hold one's head high, to defy anything unjust and to pay the price of defiance by unrepentent suffering — this indeed was the sign of national maturity. This was the transformation that Gandhiji wrought upon the people." 2 Thus from any angle the Non-Co-operation Movement was a great success and by creating a new ferment, a new awakening, a new confidence and a new hunger for freedom among the people. It laid down new foundations of our national life and irrevocably changed the aspect of our spiritual landscape.

At the close of this study we have to realize that Gandhiji sought to prepare us for life in a disarmed world. We must pull out of the world of strife and hatred and get

1. *...*, p. 308.
ready to work on the basis of co-operation and harmony. Non-Violent Non-Co-operation, or Satyagraha is his substitute for war and is based on an absolute adherence to truth, practice of love and self-suffering by the resister in cases of conflict.