

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement (1919–22)

The national movement in India entered its third and final stage during 1920–21 with the launch of two mass movements—Khilafat and Non-Cooperation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Though emerging out of separate issues, both the movements adopted a common program of action against the British, i.e. use of non-violent mass struggle. The movements were launched in the backdrop of disappointment with Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, Post-War miseries, the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and the Khilafat wrongs. These events greatly disillusioned Gandhi and turned him from a cooperator, into a non-cooperator.

BACKGROUND

Disillusionment with Montagu Chelmsford Reforms

The constitutional reforms of 1919 fell far short of Indian aspirations and failed to bring about a responsible government in any real sense. Failure of diarchy and failure of the government to establish self-governing institutions evoked widespread disappointment with the new Act and gave rise to a new unity and a new movement led by Congress and Mahatma Gandhi in the form of 'non-violent non-cooperation movement'. It soon gathered momentum and grew into a full-fledged agitation demanding complete transfer of power into Indian hands.

Post-War Miseries

Post-World War, the economic situation in India became alarming. There was a sharp rise in prices of daily commodities, heavy taxes and rents were imposed on the peasantry and volume of imports had risen sharply affecting Indian industries and their production. Thus, all sections of Indian people were facing post-war miseries that strengthened anti-British sentiment.

Rowlatt Act

The Rowlatt Act, passed in March 1919, also evoked wide-scale resentment of the Indian people. As per the Act, the government could imprison any person without trial in a court of law. The

real motive behind the act was to enable government to imprison the nationalists without giving them any opportunity to defend themselves. To oppose the Act, a non-violent mass agitation known as the Rowlatt Satyagraha was launched under the leadership of Gandhi. The new form of protest created a new political awakening and stirred large masses of Indian people.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

It was an incident of naked brutality on the Indians. On 13th April 1919, in Amritsar, a large but unarmed crowd had gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh to protest against the arrest of their two leaders—Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. The British commander of Amritsar ordered his troops to open fire on the crowd without warning, killing thousands of peaceful protestors including women and children. The heartless massacre sent a shock wave across the world.

In 1919, India stood highly discontented and the nationalists felt outraged with one insult after another. They were no longer ready to swallow these insults which made them feel dishonoured and cowardly. The above developments prepared a ready ground for the next anti-British movement to build on. The Khilafat issue, which provided the immediate background, also gave the added advantage of Muslim support.

In fact, this period saw the emergence of unprecedented Hindu-Muslim unity in the backdrop of Lucknow Pact, Rowlatt agitation and emergence of nationalist leadership among Muslims. The Hindu-Muslim unity was also a byproduct of government repression in Amritsar as Hindus and Muslims were handcuffed together, made to crawl together and made to drink and eat together.

First World War (1914–18): The First World War was a global war originating in Europe, engaging all the world's great powers that assembled in two opposing groups—the Allies (France, Britain, Russia) and the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary). The groups expanded as more nations joined the war gradually. The war ended with the victory of the Allies and territorial readjustments followed. As per the Treaty of Versailles (1919) which was the most important of all the peace treaties, the territorial extent of the Ottoman Empire was reduced.



First World War

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT (1919–22)

The Khilafat Issue (or the Khilafat Wrongs)

During the First World War, Turkey was an ally of Germany and Austria against the British. After the War, victorious British dethroned the Sultan of Turkey who was also regarded as the Khalifa or Caliph (religious head of entire Muslim world). Although this act of the British angered Muslims throughout the world, the most prominent activities were organised in India.

To voice their opposition, the Indian Muslims build up a movement known as the Khilafat Movement and put forth the following demands:

1. The Khalifa's position should be restored

2. The Khalifa's control over the Muslim sacred places should be retained
3. In territorial adjustments after the war, Khalifa should be left with sufficient territories.

Formation of Khilafat Committee (Bombay, 1919)

In early 1919 in Bombay, a Khilafat Committee was formed on the initiative of Muslim merchants. Some of its prominent leaders were Ali Brothers (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari and others. The activity of the committee remained confined to moderate measures like meetings and petitions in favour of the Khalifa. However, some Muslim leaders were not satisfied with this moderate approach and they advocated a more militant attitude.

All India Khilafat Conference (Delhi, 22–23 November 1919)

During 22–23 November 1919, the All India Khilafat Conference was held in Delhi and the militant Muslim leadership gave a call for non-cooperation with the British government in India. In the conference, Dr. Hasrat Mohani made a call for boycott of British goods.

Alliance with Congress and Role of Gandhi (1920)

In April 1920, Shaukat Ali threatened the British with a joint Hindu-Muslim movement of non-cooperation if the British failed to pacify the Muslims. He further declared that the movement would start "under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, a man who commands the respect of both Hindus and Muslims". It was clear that the Muslims were eager to gain the support of Hindus in India to pressurise the British. Seeing in this an excellent opportunity to forge Hindu-Muslim unity in India, Gandhi extended full support to the Khilafat movement and was also appointed as the President of the All India Khilafat Committee. Yet, till May 1920, Gandhi had adopted a moderate approach.

Gandhi's attitude hardened with the publication of the terms of treaty with Turkey and the Hunter Committee Report on Punjab disturbances in May 1920. The reports infuriated the Indians who felt both hurt and humiliated. The House of Lords had voted in favour of General Dyer's action and even the British public had supported him by making generous donations in his name. The Treaty of Sevres signed with Turkey had slapped harsh peace terms and completed the dismemberment of Turkey. The government also refused to annul the Rowlatt Act or satisfy the nationalist urge for self-government. All excuses in favour of any leniency towards the British government had now run out.

From 1–3 June 1920, the Central Khilafat Committee met at Allahabad and was attended by both Congress and Khilafat leaders. It was from this platform that Gandhi declared the program of non-cooperation with the government which was to include:

- Boycott of all government jobs, i.e. the civil services, army and the police
- Boycott of titles conferred by the British
- Non-payment of taxes

In the meeting, it was also suggested that unless the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were undone, the movement shall be launched from 1st August 1920. The Khilafat Committee unanimously accepted the suggestion of non-cooperation and asked Gandhi to lead it. On 22nd June 1920, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy referring to the 'right from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. Gandhi knew that for the success of the movement in India, cooperation of the Indian National Congress was needed. He thus began efforts to make the Congress adopt the program of non-cooperation.

Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar (1878–1931): He was a journalist, activist, founder member of the Muslim League and a key leader of the Khilafat Movement. In 1923, he was also elected as the President of the Indian National Congress for a few months. A product of the Aligarh Muslim University, he went onto study modern history at **Oxford**. After his return to India, he took to writing in major British and Indian newspapers; and subsequently launched his own journals- **the Comrade** (an English weekly, Calcutta, 1911) and **Hamdard** (an Urdu daily, Delhi, 1912).

In 1919, he took the initiative of bringing together the Muslim nationalist leaders as well as Gandhi who then enlisted the support of the Congress in a show of Hindu-Muslim unity against the British government. In 1920, Mohammad Ali along with other Khilafat leaders such as Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari founded **Jamia Milia Islamia** to promote independent education and social regeneration of Muslims. Disappointed with the sudden withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement, he left the Congress party; he later opposed the Nehru Report (1928) and grew into a Gandhi critic.

Hasrat Mohani (1875–1951): Mohani was an Indian independence activist and a noted Urdu poet who wrote under the pen name 'takhallus'. He was one of the founders of Communist Party of India, is credited with the coining of the term '**Inquilab Zindabad**' (1921) and was also the **first person to demand complete independence** (Poorna Swaraj) for India in 1921 at the Ahmedabad Congress Session, despite opposition by Gandhi. In 1921, he simultaneously presided over the Ahmedabad Session of the Muslim League and demanded complete independence (Azadi-e-Kamil).



Hasrat Mohani

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1920–22)

Gandhi's Efforts within the Congress to adopt the Program of Non-Cooperation

The task of building consensus within the Congress for adopting non-cooperation program was not easy. According to some historians, Gandhi made an ardent effort to convince Tilak about the need for a Hindu-Muslim alliance over Khilafat Issue. But **Tilak was not in favour of any Hindu-Muslim alliance over a religious question**. He argued that the basis of alliance between the two communities should be a secular one such as the Lucknow Pact. Lala Lajpat Rai and CR Das also strongly opposed Gandhi's proposal of boycotting council elections. In fact, almost the entire old Guard of the Congress opposed Gandhi's proposal of non-cooperation.

As a next step, the program of non-cooperation was placed before the Provincial Congress Committees (PCC). The PCCs of United Province, Bengal, Madras and Bombay were largely unanimous in their view—they approved the principle of non-cooperation but rejected the idea of council boycott. While such was the attitude of traditional bases of Indian politics towards Gandhi's program, the non-traditional areas in Indian politics like Gujarat and Bihar fully backed Gandhi's program.

Launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement (1st August 1920)

On 1st August 1920, even as the discussions were on way, the Non-Cooperation Movement was formally launched on the expiry of the notice period. That very day, in the early hours, **Tilak passed away**. The launching of the movement got merged with the mourning—people kept fast, offered prayers, observed strikes and took out processions.

September 1920, Calcutta, Special Congress Session (President Lala Lajpat Rai)

In September 1920 in Calcutta, a special session of All India Congress Committee was called and it was during this session that the Congress accepted non-cooperation as its own.

The Session was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai and it was also in the air that there will be strong opposition to Gandhi's program. On the contrary, Gandhi's proposals were passed by the Congress by a majority of 1,000 votes! This success of Gandhi is mainly attributed to the support of the Muslims and the business class.

Supporters of Gandhi included- Motilal Nehru, Jitendralal Banerjee, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Shaikat Ali, Dr. Ansari and Yakub Hassan.

Opponents of Gandhi included- CR Das, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and Annie Besant.

The Calcutta Congress approved a program of:

- Boycott of titles conferred by the British
- Boycott of foreign goods, schools, courts and councils
- Encouraging khadi, national schools, arbitration courts

The Congress also approved Gandhi's program till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were undone and swaraj granted. The decision was to be finalised in the annual session to be held in December 1920.

In the meantime, in November 1920, the council elections were held as per the government of India act 1919. Gandhi's program of council boycott saw a massive response and the elections were boycotted by all the Congress candidates. Even those who disagreed with the council boycott accepted the party discipline and withdrew. Even the voters largely stayed away.

20th December 1920, Nagpur Congress Session (President C. Vijayaraghavachariar)

On 20th December 1920, when the Congress session began at Nagpur, there was change in the air. The opposition had melted away. The elections were over and so the boycott of councils had become a non-issue. Most surprising was the transition of CR Das from a critic of Gandhi to his ardent supporter and he only moved the main resolution on non-cooperation.

Following were the main achievements of the Nagpur Congress:

- The Congress **endorsed the non-violent non-cooperation resolution** with the triple purpose of Non-Cooperation as a satisfactory solution to the Khilafat question, redressal of the Punjab wrongs and attainment of swaraj.
- Detailed aspects of the programme of non-cooperation were suggested which were to be put into force at a time decided by the Congress. These may be understood as constructive as well as destructive aspects:
 - **Programme of Non-Cooperation or Destructive aspects** such as surrender of titles and honorary offices, refusal to attend government darbars and official functions, boycott of government-aided schools and colleges, boycott of British courts, boycott of elections to provincial and central assembly, boycott of foreign goods. The program of non-cooperation could be extended to include resignation from government service and mass civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes.
 - **Constructive aspects** such as promotion of indigenous goods, promotion of charkha and khadi, organization of workers for national service, national education, **raising of a national fund**, and Hindu-Muslim unity.
- To enable Congress to fulfil this new commitment, important changes were introduced in its aim and organizational structure. **A new constitution of the Congress party** (handiwork of Gandhi himself) was adopted and the party was reorganised on modern, democratic lines. This was the first major effort in transforming the Congress into a real mass based political party and the changes included the following:
 - Formation of Congress Committees starting from mohalla and village level up to provincial level.
 - Formation of an **All India Committee** of 350 members at the apex level.
 - Formation of a **Working Committee** of 15 members to act as chief executive (this proposal was first made by Tilak in 1916, but was turned down by the Moderates). This body would enable the Congress to work round the year and carry out sustained agitations.
 - Formation of Provincial Congress Committees on **linguistic basis** to enable mass contact.
 - The Congress was to use Hindi as far as possible.
 - Opening of Congress membership to all men and women of **age 21 years** and above on payment of a reduced fee of **4 annas (25 paise) as annual subscription** to enable the poor to become members.

- The goal of the Congress was changed from 'attainment of self-government by constitutional and legal means to attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.'
- The Congress aim of swaraj was reaffirmed but now it was explained to mean '**self-government within the empire if possible and outside if necessary**'.

It is noteworthy that henceforth, the Congress began to transform in both body and mind as reflected in its social base and policies. The Nagpur Session committed the Congress to program of extra-constitutional mass action. Gandhi, with his charismatic personality and novel methods, emerged as the new leader of the Congress party. He gave the **slogan, 'Swaraj in one year'** assuring that, if the program of non-cooperation was fully implemented, swaraj shall be attained within a year.

Leaders who left the Congress

However, there were some older leaders who now left the Congress. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, GS Khaparde, Bipin Chandra Pal and Annie Besant were some prominent leaders who left the Congress during this time. They still believed in the traditional methods of agitation which were strictly confined within the four walls of law.

Program of Non-Cooperation Movement

The program of non-cooperation comprised of both destructive as well as constructive aspects.

The Destructive aspects (or the aspects of non-cooperation) included the following seven points:

1. Surrender of titles and honorary offices
2. Refusal to attend government darbars and official functions
3. Boycott of government-aided schools and colleges
4. Boycott of British courts
5. Refusal of all classes to offer themselves for service in Mesopotamia
6. Boycott of elections to provincial and central assembly
7. Boycott of foreign goods

The Constructive aspects included the following points:

1. People were urged to develop the spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice
2. Setting up national education institutions
3. Deciding disputes through mutual arbitration
4. Taking to hand spinning, hand weaving and use of Swadeshi goods
5. People were asked to maintain Hindu-Muslim unity
6. Giving up untouchability, and
7. Observe strict non-violence

Various Phases of Non-Cooperation Movement

The Non-Cooperation Movement (also known as Gandhi's first Civil Disobedience Movement) was first initiated by the Khilafat Conference and later adopted by the Congress Committee. Once

adopted by the Congress, the movement acquired a new energy from early January 1921 and rapidly gained momentum. Gandhi, along with Ali brothers (main Khilafat leaders) toured the whole country to gather support for the movement, addressing hundreds of people and meeting a large number of political workers.

During the period between 1920 and 1922, different aspects/items of the Non-Cooperation program assumed central emphasis at different times-

In the First Phase (January to March 1921), the main emphasis was on boycott of schools, colleges, law courts and the promotion of Charkha. Student community boycotted educational institutions in large numbers and nearly 90,000 students left government schools and colleges. Educational boycott was particularly successful in Bengal where CR Das played a key role in encouraging the boycott while **Subhas Chandra Bose** became the principal of the National College in Calcutta. Punjab too responded well to educational boycott with Lala Lajpat Rai playing a leading role despite his initial reservations about this part of the program.

The boycott of law courts was less successful but more dramatic as many leading lawyers like **Deshbandhu CR Das, Motilal Nehru, MR Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, T. Prakasam and Asaf Ali** gave up their lucrative legal practice, becoming a source of inspiration for others.

In the Second Phase (April to June 1921), the main focus was on raising One Crore Rupees for **Tilak Swaraj Fund** by August 1921, enrolling one crore Congress members and installing 20 lakh charkhas by June 30. The Congress membership reached a figure of ₹50 lakh while the Tilak fund got oversubscribed, exceeding its target of ₹1 crore.

In the Third Phase (July 1921 onwards), again the main emphasis was on boycott of foreign cloth, boycott of the **visit of Prince of Wales** in November, popularisation of charkha, khadi and jail bhara by Congress volunteers.

Most successful of all items was the boycott of foreign cloth. Volunteers went door to door collecting clothes made of foreign cloth and were later burnt in a community bonfire. Picketing of toddy shops (drinking establishments), though not part of the original plan, also became very popular in many parts of the country. So much so that the government of Bihar and Orissa had to publish a list of great men in history (like Alexander, Napoleon, Julius Caesar, Shakespeare and Bismarck) who enjoyed their drink!

Promotion of khadi was highly successful and it soon became the uniform of the national movement. While addressing a meeting at Madurai, a student complained to Gandhi that khadi was expensive. Gandhi answered that the solution then lay in wearing less clothes and hence forth gave up his dhoti and kurta and wore only a langot for the rest of his life, acquiring the nickname of 'half-naked fakir'.

In July 1921, the Khilafat Committee passed a resolution that no Muslim should serve in the British Indian Army as it was religiously unlawful for the Muslims to do so. In September, the Ali brothers were arrested for sedition. In protest, the resolution was repeated in several meetings across the country, giving a severe blow to government prestige. Gandhi himself issued a manifesto repeating the resolution and asking Indians to sever all connections with the repressive government.

Next dramatic event was the visit of the Prince of Wales which began on 17th November 1921. He had come to India to encourage loyalty towards the British Crown. The day was observed as a day of hartal all over India. The same day, Gandhi himself lighted a huge bonfire of foreign cloth in the Elphinstone Mill owned by nationalist Umar Shobhani. However, the crowd returning from Gandhi's meeting clashed with the crowd returning from the Prince's welcome function. In the riots that followed over the next three days, identifiable loyalist (like Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis) became special targets and resulted in fifty-nine deaths. Gandhi was profoundly disturbed and fasted for three days.

The Prince was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. Such successful gestures of protest gradually emboldened the non-cooperators and they began to grow more and more aggressive. The **Congress Volunteer Corps** grew powerful and acted as parallel police. By mid of November 1921, the country was on the verge of a revolt.

Government Response

The government closely observed the developments of the movement and obtained secret reports from the provinces. In September 1920, in the beginning of the movement, it tried to ignore the events thinking that repression only makes martyrs of nationalists and fans the spirit of revolt.

In May 1921, the government tried to create a rift between the Khilafat leaders and Gandhi through **Gandhi-Reading talks** (in which Viceroy Reading tried to persuade Gandhi to ask Ali brothers to withdraw their speeches suggesting violence), but the talks failed.

By December 1921, government changed its policy and launched repression measures:

- Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Corps were declared unlawful
- Public meetings and processions were banned
- Newspapers were gagged, Offices of Congress and Khilafat raided at midnight
- At many places, police lathi charged and even fired at the satyagrahis
- A large number of activists were arrested and by end of 1921, all prominent leaders except Gandhi were imprisoned

Simultaneously, in mid-December, Viceroy Reading made a futile attempt to negotiate with the Congress through **Madan Mohan Malviya** and repression continued.

Developments leading upto Chauri Chaura

- The government showed no signs of relenting and Gandhi came under tremendous pressure to start the civil disobedience movement.
- **In December 1921, at Ahmedabad Congress Session (presided over by CR Das while still in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan was the acting president)**, the party had appointed him as the sole authority on the issue.
- In January 1922, an All Parties Conference was held where Gandhi shared his assessment of the Non-Cooperation Movement and built a consensus on his views.
- On 1st February, Gandhi sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy threatening him with mass civil disobedience unless government repression was abandoned and political prisoners were released.

- The Viceroy was unmoved and left Gandhi with no choice.
- Gandhi decided to begin mass civil disobedience and no-tax campaign from **Bardoli taluqua of Surat district** and **5th February 1922 was fixed as the date** of the launch (the Congress had, by now, granted permission to the PCCs to start mass civil disobedience wherever the people were ready. No-tax movements were already sanctioned in **Midnapur** in Bengal and **Chirala-Pirala** and **Pedanandipadu** in Andhra). However, it seems Bardoli was fated to wait another 6 years to play its role in the national movement.
- On 5th February 1922, the day when civil disobedience was to be launched, the Chauri Chaura incident took place and changed the whole situation. At Chauri Chaura, in Gorakhpur district of UP, a mob of angry peasants attacked a local police station and set it on fire, killing 22 policemen. Shocked by this incident of violence, Gandhi withdrew the movement (Decline of the movement mentioned in detail ahead).

Extent of Participation

The Non-Cooperation Movement was the first attempt at an all India mass struggle and it commanded the support and sympathy of vast sections Indian people including peasants, workers, artisans, shopkeepers, traders, professionals and white collar employees.

Middle class

The middle class provided initial leadership to the movement but they had a lot of reservations regarding Gandhi's program. In traditional centres of elite politicians like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the response was very limited and there was lukewarm response towards boycott of titles and government jobs.

Indian business group—the big businessmen kept away from the movement as they were afraid of labour unrest in the factories. But the regular businessmen extended support to economic boycott particularly the textile industry which had benefitted from the promotion of swadeshi.

Comparative newcomers in Indian politics like **Rajendra Prasad in Bihar** and **Vallabh Bhai Patel in Gujarat** found expression of their aspirations in Gandhian movement and extended solid support to Gandhi.

Women and students

The response from women and students was very encouraging. Women joined the movement in large numbers and participated in various forms— they picketed shops selling foreign cloth and liquor; they gave up purdah and offered jewellery for Tilak Fund. Students participated in massive numbers—thousands of them left government schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges like Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Jamia Milia Islamia of Aligarh (National Muslim University, later shifted to Delhi) that came into existence during this time. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Acharya Narendra Dev and Lala Lajpat Rai were among many distinguished teachers at these national institutions. The students actively took up voluntary work in the movement.

Peasants and Workers

The massive participation of peasants and workers was the most remarkable aspect of the non-cooperation movement that turned it into a real mass movement.

Dr. Zakir Husain (1897–1969): A product of Aligarh Muslim University and founder member of **Jamia Milia Islamia**, Dr. Zakir Husain was a great educationist of his time. He served as the third President of independent India (1967–69), was the **first Muslim President** and was awarded the **Bharat Ratna** in 1963.

Spread of the Movement and Local Variations

The year 1921 was marked by numerous protests against the British Raj in India and the Non-cooperation Movement undoubtedly saw a huge response from different parts of the country. The spatial spread of the movement was nearly nationwide. Areas that were particularly active were UP, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and even Bombay. However, the response to the movement remained relatively weak in traditional areas of Indian politics such as Bengal, Maharashtra and Madras. There was also significant local variation in terms of expression of the movement due to **linkup with local grievances**. Instructions of the Congress were not also always followed.

Uttar Pradesh (UP)

The response from United Provinces was very effective. The programme of non-cooperation was well organised in cities and towns. In the countryside of UP, it got entangled with the **kisan movement**. The peasants there repeatedly burst in violent protest against the talukdars and merchants despite Congress appeals for maintaining non-violence at all times. Widespread peasant riots under the leadership of **Baba Ram Chandra** were also witnessed in districts of Rae Bareilly, Pratapgarh, Faizabad and Sultanpur. Their major demands included no beggar (forced labor) and rasad (forced supplies), no nazarana (extra premium on rent) and no eviction from holdings. In late 1921, the '**Eka movement**', another strong peasant outburst, took place under the leadership of radical leader **Madari Pasi**.

Bihar

In Bihar, several local grievances got linked with the non-cooperation movement. These issues included right to graze cattle on government wasteland, right to wear sacred thread, issues of cow protection and kisan rights. As a result, several districts of Bihar like **Champaran, Saran** and **Purnia**, emerged as storm centres of the movement.

Assam

The movement received enthusiastic support in the distant province of Assam where the local grievances of the labourers working in Assam tea gardens found expression in the movement. They hailed '**Gandhi Maharaj ki Jai**' for higher wages and better conditions of work.

Orissa

In Orissa, the tenants of Kanika Raj refused payment of abwabs.

Rajasthan

In Rajasthan, once again peasant movements provided impetus to Non-cooperation and the peasants raised voice against cesses and begar. **Bijolia Movement in Mewar** and the **Bhil Movement led by Motilal Tejawat** also gained strength from the non-cooperation movement.

Andhra

In Andhra, the issues of peasants as well as tribals found expression in the non-cooperation movement. They protested against forest laws and forcibly sent their cattle into forests to break grazing laws. **Alluri Sitaram Raju** played a prominent role in organising the tribals and linking their demands with those of the non-cooperation movement.

Punjab

In Punjab, the response to non-cooperation per se was not very remarkable but the movement got linked with the local Akali movement for reform and control of the Gurudwaras. The Akalis freely used the non-cooperation tactics of Gandhi and remained non-violent even in the face of tremendous repression. The period manifested tremendous communal unity amongst the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Bengal

In Bengal, response to Gandhian methods was less encouraging. The elites of Calcutta were critical of Gandhian ways. Rabindranath Tagore appreciated Gandhi's efforts but attacked his 'narrowness' and **charkha**. Nevertheless, the movement brought about immense political awakening in urban and rural masses.

Maharashtra

In Maharashtra, the response to non-cooperation movement was not very encouraging since the followers of Tilak did not show much enthusiasm about Gandhi. However, there were some radical outbursts for instance, at Malegaon (Nasik), a few policemen were burnt to death following the arrest of some local leaders.

Karnataka

In Karnataka, the response was lukewarm and the Madras presidency saw little participation of people. Not much enthusiasm was seen in surrender of titles and renunciation of legal practice.

Abwabs: refer to miscellaneous kinds of fines, cesses or taxes levied by native chiefs upon the subjects like the house tax, grazing tax, irrigation tax, etc.

Chauri Chaura (5th February 1922) and Decline of the Movement

On 5th February 1922, the day when civil disobedience was to be launched, the Chauri Chaura incident took place and changed the whole situation. At Chauri Chaura, in Gorakhpur district of UP, police tried to stop a procession of Congress and Khilafat activists. Irritated by this behaviour, some activists attacked them and the police opened fire. Infuriated, the entire procession attacked the police and when the police took shelter inside the police station, the station itself was set fire, killing all of its occupants. In all, 22 policemen were killed.

Shocked by this incident of violence, Gandhi withdrew the movement. The civil disobedience at Bardoli was also postponed. Gandhi stated that without adequate discipline and restraint on the part of the people, the movement had proved to be a '**Himalayan blunder**'. He now advised people to direct their energies in constructive work.

Response to Withdrawal of the Movement

Gandhi's decision to withdraw the movement came as a shock to many Congressmen who even protested against the withdrawal. Motilal Nehru, CR Das, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and others expressed their bewilderment. They could not understand why the entire country has to pay the price for erroneous behaviour of some people in a remote village!

- Subhas Chandra Bose, in his autobiography *The Indian Struggle*, called it a '**national calamity**'.
- Jawaharlal Nehru also expressed his 'amazement and consternation' at the withdrawal.

To the above criticism, Gandhi replied- 'The movement had unconsciously drifted from the right path. We have to come back to our moorings, and we can again go straight ahead.' According to Gandhi, the incident proved that the countrymen were not yet properly trained in the lesson of non-violence.

On 12th February 1922, the Movement came to an end

On 12th February, at Bardoli, a meeting of the Congress Working committee was held. The committee condemned Chauri Chaura violence and endorsed the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, known as **Bardoli Resolution**. It also asked the peasants to pay taxes and tenants to pay rents. On that day itself, Gandhi started his five day fast as penance. This marked the formal end of the movement. On 10th March 1922 Gandhi was arrested in his ashram and sentenced to six years of imprisonment.

Trail of Gandhi: Trial was held before **Mr. Broomfield**, District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad. The Judge behaved with great consideration and Gandhi also made his task easy by pleading guilty. The trial was made historic by the statement that Gandhi made before the court while pleading guilty. He invited the court to award him "the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen". The trial was also remarkable due to the personality of the accused and due to absence of any acrimony on either part. Gandhi as well as the judge presented themselves as models of moderation and mutual respect. While passing the sentence, the judge followed the precedent of the case decided 12 years ago, i.e. the case of **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**, under the same section. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment for the crime of spreading disaffection against the government and was lodged in **Yerawada jail, Poona**. He was released early on 5 February 1924 itself on account of ill health.

End of Khilafat Issue

The Khilafat issue also ended when people of Turkey rose under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha in November 1922. He deprived the Sultan of his political power and took many steps to modernise Turkey and declared Turkey as a secular state. Pasha eliminated Islam from Turkish Constitution, granted women extensive rights, introduced legal codes based on European lines and introduced modern industries. All these developments broke the back of the Khilafat movement. **Pasha abolished the Caliphate itself in 1924** and thus ended the issue of the Khilafat the world over.

Reasons for Withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement (An Analysis)

1. The Chauri Chaura violence proved that the countrymen were not yet properly trained in the lesson of non-violence. It was clear that revolution was in the air and yet, no revolutionary leadership existed. In such a situation, it was feared that further continuation of the movement would only lead to chaos.
2. It was also felt that the movement was gradually deflecting from its original path and turning into a no-rent movement against the zamindars. The original aim was a mass movement involving various classes and not a class revolution.
3. Despite Gandhi's repeated requests to remain non-violent at all times, random incidents of violence continued. It was feared that such incidents could be cited as examples by the government to launch a massive round of repression. This could upset the entire strategy of non-violent non-cooperation which relied on the principle that repressive forces will invariably lose for raising arms against peaceful protestors.
4. Had the movement not been withdrawn, it was likely to have been brutally crushed leading to mass demoralisation and questioning of the very principle of non-cooperation.
5. Gandhi's decision was also partly influenced by the fact that, by the end of 1921, the movement had begun to show signs of ebbing. Students had begun to drift back to schools and colleges, lawyers and litigants back to courts, the businessmen had become weary of mounting stocks of foreign cloth, attendance had dwindled in meetings and rallies.

Critics of Gandhi fail to recognise that mass movement are inherently cyclic in character and have a tendency to ebb after reaching a certain height since the capacity of the masses to sacrifice and withstand repression is not unlimited. The ebb comes as a breathing space to regain energy for the next round of struggle. Thus, withdrawal should not be taken as betrayal but as an inherent part of the strategy itself.

Mind Map for Chapters 6.10 to 6.15

Following the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement, various national as well as anti-national forces emerged and have been covered in the upcoming chapters.

- The Swarajists and their program of council entry (1922–29)
- The No-changers and their Constructive work (after 1922)
- Communalism and revival of Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha (1922–37)
- Revolutionary Movement with a turn towards socialism (after 1922)
- Growth of the Left Movement and spread of Socialist and communist ideas (1920s–30s)

- Peasants' and Workers' Movements (1920s–30s)
- States People's Movement (1920s–30s)
- Caste Movements (like Self-Respect movement), 1920s–30s

Thus we see that the **third decade of the 20th century was a watershed in modern Indian history** in more ways than one. It not only marked the entry of the Indian masses into the national movement, it also saw the emergence of a variety of political currents on the Indian scene. All these diverse currents owed their origin to Gandhian philosophy of non-violence, as they embodied positive or negative reaction to it.

Note: For the purpose of organisation, one chapter per theme has been developed, covering all developments upto 1947. Readers may like to refer to Chapters 6.16 to 6.19 from time to time to keep track of mainstream national movement.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

True, the movement failed to achieve its main aims of restitution of Khilafat and attainment of swaraj. Yet, the Non-Cooperation Movement was a landmark in India's Struggle for Independence in many ways—social, economic and political:

In the social field, the impact of the Movement was immense. Gandhi emphasised on the need for unity among Indians and removal of barriers of caste, class, religion and gender. Consequently, in meetings and processions, people of all castes and communities worked and ate together. For the first time, the lower classes raised their head and worked shoulder to shoulder with all others, accelerating social mobility and reform. The Hindu-Muslim unity reached its peak and many-a-times it was difficult to distinguish between Non-cooperation and Khilafat gatherings. Swami Shraddhanand, an Arya Samajist, was asked by Muslims to preach from the pulpit of Jama Masjid at Delhi, while Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, a Muslim, was given the keys to the Golden Temple (the Hindu-Muslim unity seen during the days of non-cooperation was never to be seen again and communalism began to take its toll).

In the economic field, the economic boycott proved to be more successful than the one during Swadeshi Movement of 1905–08. While this created panic among British industries, the Indian industries immensely benefitted due to promotion of swadeshi. The Indian textile industry particularly benefitted from the popularisation of charkha and khadi. Emphasis on village reconstruction and self-help through panchayats brought about overall economic revival.

In the political field, the movement emerged as the first true mass movement involving all classes and communities in India. The national awakening, for the first time, reached the remotest corners of the country with the commoners participating in the mainstream national movement. The INC emerged as a true mass party and the charge of it representing 'a microscopic minority' could never be hurled at Congress again (as earlier remarked by Lord Dufferin). The movement also demonstrated the capacity of "poor dumb millions" of Indians to part in a national movement on modern lines. The movement demonstrated that the urge for freedom was not merely a preserve of the educated elite but the cry of the nation.

It must be admitted that the two years between 1920–22 constituted a stormy period of national movement when the whole of India, for the first time, stood up against the British Raj.

The above positive gains in the social, economic and political fields immensely increased the self-confidence and self-esteem of the Indian people. It replaced the feelings of bondage and suppression with those of freedom and national dignity. Gandhi had rightly said that the movement had achieved in one year what could not be done in thirty years by earlier methods.

With the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement on 12th February 1922, a battle was over, not the war. On 23rd February, in an article in Young India, Gandhi wrote, 'It is high time that the British people were made to realise that the fight that was commenced in 1920 is a fight to the finish, whether it lasts one month or one year or many months or many years.'

Prelim Capsule

Prelim Capsule- Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement

Date	Event	Important Details
1919–22	Khilafat Movement	The First World War ended with the Treaty of Versailles . Victorious British dethroned the Sultan of Turkey who was also regarded as the Khalifa or Caliph. Indian Muslims organise the Khilafat Movement. Aim of Khilafat Movement: 1. The Khalifa's position should be restored 2. The Khalifa's control over the Muslim sacred places should be retained 3. In territorial adjustments after the war, Khalifa should be left with sufficient territories.
1919 (Bombay)	Khilafat Committee	Leaders— Ali brothers , Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. MA Ansari.
November 1919 (Delhi)	All India Khilafat Conference	Dr. Hasrat Mohani made a call for boycott of British goods & non-cooperation with the British government.
1920	Alliance with Congress	Gandhi appointed as the President of the All India Khilafat Committee. Till May 1920, Gandhi was still a moderate but afterwards his attitude hardened with the publication of the terms of treaty with Turkey and the Hunter Committee Report on Punjab disturbances.

June 1920 (Allahabad)	Central Khilafat Committee Meet	Attended by both Congress and Khilafat leaders. Ultimatum given to govt- unless the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were undone, the movement shall be launched from 1st August 1920. Tilak opposed Hindu-Muslim alliance over a religious question.
1st August 1920	Non-Cooperation Movement	Non-Cooperation movement launched. Tilak passes away.
20th December 1920 (Nagpur)	Nagpur Congress Session	President C. Vijayraghavachariar. CR Das turns from a critic to Gandhi's supporter and moves the main resolution on Non-Cooperation Resolution of non-violent non-cooperation endorsed with the triple purpose of Non-Cooperation as the follows: 1. Satisfactory solution to the Khilafat question 2. Redressal of the Punjab wrongs and 3. Attainment of swaraj Detailed program of non-cooperation was suggested, to be put into force at a time decided by the Congress. A new constitution of the Congress party (handwork of Gandhi himself) was adopted. Gandhi gave the slogan, 'Swaraj in one year'. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, GS Khaparde, Bipin Chandra Pal and Annie Besant left the Congress , they still believed in the lawful methods of agitation.
January to March 1921	First Phase of Non-Cooperation Movement	Emphasis was on boycott of schools, colleges, law courts and promotion of Charkha. CR Das played a key role in encouraging boycott. Subhas Chandra Bose became the principal of the National College in Calcutta. Many leading lawyers like CR Das, Motilal Nehru, MR Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, T. Prakasam and Asaf Ali gave up their lucrative legal practice.
April to June 1921	Second Phase	Main focus was on raising One Crore Rupees for Tilak Swaraj Fund.
July 1921 onwards	Third Phase	Main emphasis was on boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales in November and boycott of foreign cloth. Congress Volunteer Corps acted as parallel police.

May 1921	Gandhi-Reading talks	Viceroy Reading tried to persuade Gandhi to ask Ali brothers to withdraw their speeches suggesting violence), but the talks failed.
December 1921	Government Repression	Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Corps were declared unlawful.
	Ahmedabad Congress Session	Presided over by CR Das while still in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan was the acting President.
1st February 1922	Gandhi sends ultimatum to Viceroy	Gandhi threatens with mass civil disobedience unless government repression was abandoned and political prisoners were released. The Viceroy was unmoved. Gandhi decided to begin mass civil disobedience and no-tax campaign from Bardoli taluqa of Surat district. 5th February 1922 was fixed as the date of the launch.
5th February 1922	Chauri Chaura violence	At Chauri Chaura (Gorakhpur district, UP), a mob of angry peasants attacked a local police station and set it on fire, killing 22 policemen. Shocked by this incident of violence, Gandhi withdrew the movement calling it a ' Himalayan blunder '. Subhas Bose, in his autobiography 'the Indian Struggle', called it a ' national calamity '.
12th February 1922 (Bardoli)	CWC Meeting, Bardoli	CWC endorses the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, known as Bardoli Resolution .
10th March 1922	Gandhi arrested	Trial was held before Mr. Broomfield . While passing the sentence the judge followed the precedent of the case of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, under the same section . Gandhi sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment and was lodged in Yerawada jail, Poona.
November 1922	End of Khilafat Issue	Mustafa Kamal Pasha declared Turkey as a secular state and later abolished the Caliphate itself (1924). Thus, ended the issue of the Khilafat the world over.



Previous Years' Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. Which of the following were the main objectives of the Khilafat Movement?
[UPSC 1993]

1. To raise anti British feelings among the Muslims of India.
2. To Reform the Muslim society.
3. To demand separate electorate and preserve the Khilafat.
4. To save the Ottoman Empire and preserve the Khilafat.

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
(c) 3 and 4 (d) 1 and 4

2. The title given by the British government to Mahatma Gandhi which he surrendered during the Non-Cooperation Movement was:
[UPSC 1993]

- (a) Hind Kesari (b) Kaiser-i-Hind
(c) Rai Bahadur (d) Rt. Honorable

3. Consider the following statements:

[UPSC 1996]

The Non-Cooperation movement led to the:

1. Congress becoming a mass movement for the first time.
2. Growth of Hindu-Muslim Unity.
3. Removal of fear of the British might from the minds of the people
4. British government willingness to grant political concessions to Indians.

Which of these statement/s is are correct?
Select the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1, 2, 3 and 4 are correct
(b) 2 and 3 are correct
(c) 1 and 3 are correct
(d) 3 and 4 are correct

4. Which one of the following events was characterised by Montague as 'Preventive Murder'?
[UPSC 1998]

- (a) Killing of INA activists
(b) Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh
(c) Shooting of the Mahatma
(d) Shooting of Curzon Willy

5. Assertion: Gandhi stopped the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922.

Reason: Violence at Chauri Chaura led him to stop the movement
[UPSC 1998]

6. Assertion: The Khilafat movement did bring the urban Muslims into the fold of the National Movement.

Reason: There was a predominant element of anti-imperialism in both the National and Khilafat Movements.
[UPSC 1998]

7. Who among the following leaders proposed to adopt Complete Independence as the goal of the Congress in the Ahmedabad session of 1920?
[UPSC 2001]

- (a) Abul Kalam Azad
(b) Jawaharlal Nehru
(c) Hasrat Mohani
(d) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

8. The Hunter Commission was appointed after the
[UPSC 2001]

- (a) Black hole incident
(b) Jallianwala Bagh massacre
(c) Uprising of 1857
(d) Partition of Bengal

9. Consider the following events during India's freedom struggle:
[UPSC 2004]

1. Chauri-Chaura Outrage
2. Minto Morley Reforms
3. Dandi March
4. Montagu Chelmsford Reforms

Which one of the following is the correct chronological order of the events given above?

- (a) 1-3-2-4 (b) 2-4-1-3
(c) 1-4-2-3 (d) 2-3-1-4

10. Who among the following was not associated with the formation of UP Kisan Sabha in February 1918?

[UPSC 2005]

- (a) Indra Narayan Dwivedi
(b) Gauri Shankar Misra
(c) Jawaharlal Nehru
(d) Madan Mohan Malviya



Previous Years' Questions – Main Exam

1. What were the effects of the Non-Violent Non-Cooperation Movement in India? When was the movement suspended and why? [UPSC 1986]
2. Why did Gandhiji launch the Non-Violent Non-Cooperation movement on the Khilafat question? How were other issues joined to it later on? Discuss the constructive programme of the Non-Cooperation movement. [UPSC 1989]
3. What were the reasons that changed Gandhiji's attitude of responsive cooperation to Non-Cooperation in 1920? What were its consequences?

[UPSC 1996]

4. Discuss the aims and objectives of the Khilafat Movement. To what extent was it successful? [UPSC 2001]
5. Form a critical assessment of the Non-Cooperation movement. [UPSC 2004]
6. Do you think Mahatma Gandhi's support to Khilafat Movement had diluted his secular credentials? Give your arguments based on the assessment of events. [UPSC 2007]
7. 'Non-Cooperation Movement gave new direction and energy to the National Movement.' Explain. [UPSC 2008]



Practice Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. In his autobiography, The Indian Struggle, Subhas Chandra Bose calls an event a 'national calamity'. Which event was this?
(a) Congress split of Surat
(b) Jallianwala Bagh massacre
(c) Withdrawal of Non-Cooperation movement
(d) Arrest of Gandhi
2. The program of non-cooperation included which of the following?
1. Surrender of titles and honorary offices
2. Refusal to attend government darbars and official functions
3. Refusal of all classes to offer themselves for service in Mesopotamia
4. Setting up national education institutions

Select the correct answer from the codes given below-

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 1, 2 and 3
(c) 1, 2, 3 and 4 (d) 1 only
3. Which of the following was/were associated with the Non-Cooperation Movement?
1. Chauri Chaura violence
2. Chirala Pirala no-tax movement
3. Bijolia Movement in Mewar
Choose the correct answer from the following options.
(a) 1 only (b) 1 and 2
(c) 1, 2 and 3 (d) 1 and 3
4. Which among the following were related to the Non-Cooperation Movement?
1. Parallel government
2. Congress Volunteer Corps
3. Gandhi-Reading talks
Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
(c) 1 and 3 (d) 1, 2 and 3
5. Consider the following statements regarding Khilafat Movement-
1. It demanded that Khalifa's control over the Muslim sacred places should be retained.
 2. The movement was led by Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali.
 3. The Khilafat Committee adopted the Non-cooperation Program once it was endorsed by the Congress.

Which of the above statements is/are incorrect? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 1 and 2
(c) 3 only (d) 1 and 3
6. Which of the following was not associated with the Non-Cooperation Movement?
(a) Tilak Swaraj Fund
(b) New Constitution of the Congress party
(c) Chauri Chaura
(d) Visit of the Queen of England
7. 'To enable the Congress to fulfil its new commitment, significant changes were introduced in its creed as well as its organizational structure.' In the above statement, the 'new commitment' refers to _____?
(a) program of non-cooperation
(b) program of civil disobedience
(c) program of Swadeshi movement
(d) aim of swaraj
8. Who among the following Congress leaders left the party after it adopted the resolution of Non-Cooperation?
1. Mohammad Ali Jinnah
2. CR Das
3. Annie Besant

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 1 and 2
(c) 2 and 3 (d) 1 and 3

9. Consider the following statements with reference to the reorganisation of Congress party in 1920-

1. It led to the formation of Provincial Congress Committees on religious basis.
2. It led to formation of a Working Committee of 15 members to act as chief executive.
3. It discarded the provision of 4 annas as annual subscription fees, allowing all men and women of age 21 years and above to join the party.

Which of the above statements is/are true? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 only
(c) 2 and 3 (d) 1, 2 and 3

10. Which among the following were the objectives of Non-Cooperation Movement?
1. Satisfactory solution to the Khilafat question
2. Redressal of the Punjab wrongs
3. Attainment of swaraj
4. Annulment of Rowlatt Act

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 1, 2 and 3
(c) 2, 3 and 4 (d) 3 and 4

11. What was common to Motilal Nehru, Asaf Ali and T. Prakasam?

- (a) They left the congress party in 1920 in protest against the program of Non-Cooperation
(b) They left their lucrative legal practice while protesting against British rule
(c) They became principals of national colleges
(d) They were editors of nationalist newspapers

12. Consider the following statements with regard to the Non-Cooperation Movement-

1. The non-cooperation program consisted of only destructive aspects.

2. To implement the program of non-cooperation, a new constitution of the Congress party was framed.
3. During the movement, local issues got linked with the non-cooperation program.

Which of the above statements is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2 (b) 2 and 3
(c) 1 and 3 (d) 1, 2 and 3

13. Consider the following statements with regard to Ahmedabad Congress of 1921.

1. It was presided over by CR Das while still in jail.
2. Dr. Hasrat Mohani was the acting president.

Which of the above statements is/are true? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 2 only
(c) both (d) neither

14. Which of the following was not associated with the Khilafat Movement?

- (a) Treaty of Sevres
(b) Program of Non-Cooperation

- (c) Arrest of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew
(d) Boycott of government jobs

15. 1. Rabindranath Tagore appreciated Gandhi's efforts but attacked his 'narrowness' and charkha.
2. In Maharashtra, the response to non-cooperation movement was not very encouraging since the followers of Tilak did not show much enthusiasm about Gandhi.

Which of the above statements is/are true? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 2 only
(c) both (d) neither

16. Which among the following was/were came under the Non-Cooperation program?

1. Boycott of elections to provincial and central assembly
2. Giving up untouchability
3. Taking to hand-spinning, hand weaving and use of Swadesi goods

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only (b) 1 and 2
(c) 1 and 3 (d) 1, 2 and 3



Practice Questions – Main Exam

1. What do you understand by the Khilafat Issue? How did it contribute towards Non-Cooperation Movement? Examine.
2. Write short notes on the following:
 - a. Program of the Non-Cooperation Movement
 - b. Spread of the Non-Cooperation Movement

3. Was Non-Cooperation Movement a success or a failure? Critically analyse by giving examples in support for your answer.
4. Discuss the extent of participation during the Non-Cooperation Movement with a special note on the participation of the peasantry.
5. In what ways did the Non-Cooperation Movement represent a new phase in the nationalist movement?

Answers

Previous Years' Questions – Preliminary Exam

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| 1. (d) | 2. (b) | 3. (b) | 4. (b) | 5. (a) |
| 6. (a) | 7. (c) | 8. (b) | 9. (b) | 10. (c) |

Practice Questions – Preliminary Exam

- | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1. (c) | 2. (c) | 3. (c) | 4. (b) | 5. (c) |
| 6. (d) | 7. (a) | 8. (d) | 9. (b) | 10. (b) |
| 11. (b) | 12. (b) | 13. (a) | 14. (c) | 15. (c) |
| 16. (d) | | | | |