



Struggle for Independence Second Phase (1919-1927)

Major consequence of the world war was the erosion of the myth of white man's prestige.

An impetus to the National movement was given by the impact of the Russian Revolution of November, 1917. The Nationalist movement in India was also affected by the fact that the rest of the Afro-Asian world was also convulsed by nationalist agitation after the war.

- Montague described the Government of India Act, 1919 as a bridge between the government by Parliament and government by the representatives of the people of India. It was a transitional stage in the development of self-government.

The Rowlatt Act, 1919

- In 1917, the Governor-General Chelmsford had appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of **Justice Sydney Rowlatt** to investigate the nature and extent of revolutionary activities and to suggest legislation if necessary so as to deal effectively with them. The committee was known as the **Sedition** or **Rowlatt Committee**.
- In this act, they provided trial of offences by a special court consisting of three High Court judges. There was no appeal against the decision of this court and it could take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian Evidence act. The bill gave authority to the government to search a place and arrest a person without a warrant, detention without a trial for maximum period of two years was also provided in the bills.

Anti-Rowlatt Satyagraha

- Gandhiji launched his campaign against the bill and for this, formed a Satyagraha sabha on 24th February, 1919 in Bombay.
- The Rowlatt Act gave powers to the government regarding the suspension of the right of Habeas Corpus. Gandhi inaugurated his Satyagraha by advising to observe a day of hartal.
- Gandhi's move of starting Satyagraha was condemned by liberals like Sir DE Wacha, Surendranath Bannerjee, TB Sapru, Srinivas Shastri and others like Annie Besant.
- These leaders opposed the Anti-Rowlatt satyagraha because they thought that it would hamper the reforms from the side of British Government.
- The date for hartal was fixed to 6th April, 1919. In Delhi, the hartal was observed on 30th March and ten people were killed in police firing.
- In Amritsar, Dr Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal were arrested on 10th April, 1919. This led to mob violence and government buildings were set on fire, five Englishmen were murdered and a woman assaulted.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

- After the hartal of 6th April, 1919, Punjab was facing a violent situation. Therefore, the Civil Government handed over the administration to the military authorities under Brigadier General Dyer.
- Dyer also banned all public meetings and detained all the important political leaders, including the two Congress leaders, Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew, who were associated with the Reception committee for the Annual Session of the INC to be held on December, 1919.
- On 13th April, 1919, General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on a peaceful unarmed crowd, without warning, assembled at Jallianwala Bagh to protest against the arrest of Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew the occasion was the Baisakhi celebration.
- According to official figure, 379 persons were killed, but the unofficial accounts gave much higher figure. The Martial law was immediately enforced in Punjab on the night of 13th April.

- In protest of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, Rabindranath Tagore surrendered the knighthood conferred on him by the British Government and Sir Sankaran Nair, a former President of the INC, resigned his membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- After this massacre, Gandhiji withdrew this movement and called it as 'It was my **Himalayan Blunder**'.
- To enquire into this massacre, British Government appointed Hunter committee, its report was called by Gandhiji as a **Official Whitewash**.

Khilafat Movement, 1919

- The Sultan of Turkey, ruler of the vast Ottoman empire, was the Caliph of the Islamic world and the Indian Muslims regarded him as their spiritual leader Khalifa. In the World War I, Turkey was defeated. The harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres (1920) with Turkey further added the fuel. Thirdly revolts in Arab land engineered, at British instigation, against the Sultans made the Muslim sentiments in India to flare up, hence, the Muslims started the Khilafat movement.
- The main demand of the khilafatists was that, the Ottoman Caliph should retain his empire with sufficient temporal power to defend Islam, the Arab lands should remain under Muslim rule and the Sultan of Turkey should be the warden of the places sacred to the Muslims.
- MA Ansari demanded the restoration of the Arab lands to the Caliph, at the Muslim league's 1918 Annual Session in Delhi which was supported by the Congress.

Course of the Movement

- In April-May, 1919, the All India Khilafat conference was formed in Bombay. At a conference in Lucknow in September, 1919, an All India Khilafat committee was set-up with Seth Chhotani of Bombay as President and Maulana Shaukat Ali as Secretary.
- Other leaders associated with the committee were Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Muhammed Ali and Hasrat Mohani.
- Gandhiji was elected President of the All India Khilafat conference (November, 1919). The Amritsar Session of the INC (December, 1919) gave a great fillip to the Khilafat agitation.

- Lokmanya Tilak passed away in the early hours of 1st August and people all over the country observed hartal and took out processions, kept fast and offered prayers. Tilak Swarajya fund was created to collect money for movement.
- Finally, Gandhi succeeded in persuading the Congress leaders to support the movement. Finally, at the special Calcutta session (September, 1920), Congress endorsed the programme of non-cooperation. The Nagpur session of the Congress (December, 1920) ratified the resolution passed at Calcutta Congress Session. *The Khilafat Committee as well as the congress outlined four stages of non-cooperation i.e.*
 - (i) Resignation of titles and honorary posts.
 - (ii) Resignation from civil services under the government.
 - (iii) Resignation from Police and Army services.
 - (iv) Non-payment of taxes for redressal of the Punjab grievances, rectification of the khilafat wrongs and the establishment of Swaraj.
- The All India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi on 8th July, 1921 called upon Muslim soldiers in the Indian Army to quit their jobs.

Non-Cooperation Movement, 1920

- The Congress accepted to launch Non-Cooperation movement for two wrongs (i) Khilafat issue and (ii) Punjab wrong. The third main aim of Non-Cooperation movement i.e. Swaraj was added at Nagpur Session of INC December, 1920.

Opposition to NCM

- Some leaders opposed the programme of NCM. Lala Lajpat Rai opposed the programme of Educational Boycott, CR Das opposed the programme of Boycott of Legislature and MM Malaviya and Jinnah opposed the goal of Swaraj.
- The Congress session at Nagpur started from 26th December, 1920, ratified the non-cooperation resolution, earlier passed at Calcutta (September, 1920).
- The Nagpur session was historic due to two important amendments to the Constitution of the Congress. *Firstly*, the goal of the Congress was changed from the attainment of self-government by constitutional means to the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

- *Secondly, revolutionary changes were brought about in the Congress organisation. The changes were as follows:*
 - Formation of Working committee of 15 members.
 - Formation of an All India Congress committee of 300 members.
 - Formation of Congress committee from town to village level i.e. creating a hierarchy of district, Taluka and Village Congress committee.
 - Reorganisation of Provincial congress Committee on a linguist: basis.
 - Opening of Congress membership to all adults i.e. men and women of the age of 21 or more on payment of 4 annas as annual subscription.
- The programme of the Non-Cooperation movement had two main aspects: (i) Constructive and (ii) Destructive
- The AICC meeting at Vijayawada on 31st March, 1921 outlined two more programmes-.
 - To collect 1 crore rupees for the Tilak Memorial Swarajya fund.
 - To introduce 20 lakh charkhas into Indian household.

Growth and Spread of Movement

- The Non-Cooperation movement was the first real mass movement launched under Mahatma Gandhi. Thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined more than 800 national schools and colleges.
- The newly started national institutions like the Kashi Vidyapeeth, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth and the Jamia Millia Islamia and others accommodated many students.
- Many leading lawyers of the country like CR Das, Motilal Nehru, MR Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbai Patel, C Rajagopalachari, T Prakasam and Asaf Ali gave up their practices.
- Between January and March, 1921, the districts of Rae Bareilly, Pratapgarh, Faizabad and Sultanpur witnessed widespread agrarian riots under the leadership of Baba Ram Chandra.
- In late 1921, there was another strong peasant outburst which is popularly known as the **Eka movement** under the leader Madari Pasi.
- The **Bijolia movement** in Mewar and the **Bhil movement** under Motilal Tejavat acquired impetus from Non-Cooperation movement.

- The programme to start the civil disobedience was approved by the Congress session at Ahmedabad. Bardoli Taluq was selected as a place from where Gandhiji would launch Civil Disobedience campaign.
- On 5th February, Congress volunteers were fired at by the police at Chauri Chaura at Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh. In retaliation, the infuriated mob killed 22 policemen.
- The Congress Working committee, which met at Bardoli on 12th February, 1922, called off the movement (the resolution popularly known as **Bardoli resolution**). The country was shocked at Mahatma decision to call off the movement.
- Subhash Chandra Bose called it a **national calamity**.

Swarajya Party

- In December, 1922, the Gaya session of the Congress, became a battleground between the supporters of the council entry and no council entry. Finally, the 'no-changers' led by Rajagopalachari defeated the 'pro-changers'. CR Das resigned alongwith Motilal Nehru as the President and the Secretary of the Congress (Gaya session 1922).
- CR Das with Motilal Nehru and others pro-changer on 31st December, 1922 announced the formation of the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj party better known as the **Swaraj party**. CR Das became its President and Motilal Nehru its Secretary.
- The swarajists got clear majority in the Central provinces; they were the largest party in Bengal and they fared quite well in Bombay and Uttar Pradesh though not in Madras and Punjab because of strong castes and communal currents. Justice Party in Madras and Unionist in Punjab, were more powerful.
- In the Legislative assembly, since swarajists were not in majority, a coalition of seventy members was formed known as the **Nationalist party** with the support of independents led by Jinnah and the liberals.

Objective of Swarajists

- The immediate objective of swarajists was speedy attainment of full dominion status.

Achievements of Swarajists

- In the very first session, Motilal Nehru put forward the national demand for framing a new Constitution.
- Rangachari moved a resolution requesting the Governor- General in Council to revise the Act of 1919 to secure for India provincial autonomy and dominion status.
- Motilal moved an amendment in favour of a Round Table conference to recommend a scheme of full responsible government.
- In the Central legislature, the swarajists forced the appointment of Alexander Muddiman committee (in 1924) to inquire into the defects of the Act of 1919 and to suggest remedies.
- When the recommendation of the Lee commission constituted under the Chairmanship of Viscount Lee to enquire into the organisation and condition of public services came for approval of the assembly, Motilal moved an amendment which was carried by the majority vote.
- The swarajists further sued, led in throwing out the budget forcing the government to rely on its power of certification.
- Further in March, 1925, the swarajists succeeded in electing Vithalbhai Patel, a leading swarajist, as the President of the Central Legislative assembly.
- Lajpat Rai joined the Central Legislative assembly as swarajist and accepted the deputy leadership of the party. ML Nehru accepted the membership of Sken committee, which was set-up to report on the early Indianisation of the Army.

Resignation of the Swarajists

- In the 1926 elections, though the Swarajya party won 40 seats in the Central legislature and half of the seats in Madras, in other provinces, it suffered badly. The swarajists finally walked out of the legislature in 1930.

Important National Activities (1922-27)

- Vallabhbhai Patel launched the Sarabandi (no tax). campaign in Gujarat in 1922.
- All-India Khilafat Committee lost relevance after the j abolition of Khalifa in Turkey by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in 1924. This led to the revival of All India Muslim League with Jinnah as its leader in 1924.
- The Hindu Mahasabha a communal organisation of I the Hindus founded in December, 1915 gained strength with MM Malaviya accepting its presidentship at the Belgaum session of Sabha in December, 1924
- Various Non-Brahmin organisation of South India joining hands to form a single All-India Body. Finally, All India Non-Brahmin Conference was held at Belgaum on 28th December, 1924 with A Ramaswami Mudaliar as the Chairman. The conference demanded communal representation for non-Brahmins both in S elected bodies as well as government jobs.
- Akali Movement intensified British authorities under fear that it may affect the loyalty of Sikh soldiers in the British Army as well as the Sikh peasantry.
- To pacify Sikhs, a bill was passed in July, 1925 which created Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) to manage the affairs of Gurudwaras.
- Nagpur Flag Satyagraha was launched in mid 1923 against a local order banning the use of the Congress flag.
- Borsad Satyagraha (1922) in Kheda district (Gujarat) was launched to protest against the imposition of a Poll Tax on every adult to pay for police reinforcement required to suppress increasing rate of dacoities. Finally, the tax was cancelled on January, 1923.
- Ezhava Congress leader TK Madhavan in 1924-25 demanding temple entry for untouchables led Vaikom Satyagraha in Travancore, other lower castes like Nairs also participated.
- Communist Party of India was formed on December 26,1925 at Kanpur. P.C. Joshi was appointed its first General Secretary in 1935 and held the office till 1947.
- The Swarajists finally walked out of the legislature in 1930 as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution and the beginning of civil disobedience.

Muddiman Committee (1924)

- In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance bill was rejected and thrown out in 1924. Swarajists led by Motilal Nehru introduced an amendment in 1924. They demanded the framing of an Indian Constitution by an Indian Constituent Assembly.
- As a response the government appointed a Nine Member Reforms Enquiry committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman (home member in the Executive council) to examine the working of Dyarchy of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms.

Recommendations

- The minority (consisting of only non-official Indians) stated that the Act of 1919 had failed. It also opined that a Constitution was needed to be framed for automatic progress. Therefore, it recommended the appointment of Royal Commission. Lord Birkenhead the Secretary of State for India said that action would be taken on the basis of majority report.

Butler Committee (1927)

- In 1927, the people of Princely States formed the State Peoples' Conference with a view to introduce self-government institution. This move threatened the interests of princes who sought the help of British in this matter. The result was the setting up of a Three Member committee consisting of Harcourt Butler, WS Holdsworth and SC Peel. Harcourt Butler was the Chairman of the committee.
- Purpose was to inquire into the relationship between the Indian States and the paramount power and to suggest ways and means for more satisfactory adjustments of the existing economic relations between them and British India.
- The committee was officially called the **Indian States Committee**. The committee visited 16 states and submitted its report in 1929.

Recommendations

- According to the committee, the relationship of the paramount power with the state was not merely a contractual relationship, but a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances, policy and resting on a mixture of history and theory.

- The committee laid stress on preservation of Princely State through British paramountacy.
- According to it, state should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature.
- Simon Commission substantially endorsed the Butler committees finding and agreed that the Viceroy should be the agent of the paramount power in its relation with the princes.

Early Political Life of Gandhiji

- Gandhi's rise to power was 'phenomenal'. Suddenly, he arrived at the Indian political scene and came to the centre-stage of all activities against the British Rule. Gandhiji believed in Satyagraha, which was based on truth and non-violence. It was influenced by Thoreau, Emerson and Tolstoy. He was anxious to distinguish Satyagraha from passive resistance.

Gandhiji in Africa

- Gandhiji reached Durban in 1893 to sort out the legal problems of Dada Abdullah, a Gujarati merchant.
- There, he was deeply shocked by the political and social disabilities which were imposed by law, administrative and social measures of the Europeans upon the Indian residents.
- He revolted against the racial injustice, discrimination and degradation to which Indians had to submit in the South African colonies.
- Gandhiji soon assumed the leadership of the struggle against these conditions and during 1893-1914 was engaged in a struggle against the racist authorities of South Africa.
- It was during this struggle that he evolved the technique of Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence.
- He founded a political association known as the **Natal Indian Congress** and also a newspaper called **Indian Opinion** with a view to educating Indians in political matters and giving publicity to their grievances.

Gandhi's Success in Africa

- He used passive resistance or civil disobedience or Satyagraha for the first time against a legislation making, it was compulsory for Indians living in South Africa to take out certificates of registration. He also protested against restrictions on Indian migration.
- The Indians defied this law by crossing over from one province to another without producing the licences, in 1906, he set-up the Tolstoy Farm in Transvaal with the help of his German architect friend, Kallenbach, to house the families of the Satyagrahis.
- He led a struggle against a judgement of the South African Supreme Court, which invalidated all marriages not conducted according to Christian rites and registered by the Registrar of marriages. In 1909, Gandhiji released his book **Hind Swaraj**. The Gandhian ideas are illustrated in this book.

Gandhiji in India

- On receipt of instructions from GK Gokhale, Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in January, 1915.
- Instead of immediately entering in Indian politics, he spent 1915 and much of 1916 touring India, visiting places as far apart as Sind and Rangoon, Banaras and Madras in order to get to know his homeland and to make himself known to his countrymen.
- His only excursion into politics was his demand (October, 1915) for the abolition of the system of indentured labour for manual work outside India.
- No Satyagraha was started because the Government of India abolished the system before the date fixed by him (31st July, 1917). His constructive work began with the foundation of the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad in May, 1915.
- Till the beginning of 1917, Gandhi was more of a freelance preacher and social worker than a recognised politician. Gokhale was his closest ally and teacher.

Initial Political Activities

- It was through involvement in three local disputes in Champaran (In North Bihar) in Kheda (in Gujarat) and in Ahmedabad in 1917-18 that Gandhi

emerged as an influential political leader. In Champaran, he took up the cause of peasants against landlords, in Kheda that of farmers against revenue officials and in Ahmedabad that of mill-workers against mill-owners.

- In every case, the strategy was Satyagraha and the principles were truth and non-violence. In every case, the real force working under Gandhi was 'mass participation'. Champaran struggle was the first struggle of Gandhi in India.

Champaran Satyagraha (1917)

- The major problem at Champaran in Bihar was of the Indigo planters. The European planters forced the peasant to grow indigo on 3/20th of the total land area (tin katie system). Peasants were also forced to sell their produce at the prices fixed by the Europeans. When the German syntactic dyes replaced indigo, the planters demanded for high rents and illegal dues from the peasants in order to maximise their profit.
- Through tours in rural areas, he established direct contact with ordinary people and talked about their concerns in the language which they understood. This was a novel political technique; it had never been practiced by the educated leaders of the Congress.
- For the first time, the peasants were drawn into political agitation under a new type of leadership.
- For the first time in India, Gandhi was displaying that magnetic personality, which was to draw multitudes to him and to earn him the title of Mahatma and the nickname of Bapu. Under pressure from the Government of India, the Government of Bihar appointed a committee of enquiry (June, 1917). The recommendations of the committee were implemented, by the Champaran Agrarian Act of 1917. He was also member of this committee.
- Some of leaders associated with Gandhiji in this Satyagraha were JB Kripalani, Rajendra Prasad, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parikh etc.
- Based on this movement a book *Neel Darpan* was written by **Dinbandhu Mitra**.

Ahmedabad Satyagraha (1918)

- While Gandhiji was still engaged in his task in Bihar, he received a letter from Shrimati Anasuyabai. She informed him about the condition of workers

in Ahmedabad mills and requested him to take up their cause with the mill owners.

- The terrible plague of 1917-18, led to a heavy decline in the number of workers in the major industrial city of Ahmedabad. In order to attract the workers, the mill owners started paying them 75% of their wages as plague bonus.
- The mill owners declaration of locking out the mills on 22nd February, 1918 made the situation even more serious. At last, the issue was resolved with the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi. The mill owners agreed to give 35% of wages as bonus. This offer was accepted by the workers.
- Gandhiji intervened in a dispute between the workers and mill owners and he took a fast unto death to force a compromise.

Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- It was first Non-Cooperation movement in India. In 1917 most of the **kharif crops** of the farmers of Kheda district in Gujarat were destroyed due to heavy rains thus, incapacitating them to pay the land revenue to the government. When the government refused to comply with the peasant's demand to remit the land revenues, Gandhiji advised them to withhold the payment and launch a struggle against the government on 22nd March, 1918.
- Gandhiji with his lieutenants like Vallabhbhai Patel, the young lawyer of Kheda (who had become Gandhiji's follower during this Satyagraha), Indulal Yagnik and many other youth, toured villages to encourage the peasants.

Acquisition of Political Prominence

- Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad were the testing ground of Gandhian style of politics in India. These were non-violent mass based campaigns. In the process of these campaigns, Gandhiji was able to recruit a number of committed political workers, who played vital role in the national movement in the years to come.
- Prominent among them were Rajendra Prasad, JB Kripalani, Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahadev Desai and Indulal Yagnik. By the end of 1918, through three limited campaigns, he had demonstrated that Satyagraha was viable in India. By this time, he also attained considerable public position and achieved some authority in specific areas.

- What distinguished him was his weapon of political agitation which seemed to meet the need of the day. Satyagraha could involve people, bring them directly into the fold of nationalist agitation and give them a sense of participation.
- The Satyagrahas of Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad made Gandhiji very popular among the masses. He started emerging as a leader of the masses and won the admiration and respect of political workers. Finally, these struggle brought Gandhiji in close contact with the masses whose interests he pursued all his life.
- In fact, he was the first Indian nationalist leader, who identified his life and his manner of living with the life of the common people. Very soon he became the symbol of poor India, nationalist India, rebellious India and of course the independent India.

Ideology and Thoughts of Gandhiji

Satyagraha

- One of the most important aspects of Gandhi's political ideology is Satyagraha which means *truth and non-violence*.
- To Gandhi, Satyagraha was the only road to achieve Swaraj. Satyagraha entails non-violent, non-cooperation and self-sacrifice.
- The principles of Satyagraha were opposed to wrongs and injustice. A satyagrahi was not to compromise with evil, injustice and wrong. The suffering of the Satyagrahis are intended to generate compassion and awaken ahimsa in the hearts and minds of the contending party.
- The truth was to be established and a change of opponent's heart was to be brought about not by any forceful or violent means, but by arousing the conscience of the opponent or by inflicting of suffering on oneself.
- Gandhian Satyagraha is the weapon of brave. It was infact, a struggle without fear and cowardice. According to Gandhi, a satyagrahi must be fearless.

Non-Violence

- The doctrine of non-violence is another important aspect of Gandhi's ideology. "My creed is non-violence under all circumstances. My method

is conversion, not coercion; it is self-suffering, not the suffering of the tyrant.” This statement by Gandhi captures the basic principles of non-violence.

- The Gandhian ideal of ‘active ahimsa’ entails not just abstaining from all violence, but fully embracing an enemy with love. It ‘requires deliberate self-suffering’ and therefore ‘calls for the greatest courage.’ Ultimately, the self-suffering of a practitioner of ahimsa is intended to awaken and convert the soul of the enemy, who will then be overpowered by pity and love.

Swadeshi

- Gandhiji was a champion of swadeshi, which he believed was essential to Satyagraha and Swaraj. Swadeshi entailed complete self-sufficiency in the political, economic and religious life of the Indian people. Swadeshi was an integral part of Gandhi’s overall vision for an independent India - one in which self-sufficient, self-governing village republics were the foundation of the country.
- Gandhiji believed that if the Indian masses followed the Swadeshi doctrine, “Then every village of India will... be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible.”

Novel Ideas of Gandhiji

- The novelty value of Gandhi’s political method is of great significance. Beside Satyagraha, it includes civil disobedience, non-cooperation, court arrest, hartal, hunger strike, marches etc. These novel methods became an indispensable part of the overall nationalist programme and strategy. Moreover, they were used effectively and to a great extent successfully in our struggle for independence.

Gandhi and Imperialism

- The ultimate aim of Gandhian struggle was not political freedom alone but a life of dignity for the masses. He believed that the mere removal of the British by the Indian rulers would result in nothing more than English Rule without Englishmen. He was of the opinion that the real enemy was the entire forces of imperialism and colonialism. It was these forces that gave sustenance to the exploitation of poor by rich and British rule was just a manifestation of that.

Socio-Economic Outlook

- His concerns for Hindu-Muslim unity, for the upliftment of Harijans, for raising the status of women in the society, promotion of khadi, village reconstruction etc., are expression of broad social outlook of Gandhiji.
- The Socio-Economic programme of Gandhiji helped to spread the message of nationalism down to the lowest and most oppressed section of the society. This in one sense developed pan-Indian loyalty towards the Congress and National Movement.
- He was also instrumental in the abolition of the system of indentured labour.

Religious Outlook

- His Hinduism revolved around a few fundamental beliefs: in the supreme reality of God, the unity of all life, and the value of ahimsa as a means of realising God. He had faith that "Religions are different roads converging to the same point". Because he saw all religions as essentially the same, he advocated mutual tolerance and respect between different religions to Gandhiji.

Constructive Programme

- The constructive work is the significant aspect of Gandhian strategy. It included development of Khadi, cottage industries, spinning, women's upliftment, Hindu-Muslim unity, upliftment of Harijans, national education etc. In the course of time, these became symbolic of rendering one's contribution towards his country. The most important significance of the constructive programmes is that it facilitated the involvement of even those, who did not have aptitude and taste for political and Parliamentary activity and secondly