CHAPTER V

NON-COOPERATION

The beginning of the year 1920 witnessed the attention of the people of India concentrated on two issues — the fate of Turkey and the Report of the Hunter Committee appointed by the British Government to enquire into the Punjab disturbances of April, 1919. To press their viewpoint about Turkey and the Caliphate, the Muslims had decided, at the 'All India Khilafat Conference' held in Amritsar in December, 1919, to send a deputation to the Viceroy. In anticipation of the harsh terms which were later actually imposed on Turkey, Gandhi issued a manifesto on March 10, 1920, embodying his ideas on the future course of action to be pursued by the Khilafatists, if their demands were not granted. He suggested non-violent non-cooperation. Then "the Punjab Provincial Conference at its meeting held at Jullundur in April supported general non-cooperation, including boycott of the army and the police and refusal to pay taxes."¹

Fazl-I-Hussain as Secretary of the Congress Committee opposed non-cooperation. Harkishan Lal, Ganpat Rai and Dr. Gokul Chand Narang were also convinced that mass

agitation would be unfruitful and, therefore, declined to boycott the reforms scheme. Drs. Kitchlew, Satyapal and Duni Chand refused to accept this view and forced the moderates to secede permanently from the Congress. 

The peace terms offered to Turkey were announced on 15th May, 1920. Two days later Mahatama Gandhi issued a statement urging upon the Muslims to adopt Non-cooperation as the only effective remedy. The Central Khilafat Committee accepted his advice, and at a huge public meeting held at Bombay on May 28, 1920 adopted non-cooperation as the only practical line of action. On the same day was published the Report of the Hunter Committee which caused profound indignation throughout India. The A.I.C.C. which met at Varanasi on 30th May made a strong and elaborate protest against the majority report of the Hunter Commission and urged the British Government to recall the Viceroy and award suitable punishment to M.O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers guilty of atrocities. The Committee also protested against the peace terms offered to Turkey, in flagrant violation of the solemn pledge given by His Majesty's Government. The Moderate Party also passed similar resolutions but opposed the adoption of non-cooperation. Lajpat Rai - the most powerful and popular leader of Punjab

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who had returned after an absence of five years from India—
did not approve of non-cooperation. The A.I.C.C. decided
to convene a special session of the Congress to consider
the question of non-cooperation.

On June 2, at the meeting of the Central Khilafat
Committee, Gandhi said in a speech, he knew full well that
the Muslims realized that non-cooperation was the only
remedy now left to India. He was prepared to cooperate
with them and suggested that a Committee consisting of
members prepared to remain with him, with full powers, he
appointed to work out the scheme, and that their decision
would be binding on all people. This was agreed to and
the following resolution was passed by the Central Khilafat
Committee—“This meeting reaffirms the movement of non-
cooperation in accordance with the four stages already
approved by the Central Khilafat Committee and appoints
a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen,
with power to add to their number, to give practical
effect to the movement without delay.”

The gentlemen named were Gandhi and six Muslim leaders.

Thus non-cooperation was adopted in the beginning
by the Khilafatists and a Sub Committee of the Khilafatists

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3 R.C. Majumdar: Struggle for Freedom,
was given charge of it. The Central Khilafat Committee announced a general All-India hartal for August 1, 1920 under the guidance of Gandhi. Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy and returned all the medals which had been awarded to him by the British for his war services.

The launching of non-cooperation on August 1, 1920 was thus the direct outcome of Khilafat movement. However, another point was added to it - the Punjab question. At a later date, at the suggestion of Vijayaraghavachari, endorsed by M.L. Nehru, Gandhi added a third issue - viz. independence of India as the goal of non-cooperation.

Like in other provinces many people in the Punjab were not in favour of non-cooperation. The 'C. & M. Gazette' noted — "He (Mr. Gandhi) will learn that even among those Indians who revere him — quite unjustifiably in our opinion, but that is their affair — the doctrine of non-cooperation does not win favour,... In fact, moderate Indians in the Punjab and, we think we may say a large number of the more advanced political school, are very much against a further strain on an already over-strained body politic."\(^4\)

However, Lajpat Rai changed his views after the publication of the Hunter Committee Report. This was

\(^4\)C. & M. Gazettee, July 18, 1920.
due firstly to the statements of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Report, in which they approved the Punjab Government's policy of silencing the educated community, and, secondly, because the officers responsible for Martial Law excesses were still in the saddle. In such circumstances, Lajpat Rai believed that it would not be possible to work the Reforms in the proper spirit. "There has arisen in connection with the Hunter Committee report a serious recrudescence of attacks on Government and its officers in connection with the events of April, 1919.... The discontent has culminated in the pronouncements of L. Lajpat Rai in favour of non-cooperation and in a speech made by him on the 27th June at the District Conference, Sialkot." 5

On August 1, 1920 — the day of National hartal and the launching of Non-cooperation — Tilak died. A huge meeting was held in Lahore to mourn his death. "Almost every public man of any note present in the city took part in this demonstration of national sorrow." 6 Mourning processions and meetings were held in various parts of the Punjab. August 9 was declared as the 'National Mourning Day'. People suspended their business and observed hartal on that


6The Tribune, August 3, 1920.
In accordance with the desire of the A.I.C.C. a meeting of the P.P.C.C. was convened on 8th August to consider the proposal of the A.I.C.C. and to express their opinion on the principle and programme of non-cooperation laid down by Gandhi. Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni said that he had been round 12 districts, and had addressed meetings of graduates and others. He had found that generally the people were opposed to the adoption of N.C.O. They did not understand what exactly N.C.O. stood for - its defects, difficulties and the sacrifices it involved. After full deliberation, the following resolutions approving non-cooperation was passed - (1) "The A.I.C.C. be informed that in the opinion of the P.P.C.C. non-cooperation is a legitimate constitutional weapon and in view of the profound dissatisfaction in the country on the settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab question, be its resolved that non-cooperation by the people of India or any section thereof is fully justified". (2) "Consideration of the programme of non-cooperation laid down by Mr. Gandhi detailing the various stages be deferred till after the special session of the Congress."

The Punjab was greatly disappointed to learn that the other parts of the country wanted to isolate Punjab by

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7The Tribune August 13, 1920.
asking it to adopt non-cooperation alone. The 'Amrit Bazar Patrika' (Calcutta) and the 'Independent' (Allahabad) propagated this view. The 'Independent' wrote: "We find it difficult to support Mr. Gandhi's proposal to boycott the reformed councils. We fully understand the position of Lala Lajpat Rai. He cannot, consistently with self-respect, cooperate with the guilty officers of the Punjab Government. If the other Punjab leaders were to take up the same position, it would very materially advance the morale of our public and political life. But the reasons that justify the action and policy of Lajpat Rai do not exist in the other provinces."

The 'Tribune', the foremost daily of the Punjab, was very much against this attitude. "Either they ('Independent' and 'Amrit Bazar Patrika') want that the experiment should first be tried elsewhere or peculiar that what is expedient in the Punjab is not necessary elsewhere ... In the first case we would say to them 'Why not try yourselves rather than have it tried at the cost of a much suffering province?' In the second case, we would say 'What is your sympathy with the Punjab worth, if even in such a matter you are not prepared to make the Punjab's case your own and start a national instead of provincial movement in

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8 The Tribune July 6, 1920.
favour of non-cooperation. 9

Lajpat Rai expressed indignation at this attitude in the following words - "Both (the papers) are of opinion that although we can maintain our self-respect only by means of non-cooperation it is not necessary for the United Provinces, Bengal or the other provinces. This means that the principles, which are necessary to keep up the self-respect of the Punjab, are not binding upon the rest of India. Most respectfully and emphatically I desire to raise my voice by way of protest against this strange attitude." 10

Lajpat Rai was in agreement with the views of the 'Tribune' and was not prepared to advise the Punjabis to adopt non-cooperation if the other provinces did not want to adopt it. He was for the adoption of non-cooperation on all India basis and not on provincial basis.

L. Lajpat Rai took personal interest in taking the maximum number of delegates to the Special Session of the Congress which was to be held at Calcutta on 4th September, 1920 and which was to be presided over by him. He arranged a special train the ('Congress Special') to take the delegates free of charge. The Congress met to decide the non-cooperation

9 The Tribune July 4, 1920.
10 The Tribune, July 16, 1920.
issue which had attracted the attention of the country since the beginning of the year. Gandhi put forward a resolution regarding non-cooperation with the government until the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs are righted and Swaraj is established.

The non-cooperation was to be carried on by:

a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in the local bodies.

b) Refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials, or in their honour.

c) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces.

d) Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes.

e) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services in Mesopotamia.

f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election.
Boycott of foreign goods.

Though sponsored by Gandhi and backed by the Ali Brothers and nearly the whole Muslim bloc, the resolution was strongly opposed by a large section. The subjects Committee debated it for three days before it was discussed in the open session. The discussion lasted for six hours. The substantive motion before the Subjects Committee was the resolution drafted by the Reception Committee and 30 amendments. The principal amendments were moved by Gandhi, C.R. Das and B.C. Pal. Gandhi's amendment was his resolution on non-cooperation, C.R. Das's was on the lines of Reception Committee resolution; and Supersession of Gandhi's resolution. In the open session of the Congress, on the 8th September, it was opposed by C.R. Das, B.C. Paul, Annie Besant, Malaviya, Jinnah and others. Among eminent Hindu leaders only Pt. Motilal Nehru supported Gandhi. After a prolonged debate the motion was carried by 1886 against 884 votes. The Punjab delegates also opposed the resolution. The provincial figures regarding the vote on Gandhi's motion as against Mr. Pal's amendment were as follows - Bengal 661 voted for Gandhi and 395 against it. Bombay 243 for, 93 against, Punjab 254 for and 92 against, U.P. 259 for, 53 against, Bihar 184 for, 28 against, Madras 161 for, 145 against, Andhra 59 for 12 against, C.P. 30 for and 33 against, Delhi 56 for, 9 against, Berar 6 for 23 against, Sind 36 for 16 against, Burma 14 for 4 against.

Lajpat Rai found the resolution ambiguous. Its wording — especially with regard to the boycott of schools by students and boycott of foreign goods — left much to be clarified. He was of the opinion that the school-going children should not be stopped from receiving education. Though he was against the prevalent system of education and wanted drastic changes in the curriculum he thought it improper to distract the children from their studies, and their boycotting the schools would tantamount to idling and against the task of nation-building. He disapproved the boycott of Engineering and Medical Colleges, though he was not against the closure of Law Colleges and Art Colleges. "As regards non-cooperation, the President (Lajpat Rai), while whole-heartedly supporting the principle, pointed out the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out the programme. The proposed boycott of schools and colleges he condemned. The proposed boycott of the courts by lawyers he described as both impracticable and undesirable. As regards the boycott of councils, he seemed on the whole to be in favour of it, though he recognised that there was much to be said on the other side." 12

There was a section which was opposed to Lajpat Rai's attitude. The 'Virat' of 4th October, 1920 wrote—

12The Tribune September 11, 1920.
“When a revolution begins to work in the life of countries and nations, even impossible things become possible. Besides, a boycott of schools and colleges is within the range of possibilities. The people of Punjab were ready to carry into effect the complete Congress programme of N.C.O. But the province has been thrown into suspense by popular leaders, especially, L. Lajpat Rai. If the Punjab lags behind other provinces in the matter, the responsibility for this will rest on the leaders who are unwilling to accept the decisions of the Congress and are singing their own songs, and not on the masses who are prepared to give effect to the Congress resolution in its entirety. 13

The 'Tribune' - a paper with wide circulation and the one which had played a significant role in moulding public opinion in the province, did not approve the resolution. "All the three most important items in the resolution on non-cooperation carried at Wednesday's meeting of the Congress appear to put the cart before the horse. Thus, instead of providing that national schools and colleges are to be established either simultaneously with or before the withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, it is the withdrawal, qualified by the adjective

13 Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
'gradual', which is given the first place, ... Again, as regards the boycott of courts by lawyers and litigants, it seems to us to be too much to wait indefinitely for the arbitration courts to be established. Lastly, as regards the councils, there may be some meaning and reality in the voters being asked to refrain from voting at some future day when the new order of things will have taken root in the country and they will have themselves learnt both to understand and appreciate the franchise.\textsuperscript{14}

Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, did not approve of non-cooperation though he was in favour of boycott of councils, and he resigned from Secretaryship on this issue. He wrote -

"I strongly feel that a wrong lead has been given to the country and that the Congress has been committed to a programme several items of which are in my humble judgement not only impracticable but injurious to the interests of the country."\textsuperscript{15} Being in favour of boycott of councils he expressed his intention of withdrawing his candidature for the University seat.

\textsuperscript{14}The Tribune September 9, 1929.

\textsuperscript{15}The Tribune September 17, 1920.
After the Calcutta session the non-cooperation movement was run not under the aegis of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, but under a separate body known as the 'Non-Cooperation Committee'. L. Lajpat Rai was its president, Ch. Rambhaj Dutt, the Vice-President, L. Duni Chand, the Treasurer, Dr. Kitchlew and Bhai Sardul Singh Caveeshar, the Secretaries.

For the propaganda of the N.C.O. programme, it was decided to divide the country into fifteen linguistic 'provinces'. The constituent bodies of a provincial Congress Committee were to be: (1) District Congress Committees, (2) Taluka Congress Committees, (3) Affiliated bodies or associations.

Dr. Kitchlew was deputed by Mahatma Gandhi to organise non-cooperation work in the Punjab. Along with Agha Safdar, Dr. Kitchlew visited many places in the Punjab for propaganda work. A volunteer corps was organised under the guidance of Agha Safdar.

Launched the Non-Cooperation

An institution named the 'Swaraj Ashram' or the 'Na Mil Vartan Ashram' with the motto "Simple living, high thinking and self sacrifice for the cause of the country" was established. It was to be the residence of permanent
honorary workers and the training centre of young men for national service. In consultation with Mahatama Gandhi on his visit to Amritsar on 24th and 25th February, the construction of the Swaraj Ashram was decided. "Na Mil Vartan Ashram" was a type of headquarters for the students who had left studies and wanted to do the Congress work.16

In October, 1920, Gandhi again visited the Punjab and started propaganda work in favour of non-cooperation which was consequently carried further. "Although Mr. Gandhi is gone, the propagandist work in connection with non-cooperation is still going on with vigour and energy among students in Lahore. It is somewhat early to surmise the results but so far it is understood that Islamia College and three Islamia schools in Lahore have gone over to non-cooperation.17

Meetings were held at which resolutions in favour of non-cooperation were passed. "A mass meeting of the citizens was held yesterday evening. More than 6,000 attended. All students who have left their schools were present. An announcement was made previously inviting all those against non-cooperation to address the meeting. Only two came forward

16 L. Feroze Chand - Oral Transcript.

and spoke favouring reforms and against the boycott of the
councils and the students movement. Pt. Neki Ram very
ably refuted all these arguments." Resolutions accepting
the boycott of councils and asking the voters to refrain from
voting were passed unanimously. Similar meetings were
held in other parts of the province like Multan, Sirsa,
Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Lala Musa, Hissar, Lyallpur etc.

Great enthusiasm was witnessed amongst the people,
who offered gold ornaments for the propaganda work
of the committee. "One gentleman, Mian Ghulam Mohammed by
name, offered his whole property worth several thousands of
rupees for the Ashram." 

Lead was given to the non-cooperation programme at
the Ambala Divisional Conference, Bhiwani which started the
propaganda work. Every aspect of non-cooperation was
discussed at this conference. There was discontent in
Bhiwani due to famine and the poor attention paid by the
Government towards it, and this led to the success of non-
cooperation. The conference was largely attended, there
being about 8,000 Hindus and 7,000 Muslims. 

\[\text{The Tribune, December 2, 1920.}\]

\[\text{The Tribune October 14, 1920. Letter from Sardul Singh, Convener, Secretary, Punjab Non-Cooperation Committee.}\]

\[\text{Home Pol. A December, 1920 Nos. 183-86 S.K.W.}\]
Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi accompanied by the Ali Brothers, Mr. Abdul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, L.Duni Chand, L.Murli Dhar, Devdass Gandhi and Satya Dev arrived in the pandal and were given a hearty reception."

**Boycott of Councils**

The issue which was the centre of immediate attention was the boycott of councils as the elections to the reformed councils were to be held in December, 1920. On this issue the province was divided into two groups. One group consisting of Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal, Rambhaj Dutt etc. were in favour of boycott, while the other group wanted to enter the council to prepare the people in the art of Self Government. In this group men like Barkishen Lal, Mian Fazl-i-Russain, etc.

There was great enthusiasm for the boycott of Councils. Lajpat Rai and the 'Tribune' which has been hesitant in accepting all the aspects of non-cooperation were in fully in favour of the boycott of councils. There were many others also who were not in favour of other aspects non-cooperation but were in favour of boycott of councils.

At some places the candidates themselves withdrew their candidature, while at some other places voters appealed to them to do so. Immediately after the Bhiwani Conference
seven candidates withdrew their candidature. At a meeting at Lahore resolutions urging L. Harkishen Lal, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and others to withdraw their candidature and requesting the voters to refrain from voting were passed. The Non-cooperation Committee took signatures of voters on a pledge to refrain from voting. "Voters are freely signing the forms and all candidates are looked upon with contempt." 

The boycott of the Councils met with greater success in urban areas than in rural areas. "That non-cooperation has captured the heart of the people, and the decision of the Indian National Congress has been accepted, not only without demur, but with the respect due to it, has been proved by Amritsar in unmistakable terms today. All the non-Mohammedan candidates, who had announced their intention to stand for Council elections, have decided to withdraw from the candidature." 

An understanding was reached among the big cloth merchants that no votes were to be cast. The result of these efforts and the effect in the urban areas was seen in the elections at Amritsar, Lala Musa and many other places. On December 8th polling took place in Amritsar for the urban seat of the Council. . . . Polling was very low at particular

21 The Tribune, December 9, 1920.
22 The Tribune, September 17, 1920.
stations, e.g. at one of the stations only one vote was recorded, at another two and at a third three. Throughout the city Mr. Rallia Ram succeeded in getting about 5 votes but in Civil Lines he got 25 Christian and European votes. In Lalamusa, out of 1624 Muslim votes only 958 votes, and out of 287 Sikh votes only 29 were cast, while out of 142 non-Muslim votes not a single vote was recorded. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and L. Harkishen Lal stood for elections and both of them were elected.

Describing the results of the elections Edward Maclagan, the Lt. Governor of Punjab wrote to the Viceroy as follows -

"I should not say that the proportion of those who voted at the elections were disappointingly small. It was so no doubt in the towns (8½ % of the registered voters) but this was due entirely to non-cooperation. In the rural areas 37% polled, 38% among the Hindus, 41% among Mohammedans and 26% among the Sikhs, these last being affected by the non-cooperation spirit."

The effect of boycott of the Council could be seen from the composition of the Legislative Council with the marked absence of English-educated community. The predominating element was that of the landowners. Out of 69 members

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24. Ibid.
42 were landowners. There were 12 members who were by
birth and descent landowners and owned lands, but were
lawyers by profession. There were only 15 members who
could be regarded as townsmen and of these only ten
owned lands. There were only 5 members who had no
connection with land. One of them was a European and
another was a barber who had been put up by the non-
cooperators of Lahore. The educational qualifications of
the members also exhibited the rural bias of the Council.
Out of the 69 members, 3 were illiterate, and 23 knew no
English. Out of the remaining 43, half were not able to
conduct or follow a debate in English. Thus the council
represented almost exclusively the landed interests. There
were three main lines of cleavage - Government versus
Non-Government, Rural versus Urban and Religious interests.

The first Punjab Council was composed of (besides
23 nominated) 71 elected members, of whom 35 were Muslims,
15 Sikhs and the rest Hindus and others. Fazl-i-Hussain
realized that in the new Council the ultimate political
power must rest mainly with rural Muslim members and
therefore, immediately set himself to weld them into a
united party. All the Muslims supported Fazl-i-Hussain,
and this fact assumed special importance, because with
the official bloc he could always command a majority in the
Council. He formed a party of his own which in the
beginning was called, the 'Rural Bloc', but soon came to be known as the 'Rural Party'.

"My impression is that the Legislative Council, despite the absence of non-cooperative element (perhaps because of its absence) represents the normal opinion of the province with remarkable accuracy. That is to say, it has, on the whole, a marked respect for authority and a desire to support it and maintain order, a strong interest in everything which touches the pocket or affects the landed interest, a far greater interest in persons than in principles and no idealism at all."

The urban English-educated class, which had come to dominate the political scene after the World War, was conspicuous by its absence. Members of the Council were loyal supporters of the Government. There were certain important people in the Council — like L. Harkishen Lal — who did not approve Gandhi's programme. He resigned from the presidency of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

The Nagpur Congress

Though under the rules of the Congress the non-cooperation resolution adopted at Calcutta had to be ratified

26 Azim Hussain: Fazl-i-Hussain, op. cit., p. 150.
27 Ibid.
at the annual session of the Congress to be held at Nagpur in December, 1920, work had already started for non-cooperation.

In the Nagpur Congress held under the presidency of Vijayaraghavachariar there was great enthusiasm and more than 14,000 delegates attended the Congress. The resolution passed at Calcutta was ratified with only a few dissident voices. Lajpat Rai supported the new formula which was declared as the attainment of Swarajaya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. *Lajpat Rai was forced to change his attitude by the Punjabi delegates who urged him to support Gandhi or imperil his position of leadership. His speech made it clear that he accepted Gandhi's compromise formula which meant that India would stay in the British empire provided she could do so on her own time.28 Lajpat Rai said:

"After the resolution has been carried by this house, it becomes our bounden duty to observe it and carry it out in practice, so that no one shall say that we pass resolutions and do not give effect to them."29

Non-cooperation thus adopted had two aspects - the positive and the negative. The positive consisted of Swadeshi, particularly the revival of hand-spinning and


weaving, removal of untouchability among the Hindus, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition of the use of alcoholic drinks, and the collection of a crore of rupees for the memorial of Tilak. The negative aspect consisted of triple boycott, namely, boycott of legislatures courts and educational institutions (both schools and colleges) maintained or aided by Government.

After the Nagpur Congress the work which was being done by the N.C.O. Committee was taken over by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee with Lajpat Rai as President. The 'Bande Mataram', the Urdu Daily founded and edited by Lajpat Rai from Lahore (1920) became his mouthpiece. "People were familiar with the names of Gandhi and Lajpat Rai. Lajpat Rai was very popular as a great leader who had sacrificed a lot and people accepted the non-cooperation as his message."30

Non-cooperation movement made a real start about the end of January, 1921.

The first thing which was given attention was the collection of money for the 'Tilak Swarajya Fund', since it was felt that with that a rough idea of the response of the people could be made. The week commencing the 6th

30 L. Feroz Chand - Oral Transcript.
February was made the starting point for the collections and the week was named 'The Tilak Swarajya Fund'. Proper advertisements in the papers and by means of placards and notices were given and existing organisations in various district were given instructions about how to proceed in the matter.

Receipts in the form of notes of the denomination of Re.1, Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 with portrait of Tilak in the middle were got printed. These receipts became very popular, and a second instalment of the improved design had to be printed at the end of March. The week fixed had to be extended to a fortnight as it was found impossible to finish the work in one week's time. The total collections upto the end of April were Rs. 2,09,081-13-0.31

Response to the Programme of Bezwada Congress

The movement received further impetus after the Bezwada Congress held in the last week of March at which the Congress, realising the need to finance its activities and to increase and organise the number of its supporters resolved: "All Congress organisations and workers should concentrate their energies chiefly upon - (a) bringing the Tilak Swarajya Fund to one crore of rupees before the 30th of June, each Congress province to collect in ratio to its

population; (b) registering one crore of Congress members before the 30th of June, each province to contribute in ratio to its population; (c) introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of spinning wheels in good working order before 30th June, each province to introduce wheels in ratio to its population; (c) introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of spinning wheels in good working order before 30th June, each province to introduce wheels in ratio to its population. The qualifications of a Congress member were laid down as follows - (a) The recruit must be over 20 years of age; (b) he or she must subscribe to the Congress creed; (c) must pay an annual subscription of four annas. The ratio fixed for Punjab was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Money for T.S.F.</th>
<th>Charkhas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8,77,000</td>
<td>8,77,000</td>
<td>1,76,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Collection for Tilak Swaraj Fund**

L. Lajpat Rai played a great part in the collection of the fund. Wherever he went, money was raised. "During the recent short stay of the great patriot and leader, L. Lajpat Rai, at Amritsar, a sum of Rs. 12,000 was raised for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Since his departure Rs. 6,000 more have been collected and the total amount in Bank now stands
at Rs. 18,000. This, considering the quota fixed for Amritsar, viz. Rs. 10,25,000 is very poor indeed, but at the same time, is not, so bad for the time and things as they are. The following were the provincial contributions, as on 30th June, 1921:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Rs. in lakhs</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay City</td>
<td>37 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat and Kathiawar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras &amp; Andhra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. &amp; Berar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra (including Bombay Suburbs)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>1 ½</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>2 ½</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>2 ½</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer &amp; Merwar</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa, Assam etc.</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 105

33 The Tribune July 3, 1921.
Till July the Punjab had fulfilled the share allotted to it, its contribution being approximately Rs. 9 lakhs. L. Lajpat Rai, returning from his tour of the province, sent the following telegram to Mahatama Gandhi and Pt. Nehru: "In the absence of full and detailed information from the districts, the Punjab contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and Tilak Memorial Fund amounts approximately to 9 lakhs.\(^{34}\)

Many leaders visited a number of towns and villages and propagated the programme of non-cooperation. In Bhiwani it was decided that all the non-cooperators would devote the month of June to the Congress work and enlist members and collect funds as called upon by the Bezwada Congress. Pt. Neki Ram Sharma of Bhiwani played an important part, delivering lectures and creating interest in non-cooperation.

**Enlistment of Members**

Students of Na-Mil-Vartan Ashram were sent out in batches for the work of the formation of Congress Committees. "They were sent out for about 20 days from the 29th of March and have generally done most satisfactory work. 253 Congress Committees have been started within this period of one month with an average membership of 75 - 100."\(^{35}\)

\(^{34}\)The Tribune July 7, 1921

\(^{35}\)A.I.C.C.Suppl.File 21/1920-32.
Every class of the people in the villages responded favourably to the call of the volunteers. "We went to the people who were very eager to receive us. Not only the villagers but the people in business also responded. The business community was with us, the lawyers were with us. The impact of public opinion was so strong on the Rai Bahadurs that they voluntarily, without our asking, started putting on khadhar."36

Pamphlets on Congress resolution and on Congress creed were distributed. Leaders paid visits to various parts of the province and delivered lectures. The District Congress Committees, Taluqi Congress Committees, Circle Congress Committees and village Congress Committees were formed.

Efforts were made to enlist ladies also as members of the Congress under the guidance of Sarla Devi Chaudharani. A regular working committee of the ladies with Shrimati Sarla Devi as President, Shrimati Krishna Kumari Santanam as Secretary and Shrimati Parvati Devi as Assistant Secretary was formed. Membership of ladies steadily increased. "No less than 2,000 lady members have already been enrolled in the City Congress Committee and the message of the Congress has reached many of the dark and narrow lanes of the city of Lahore.37

36 Oral Transcripts L. Feroz Chand.
37 The Tribune July 27, 1921.
Such encouraging response of the people can be attributed to the discontent which had become a part of their life due to continuous high prices and the feeling that the Government was not concerned about it. "There was a firm belief that once the British Raj is disestablished there would be an end to these difficulties, and that it could be achieved only with the help of non-cooperation."\(^3^8\)

Gandhi's promise of Swarajya by September next if they cooperated with him attracted the attention of the people. "Pt. Neki Ram Sharma made a deep impression upon the public mind about the attainment of Swarajya within five months. He asked the audience to prepare themselves for holding tightly the reins of the horse of freedom which they are sure to ride upon within these five months. Great enthusiasm prevailed."\(^3^9\)

The Viceroy wrote about this enthusiasm to the Secretary of State -

"Ever since non cooperation has existed, there has been seditious and political appeals based upon promises of a great fall in prices as soon as the British Raj is disestablished. This kind of false promise and gross distortion of economic facts is largely the cause of the response of the villagers and uneducated public to the appeals of the non cooperators. We have no means of reaching the vast masses

\(^3^8\)Home Pol. 1921 - 18th September, 1921. Report on the Political and Economical Situation for the period ending 15th September, 1921.

\(^3^9\)The Tribune May 21, 1921.
except by Government communiques and also leaflets, but the difficulty is that the people cannot read and they depend for the information upon the statements made to them. This has been the cause of very serious trouble to us; all kinds of false statements have been made and the ignorant people have been told that there will be no taxes, that prices will fall and that they will have a happy and contented life if non-cooperation succeeds."

The Introduction of Spinning Wheels

The third plank of non-cooperation programme — the introduction of spinning wheels — met with great success. Spinning was already a popular industry of the Punjab and it was revived. "Spinning wheels have increased largely in number. As a matter of fact, there are a few Punjabi homes in which there is not a charkha but until recently they had been out of use in many a home. Now since the last two months everyone has come back to the habit of spinning and a good many have newly started too." Everywhere the number of spinning wheels exceeded the number allotted to the place."

The introduction of spinning wheels coincided with the introduction of Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign cloth. Khaddar was already popular in the rural areas and

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40 Reading Papers: Viceroy to Secretary of States, Simla, April 26th, 1921.

41 A.I.C.C. Suppl. File - 21/1920-31 From the Secretary, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee to General Secretary A.I.C.C.
efforts were made to popularise it in urban areas. The Lahore Municipal Committee at its meeting held on July 23, 1921, adopted Khaddar as the uniform of all municipal employees.

"A deputation consisting of Dr. Kitchlew, L. Rup Lal Puri, Dr. Chuni Lal Bhatia, Dr. Sant Ram Arora, Dr. Bashir and Gurbax Rai approached leading members of the medical profession who have also promised to use Khaddar. Volunteers and students, carrying national flags, are preaching Swadeshi in streets.... There is a general talk that the daily sale of foreign cloth is much reduced in these days."^2

Swadeshi

So encouraging was the response of the people that Lajpat Rai did not want it to go waste and did not agree to allow the movement to subside over for a few days. In the Working Committee meeting of the Congress at Allahabad in May, 1921, Gandhi's interview to be held with the Viceroy and the chances of a compromise were discussed. While Gandhi and M.L. Nehru were in favour of it, Lajpat Rai and Mohammed Ali opposed it on the ground that the Government would not permit the continuation of the agitation while the compromise was under discussion, and if the agitation were allowed to subside, it would not be possible to revive it in the strength and the dimension it had attained.

^2The Tribune, July 28, 1921.
After its meeting at Bombay on 28th July, 1921, the A.I.C.C. sent detailed instructions to all Congress organisations in order to achieve "complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th September next" and asked them to concentrate their attention on manufacture of khaddar by stimulating hand spinning and hand weaving. It also advised all Congress organisations to collect foreign cloth for destruction or use outside India at their option. Lajpat Rai and N.C. Kelkar appealed to the Congress organisations in various parts to concentrate on this issue and to postpone the consideration of other issues. In accordance with this a huge khaddar procession was taken out in Lahore on 31st July after the meeting of the people on the banks of the Ravi. "The Central portion of the procession consisted of 4,000 people, all clad in khaddar from head to foot, with banners with charkha painted on them and other mottos. At some places the processionists numbered 10,000.... A party of Akalies clad in black khaddar led the procession and produced a great impression." The procession was arranged by Mr. Duni Chand and L. Amir Chand with the help of the volunteers.

A great deal of work was done by volunteers. Every day from 6 A.M. to 8 A.M. and from 1 P.M. to 8.30 P.M. bands of volunteers used to go to various streets and lanes.

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43 The Tribune August 2, 1921.
of the city and through their inimitable songs and tales to influence the people and made the people sign the Swadeshi vow.

To give boom to Swadeshi and to encourage people exhibitions were held in which different types of handspun yarn and other Swadesh goods were displayed. Prizes were distributed to good manufactures. "The sheets of khaddar and durries were beautifully woven. The exhibition showed good prospects of Swadeshi cloth in future." Gurdaspur a Swadeshi exhibition was organised on 21st August. Exhibits consisted of best cotton, woollen yarn, hand woven and handspun cloth, dhoties, turbans and pl "A 'charkha' having a pankha and a 'aterin' moving simultaneously by hand attracted the greatest attention. Gota machine, an invention of this district, was a man. The hall remained full with visitors all the time it was open." A National Works Limited was opened in Lahore where workers manufactured not only articles like brass hinges, bolts, file machines, gold leafing machines etc. They also invented some articles, the more important being a 10-spindled wheel and an Indian fan which worked with electricity or oil.

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44 The Tribune October 1, 1921.

45 The Tribune August 26, 1921.
Khaddar became so popular that some marriages were held in Khaddar dress. "The marriage of L.Lal Chand Gupta, B.A., Headmaster, National High School, Ropar, took place on 11th. The bridegroom was clad from top to toe in handspun khaddar. The Bari Sari also for the bride was prepared of handspun khaddar. All who joined the marriage procession were wearing khaddar. For other requirements also khaddar was used and not a fabric of foreign cloth was used."^{46}

The students of Government College, Lahore went on strike as the Principal ordered that the students should wear blazers in college made up of English cloth only. They returned to the classes only when the Principal had withdrawn his orders.^{47}

The arrangements at Bhiwani Conference in Swadeshi greatly impressed Gandhi who openly appreciated it.

Picketing was also resorted to, for pressurising shop-keepers to stop ordering for foreign cloth. Written undertakings were taken from them not to place orders for foreign cloth. On receiving flat answers picketing was resorted to. On account of Mahatama Gandhi's birthday, the last week of September was celebrated as 'Boycott Week' and a huge bonafire was made of foreign clothes, on 30th

^{46}The Tribune, November 13, 1921.

^{47}Sri Ram Sharma - The Punjab in Ferment, op. cit., p.
September. About 75,000 people assembled on the Ravi side. The clothes were arranged in heaps. At about 6.30 P.M. the heap was lighted by means of a torch by L. Lajpat Rai. The number of clothes burnt was more than 50,000, the estimated cost of which was over one lac. The week was celebrated in a similar manner in other places where large quantities of foreign cloth were burnt.

Chaudharani Sarla Devi devoted all her energy to the cause of khaddar. She visited various parts of the province to propagate the use of khaddar amongst ladies. Charkha competitions of ladies and several weaver conferences were held under her chairmanship. At meetings she asked every lady to spin at least a little cotton. She had made a song which was on every lip:

Turn, turn the wheel,
The spinning wheel do turn.
Ye girls of Ind I with
Gandhi's ardour burn !

She also arranged to sell khaddar amongst the ladies. "Shrimati Sarla Devi Chaudharani, accompanied by some other ladies, went to the city on the 14th instant to sell khaddar. A sufficient quantity was sold in Mohalla Sareen alone. It appears that there is a great demand for khaddar among ladies." She also went around the town collecting foreign cloth.

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48 The Tribune December 18, 1921.
The increase in the demand for khaddar and the success of Swadeshi can be judged from the fact that despite of Punjab being a producer and exporter of khaddar before non-cooperation it became difficult for it to export the yarn. The Secretary in charge issued many pamphlets and posters and arranged for lectures in different places and also arranged for weavers' conferences, and he himself went to several places to find out the available supply of khaddar and bought wherever it was possible.

To meet the increasing demand of khaddar the following plan was adopted: (1) A khaddar store to be opened in almost all districts under the supervision of Congress Committees. The primary object of it was to collect yarn which was lying in large quantities all over the Punjab and which the people did not want to sell. The objects of it were to control prices, to distribute supplies evenly throughout the province, prevent export to Afghanistan and other places outside India and supply to other provinces, if possible.

Attention was paid towards every aspect. To supply spinning wheels, khaddies and other accessories it was decided to open a Central Store at Lahore, the branches of which could be opened at other places as the occasion arose. It was decided to open weaveries in each district, the object of which was two fold - to give incentive to
weaving and to train people in weaving. A special person was to be appointed to be in charge of the Swadeshi department.

In Lahore there were two weaving establishments - one connected with the Weaving College and the other in the city. There were weaving establishments in Montgomery with 30 women students, in Gujranwala with ten looms and in Shahpore with 11 looms working under Congress organisation.

The result of all these efforts was the increase in the demand for Khaddar and fall in the business of foreign goods. "The last two or three days the demand for khaddar was in full swing and every shop stocked larger quantities of khaddar which led to an advancement in the price of khaddar." The situation is going from bad to worse and business for foreign goods is at a standstill. During the week there were no purchases either by the outsiders or by the local consumers. Consequent upon this unusual dullness no orders were placed with foreign manufacturers. The prices are stationary."^

Due to the larger number of people taking to Swadeshi, khaddar became dearer than the foreign cloth. "The price of Bideshi cloth such as is worn by the poorer classes in the Punjab is about 3 annas a yard but the

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19 C. & M. Gazette, August 5, 1921.
50 C. & M. Gazette, January 5, 1921.
price of khaddar cloth is 4 annas a yard.\textsuperscript{51}

The Swadeshi aspect of the non-cooperation movement received considerable success in the province. "The non-cooperators achieved remarkable success in this respect. His (Gandhi's) insistence that only hand made cloth should be used, greatly improved the condition of the poverty-ridden masses in certain localities. Spinning and weaving again became cottage industries of universal importance from which almost everyone expected to be benefitted."\textsuperscript{52} "That (boycott of foreign cloth) was much more successful. In fact, I may tell you, long before Mahatama Gandhi came to India as a political leader, the Arya Samaj was the first organisation to preach Swadeshi."\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{Boycott of Educational Institutions}

The other programme of non-cooperation was the boycott of government and government-aided schools and colleges. It was a very controversial issue and divided the people into two groups. The chief arbiter of non-cooperation in the province, L. Lajpat Rai, had also not fully approved this aspect, and he had made clear his

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\textsuperscript{51}C. & M. Gazette, August 19, 1921.
\textsuperscript{52}S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar: Non Violent Non Cooperation.
\textsuperscript{53}Oral Transcript - Dr. Gokul Chand Narang.
\end{flushleft}
disapproved at the special Congress session at Calcutta. He presided over the 'All India College Students' Conference' simultaneously with the Nagpur session. There was a heated debate on the boycott of government and government-aided schools and colleges. A resolution was passed to the effect that the Conference wholeheartedly supports the immediate and unconditional boycott of Government and Government-aided colleges and advises the college students of India to respond to it. By another resolution national leaders were requested to establish National Colleges and to include provisions for technical education therein.54

In the beginning there was seen some enthusiasm for the boycott. The first student to respond to the resolution passed at Nagpur was Mohan Lal, a D.A.V. College student in Lahore. He wrote to the principal to strike off his name from the college register and said, "I think it is of no use to study under an educational system which through its machinery inculcates in us imperialistic ideas, teaches us biased and fake notions of history and encourages in us unintelligible cramming which emasculates our manhood."55

"With the reforms came the non-cooperation movement and the attempted boycott of state-aided education.

54 R.C. Majumdar: Struggle for Freedom.
But the direct result in the Punjab were sight. For a time towards the end of 1920, and in the early months of 1921, the situation seemed serious. A few institutions cut off all connections with the Government and University system. Some of the abler and better students left college. But the tide soon turned. The number of teachers who threw up their posts was negligible. Colleges and schools quickly reopened with little diminution of their numbers.56. On his visit to Punjab Mahatama Gandhi had talks with the students and he explained to them his point of view, and asked them to deliberate over the matter in their homes and see him again at the same place and hour on the 21st October to communicate to him their decision.

An association of the non-cooperators, teachers and students was formed on the 21st October, 1920 with Mahatma Gandhi in the chair. The Association was named 'The Vidyarthi Na Mil Vartan Sabha'. Its work was to organise propaganda of N.C.O. among Lahore colleges and work for their dis-affiliation from the University. "103 students of various colleges have given in their names as non cooperators and they will withdraw if their colleges did not break all connections with the Government till the 29th. The association is holding meeting everyday at different

places." The Khalsa College, Amritsar was the first to respond to the non-cooperation. As soon as the non-cooperation resolution was ratified by the Sikh League, the teachers and students of the College submitted an ultimatum to the Managing Committee to disaffiliate the college from the University. This was achieved. The other colleges which were badly affected were the Islamia College, Lahore and Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore where the students asked for disaffiliation of their colleges.

The leaders in the Punjab wanted to propagate non-cooperation amongst college students only, that is amongst grown-up students who could analyse it. Writing about students and non-cooperation Rambhaj Dutt said - "So far we have been mainly dealing with college boys who are expected to have attained the age of discretion. School boys we have left alone, because besides being too young the parents of them reside in Lahore, and we have opportunities to approach them direct."

Inspite of this there was enthusiasm among school students of Lahore and Amritsar for non-cooperation. Many students of a number of schools urged for disaffiliation and refusal of Government grant for their schools.

"The senior students of the Islamia School have a reasonably

57 The Tribune October 30, 1920.
worded resolution to the local Anjuman-e-Islamia, the managing body of the school to refuse the Government grant and to have their school disaffiliated within two weeks failing which they would be obliged to leave the school."\(^58\)

In Amritsar was started a national school on 1st. December, 1920. All the ten classes were started simultaneously and during less than a month the admissions in the school rose to 183. The characteristic features of the school were that it provided commercial education along with literary education i.e. Book-keeping, typewriting, shorthand and commercial correspondence. It also provided industrial education. The aim of the school was to make a student self-reliant and self-dependent. "It is expected that there will be a considerable rise in April next, the idea of such a school appeals to the commercial community of Amritsar and many are working for the institution."\(^59\)

A National College was started in Lahore, consisting of two departments - the General Culture and industrial instruction. Another such college was established at Hariana.

So great was the enthusiasm of the students that they held meetings at Gujranwala, 17 miles away from

\(^{58}\) The Tribune, October 28, 1920.
\(^{59}\) The Tribune, January 1, 1921.
Lahore as the Government had proclaimed Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore. Men like L. Lajpat Rai and S. D. Kitchlew were invited to address these meetings. Students in large number went from Lahore to attend these meetings. The following scheme for educational boycott was announced by Lajpat Rai in Gujranwala. After mature consideration and after consultation with Mahatma Gandhiji the working committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee decided to make provisions for the students. (i) The P.P.C.C. will immediately appoint a Board of National education to take charge of and control the cause of education in the National Schools, already existing or likely to come into existence. This Board was to be a representative one and was to form a curriculum for schools, arrange for inspection and for holding of examinations and granting of diplomas.

For students who after leaving the college were not willing to join the corps of volunteers but wanted to get higher education on national lines, it was decided to open a National College at Lahore where instructions on weaving and spinning were also to be given.

For those students who wanted to join the volunteers corps arrangements were made for instructions to be given to them for one or two months in districts and villages. The expenses for their board and lodging were to be provided by the Congress Committee.
The students who left their studies urged other students to follow their example. But in this they remained fully non-violent. Before they went they were given instructions which they followed closely: (1) not to go to any school but pass by the colleges only; (2) to go in an orderly manner and not to shout and disturb lectures; (3) not to go inside the college compound if the doors were closed or if any college authority asked them not to go in; (4) not to go in any direction prohibited by the police.

L. Rajpat Rai opened a national school in Lahore called the 'Tilak School of Politics'. "It will be more or less a round school and the Servants of India Society would of all not like to come and join its staff much. It's a new move and I am hoping to place it on a sound principle base before very long."69

The boycott of educational institutions did not meet with much success. There were many people who did not favour this boycott. "L. Hans Raj, late principal, D. A.V. College, Lahore, addressed the students of the D.A.V. College Hostel on N.C.O. The lecturer spoke against the students part of the N.C.O. and warned the students against

60 Hardikar Collection - Lajpat Rai to N.S. Hardikar dated December 2, 1920.
the risky steps that they were going to take. The movement, he said, was bound to fail.61

Fazl-i-Hussain made efforts to make the educational boycott unsuccessful. He as a member of the Grand Council of Anjumane-i-Himayat-i-Islam and as General Secretary of the College Committee successfully prevented Muslim educational institutions from being swept away by the non-cooperation movement. "This example enabled Mahatma Hansraj to save D.A.V. College against its non-cooperation assailants."62

Upto May 1921 only about 350-400 students had left their colleges. Out of those 85 joined the Indian National Service. Eight existing schools were turned into National Schools and 15 new such schools were started. About 25 teachers left Government or aided schools.

The problem was: what would the students do after leaving their studies? This prevented the students from leaving colleges and schools.

All the students were not willing to join the Volunteers Corps, and arrangements for 'national' education for those who wanted to study were inadequate. In the beginning many students left studies, but due to lack

of provision for 'national' education, many of them again joined the Government or aided institutions. "The campaign against schools and colleges resulted in winning over for the nationalist movement a good number of recruits but produced no other important result."

The report of the Punjab University showed that the number of students who passed from the University increased. Only the number of students for Bachelor's degree fell. "The total number of students who appeared at the various examinations held by the University in 1921 was 14,577 as against 13,981 in 1920. The number of candidates who sat for the M.S.L.C. examination increased from 7,568 in 1920 to 8,560 in 1921 but the number of the Bachelor's degree fell from 1,469 in 1920 to 1,332 in 1921.

Of the colleges affiliated to the University, Guru Nanak Khalsa College applied for disaffiliation, whereas two colleges - Ram Sukh Dass College at Ferozepur and V.B. College at D.I. Khan applied for affiliation.63

Government's Attitude Towards N.C.O.

The Government of India's attitude towards the non-cooperation movement changed with time. In the beginning it was indifferent but later it resorted to its old policy

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63 C. & M. Gazette, January 12, 1920.
of repression which was particularly conspicuous in the Punjab. "Abstention from interference in the non-cooperation movement became the policy of the Government in 1920. This was due to several considerations. First, the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were to be launched and the Government was anxious to see them in operation. The moderate section of the Congress and a number of other Congressmen were ready to make it work. The Government was careful to adopt such a policy as would not drive such sections into the arms of non-cooperators."\(^6^4\) This policy of non-interference with the non-cooperation movement was publicly set forth in the Viceroy's speech to the Imperial Legislative Council in September, 1920, and two months later it was officially launched in a Government resolution.

When the elections to the new Councils were held and the non-cooperation movement gained ground the attitude of the Government witnessed a marked change. In the last week of February, 1921, the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhpura were declared 'proclaimed areas' under the Sedition Acts. No meetings of the Congress, Khilafat, Sikh League and other such organisations were allowed to be held. When the Congress Working Committee

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\(^6^4\) R. Kumar (ed.) *Essays on Gandhian Politics*, op. cit.
held its meeting at Bombay in June, 1921 the Lahore City Congress Committee put forward a request to allow them to start Civil Disobedience in the matter of the refusal of the District authorities under the Seditious Meetings Act to permit meetings of the Committee. This was refused until the A.I.C.C. decided on that step.

"The volunteers were treated very severely. They used to be lathi-charged on certain occasions. The climax was reached at Jullundur on 27th when at the annual auction of liquor licences a series of attacks were delivered by the constables who, to ply more freely their lathies on the backs of the volunteers and the public, were ordered to take off their overcoats. Some (volunteers) were seized and thrown into the sewage closeby. Some again were made to salute that mighty genius who was inspired during the Martial law regime to issue what are known as 'Salaaming orders' and punished those who dared to disobey them. The worthy exponent of this call of savage force is no other than the notorious Lt.-Col.C.H.Ducks, the D.M. of Jullundur."

Harsh attitude was adopted towards certain newspapers which had adopted a favourable policy towards non-cooperation. They were the 'Siasat', the 'Pratap',

65 A.I.C.C. Files File No.2/1922 N.C.O. in Punjab weekly Review ending 28th February.
the 'Bande Mataram', the 'Zamindar' and the 'Akhbar-i-Am'. The most conspicuous was the 'Bande Mataram' - the mouth-piece of L. Lajpat Rai. Such coercive measures were adopted against the 'Partap' that its publication had to be stopped. Securities were demanded from the 'Zamindar' and the 'Bande Mataram' because of the publication of certain articles which, according to the Government, interfered with the maintenance of law and order. "One reads in these coercive measures the determined policy of the bureaucracy to strangle the vernacular press of Lahore which among them command a regular circulation of more than 40,000."

In November, 1921, the Congress, Khilafat and National Volunteers were declared unlawful associations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act throughout the Punjab.

It was in these conditions that the British Government of India decided to invite the Prince of Wales to visit India. The A.I.C.C. decided to boycott his visit by observing hartal all over India on the 17th November, and on other days in places wherever he went. In its issue of 17th November, the 'Bande Mataram' appealed to the people to boycott his visit by observing hartals. It said, "The 17th of November should be remembered by every Indian because on this day officers of Government will make the

Prince of Wales land at Bombay against the wishes of the whole country in order to display its grandeur to him. At a time when crores of people are starving in consequence of the unusual scarcity prevailing and cannot get warm clothes to protect themselves from cold, these officers wish to spend lakhs of rupees of the poor tax-payers on the Prince's pleasure-trip to prove how happy and prosperous the country is under the present administration. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indians to observe a complete hartal throughout the country on the day when this act of deceiving the world begins to be committed and subsequently to effect hartal wherever the Prince may go.

To make the Prince's visit to Lahore a success, the officers collected people from neighbouring rural areas, gave them free rail tickets and food. But the public did not desist from showing its resentment. The 'Paisa Akhbar' of 28th January, 1922 reported "Some 500 people made a demonstration at the office of L.Hira Lal Kapur and demanded of him to give up his contract to feed the poor at Mian Mir on the occasion the Prince of Wales visit to Lahore. They abused him, threw stones at his office and smashed his sign-board. His partner, confectioner Hira, who had to supply sweets, had the curtain of his shop burnt and his fireplace destroyed. The crowd also
went to the houses of those persons who had taken excise contracts, made a great noise there and heaped obscene abuse on them. Meetings were held in various places in which resolutions boycotting the Prince's visit were passed.

The Lahore Municipal Committee passed a similar resolution which was, however, rescinded later, in spite of the opposition of Rambhaj Dutt, Duni Chand, Malik Md Hussain, K. Santanam etc. The Central Sikh League, at its third session at Lyallpur, passed a resolution favouring the boycott of the Prince's visit.

The Prince visited Lahore on February 25, 1922. He was greeted largely by Government officers, clerical staff, Europeans and villagers brought from neighbouring villages. The entire city of Lahore observed voluntary hartal and the Indian quarters presented a gloomy look. The Amritsar trip was cancelled due to impending trouble. However, the call to boycott the Prince's visit did not meet with complete success. At places large crowds welcomed him. The railway workers of Moghulpura gave him a hearty welcome.

One of the reasons for the success of the Prince's visit was the suspension of non-cooperation movement. "The temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience as a result of the Bardoli resolutions has had a sobering effect on the activities of the non-cooperations, particularly in the towns,
and is in part responsible for the quiet during the Prince's visit to Lahore. 67

Earlier, in December, 1921, the Government, in accordance with its repressive policy, arrested L. Lajpat Rai and certain others during a private meeting congratulating him on his arrest were held. Mr. Santanam, Lal Khan, Dr. Gopi Chand and S. Kharak Singh were also arrested with him. Their arrest was followed by the arrest of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Gurbax Rai, Secretary of the City Congress Committee, Amritsar.

These leaders adopted a non-cooperative attitude during their trial i.e. they refused to defend themselves. Lajpat Rai said - "After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that as a non-cooperator I shall not file a written statement, it naturally results in finding flaws in the prosecution Therefore, to avoid taking part in such a practice as non-cooperators we shall neither submit written statements nor deliver verbal statements." 68

Inspite of the repressive policy of the Government, the movement spread unabated during the year 1921. It became a point of honour to go to jail and thousands of men courted arrest by non-violently opposing the Government's

68 C & M. Gazette, February 15, 1922.
unjust policies. "The net result of the non-cooperation movement in its first phase, that is, during the years 1920-21, was both encouraging and disappointing. It was encouraging because the N.C.O. movement was able to do for the country within two years or so what former political movements could not do in the course of 50 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, it was not only the lawyer or the stray merchant who felt interested in politics, every Indian community regarded it its duty to work and suffer for the political freedom of the country."^69

The year 1921 was thus a memorable land-mark in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The Congress, in its annual session at Ahmedabad (December, 1921) not only expressed its determination to continue the programme of non-violent, non-cooperation with greater vigour, but took steps to organise Civil Disobedience.

^69 S. Sardul Singh Caweskar: Non-Violet Non Cooperation;
Mahatma Gandhi was appointed by the Congress the sole executive authority to lead the national movement. The popular enthusiasm rose to fever heat and there was an eager expectation of a mass movement on a big scale. Gandhiji, however, decided to confine it at first to Bardoli, a small district of 87,000 people in Gujarat region. Writing about the success of non-cooperation the *Tribune* noted that "Non-cooperation was successful both in the rural and urban areas. Noncooperation principles in the abstract cannot be found in rural areas but the main items of its programme, such as the use of khaddar, formation of panchayats maintaining of unity and observance of non-violence are even more successful in rural than in urban areas, for this reason that western civilization has not penetrated into rural areas and the N.C.O. programme appeals more effectively to the rural masses than to city dwellers' perverted tastes."\(^7\)

At the same time, Pt. Malaviya and Mrs. Besant tried to bring about a compromise between the Government and Gandhi. Lord Reading, the Viceroy, expressed his intention of releasing political prisoners and meeting Gandhi, if he would call-off non-cooperation. C.R. Das and

\(^7\)R.C. Majumdar: An Advanced History of India;

\(^7\)The Tribune, May 3, 1920.
M.R. Jayakar favoured the offer. Gandhi insisted on the release of Ali brothers who had been arrested in October, 1921 for declaring that Muslims must withdraw from the British army. This created dissensions within the Congress rank and Gandhi lost some of his popularity. He lost further support when he declared his intention to inaugurate a 'no-tax campaign' in the Bardoli taluqa of Surat district, Bombay.

From then non-cooperation started losing ground. Enthusiasm of the people began to waver. Till now people had hopes, but, as they were not fulfilled, people stopped taking interest. The non-cooperation completely failed in their immediate objective. They had promised India Swaraj in one year, but the promise could not be fulfilled. A factor which was contributing to the decline of non-cooperation movement was the failure of its followers to make good their boast of bringing Government to its knees. In areas where attempts had been made to refuse payment either of land revenue, of local taxes, or of the cost of punitive police, collections went steadily on. Several dangerous movements which had sporadically grown up, collapsed before the determination of the authorities to suppress all tendency to anarchy. Nowhere was this more evident, and nowhere was the triumph of law and order more notable than in the case
At the Ahmedabad Congress (December, 1921), it was decided that all Congress workers should organise not only individual civil disobedience but also mass civil disobedience as soon as the masses were sufficiently trained in the method of non-violence. Civil disobedience began in Punjab on 2nd January, 1922, when volunteers marched in processions through the principal bazaars and preached Swadeshi. As an experiment Gandhi decided to launch mass civil disobedience at Bardoli — a small tehsil in Surat district. On 1st February, 1922, in a letter to the Viceroy, Gandhi communicated his decision. "This lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of mass civil disobedience an imperative duty." Gandhi made a final appeal to the Viceroy to revise his policy, set free all the prisoners convicted for non-violent activities, to free the press from all administrative control, and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities undertaken for the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs, or Swaraj. "Finally, Gandhi added, "If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days .... I shall be prepared

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to advise postponement of civil disobedience of an aggressive character."

The Viceroy did not agree to Gandhi's demands. Gandhi proceeded to Bardoli to lead the campaign, but the campaign was stopped before it was begun. A crime was committed by the people of Chauri Chaura a village in U.P. near Gorakhpur. The police had opened fire on a procession, but when their ammunition was exhausted, they shut themselves up inside a building. The excited mob set fire to it, and as the members of the police force were thus forced to come out, they were all, twenty-two in number, hacked to death, and their bodies were thrown into the flame. This incident occurred on 5th February, 1922.

There was another mob outbreak at Bareilley, but it was easily suppressed.

These incidents created a feeling of disgust and about 50 prominent leaders of the U.P. immediately issued a manifesto condemning the conduct of the volunteers. Some prominent leaders made an urgent appeal to Gandhi to suspend the Civil disobedience movement, and Gandhi immediately agreed. The Working Committee of the Congress, summoned at Bardoli, discussed the matter on 11th and 12th February and upheld Gandhi's view.

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73 R.C. Majumdar: Struggle for Freedom;
The Effects of Bardoli Resolution

The Bardoli decision of suspending non-cooperation had a frustrating effect in certain quarters. The ardent admirers of non-cooperation and the people who had worked for it saw it as a defeat for non-cooperation and were not ready to retrace their steps.

The sudden suspension of the movement gave rise to tense feelings in the country. Lajpat Rai, Moti Lal Nehru, and C.R. Dass protested from the jails. According to them Gandhi was not justified in punishing the whole country for the sins of one place. In protest against the suspension of Civil disobedience Lajpat Rai addressed a letter to the members of the Congress Working Committee from Lahore Jail. He wrote -

"With the Bardoli resolution our movement has reached a stage which makes it necessary to have a close searching of hearts and a clear idea of where and how we stand. Within the last 18 months, from September, 1920 upto date of the Bardoli resolution, we have made several mistakes both in principles and in practice... These mistakes ought to be openly acknowledged, atoned for and the responsibility for them placed on proper shoulders so that we may be in a position to chalk out our future course of conduct, with surer grasp of the realities of the situation than we have hitherto done."

The Bardoli resolution was endorsed at the A.I.C.C.

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74 Nagark: Lajpat Rai - The Man & His Ideas; op. cit. p. 108.
meeting at Delhi on 24th and 25th February.

The Government took advantage of the unpopularity of Gandhi and arrested him on 18th March, 1922. Thus ended the first phase of the Non-cooperation movement. The movement had depended on Gandhi and his arrest gave a death-blow to it.

The Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee tried to observe a hartal on Gandhi's arrest. Men were despatched throughout the city to proclaim the sentence inflicted upon Gandhi and to exhort people to observe hartal on Sunday and keep a fast. Hartal was partially observed. The main bazaars were closed but Kashmiri and Mochi Gate and other streets with a predominant Mussalman population opened in the morning. Pt. Rambhaj Dutt and some Khilafat workers patrolled the city requesting the shopkeepers to close, some of whom complied, others refused. The hartal concluded with the burning of some garments of foreign cloth on the Ravi. Practically no Mussalman shopkeeper complied with the edict as the Hindus had not demonstrated when the Ali Brothers had been convicted.

The arrest of Gandhi had created confusion and frustration. Most of the leaders did not want to lose the gains achieved in the previous years. After a few days of silence, a few Congressmen started making efforts to consolidate the gains of the preceding struggle through the implementation of constructive programme as framed by Gandhi and approved
by the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. at its meeting at Delhi before Gandhi's arrest. Meetings were arranged by provincial Congress leaders in several towns of the province to popularise khaddar.

Political meetings were held on the 18th of every month in accordance with the instructions of the Congress Working Committee to observe the day on which Gandhi was convicted as the day of National Prayer in order to keep the people alive to the mission of the Mahatama. But the enthusiasm had waned and the Gandhi Day was observed only partially. "Save for a few meetings and demonstrations on the 18th, the Gandhi Day was ignored in the Punjab and the lull in Congress and Khilafat activities continues."

The Constructive Programme

A meeting of the P.P.C.C. was held on 5th March, 1922 to give effect to the resolution of the A.I.C.C. held at Delhi. It was resolved to carry on the constructive programme. They were to enlist members in the Congress Committees, form Congress Committees where they did not exist. They were also to form panchayats to settle disputes.

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75 S.L. Malhotra: An Experiment with Communal Politics, op.cit., p.

76 Home Pol. 1922, August, File No. 18.
In spite of the earnestness of the Congress leadership about the programme very little enthusiasm was noticed for it. Earlier also this aspect of the movement had not evoked much interest. Only that part which involved direct conflict with the Government had attracted the masses. So now, when enthusiasm for non-cooperation had waned, this aspect failed in a greater degree to attract the attention of the people. "There has been a marked improvement in the political situation throughout the province. The present Congress programme is very indefinite and little enthusiasm is being shown in carrying it out." Moreover, thousands of workers had been sent to jail and this also staggered the movement.

Efforts were made to regularise and to extend the work of settlement of cases by panchayats and a Sub Committee was appointed which consisted of Dr. Gokul Chand Narang and Sheikh Umar Baksh. Its work was to draw up a set of rules of procedure, devise a system of awards and draw necessary forms.

The campaign for recruitment of Congress members was also carried on. The number of Congress Committees rose to 756 and the number of members to 70,000. Efforts were made to open national schools. Deputations were sent to different parts to popularise the constructive programme.

77Home Pol. 1922 Report on Political Situation, April, 1922, No. 18.
A number of newspapers also appealed to the people to pay attention to it.

The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee earmarked a sum of Rs. 17,00,000 to stimulate the production and consumption of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, particularly khaddar. A special department under the charge of Mr. Jamna Lal Baja was formed. The department was to consist of three divisions, technical education, production, and sale. A similar department was formed in Punjab.

In the beginning of October, 1922 Mathura Das Parshotam, Director, Production Branch of the All India Khadi Department, visited the Punjab. He suggested to the Working Committee of the P.C.C. to form a separate khaddar Department and entrust to it the work of popularising khaddar in the province. At his suggestion a committee was formed consisting of seven persons, one of whom was appointed its Secretary-in-charge. The Working Committee earmarked Rs. 50,000 for the Khadi Committee and authorised it to lay upto Rs. 10,000 on establishment in one year and to invest the balance for the advancement of the khaddar work in the Punjab.

The establishment of this Committee gave an impetus to the Khaddar work. The Secretary of the Khadi Committee toured 22 different districts to examine old accounts and to determine how the work could be done in future.
To encourage ladies in the direction of weaving, the committee started two schools at Lahore and one at Muzafargarh. In the beginning, there was large attendance but as non-cooperation slackened attendance fell to only 6 or 7 and the schools had to be closed. In the end only one weaving class for day in the National School at Lahore was run.

Before this Committee began its work there were only five producing centres i.e. Shakargarh, Kartarpur, Batala, Patti and Darya Khan and they supplied khaddar to five Congress depots i.e. Lahore, Gurdaspur, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan and Lyallpur, but, after the setting up of the Committee, depots and agencies were opened at D.I.Khan, Kamalia, Hafizabad, Maja, Jhelum and Montgomery. The greatest sale was at Lahore which rose to above Rs. 2,000 a month.78

The next item of the constructive programme was the establishment of panchayats and to do away with the evil of litigation. It was decided to form a Board called the Panchayat Board for the purpose of organising Panchayats in every village and town of the province. The Board was to be under the charge of a member of the Working Committee of the P.P.C.C. There were to be boards in every district.

and if District Congress Committees thought advisable, they could organise boards in tehsils also. The D.C.C.s were entrusted with the task of forming Panchayats in every village or town, and they could, for this purpose, send out Pracharaks (Propagandists).

"During the early summer of 1922, the non cooperation movement was in a position weaker than any which it had occupied since its triumphant inception. Congress leaders all over the country wanted a programme which could raise its image. A meeting of the A.I.C.C. was, therefore, called for the 7th June, 1922 at Lucknow to reconsider its line of action and programme. This evoked great interest in Punjab. A strong contingent was sent to attend the meeting. It is reported that out of 100 participants 26 were from the Punjab and they wanted to adopt civil disobedience.

Since there was a sharp division over the readiness of the country for a non-violent civil disobedience movement, it was decided to appoint a committee to assess the situation by making a direct contact with leaders in various provinces. As a result, Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of the Congress. M.L.Nehru, Dr.Ansari, V.J.Patel, The Tribune, July 23,1922.

L.F. Rushbroook: India in 1922-23; op.cit.p.272.
Jamna Lal Bajaj, C. Rajagopalchari and Seth Chottani were nominated as its members.

The Committee submitted its report in October, 1922. It unanimously reported that the country was not prepared for a mass movement. But it was strongly divided on the issue of council entry. While Hakim Ajmal Khan, M. L. Nehru and V. J. Patel recommended that non-cooperators should contest the election on the issue on which the non-cooperation movement was launched, i.e. the redress of Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj, Rajagopalchari, Dr. Ansari and Kasturi Ranga Iyengar pleaded for adherence to the original programme of boycott of councils. The majority of the witnesses in the Punjab favoured the boycott of councils. Out of 141 witnesses, 25 were in favour of boycott of councils, nine did not express any opinion on this issue, and only three recorded themselves in favour of council entry. 81

Leaders in favour of council entry started their propaganda in favour of it as soon as the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was published.

In the deliberations of the Punjab Provincial Conference held in November, 1922, at Rohtak this issue occupied an important part. In his presidential address, L. Duni Chand

81 Stanley Reed: Indian Year Book.
spoke in favour of council entry. He said, "I know that till now non-cooperators have been preaching against entry into councils and the public will view this change as a confession of weakness, but it must be remembered that different situations require different treatments. You must remember that there should be somebody who must give lead after Mahatama Gandhi; and none is better qualified to give lead at this juncture than Mahatama Ji's successor, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and the two greatest master-minds of India — Dass and Nehru."

The resolution for council entry was debated for a long time but it was ultimately carried by a large majority. However, in spite of this resolution being carried, the councilites continued their struggle. Pt. M.L. Nehru, addressing a public meeting, said that since the country was unprepared for mass civil disobedience and the constructive programme, it was, therefore, advisable that they should enter the councils and wreck them. Ruchi Ram Sahni also expressed his intention of entering the councils. He believed that by keeping out of the councils the Indians would make their position weaker.

In spite of the peaceful programme of the Congress the Government continued its old policy of repression. The Government took advantage of the lack of enthusiasm for the

82The Tribune, November 19, 1922.
programme and tried to crush the movement with a firm hand. Arrests were made. Punitive police was posted at various places. Those who were not Congress members, or members of the Akali Jatha or of the Panchayats were nominally taxed, whereas those who belonged to these organisations had to pay at a higher rate. Those who failed to pay were kept in custody for the whole day and sent to police lock-up.

The Non-cooperation succumbed to this repressive policy though there were other factors — like the breakdown of Hindu Muslim unity which was the foundation-stone of this movement— which contributed to the debacle.

The energy and enthusiasm which had been generated before the Bardoli resolution amongst the people found an outlet in Hindu Muslim riots in the absence of any other programme which could appeal to them. In Multan, in the month of September, 1922, severe Hindu-Muslim riots occurred. The Muslims of Multan attacked the Hindus, places of their worship were set on fire and their property was damaged. Hakim Ajmal Khan appealing to the people wrote— "I have been watching with considerable sorrow that the dear province of the Punjab is marching backward as far as their question of unity is concerned; and whereas the inhabitants of other provinces are coming closer to one another, the Muslims and Hindus of the Punjab are receding from each other .... These shameful and inhuman deeds are such a blot not only on the
fair names of Multan and the Punjab but the united India demands our immediate attention."^83

The atmosphere of strained relations continued for a long time and led to breakdown of unity at other places also. "Judging from the communications we have been receiving from day to day, acts of aggression still continue to be perpetrated towards either individual Hindus or Hindus as a community. That these acts are viewed with utter disapproval by the leaders of the community we know from our own utterances."^84

The riots created a feeling of fear and suspicion among the Hindus and they erected gates at the entrance of the Mohallas exclusively inhabited by them. The Deputy Commissioner of Multan, Mr. Emerson taking advantage of the strained relations tried to further worsen the relations. He issued a notice under Section 133 of the Criminal Procedure Code to the residents of the Mohallas to show cause why the gates should not be removed. The matter was taken up by the Municipal Committee at the instance of its President, Syed Raja Baksh Shah, M.L.A. The matter was put to vote. This divided the Committee into communal lines. Eleven Hindus voted in favour of the erection of the gates and ten Mussalmans against it. The president in consultation with his co-religionis

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^83C & M Gazette September 19, 1922.

^84The Tribune October 28, 1922.
cast his vote in favour and thus the decision was taken against Hindus. The appeal of Pt. Shiv Dutt to wait as this would cause a loss to the Hindus who had spent on the construction of the gates and constructed them only for defence was lost due to the President's casting vote. The Hindus of the town observed hartal.

These incidents of Multan resulted in communal riots in certain other places. At Lyallpur the changers of Lyallpur were expelled from the grain market for having voted in favour of a Muhammadan candidate at the Municipal elections in preference to a Hindu pleader. In Amritsar communal dissensions started from a very small — and a purely private dispute between two lads, one a Hindu and the other a Mohammedan. Although the general feeling in Amritsar was to condemn such dissensions and riots, yet people who would have them widened were present there.

Signs of Hindu-Muslim differences had started appearing long before this but the enthusiasm for the movement kept them in check. This process started inside the Council. The policies of Fazl-i-Hussain as Minister of Education made the Hindus suspicious and apprehensive of the Muslims. Fazl-i-Hussain believed that the Muslims, as compared to the Hindus and Sikhs were hopelessly backward in education. Apart from the general expansion of educational facilities he adopted
special measures to promote education among members of his community, a large number of scholarships meant for military families benefitted them. In order to encourage muslims to enter Anglo Vernacular schools, a large percentage of free scholarships were awarded to them. Religious bodies were encouraged to expand their educational institutions and were assisted with liberal grants. As a result of these measures, within a year and a half, the number of Muslims in all the institutions increased by 42.3% while the increase among the Hindus was only 19.6%.

This was resented by the Hindu members of the Council. "In the Council all discussions on educational matters were given a communal turn, and the great majority of interpellations were based on communal considerations. Appointments and promotions were jealously scrutinised - from the communal point of view and controversy arose from time to time about the distribution of grants in aid to privately managed communal schools." 85

This communal feeling was further spread by the press. Professor Gulshan Rai, General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, wrote a series of articles in the 'Tribune' severely criticizing the communal policy of Fazl-i-Hussain. 86

85 Azim Hussain; op.cit., pp.135-36.

86 Ibid., p.177.
In 1922, for example, admission to government colleges in Punjab was apportioned by community, securing for Muslims seats traditionally lost to the more educationally progressive urban Punjabi Hindus. 87

Whether economic or communal in their origins the various legislative reforms of the period were viewed by the Punjab Hindu elites as being a Muslim assault on their social and economic power in the province. The result was a growing interest among Punjabi Hindus in legislative politics and continuing rejection of the Congress strategy of non-participation in the legislatures. 88

The question of Council entry again cropped up at the Congress session held at Gaya in December, 1922 and there also the differences of opinion dominated the session. The President of the session, Mr. C.R. Dass, spoke strongly in favour of entry into the councils for the purpose of wrecking them from within. Punjab delegates were in favour of Iyengar's resolution of contesting elections without the intention of entering the legislatures. They supported the resolution both at the Select Committee meeting and the open session. Further, the Punjab contingent remained equally divided over the Rajagopalachari's resolution which appealed to all the voters to abstain from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of the

88 Azim Hussain, op. cit.
The resolution in favour of council entry was lost, the one in favour of boycott being passed.

Other questions did not attract much attention. The resolution accepting the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry on the subject of boycott of British goods was thrown out. The resolution on the boycott of Government educational institutions and the law courts was accepted, inspite of emphatic protests that their utility had been lost.

The President, C.R. Dass, declared his intention of forming a party within the Congress, under his own leadership, to work for the non-cooperation programme, within the councils. He named the Party 'Swaraj Party'.

"The formation of the Swaraj Party gave a new complexion to the politics of the province. Some delegates to the Gaya Session participated in the deliberations leading to its formation. Propaganda in its favour started as soon as they returned from the session. A provincial branch of the 'Swaraj Party' was formed. A number of important Congressmen joined it. Amongst its office bearers were Ruchi Ram Sahni, Dr. Mohammed Alam, Duni Chand, Km. Lajjavati, Rana Feroz Din, Syed Ataullah Shah, Raizada Hans Raj, etc. But cracks appeared in its structure as soon as it came into existence in the Province. Besides

S.L. Malhotra: An Experiment with Communal Politics, op. cit.
the party had to face initially fierce opposition from the opponents of Council entry in the provincial Congress who stepped up their propaganda against Council entry as soon as the Swarajists started their activities in the province. Eminent provincial Congress leaders such as Satyapal, Kitchlew, Santanam, Gopi Chand etc. girded up their loins against the Swarajists.  

Thus by the end of the year 1922, the non-cooperation movement had failed. The causes of its failure had been the suspension of the movement in pursuance of the Bardoli resolution and lack of enthusiasm for the constructive programme. Another cause was lack of unity both ideologically and communal. There arose differences on the issue of Council entry, while communal unity which had been the dominant feature of Indian politics in the years 1920 and 1921, broke down. As long as the enthusiasm of the people was kept in control it led to the success of the movement, but once the enthusiasm slackened it resulted in differences, confrontation, tension and riots.

Though the non-cooperation movement failed to achieve its immediate objective i.e. the attainment of Swarajya but there had been some gains. It succeeded in fostering and spreading the idea of nationhood, in creating an internal desire for national freedom.

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90 Ibid., p.