

The Non-Cooperation Movement

After World War I, the most important thing that happened in the fight for India's freedom was when Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into Indian politics and became the leader of the Congress party, which then became a new kind of group with a new way of doing things because of him. From the beginning, Mahatma Gandhi was against foreign rule and had successfully fought against the unfair treatment and racism faced by Indians in South Africa before returning to India in 1915 when World War I started, during which he supported the British and was awarded the title 'Kaiser-e-Hind' by the Indian government for his help. He started the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad, which became the center of his work as he focused on improving the lives of poor and weak people in India, leading a successful non-violent protest (Satyagraha) in Champaran in 1917 to help farmers being treated badly. In Kheda, he organized farmers to peacefully protest against unfair tax collection after a drought, forcing the government to agree to their demands. In 1918, he also addressed a long fight between factory owners and workers in Ahmedabad, where his peaceful protest led to an increase in the workers' pay. These successful peaceful protests made Gandhi want to get involved in the national freedom movement and become active in politics, and around the same time, events in the national movement inspired him to start the Non-Cooperation Movement.

Background to the Non-Cooperation Movement

The Rowlatt Act: During the war, the government was trying to look good by promising Indians more rights (through the Montagu Declaration). But at the same time, they were also being very harsh with those they saw as terrorists and revolutionaries. The Rowlatt Act was another step in this direction. The government formed a committee led by Judge Sidney Rowlatt to find ways to stop these revolutionaries. This committee suggested very strict rules, like arresting anyone based on suspicion, watching their activities, and secretly trying and punishing them. The committee's report came out in April 1918. Despite strong opposition from Indian members, the government passed the Rowlatt Act on March 21, 1919. Indians called it a "black law" and protested against it, saying, "No lawyer, no argument, no appeal." Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mazharul Haq resigned from the central legislative council to show their opposition. Mahatma Gandhi also protested. On Gandhi's suggestion, the Congress party called for a nationwide strike to oppose the law. As a result, strikes and protests happened, and meetings were held in places like Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Jalandhar, and Ahmedabad. The government used force to stop the protests. In many places, the police fired on unarmed crowds, and many people were killed. The situation was especially bad in Punjab. When Gandhi planned to go to Punjab to find out what was happening, he was not allowed to enter. The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, General O'Dwyer, created a state of terror in Punjab. Meanwhile, on April 9th, during the Ram Navami festival, Hindus and Muslims together held a big procession. Scared by this unity, the government arrested two important leaders, Dr. Satyapal and Kitchlew, and sent them away from Amritsar. This made people even angrier. A large procession was held to protest their removal, and the police fired on it without warning. Angry crowds then set fire to many government buildings, post offices, and banks, and killed some British people. The helpless police just watched.

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre: In April 1919, a terrible massacre happened in Amritsar. Even before the Lieutenant Governor could reach Amritsar to control the growing public anger, martial law (military rule) was put in place on April 11th. This wasn't even properly announced. Many people were arrested and put in jail. On the evening of April 13th, a meeting was called at Jallianwala Bagh to protest the removal of the leaders and the police violence. This so-called garden had only one narrow way to enter. It was surrounded by buildings and was really just a piece of land with garbage, a tomb, and three trees. There was no other way in or out except for the main path. About 20,000 people gathered in this enclosed space. The crowd was completely unarmed. Many people had children with them, and women were also at the meeting. While the meeting was going on, around 5 pm, General Dyer arrived with about a hundred soldiers and two armored cars. He positioned his soldiers at both sides of the entrance and ordered them to fire on the peaceful crowd without any warning. In about ten minutes, around 1,650 rounds were fired. There was chaos in the crowd as people tried to flee. The exit was closed, and bullets were flying. As a result, about a thousand people were killed. Countless others were injured. Dyer left the dead and wounded there without any help. Even though things were calm on April 14th, martial law was extended to Amritsar on April 15th. News of what happened in Punjab was not allowed to spread outside. People were also banned from entering Punjab. But the military authorities were still not satisfied. They committed cruel and inhuman acts against the people. People were publicly whipped, forced to crawl on their bellies, and students and teachers were mistreated. Even one Indian was beaten for helping the injured. There was a widespread reaction to these events in Punjab. The government praised Dyer's actions and gave him 20,000 pounds. This made the anger among Indians even stronger. The Congress party appointed an investigation committee. Later, realizing the growing opposition towards the British, the government also set up the 'Hunter Committee'. This committee also did not find Dyer's actions to be right. According to 'Liberal States', Dyer's actions "lost Britain the Indian Empire in Punjab." Later, Gandhi also commented on the Amritsar events, saying, "Plassey laid the foundation of the British Empire, Amritsar shook it."

The Khilafat Movement

Besides what happened in Amritsar, the issue of the Khilafat also became a very important question in Indian politics. This issue deeply affected Mahatma Gandhi's thinking and inspired him to start the Non-Cooperation Movement.

Why the Khilafat Movement Started: The 'Khalifa' of Turkey was seen as the religious leader of all 'Sunni' Muslims around the world. In the Islamic world, his importance was second only to the Prophet. Because of this, Indian Muslims felt a strong emotional and religious connection to him. When World War I began, Indian Muslims were in a difficult situation. At the start of the war, the Muslim community was loyal to the British Empire. The British government had even made promises to Muslims to gain their support. Prime Minister Lloyd George assured Indian Muslims that the government would protect Turkey's unity and independence and that its position in Asian territories would remain the same. However, in World War I, Turkey sided with Germany and fought against Britain. In 1918, the Allied powers started winning, and Germany began to lose. Both Germany and Turkey had to surrender.

After winning World War I, Britain's attitude towards Turkey and the Khalifa became very disrespectful. England and France, along with other winning countries, divided up the Ottoman

Empire. Not only that, but with Britain's encouragement, Arabs also revolted against the Khalifa. The holy land of Islam, the Arabian Peninsula, was taken over by the British and French through a system called mandates. These events made Indian Muslims very angry with the British Empire. They became determined to fight to restore the power and respect of the Sultan of Turkey.

Goals and Nature of the Khilafat Movement: The aim of the Khilafat Movement was to establish the Khalifa's supreme authority and power. It started as a protest movement but quickly became part of the anti-British and national movement. The movement began in response to the bad treatment of the Khalifa. Khilafat Committees were formed everywhere with the goal of creating public opinion and campaigning against the division of the Turkish Empire and in support of the Khalifa. In December 1919, the meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League happened at the same time. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided over the Congress session in Amritsar. Maulana Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali urged the Congress and the League to fight together on the Khilafat issue and to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity. At this time, nationalist Muslims known as the Ali brothers – Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shaukat Ali, and Muhammad Ali – joined this movement. Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi saw this movement as a great opportunity to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity and to bring Muslims into the national movement. Gandhi believed that this movement was based on justice and was in line with his own principles. Therefore, he supported it. In 1919, he was elected president of the All India Khilafat Conference held in Delhi. He even threatened the government that if justice was not done to the Khalifa, he would not cooperate with the government. He argued that the Khilafat issue was even more important than constitutional reforms and the events in Punjab. In January 1920, a delegation of Hindus and Muslims met with the Viceroy and presented their demands, but the result was disappointing. In June 1920, the Khilafat Committee decided to start non-cooperation in Allahabad. This included returning government titles and honors, resigning from civil, police, and military services, and refusing to pay taxes. In July, speaking at a Khilafat conference in Sindh, Gandhi suggested non-cooperation with the government. On July 28th, Gandhi decided to start the Non-Cooperation Movement from August 1, 1920. From that day onwards, the Non-Cooperation Movement was launched for the cause of the Khilafat, the events in Punjab, and the goal of self-rule (Swaraj). The Khilafat Committee also started its own non-cooperation movement.

The Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements started at the same time, but as the Non-Cooperation Movement grew stronger, the Khilafat Movement started to fade. The leaders of the Khilafat also faced the anger of the government, just like those in the Non-Cooperation Movement. Their organizations were declared illegal, and important leaders were arrested. Like the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Khilafat Movement also seemed to fall apart. There was no change in the position of the Sultan of Turkey. In fact, when Mustafa Kemal Pasha of Turkey abolished the position of the Khalifa, the Khilafat issue ended completely. By 1924, the movement was over. Many critics thought that Gandhi's efforts to connect the Khilafat Movement with the national movement was a political mistake. However, the Khilafat Movement did help strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity for a short time. It also gave liberal nationalist Muslims a chance to participate in the national struggle, which was its biggest achievement.

Other Events: Besides these events, other things created a good environment for the Non-Cooperation Movement. These included the economic problems after the war, famines,

epidemics, the dissatisfaction with the reforms of 1919, movements by farmers and workers, the government's harsh policies, and the growing feeling of nationalism in India, which people wanted to use properly.

Preparation for the Non-Cooperation Movement:

In 1920, at a special meeting of the Congress on the Khilafat issue, Gandhi announced a policy of boycott and non-cooperation. The Khilafat Committee started its movement on August 1, 1920. Gandhi returned his 'Kaiser-e-Hind' medal to the government. In December 1920, at the Nagpur session of the Congress, Gandhi's proposal for the Non-Cooperation Movement was accepted. Actually, the Nagpur session of the Congress handed over the leadership of the national independence movement to Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress made achieving complete self-rule (Purna Swaraj) its goal. In this session, the plan for boycott and non-cooperation was also prepared. According to Dr. S. S. Jain, non-cooperation had two parts: 'constructive and destructive'. The constructive side included important tasks like promoting Indian-made goods (Swadeshi), creating active programs for the anti-untouchability movement, promoting Khadi (handspun cloth), forming volunteer groups, running national and Khadi schools, establishing national schools, increasing Hindu-Muslim unity, and preventing addiction. The destructive actions included giving up government titles and unpaid positions, resigning from local bodies, boycotting government events and ceremonies, boycotting government educational institutions and courts, boycotting foreign goods, and refusing to join the army for the Mesopotamia war. A plan was also made to boycott the elections of 1920. It was also decided to not pay taxes if needed. In this way, the Nagpur Congress session changed the Congress and made it the 'Congress of the Indian people'.

Beginning of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

Gandhi took the lead in the Non-Cooperation Movement. He returned his 'Kaiser-e-Hind' government medal. Many lawyers gave up their successful practices. Many influential leaders like Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, and Rajendra Prasad gave up their government titles. Thousands of students left their schools and colleges. Foreign goods were boycotted, and foreign clothes were burned in public. The sound of spinning wheels (charkhas) was heard in every home. Many national educational institutions were established, such as Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Mahatma Vidyapeeth, and Jamia Millia University. Lakhs of volunteers were ready, and the desired amount was quickly collected in the Tilak Fund. Protests and strikes took place everywhere.

Government Repression and the End of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

By 1921, the Non-Cooperation Movement had become widespread. During this time, in November 1921, Prince Edward VIII (then Prince of Wales) visited Bombay. Protests and strikes were held against his arrival. To suppress this, the police had to be stationed in every street, and many people were killed. The government decided to crack down on the protesters. The Congress was declared an illegal organization. Thousands of volunteers and leaders were arrested. Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, and many others were all arrested. Jails became like holy places of pilgrimage. People started getting arrested willingly. There was not even enough space in the jails to hold all the prisoners or to carry food for them. By 1921, all the leaders

except Gandhi had been imprisoned. Despite this, the movement did not weaken. In February 1922, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy warning him that if the government did not stop its repression, he would be forced to start a new movement (mass civil disobedience) in Bardoli (Gujarat).

The government was also facing a difficult situation. Meanwhile, on February 5, 1922, the Chauri Chaura incident happened in Gorakhpur. Here, the police fired on peaceful protesters and drove them away. When their bullets ran out, the policemen ran and hid in the police station. The angry protesters set fire to the police station. Many policemen died in this incident. Gandhi was deeply saddened by this violent event. He immediately called off the Non-Cooperation Movement. This decision caused great disappointment and anger among many people. Subhas Chandra Bose said, "It was nothing short of a disaster." Jawaharlal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal, and Chittaranjan Das were all upset by this event. Gandhi was accused of stopping the movement "for the sake of the bourgeois class and landlord-supporting classes against the class struggle." It was said that "the broader interests of the country were sacrificed for the selfish interests of these classes." But Gandhi stopped the movement because he felt that with the leaders in jail, the people had become directionless and violent. He believed that the government could not be fought with violence, so it was right to stop the movement.

Importance of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

The Non-Cooperation Movement only partly achieved its stated goals. It didn't succeed in boycotting the legislative councils completely. Congress members didn't participate in the elections, but they couldn't stop others from voting. The panchayat system (village councils) also didn't have a big impact on the legal system. Government titles were returned, but the number of government employees didn't decrease. However, it had great success in its constructive programs. The movement's biggest success was that it shook the British Empire by involving millions of ordinary farmers and spread the feeling of patriotism and sacrifice throughout the country. Despite this, stopping the movement reduced Gandhi's popularity. In a way, Gandhi was politically isolated. Soon after, on March 10, 1922, Gandhi was arrested, charged with sedition, and sentenced to six years in jail. A feeling of rebellion grew within the Congress, which led to the rise of the 'Swarajists'.

The Swarajists:

When Mahatma Gandhi suddenly called off the Non-Cooperation Movement, a section of the Congress felt very disappointed and dissatisfied. In the words of Subhas Chandra Bose, "The dictator's order was obeyed for the moment, but there was a feeling of discouragement in the Congress camp." This decision by Gandhi greatly damaged the reputation of the Congress. It suffered a big setback. Differences arose among the leaders about the future programs of the Congress. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru started emphasizing that the Congress should adopt a stronger policy. They believed that the Congress should give up the policy of boycotting the assemblies, enter them, oppose government policies, and defeat government officials through their own proposals. This group came to be known as the 'Pro-changers' within the Congress. On the other hand, the 'No-changers' group, which included prominent leaders like Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Ansari, and Rajendra Prasad, did not want any change in the Congress policy. They wanted to continue following Mahatma Gandhi's orders and instructions completely. The opposition between the two groups became clear at the Gaya session of the Congress in December

1922. While presiding over the session, Chittaranjan Das said, "The only successful boycott of these councils is either to reform them in such a way that they become helpful in achieving Swaraj, or to completely end them." There was also a vote in this session on entering the councils, in which the 'Pro-changers' were defeated. Despite this, they did not lose hope. In January 1923, Das and Nehru formed the 'Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party'. Deshbandhu Das became its president and Motilal Nehru its secretary. This group decided to implement its own policies while remaining within the Congress.

Objectives of the Swaraj Party: The goal of the Swarajists was also to achieve Swaraj (self-rule); however, their methods of achieving it were different from others. Chittaranjan Das declared, "Am I a rebel? I will rebel under the banner of the Congress for the complete independence of India, and I will say that achieving Swaraj requires violence." They wanted to enter the courts, schools, and councils to put pressure on the government to fulfill national demands within a specific period. If the government did not do so, they would make it impossible to govern through the legislative bodies. Its members also pledged not to accept government positions and not to participate in municipal elections. At the same time, they also decided to boycott foreign goods and cooperate with the constructive programs of the Congress.

Work of the Swaraj Party: Following their plan, the Swarajists participated in the elections of November 1923, in which they achieved unexpected success. They won 42 out of the 101 elected seats in the Central Assembly. They got a clear majority in Madhya Pradesh and emerged as the largest party in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Bombay. Taking advantage of this, with the support of other parties, Deshbandhu Das got elected as the Chief Minister in Bengal, and Vithalbhai Patel became the President of the Central Legislative Assembly. In 1925, they succeeded in getting Vithalbhai Patel elected as the President of the Central Legislative Council. Two ministers in Bengal were forced to resign. Through their efforts in Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, the Swarajists made the system of dyarchy (dual government) ineffective. The Swaraj Party constantly created obstacles in the government's work.

Decline of the Swaraj Party: The death of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das in June 1925 was a major setback for the Swarajists. At the same time, other events also weakened their position. The Swarajists' focus was on non-cooperation with the provincial governments, but the right-wing group started cooperating with the government. Motilal Nehru became the President of the Indian National Congress in 1926. Vithalbhai Patel became the President of the Central Legislature, and M. R. Jayakar and others became members of their respective Accounts Committees. This led to doubts about their integrity. The 'Responsivist' group within the Swarajists, which included Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai, advocated cooperating with the government to protect Hindus amidst the rising tide of communalism. The Swarajists failed to attract the public to their side. Differences between Jinnah and Motilal Nehru in 1925 also reduced the influence of the Swarajists in the Central Assembly. They also had disagreements with the government after some time. Therefore, in 1926, they decided to withdraw from the Central Legislative Assembly in Nagpur. Motilal Nehru declared, "What we have given has been contemptuously rejected. Now is the time to think about other ways to achieve our goals." After this, the influence of the Swarajists began to decline. In the elections of 1926, the Swarajists won fewer seats compared to 1923.

Simon Commission and Nehru Report

Importance of the Swaraj Party's Work: The work of the Swaraj Party is often strongly criticized. Many Congress leaders thought that their policy of "creating obstacles" was unhealthy and pointless. The Swarajists, however, believed that "bad laws were like people who want to keep their bread and eat it too." The Swaraj Party only achieved partial success in its goals. Despite their opposition, several changes were made in government policies. Its biggest importance lies not so much in its actions but in the fact that it created an atmosphere of enthusiasm and courage among the people at a time when the Non-Cooperation Movement had slowed down. While the Congress was busy with constructive work and Gandhi was living a life of political isolation, the Swarajists took over the leadership of the national movement and, through their policy of obstruction, made the system of dyarchy (dual government) ineffective.

The Simon Commission and Nehru Report:

The Act of 1919 (based on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report) had a provision for reviewing the progress of responsible government in India after 10 years of its passing. According to this, the government was supposed to appoint a commission for this task in 1931. However, keeping in mind the British general elections that were to be held in 1929, the government appointed this commission in 1927 itself. The chairman of this commission was Sir John Simon. Except for him, no other member of the Indian Statutory Commission (the constitutional commission for India) was British. All three major national political parties ('Congress', 'Liberals', and 'Muslim League') opposed the exclusion of Indian members, calling it racist and against the principle of being 'All-Indian'. This was a clear example of racial discrimination. Indian leaders felt that the country had been insulted by the white people. They were not ready to tolerate this insult easily.

Proposals of the Simon Commission: Despite opposition in many provinces, the commission did its work in India and presented its report. This report was published on June 7, 1930. The commission recommended ending dyarchy and giving more independence to the provinces. It suggested increasing the powers of the Governor-General and the Governors. It talked about expanding the right to vote for Indians, recommending that at least 10-15 percent of Indians should have the right to vote. It proposed expanding the provincial legislative councils and giving special representation to Muslims. The Simon Commission also recommended creating a council to discuss Indian issues, which would include representatives from British provinces and princely states, reorganizing the central legislature, not giving any responsibility to Indians at the center, separating Burma from India and Sindh from Bombay, creating a separate province of Orissa, Indianizing the army, keeping the Council of India, and reducing high officials' powers. Before the report was published, the commission suggested that a Round Table Conference should be called to discuss the report. However, it said nothing about the demands of the minorities, which Indians were asking for. Moreover, in a slap in the face to Indians, it even declared them unfit for responsible positions.

Simon Commission and the Reaction of Indians: As soon as the Simon Commission was announced in November 1927, Indian leaders became agitated. The Congress decided to boycott the commission. In the Madras session of the Congress in 1927, the decision to boycott the commission was taken. Congress President Dr. Ansari declared that "the Indian people have the right to decide their own constitution by calling a round table conference or a convention of all concerned parties.

By appointing the Simon Commission, this right has been clearly denied. They cannot be a party to examining their fitness or unfitness for Swaraj or any step to be taken in the establishment of popular government." The main reason for the boycott was undoubtedly that "by deliberately not including Indians in the commission, their self-respect was hurt." Therefore, the Congress decided to boycott the commission "at every stage and in every form." Other political parties like the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, and Communist Party also decided to boycott it.

Boycott and Government Reaction: Despite being aware of the reaction of Indian leaders, the government decided to send the commission to India. On February 3, 1928, the commission arrived in Bombay. It was greeted with black flags, strikes, and protests. Protesters chanted slogans like 'Simon Go Back'. When the commission reached Delhi, no Indian leader was there to welcome it. The Central Legislative Assembly also refused to welcome it. In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai led a protest against the commission. The police used batons on the protesters. Lala Lajpat Rai was seriously injured and later died as a result. An interesting incident happened in Lucknow, which was described by Shri Ayodhya Singh in his book 'Bharat Ka Mukti Sangram' (India's Struggle for Liberation). It is said that some landlords in Qaiserbagh gave a dinner party for the commission. The police surrounded the garden to keep the protesters away. Despite this, some young men managed to get inside and reached the dining table with a banner that read, "Simon Go Back, India is for Indians." In Patna, Calcutta, Madras, and other places, similar protests, strikes, and processions took place. The government used force against the protesters and tried in every way to suppress them, but it failed. On the other hand, despite the protests, the commission submitted its report, which was published in June 1930. Meanwhile, Indians did not remain silent. They prepared their own outline for a constitution, which became famous as the Nehru Report. The Simon Commission indirectly and "even if temporarily, united the various groups and parties of the country."

Recommendations of the Nehru Report: The Nehru Report demanded the establishment of Dominion Status (like Canada or Australia within the British Empire) and a responsible government. The entire report was divided into three parts: India's future status, fundamental rights of citizens, and Hindu-Muslim relations. Its main recommendations were:

(i) There should be a two-house system at the center. The Senate should have 200 members and the House of Representatives 500. The executive council should be responsible to the legislature. Only foreign affairs and defense should remain under British control. (ii) A federal system should be established in India. The central government would have the remaining powers. But responsible government should also be established in the provinces, with those elected by the people governing. The rights of princely states were also mentioned, but it was said that they would not be included in the Indian Union until they established responsible government according to their own rules. The Secretary of State's Council should be abolished, and a Supreme Court should be established for all of India. (iii) Regarding civil rights, freedom of speech, expression, the press, assembly, and forming organizations should be granted. Discrimination based on religion and caste should be ended. Adult suffrage (the right for all adults to vote) should be introduced. (iv) The report recommended ending the system of separate electorates (where Muslims voted for Muslim candidates only) and implementing a system of joint electorates (where all voters vote together), but it suggested providing reservations for minority communities based on their population. Seats were

to be reserved for Muslims in all provinces except Punjab and Bengal, and for Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province. This system was to be reviewed again after 10 years.

Reaction of Indian Leaders to the Report: To discuss the Nehru Report, All-Party Conferences were held first in Lucknow (August 28-30) and then in Delhi (December) in 1928. In these conferences, opposition from Indian leaders emerged. At the conference, Muhammad Ali criticized the report and angrily left the meeting. Jinnah demanded more representation in both houses of Parliament and in the legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab. Aga Khan demanded autonomy for every province in the country but remained silent on the proposal for India's independence. Because the Muslims were divided, Hindu conservatives also became rigid. Sikhs also demanded special representation in Punjab as a religious and linguistic minority. The Congress rejected these demands. This led to Jinnah and the Muslim Conference withdrawing from the process. Aga Khan and Muhammad Shafi organized the 'All India Muslim Conference' or 'All Parties Muslim Conference' in Delhi and decided not to cooperate with the Congress. Jinnah later presented his 14-point demands. However, a nationalist Muslim group (including Dr. Ansari and Abul Kalam Azad) was in favor of accepting the Nehru Report. There was also division within the Congress itself regarding the report. The younger generation of the Congress, led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, was not satisfied with Dominion Status. Nehru and Bose wanted to make the demand for complete independence the goal of the Congress. They formed the 'Independence League' in Lahore in 1929 and were creating public opinion in favor of complete self-rule (Purna Swaraj). At the Calcutta session of the Congress, this group again demanded that the Congress change its goal from the Nehru Report. Due to pressure from senior leaders, this rebellion was suppressed, but it was decided that if the government did not grant Dominion Status within one year, the goal of the Congress would become the achievement of complete independence. The Congress also agreed that if the government rejected the Nehru Report, the Non-Cooperation Movement would be restarted. Gandhi took this step to satisfy the more radical left-wing of the Congress, seeing the growing wave of national consciousness.

Although the Nehru Report was not accepted by all, it gave rise to several important trends. The feeling of communalism, which had been brewing inside, now came out into the open. Both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha did everything they could to spread it. The events of 1928 once again placed Gandhi at the top of the country and Congress politics. He emerged as the undisputed leader of the national independence struggle.