



RESEARCH PAPER

Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and Politics of Non-violence: A Perspective of Passive Resilience, 1920-1930

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the emergence of Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) among rural middle and lower middle-class Sikhs with the objectives of reforms in gurdwaras management along with to preserve separate Sikh identity, stop Sikhs conversion and popular representation of Sikhs through non-violent means during 1920-1930. SAD avoided to merge into national level Non-Cooperation movement and remained successful to achieve its initial goals. This article, based on revealing the fresh sources drawn from the Punjab Archives Lahore and Lahore Museum Library argues that initially a pure religious reformist movement emerged with popular support continued the strategy of nonviolence even after the acceptance of major demands in the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925. SAD's nonviolence strategy was also influenced by other Sikh organizations like Khalsa Diwan, Central Sikh League and external forces, like Indian National Congress (INC), All India Muslim League (AIML), the Unionist Party, Non-Cooperation movement and Khilafat movement at different scale. The British Indian government initially tried to handle the Sikh resistance through Sikh elites, gurdwara *mahatns* and colonial Punjab administration but SAD's nonviolent response forced the government to mend their ways and finally introduced the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925.

Keywords: Gurdwara Reform Movement, Morcha Politics, Nonviolence, Shiromani Akali Dal

Introduction

Gurdwara Reform Movement (GRM) was a turning point in the religious and political history of Sikhs in colonial Punjab. Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), as a leading Sikh organization, emerged during this movement that served as a task force of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC). There were also some other organizations that played important role in GRM but it became a leading force and forum to formulate and execute the policies of GRM. After successful achievements during the five years, from 1920 to 1925, SAD turned into a most important religious-cum-political party of Sikh community. The activities and strategies that were adopted by the Shiromani Akali Dal are very important to understand, not only the causes that transformed it into a leading political force but also the achievement in the shape of the introduction of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925.

There are many historians who have worked on the history of Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and Sikh politics in Punjab during the colonial period. The existing literature on SAD is generally consists of three kinds of writings; SAD as a task force of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) during the Gurdwara Reform Movement, SAD as a political party and SAD's violent response to the creation of Pakistan and the partition. This research is more related to the first category. This category deals with the basic issues, especially gurdwara reforms and protection of Sikh 'identity', during the British colonial rule in India through politics of nonviolence. Literature in this category supported this argument that SAD had performed a leading role in resolving of these basic issues of the Sikh community through strategy of nonviolence. This category throws light on the leading organizations of Sikh community working in Punjab for Sikh cause and nature of these organizations and conclusive comparison with the Akali Dal. In this regard lot of literature is available

regarding the religio-political unrest in Punjab in second and third decade of 20th century. These books only provide the introductory information with the nature and course of the nonviolent movement(s) for the achievement of gurdwara reforms with special focus on SAD generally till 1925 and not beyond that. In this regard, a few authors are worth mentioning. One of the important books deals with the Gurdwara Reform Movement is *The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening* written by Teja Singh. Apart from introducing different Sikh movements for the preservation of Sikh identity and protection of their political rights he has marked GRM as a great awakening for Sikh community in India during first half of the twentieth century (Singh, 2010). Similarly, Bhupinder Singh in his doctoral research *The Anti-British Movements From Gadar Lehar To Kirti Kisan Lehar 1913-1939* introduced different anti-British movements in Colonial India. He has explained that the 20th century observed many movements in Punjab during the British rule. These movements included, the Gadar Movement, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, the Satyagraha Movement, the Kirti Kisan Lehar, and the Babar Akali Movement (Singh, 2011). Another detail account of the history of Sikh religion and its difference with Hinduism is *The Sikhs in History* written by Sangat Singh (Singh, 1995). *A History of the Sikhs* written by Khushwant Singh is encyclopaedic work on Sikh history briefly discussed the GRM. As Sangat Singh tried to explore the Sikh 'identity' through questioning the role of Hindu *Mahant* or Hindu traditions/practices observed in Gurdwaras (Singh, 2005). Harjot S. Oberoi also researched on Sikh identity through highlighting the similarities and dissimilarities between Sikhism, Hinduism, and Islam (Oberoi, 1987). Singh, B in his book *The Akali Movement* singularly deals with the SAD and its nonviolent campaign to restore the possession of gurdwaras from government-supported *mahants*. He described that Akalis achieved success in the form of The Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925, and almost all the key gurdwaras were given under the control of the SGPC. Ruchi Ram Sahni's book *Struggle For Reform In Sikh Shrines* is also a remarkable source focusing on long and painful but nonviolent struggle for liberation of Sikh shrines and their management by the elected constitutional body of the Sikhs (Sahni, 1969). David in his book *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom, 1905-19* explained the nature and course of nonviolent politics in British India before the establishment of SAD in 1920 (Hardiman, 2018). Similarly, Tan Tai Yong's research article "Assuaging the Sikhs: Government Responses to the Akali Movement, 1920-1925" also provided a scholarly account of SAD's role in GRM and the government response to this movement (Tan, 1995). Most of these accounts are explained SAD's role in context of Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925 and its nonviolence strategy beyond this is generally missing and needs scholarly attention.

To understand the religious and political context of post-World War One colonial period for Sikh community, this research is drawn upon written historical sources. The prime focus of this research is SAD, which was established as a task force to achieve control of the Sikh gurdwaras along with SGPC after World War One in Punjab. Nonviolence is also very complex and disputed term (Butler, 2020). It has been conceived and practiced by a number of scholars but I will consider Gene Sharp theoretical framework to understand nonviolent SAD movement. He has outlined six types of nonviolent movement; non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, selective nonviolence, *Satyagraha* and nonviolent revolution (Sharp, 2012). To historically understand nonviolent behaviour of SAD I will critically evaluate different strategies adopted by SAD from 1920-1930 like *Morcha politics*, collaboration with non-cooperation movement and All India National Congress. I will collect information about above mentioned historical events/acts/relations regarding SAD to evaluate its nonviolent strategy during first decade of its establishment.

Literature Review

After the Guru time, eighteenth century was a period of struggle for the Sikh community, not only to survive but also to expand its identity and political clout. During the conquest of Delhi, Jamrud, Leh, Ladakh, etc., whenever the opportunity arose or prevailed, the Sikhs paid special attention to the construction of shrines and to increase their

importance, which was the novelist of the Sikhs' reverence and love for the shrines. During the Sikh rule, the Sikh rulers did not need to interfere in the internal management of the gurdwaras but latter it became focus of their socio-political movements. This devotion and faith of the Sikhs towards the shrines had made the British government to realize that the shrines were not just a temple for worship or to perform rituals. It is a meeting place in the form of *sangat*, from where Sikhs assume organization and political power.

The British government paid special attention to the shrines, especially the Golden Temple and the Akal Takht, and appointed a committee and a *Sarbarah* (head) to manage them. The *mahants* and priests began to consider gurdwara property as their own property. Anti-Gurmat behavior was at its peak during this period and untouchability prevailed in the place of idea of universal communion (Nijjar, 1974). The deteriorating state of the religious system has hurt the Sikh community. The Singh Sabha movement, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal were born out of the fervor and awakening of the nation. With the awakening of the Singh Sabha movement in the last decade of the 19th century, it became intensely visible that Sikh doctrine and Sikh etiquette could not be restored unless the management of gurdwaras was improved (Singh, 1999). On October 12, 1920, at the Darbar Sahib and at the Akal Takht, the Sikhs, who were from the castes considered untouchables, refused to offer *prasad* and took care of the Akal Takht, which was then left vacant by the priests. The seventeen-members committee formed by the Sikhs which came after a meeting with the administration was proved to be the first step towards the realization of the Shiromani Committee (Markandan, 1989). On 18 November 1920, Gurdwara Hassan Abdal was liberated from the *mahants* without much fuss, which boosted the morale of the Sikhs. This was followed by a movement called the Gurdwaras Reform Movement. The first meeting was convened at the Akal Takht on December 13, 1920. A resolution was passed under the leadership of *Jathedar* Kartar Singh Jhabbar. In which it was adopted that every Sikh *Sevak* (devotee) would dedicate at least one month in a year to the *Panth* (group of devotees). A group of minimum one hundred Sikh would always be present at all times for gurdwaras reforms.

At a reunion held at the Akal Takht on 23 January 1921, the organization was renamed the Akali Dal. Gurmukh Singh Jhabal was its first *Jathedar*, but it came to power under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. On March 29, 1922, the word Shiromani was added to it and it was renamed Shiromani Akali Dal. It had the right to represent the Sikh Panth in the legislative assemblies. A committee set up by a Sikh Sangat on October 12, 1920 took over the management of the Golden Temple complex after the Dalits were allowed to enter the Golden Temple without hindrance (DILGEER, 2011).

Objectives of Shiromani Akali Dal

The main objectives of the establishment of the Shiromani Akali Dal were to provide *sevadars* (servicemen) as required by the SGPC and to hand over the gurdwaras to the Shiromani Committee after it had been liberated from the *mahants*. When the struggle of the Akali Dal gained momentum, it caused a stir in the political arena in the Punjab by launching several successful fronts such as Toshakhana Keys Morcha, Guru ka Bagh Morcha, Jaito Morcha, Bhai Feru Morcha. This greatly enhanced the prestige and power of the SGPC and established the central office of both the organizations at Darbar Sahib. With the unification of the two, the GRM reached its climax and the British began to fear their power. The two organizations were declared illegal by the British government on October 12, 1923, and the ban was lifted on September 13, 1926, almost three years later (Sharma, 1992).

Even after this, the government influenced the rajas of Sikh princely states to control these akalīs. In alleged allegation of anti-government activities, hundreds of akalīs were arrested by Maharaja of Patiala. The staff reporter of daily Akali reported this news as:

Just to show his false Rajpoot grace, the Maharaja of Patiala arrested the hundreds of Akalis. Their properties were confiscated and meted out with severe torture in jails. He refused to release them on popular Sikh demand. But he forced to free them when akali's leader Master Tara Singh raised voice against Mharaja's involvement in different crimes; murder, adultery, kidnaping. After meeting with a Sikh deputation including Sardar Jugander Singh and Sir Sunder Singh, Maharaja ordered the release of the Akalies on public pressure.

After the introduction of the Gurdwara Act, the Shiromani Akali Dal won a landslide victory in the SGPC's elections, winning 85 seats, though the British government also fielded its own faction, like, Sundar Singh Majithia and Mehtab Singh. The victory of SAD opens the way forward in the politics for Sikhs.

The independence movement and the GRM were simultaneously active in India at the beginning of the 20th century to achieve their respective goals. One of the objectives of the SAD was to seek all possible assistance from the British government for the overall implementation of the Sikh renaissance movement. The opposite of this policy was that political activism against the British created an unavoidable need for political alliance with the Hindu community in India. This naturally hurt the efforts of Sikhism to establish a separate identity from Hinduism. It was difficult to carry out these two tasks at the same time and in the same amount. The SAD was naturally less anti-government and more anti-Brahmanism, as its real aim was to revive the gurdwara by abolishing the prevailing Brahmanical practices in Gurdwaras (Singh, 2011). The conflict with the Punjab government began when some new Sikh leaders who had joined the Congress passed a resolution on 9 May 1921 not to cooperate with the government in the Nankana Sahib martyrs' trial. In early March 1921, Mahatma Gandhi and Mualana Shaukat Ali arrived at Nankana Sahib, where they spoke for an hour praising the Khalsa Panth for its noncooperation in the Saka trial, and later Lala Lajpat Rai also visited the Sikhs. He and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya disagreed with Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation program Under the influence of these speeches, Mota Singh moved a resolution of non-cooperation and it was endorsed by those present.

However, Harbans Singh Attari, Bhai Jodh Singh and Kartar Singh Jhabbar, the leading leaders of the movement, had opposed the passage of the resolution in the meeting. Akali Dal leaders considered it appropriate to seek all possible assistance from the British government for the complete improvement of the gurdwaras. To end this, they wanted to keep the movement separate from contemporary political concerns (freedom movement) by calling it purely religious. According to Akali Dal leaders in GRM, it was necessary to seek the help of the government to improve the management of gurdwaras or to take away the management of Gurdwaras from the *mahants*. Akali Dal was also of the view that if the *mahants* occupying the gurdwaras became legally active and they did not contest, the verdicts would be against the interests Sikh community. They wanted to tell the British government that the leaders of the GRM had nothing to do with freedom of India. The leading leader of the movement, Bhai Jodh Singh, in his speech at the 14th Sikh Educational Conference in Delhi, made it clear that he wanted to create a national force for independence of Sikh nation. Therefore, Akali Dal leadership asked the Sikhs community that they must think themselves first as Sikh and then Indian.

But the Congress leaders wanted to divert some of the Sikh leaders from the issue and turn the movement towards the country's independence movement and disagreed with the Sikhs' demand for their separate political rights. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in opposition to Bawa Harkrishan Singh's demand for separate rights for the Sikhs and maintained that as the Sikhs were Hindus, so Sikhs should not demand separate rights. Mahatma Gandhi had the same idea. On October 20, 1920, at a function of the Sikh League in Lahore, Gandhi said, I have come to know that some young Sikhs are occupying gurdwaras, but it is not right. The leaders of the GRM and the Chief Khalsa Diwan were of the view that in order to completely reform the gurdwaras, we must give up the path of non-cooperation even if we want to,

because the management and non-cooperation of Gurdwaras are antithetical to each other (Singh, 1985). Akali Dal as leading organ of the GRM had developed very comprehensive strategy to use the pressure of the movements like, Non-cooperation and Khilafat to achieve its early objective, i.e., putting Amritsar Khalsa College, Gurdwara under the control of Sikh community and rebuilding the wall of Rakab Ganj gurdwara. Other than these objectives Akali Dal also wanted SGPC to become a body that could take control of the gurdwaras from *mahants* and engage in permanent struggle for the rights of Sikh community (Singh, 1984).

Working Strategy of Shiromani Akali Dal

The Akali Dal, a semi-military group of veterans, was formed by the much more radical members (army of immortals). The Akali Dal was formed to bring and prepare men for "operation" in retaking Gurdwaras from obstinate *mahants*. In whatever conditions, the Akalis pledged to remain nonviolent (Dhillon, 2009). Sikh leaders were filled with a missionary zeal as a result of the sense of victory that came with it, and they began seizing gurdwara after gurdwara. They arrived in *Jathas* (Bands), formed by district from all over the province, with chanting slogan "*Aa gai fauj Akali, dera kar do Khali*". During the GRM, the various hierarchy of Akali *Jathas* was united under a collective entity called the Shiromani Akali Dal, which took on a semi-military aspect, although they were nonviolent and wore dark blue and black turbans. The people of Sialkot organized the first Jatha, known as the Sewak Jatha. organized the first Jatha, known as the Sewak Jatha.

There was no systematic mechanism in place to recruit Akali veterans at first. The revolutionaries were willing to put their lives on the line for the Akali campaign. When the movement gained traction, a formal structure for recruiting Akalis was developed. Akali *Jathedars* and religious leaders from the Akali headquarters often visited villages and held religio-political *diwans* in which they outlined the goals of the GRM. All those who went to serve the Akali ranks were divided into smaller *Jathas*, which were named after their respective areas or after prominent Sikh figures. *Jathedar* was named by a powerful local supporter (Singh, 2014). The district Amritsar was the first to be used for recruitment. For instance, Amar Singh Jhabal pleaded to the crowd at a *diwan* organized by the Central Sikh League in Tarn Taran in July 1920 to go and get themselves registered as *Shahids* (Akali members who present themselves to sacrifice their lives) for the repairing of the wall of gurdwara Rakab Ganj that was demolished in Delhi. Shiromani Akali Dal's primary job was to keep track of the composition of the *Jathas*, to communicate with them the SGPC's orders, and to organize *jatha* deputations for community work (Singh, 1999). A *Jatha* had to have at least five members, even though there was no upper limit. The composition of the larger *Jathas* numbered in the thousands. The strength of the sub-*Jathas* varied greatly, but they rarely had more than 50 members. Regular bearers conducted scriptural tasks and expected to deal with economic affairs in the more social democratic *Jathas*. A committee of five men recognized as the *Panj Piaras* supported the *Jathedar* in the process of standardized entry and evaluation.

Criteria to Join the Ranks of Shiromani Akali Dal

The Akali Jatha's entry criteria was that all members should believe in the Guru Granth Sahib's teachings and follow the five 'K's. Akali would normally be asked to do nothing more than sign the admission form. Each *Jatha* had its own *granthis*, *ragis*, and *updeshaks*, who were responsible for touring villages, holding *diwans*, encouraging Akali enlistment, and disseminating Akali ideology. The number of Sikh districts has been set at 500 and the exact number of *Shahids* who have enrolled is unknown. A central force of Akali volunteers known as the Akali *Fauj* was also formed under the direct control of the SGPC in response to the other local *jathas*. The Akali *Fauj* was envisioned as a group of courageous Sikh activists willing to die for the sake of religious change at the command of the Akali management. The Sikh people's response was overwhelmingly positive, as shown by the fact that the original goal of 10,000 volunteers was quickly met and it would have to be increased

to 30,000 people. House-to-house collections of funds and sponsors was organized by the *Fauj*. The group's work was well-defined. The problem of instructions was delegated to the regular committees. Every member of the *Jatha* was briefed on his responsibilities. His alliance with the higher-ups in the company was well-defined. The Akali *Jathas* of the Bar areas in Punjab followed a similar scheme, with a greater percentage of literates. It was clear that the Akali's foundation was made up of Sikh peasants and means to achieve goal were peaceful (Chauhan, 1995).

Strategy of Non-Violence

It is a worth remembering that not all social reform movements in India were violent; in fact, several more successful reform movements have been intentionally nonviolent, such as Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement and Quit India movement and Bacha Khan's Khudai Khidmatgars (Halverson, 2012). In global context many of such movements have formed their nonviolent social characters around religion during the twentieth century (Sharp, 2012). Shiromani Akali Dal transform the Akali *Jatha* from violent to non-violent in character and it could be due to number of factors in the minds of the leadership of SAD. Dharamsalas and Gurudwaras had been playing a dynamic role in modelling the history of the Sikhs from the days of Guru Nanak. Reforms in these religious centers was meant reforms in the religious tradition of Sikh community. It is very interesting to note that Uberoi finds resemblance between the Sikh concept of martyrdom and the Gandhian doctrine of non-violence by focusing on the 1920s phase of the Sikhs' struggle for control over their religious institutions (Oberoi, 1987). Before the GRM, Gandhi-led Non-cooperation movement that opposed every facet of British administration in India. It was notable about this movement that it was non-violent movement. The term nonviolence is referred to different kinds of passive resistance, boycott and non-cooperation, as it involved neither in the pure political obedience nor pure absence of violence. Non-violence as strategy was adopted by SAD during five years of GRM that resulted in victory of SAD in 1925 as British government agreed to demands of SAD and adopted Gurdwara Act of 1925. It is pertinent to mention that SAD continued this strategy of nonviolence after this achievement and its popularity among Sikh community further enhanced. Different Sikh princely states also introduced gurdwara acts to manage gurdwaras under their control. Initially, these states tried to manipulate the nominations of the members to the general gurdwara committees but faced severe resistance from the SAD. As in the case of Kapurthala state's Gurdwara Act, SAD criticized the act and said:

We admit this point that Kapurthala state being Sikh Darbar deserved some authority in nominations to the state's general Gurdwara committee. We demand that the Darbar only nominate three members to the committee and remaining should representative of the Sikh *Sangat*. The total numbers of the general committee must also be increased to fifteen.

In this act Chief minister of the state conferred the authority to nominate seven out of twelve members. It is pertinent to mention that the state Chief minister was Muslim which especially provoked the resistance from the Sikh community. The enactment of this Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925 brought gurdwaras under the control of the SGPC but it at the same time turned the SAD against the government making its alliance with the Congress party at later stage (Gurdwara act, 1925). There can be number of factors that could have played role in adaptation of strategy of non-violence by SAD. Any violent movement in Punjab had limited chances of success against British Government because of the policies, strategies and response of the Government. The government in Punjab was busy in tracing the links of Ghadar movement, in Punjab. Defense of India act 1915 was introduced to help the Punjab government for chasing and hunting the people with even had little connections with Ghadar movement. When the links of international with Ghadar movement were came into the knowledge of Punjab government, it was reinforced with Rowlett Act 1919 that reduced the civil and political liberties second time after Defense of India Act 1915. So, it can be one of

the factors that forced the leadership of SAD to adopt the non-violence as strategy during the reform movement.

Similarly, the movements such as Non-cooperation movement and Khilafat Movement remained successful to attract the public at larger scale and forced the government to deal them with soft fist. *Satyagraha* or non-violence created space for the peaceful movements and protest against the government despite the acts like; defense of India act 1915 and the Rowlett Act. Getting inspirations from *Satyagraha* and non-cooperation movement SAD had decided to launch a movement for the reforms of gurdwara with nonviolent character. Victim card of Jallianwala Bagh was also as excuse in the hands of Sikh community to launch a non-violent movement as House of common in Britain had condemn the action of the government in Jallianwala Bagh.

SAD led the *jathas* and liberated innumerable gurdwaras from *mahants* and handed them over to the SGPC. But with the passage of the resolution, the government, which had earlier considered the movement to be purely religious, now considered itself a political adversary and the arrests of the Akalis began. Several leaders, including Kartar Singh Jhabbar, were arrested and prosecuted. Congress Sikh leaders Sardul Singh Kavishar, Amar Singh Jhabal, Sundar Singh Lyallpuri, etc. were in favor of non-cooperation, while the Chief Khalsa Diwan was opposed to the resolution.

Hundreds of Sikh leaders and Akali activists were jailed and martyred but the SAD continued the policy of nonviolence. According to the *akalis*, their peaceful protest was violently reacted by the *mehants* and the Punjab government. One of such case was reported in Akali newspaper in which Sirdar Sultan Singh of Sialkot sentenced seven years imprisonment from the court. He was the member of first Shahidi *Jatha* in 1924. The policy of nonviolence is quite evident from following lines reported in Akali newspaper:

Sirdar Sultan Singh is a son of an army officer who his whole life fought for the British government...we are weak and we have no power to get free Sirdar Sultan Singh or other prisoners from jail forcefully. But we can feel the pain as we are alive. We are not cruel as the government is. We can feel the pain of our brethren. The government knows about our helplessness...time will come when we will get justice.

When the British government returned the keys to Baba Kharak Singh, the then President of the SGPC, at the Darbar Sahib Amritsar, Gandhi congratulated him, saying, "India's first decisive battle for independence." According to Giani Nahar Singh, 40,000 Sikhs were arrested and about 500 Sikhs were martyred in the entire Akali movement.

The Akali Dal newspapers played a major role in propagating this movement. These newspapers successfully highlighted the objectives of the GRM and especially the achievements of SAD. Due to the growing public acceptance these newspapers also came under the government censorships and in some cases, ban was imposed. The weekly newspaper Azad Akali was banned by the government of Punjab and its editor Bahi Rajinder Singh was arrested (Daily Akali, 1929). The peaceful struggle waged by the Akalis liberated a number of gurdwara from *mahants*. During their struggle more than 30,000 men and women went to jails and more than 400 were martyred for achieving their cause and more than 2000 Akali workers were injured. In addition, many of them lost their jobs, pensions, paid fines and confiscated property, and many other punishments.

Conclusion

SAD had continued strategy of nonviolence after the successful achievement of the Sikh Gurdwara Act 1925. The period from 1920 to 1930 was one of the glorious struggles, acts of bravery, and sacrifices of the Akali *Jathas*. In November 1920, about 10,000 Sikh reformers formed a committee of 175 people called the Shromani Gurdwaras Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) and SAD was formed in the same year on December 14, 1920 as its task

force. The SGPC and SAD passed resolutions in favour of the non-cooperation movement. Despite the colonial oppression and the atrocities committed by the *mahants*, the movement remained nonviolent. The peaceful members of the *jathas* were attacked not only by *mehants* but also arrested and imprisoned by the government on allegations of firing. Newspapers were censored and even banned by the government. During the initial five-year struggle, around 30000 women and men went to jail; 400 were martyred; and 2000 were injured. It is difficult to estimate the confiscation of jagirs, the loss of pensions, and the penalties.

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