

- The real reason was that Gandhiji wanted 'graceful exit'. By this time, masses were getting exhausted. There were violent incidents in some regions like Mappila revolt in Malabar. Mappila revolt would have taken communal colour. Gandhi realized that because of Chauri chaura incident, government will get excuse to use massive force. If government uses force, people will get scared and it will be difficult to rebuild the movement.

#### Assessment of Non-Cooperation movement.

- There were also some **visible successes e.g.**
  - boycott of the visit of prince of Wales
  - boycott of foreign goods.
- **Other successful aspects of NCM which paved the base of true mass struggle**
  - Considerable success for Gandhi in gaining mass support
  - Economic boycott was very successful as the £ imports dropped by half.
  - Gandhian social movements which were associated with NCM also achieved fair amount of success.
  - Most successful area was boycott of foreign clothes
  - Some regions, no tax and no revenue campaign
  - Successful in bringing Muslims in INM.
  - Involvement of new social groups. Bipin Chandra calls it 1st great multi class movement of India.
  - Spread even in rural areas
  - It has shown the capacity of so called poor and dumb millions of India to participate in national movement.

#### **View of INC on non-co-operation movement**

- **Congress described the movement as a peaceful, legitimate protest for attainment of Swaraj**, by direct action rather than constitutional means. However, Gandhi called off the movement abruptly after Chauri Chaura incident in February 1922.

#### **Reaction of congress to the withdrawal of the movement**

- **Gandhi came under harsh criticism from congressmen. Leaders like Pandit Nehru** questioned the rationale of calling off the movement. Major criticism came from communists. They believed that Gandhi was fearful of masses acquiring power.

#### Conclusion

- **Movement was failure in terms of stated objectives and the promises made by Gandhi and Congress.** However, movement was **successful in the sense Gandhi got all that he wanted**
  - **Gandhi's wanted to test the capacity of masses** for struggle.
  - **He wanted to establish Congress as the party of masses** and not representing 'microscopic minority'.
  - **Gandhi wanted national movement to become mass movement.** It means multi-class movement rather than just limited to the middle classes.

#### Civil Disobedience Movement-(1930-1934)

It is a finest example of Gandhian strategy. NCM can be considered as mild in comparison to CDM, which was more provocative. CDM was direct challenge to the authority whereas NCM was just targeting the economic base of colonialism.

#### **Rise of the movement**