Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi emerged as a new Messiah in Indian politics in 1919 and completely dominated Indian politics down to 1947. In 1945 Nehru wrote, “Gandhi’s influence is not limited to those who agree with him or accept him as a National leader, it extends to those also who disagree with and criticize him… To the vast majority of India’s people he is the symbol of India determined to be free, of militant nationalism, of a refusal to submit to arrogant might, of never agreeing to anything involving national dishonour. Though many people in India may disagree with him on hundred matters, though they may criticize him or even part company from him on some particular issue, at a time of action and struggle when India’s freedom is at stake they to him and look up to him as their inevitable leader”.¹

Mahatma Gandhi was an heir to the political traditions of both the Moderates and the Extremists. The dichotomy between social and political work which had divided the Moderates and the Extremists leaders no longer worried Gandhi, his emphasis was that politics should be made an agent for social change. His concept of Swaraj was that of Ram Rajya or kingdom of God on earth which worked for the benefit of the masses. The early nationalist leaders lie M.G Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C Dutt, Tilak, Lajpat Roy and B.C.Pal spoke at length about the poverty of the masses and Britain’s exploitive role in India but hardly did anything for amelioration of the lot of the poor masses. Gandhi made it clear that the Congress represented the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of India and he initiated practical steps to better their social and economic lot. His emphasis on eradication of untouchability, uplift of the Harijans, setting up of Udyog Sangh (Village Industries Association) the Cow protection, the Talimi Sangh (the Basic Education Society), revival of Khadi industry and adoption of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth as the national uniform were all calculated to improve the lot of the poor masses living in the villages.²

As a fighter for India’s freedom, M. K. Gandhi was a saint-politician who employed moral means for the attainment of political ends. He used “soul-force”
against brute force. Gandhi tried to convince the alien rulers to see the justness of Indian’s cause. Through his political campaigns of Non-Co operation movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, the Individual Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement. He used legal and extra-legal methods but never immoral or dishonest means to achieve his objectives. Fearlessly launching the policy of ‘unadulterated non-co operation’ with the imperial power of Britain, On 24 May 1942, Gandhi wrote, “Leave India in God’s hands, in modern parlance, to anarchy and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will arise in place of the false one we see”. Further he wrote on 10 may 1942, that “the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assume however it does not free India will be better able to cope with the invitation.” On 14 July 1942 the Congress Working committee passed the ‘Quite India’ resolution, demanding that “British rule in India must end immediately” and affirming its view that freedom of India “was necessary not in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another”.3

Gandhian methods and techniques of non violent methods yielded rich dividends. Not only was the hatred for slavery and love for freedom firmly planted in the Indian mind but the imperial rulers also came to realize that British rule in India was wrong and unjust. The ruling classes in Britain realized that Gandhi and congress could arouse the masses against the Government at any time and make its functioning difficult. On the basis of conversation with Winston Churchill, George-VI noted in his diary on 28 July 1942, “He (Churchill) amazed me by saying that his colleagues and both or all three parties in Parliament were quite prepared to give up India to the Indians after the war. He felt they had already been talked in to giving up India. Cripps, the press and the U.S public opinion have all contributed to make their minds up that our in India is wrong and has always been wrong for India”.4 Thus Gandhian methods convinced the rulers that transfer of power into Indian hands was inevitable and it could no longer be delayed.
Gandhi was a unique national figure, he combined in himself the role of a prophet, a Hindu religious reformer, a social reformer and a nationalist fighting the struggle for Indian independence, he had the message of non-violence and ahimsa for the humanity. He wanted to purge Hindu religion of its dogmas and superstitions: he worked for a new social order of a social equality bereft of the evils of casteism and untouchability; as a nationalist he became a symbol of democracy, individual and national freedom. The impact of Gandhi’s personality on Hindu-Muslim relations and unity of the country has been variously assessed. Panderal Moon blames Gandhi for a rapid Hinduisising of the Congress which proved injurious to the cause of Indian unity. He writes “This Hinduisising of the national movement, which Gandhi’s leadership promoted and symbolized, was injurious and ultimately fatal to Hindu-Muslim unity at the more conscious level of political bargaining.” Mohit sen writes: “As in the case of Tilak, the criticism is made that the language of Gandhiji, his prayer meetings, his insistence on non-violence and the rest helped to spread communalism or at least brought grist to the mill of the communists.” The work and preaching of Gandhiji was the partial turning of the awakened Hindu masses to secularism and nationalism and from communalism and criticism. Nevertheless, more than any other single individual on a massive scale he was able to place a picture of a secular India and of communal unity. The fact that India chose to remain a secular republic is in a large measure due to him. The Hindu communalist felt at an enormous disadvantage in combating him since it was impossible to contest the “Indianness” or the “Hindu-ness” of the man or to dispute that what he was telling the people sprang from the very depths of the traditions of India”.5

MAHATMA GANDHI’S IDEOLOGY

Non-violence

Gandhi’s non-violence as the tool of India’s freedom struggle was not without its share of criticism, however, expected considering the fact that he entered the political scenario soon after the ascendancy of the extremists in the history of India’s freedom struggle. Armed revolution was believed to be the only legitimate way to
snatch political power from an oppressive regime. Gandhi’s system of Satyagraha on the basis of non-violence and non-cooperation was largely unheard of, and generally distrusted. However, Gandhi’s faith was strong. It was a faith based not on arms and antagonism, but on extreme moral courage that drew its strength from innate human truth and honesty and applied his systems with success in South Africa and was convinced of its power. He slowly started to popularize the ideas in the ranks of the Indian National Congress, under proper guidance from his political mentor Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The Congress was suffering from a lack of national leadership following the arrest and execution of the extremist leaders like Balagangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai, and the protest to the insulting Rowlatt Act was an Immediate necessity. Gandhi introduced his non-violence modes with great success in the non-cooperation movement.\textsuperscript{6} It was a new era in the history of Indian Freedom struggle. Though the movement ended on an abrupt note, yet its significance was immense. Non-violence played a very important role in defining the course of Indian national movement, from the 1920s to the final achievement of the freedom. It formed the basis of the methods of Satyagraha that became closely associated with the Gandhian whirlwind in Indian politics. Gandhi understood economic profit to be the guiding force of the imperialist project and attacked the British government. Picketing, non-cooperation and organized resistance to British modes of oppression were the main modes of the non-violent political movements in India.

**Secularism**

Mahatma Gandhi was a keen student of all religions. Apart from his study of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, he was an avid reader of Christian and Islamic scriptures as well.\textsuperscript{7} All forms of religion attracted Gandhi immensely, and through his thorough understanding of all, he successfully arrived at a composite understanding of religion and God as a whole. He was also pained by the caste-based Social structure that India has religiously followed from time immemorial, and particularly the curse of untouchability, which to Gandhi was the greatest sin of all because it not only spelt discrimination but debased a particular section of mankind on an occupational basis. He felt Indian society to be weakened at its very core and
embarked in a fight against it with his heart and soul. Gandhi believed God is one and he variously equated him to love and truth. The poor and the downtrodden were for Gandhi the living representatives of God on earth, and even a little work for the amelioration of their troubles was a more pious act than performing a thousand rituals by spending millions. To understand the religion he read the scriptures and doctrines of all major world religions with great interest and finally arrived at a conclusion that they are all’ more or less’ the same. They were all equal in their imperfection, which is why Gandhi never foresaw a future where there will be a single religion preaching a single God. He knew that geographic, climatic and demographic conditions influenced the way the inhabitants of a region envisions god, and there can never be a single way in which god will be understood, because these conditions will never be the same across the world.

**Satyagraha**

Gandhi was in need of a term to connote the revolution against the British imperialists that he organized in South Africa. 'Passive resistance', his first perfunctory choice, was not only a foreign term that Gandhi had strong reservations about, but the connotations of the term was also inadequate to highlight the aspect of truth and moral courage that Gandhi associated with non-violent political resistance. He needed an Indian name that could encompass all these aspects of the revolution within it. A Competition was thrown open in the local newspaper, ‘Indian Opinion,’ and ‘Sadagraha’ was elected as the best entry. Gandhi took the term, but changed it to ‘Satyagraha’ highlighting the aspect of ‘truth’ in it. ‘Satyagraha’ was based on the principles of non-violence, ideology that was based on as much as theological tenets of Jainism, Buddhism, Upanishads and the Bhagwatgita, as on the political theories of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau. 

Gandhi achieved success in all the revolutions he led in South Africa and in India by following the path of Satyagraha. In fact, Gandhi had an innate belief that it would be the only effective way to fight the powerful British, because two centuries of colonial rule has financially and morally emasculated India to such a degree, that
any other form resistance was bound to fail. Gandhi’s Satyagraha methods had few takers in his early years at the Indian National Congress. Gandhi employed the methods of Satyagraha at the indigo planters’ revolution at Champaran in Bihar. The same method was successfully repeated with similar results at Kheda in Gujarat against the raised taxes from the British authorities. Satyagraha became the foundation of the non-cooperation movement of 1920, following the infamous Rowlatt Act. Non-cooperation movement ended unceremoniously with the Chauri Chaura incident. However, it was during the Civil Disobedience movement that Gandhi re-introduced Satyagraha in a big way. His peaceful denial of government rules started with the celebrated Dandi march and the making of salt on 12th March 1930, defying the British Salt Law that prohibited the making of salt without government permission. The Western and particularly British press ridiculed the true power of Satyagraha but was soon realised the impact of mass boycott from Indians. Gandhi’s Satyagraha reached the pinnacle of success, and Indian Nationalist movement reached a feverish pitch, forcing the government to initiate procedures towards the Gandhi-Irwin pact, followed by the second round table conference, where Gandhi gave one of his greatest speeches exposing the evils of the British rule and endorsing the methods of Satyagraha.

**Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat. His father Karamchand Gandhi was then the Prime Minister of Porbandar State. His mother, Putlibai had a greater influence on the young Mohandas. The street plays “Harishchandra” and “Shravanakumara” also influenced Gandhi’s childhood. His studies of various religious and philosophical works helped him to develop a unique view of the world. The glimpses of Gandhiji’s childhood and youth are revealed from his autobiography which he calls ‘My Experiments with Truth’. At the age of 13 he married Kasturba. On his father desired, Gandhi went to England to study Law to become barrister. Soon after completion of his studies, he sailed for India in 1891. In spite of Gandhi being unsuccessful as a practicing lawyer, an opportunity came to him as one year contract job to sort out the legal problem of
M. Dada Abdullah, a Gujarati merchant in South Africa. Gandhi left for South Africa in 1893. Experiences in South Africa changed his life forever, shaping and strengthening him for the great endeavours that he would undertake in later part of his life.

Mahatma Gandhi was changed with South African experiences. He was already well versed in various theologies and philosophies. The young barrister was greatly influenced by the theories of Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thorough. Gandhi deeply pained by the ill-treatment of Indians by the British Authorities in South Africa. One incident can change entire life of every man. Gandhiji’s innate power is evident from the way he reacted against the British government at Pietermaritzburg station. Though Mahatma Gandhi had a valid ticket, he was thrown out of the train. This incident changed Mahatma Gandhi’s life. The soliloquy of Gandhi is as follows…

“I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation… I should try, if possible, to root out the disease of colour prejudice and suffer hardship in the process”. ¹¹

This was a momentous step which in course of time dragged him into politics and freedom struggle against the British Raj. He started The Natal Indian Congress in South Africa and became undisputed leader of the Indian community in South Africa. Gandhi preferred to follow the path of his own conscience and non violence in all the struggles. Gandhi returned to India in 1915, and established Sabarmati Ashram in Gujarat. The Sabarmati Ashram became a training centre for non-violence workers in the freedom struggle against the foreign rule.

THE EMERGENCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI IN NATIONAL POLITICS

The year 1919 was landmark in the history of Indian national movement. Before Gandhian era, numerous methods of national emancipation had been tried in India which included the constitutional methods, the passive resistance and the
violent method\textsuperscript{12} but these methods did not achieve the desired goal and found unsuitable, but M.K. Gandhi placed before the nation his own method of resisting injustice, Satyagraha which he had practiced and perfected in South Africa.\textsuperscript{13} Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in early 1915, when freedom movement was it’s the lowest ebb.

In 1916 Gandhi attended the Indian National Congress annual sessions at Lucknow but it was like a non-serious annual ritual. Gandhi kept himself aloof from the factional quarrels of the then leaders like Tilak, S.N.Benarjee and Annie Besant. Gandhi was inducted into public life by his political mentor Gopal Krishna Gokhale. On the advice of Gokhale, Gandhiji decided that for the first year he would not take a public stand on any political issue. He spent the year travelling around the country, seeing things for himself, and the next year also continued to maintain his distance from political affairs, including the Home Rule Movement that was gathering momentum at this time. His own political understanding did not coincide with any of the political currents that were active in India then. His faith in ‘Moderate’ methods was long eroded, nor did he agree with the Home Rulers that the best time to agitate for Home Rule was when the British were in difficulty because of the First World War.

Further, he was deeply convinced that none of these methods of political struggle were really viable; the only answer lay in Satyagraha. His reasons for not joining the existing political organizations are best explained in his own words: ‘At my time of life and with views firmly formed on several matters, I could only join an organization to affect its policy and not be affected by it. This does not mean that I would not now have an open mind to receive new light. I simply wish to emphasize the fact that the new light will have to be specially dazzling in order to entrance me’.\textsuperscript{14} In other words, he could only join an organization or a movement that adopted non-violent Satyagraha as its method of struggle. However that did not mean that Gandhiji was going to remain politically idle. During the course of 1917 and early 1918, he was involved in three significant struggles – in Champaran in Bihar, in
Ahmedabad and in Kheda in Gujarat. The common feature of these struggles was that they related to specific local issues and that they were fought for the economic demands of the masses. Two of these struggles, Champaran and Kheda, involved the peasants and the one in Ahmadabad involved industrial workers.

**Champaran**

The story of Champaran, a territory in Bihar, begins in the early nineteenth century when European planters had involved the cultivators in agreements that forced them to cultivate indigo on their holdings, known as the *tinkathia* system (an obligatory Indigo planting on a portion of a tenant’s holding on nominal compensation). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, German synthetic dyes forced indigo out of the market and the European planters of Champaran, keen to release the cultivators from the obligations of cultivating indigo, tried to turn their necessity to their advantage by securing enhancements in rent and other illegal dues as a price for the release. Resistance had surfaced in 1908 as well, but the exactions of the planters continued till Raj Kumar Shukla, a local man, followed Gandhiji all over the country to persuade him to come to Champaran to investigate the problem.15 Raj Kumar Shukla’s decision to get Gandhiji to Champaran is indicative of the image he had acquired as one who fought for the rights of the exploited and the poor. On reaching Champaran, Gandhiji was ordered by the Commissioner to immediately leave the district, Gandhiji refused and preferred to take the punishment for his defiance of the law. This was unusual, for even Tilak and Annie Besant, when externed from a particular province, obeyed the orders even though they organized public protests against them. To offer passive resistance or civil disobedience to an unjust order was indeed novel. The Government of India, not willing to make an issue of it and not yet used to treating Gandhiji as a rebel, ordered the local Government to retreat and allow Gandhiji to proceed with his enquiry.

A victorious Gandhiji embarked on his investigation of the peasants’ grievances. He and his colleagues, who now included Brij Kishore, Rajendra Prasad and other members of the Bihar intelligentsia, Mahadev Desai and Narhari Parikh,
two young men from Gujarat who had thrown in their lot with Gandhiji, and J.B. Kripalani, toured the villages and from dawn to dusk recorded the statements of peasants, interrogating them to make sure that they were giving correct information. Meanwhile, the Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry and nominated Gandhi as a member to go into the whole issue. Armed with evidence collected from 8,000 peasants, he had little difficulty in convincing the Commission that the tinkathia system needed to be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal enhancement of their dues. As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that they refund only twenty-five per cent of the money they had taken illegally from the peasants. Answering critics who asked why he did not ask for a full refund, Gandhiji explained that even this refund had done enough damage to the planters’ prestige and position, and within a decade, the planters left the district altogether.

**Ahmadabad Mill Strike**

Gandhiji then turned his attention to the workers of Ahmadabad. A dispute was brewing between them and the mill owners over the question of a ‘plague bonus’ the employers wanted to withdraw once the epidemic had passed but the workers insisted it stay, since the enhancement hardly compensated for the rise in the cost of living during the War. The British Collector, who reared a showdown, asked Gandhiji to bring pressure on the mill owners and work out a compromise. Ambalal Sarabhai, one of the leading mill owners of the town, was a friend of Gandhiji, and had just saved the Sabarmathi Ashram from extinction by a generous donation. Gandhiji persuaded the mill owners and the workers to agree to arbitration by a tribunal, but the mill owners, taking advantage of a stray strike, withdrew from the agreement. They offered a twenty percent bonus and threatened to dismiss those who did not accept it. The breach of agreement was treated by Gandhiji as a very serious affair, and he advised the workers to go on strike. He further suggested, on the basis of a thorough study of the production costs and profits of the industry as well as the cost of living, that they would be justified in demanding a thirty-five percent increase in wages. The strike began and Gandhiji addressed the workers every day on the
banks of the Sabarmati River. He brought out a daily news bulletin, and insisted that no violence be used against employers or blacklegs. Ambalal Sarabhai’s sister, Anasuya Behn, was one of the main lieutenants of Gandhiji in this struggle in which her brother, and Gandhiji’s friend, was one of the main adversaries. After some days, the workers began to exhibit signs of weariness. The attendance at the daily meetings began to decline and the attitude towards blacklegs began to harden. In this situation, Gandhiji decided to go on a fast to rally the workers and strengthen their resolve to continue. Also, he had promised that if the strike led to starvation he would be the first to starve, and the fast was fulfillment of that promise. The fast, however, also had the effect of putting pressure on the mill owners and they agreed to submit the whole issue to a tribunal. The strike was withdrawn and the tribunal later awarded the thirty-five percent increase the workers had demanded.\textsuperscript{17}

**Kheda**

The dispute in Ahmedabad had not yet ended when Gandhiji learnt that the peasants of Kheda district were in extreme distress due to a failure of crops, and that their appeals for the remission of land revenue were being ignored by the Government. Enquiries by members of the Servants of India Society, Vithalbhai Patel and Gandhiji confirmed the validity of the peasants’ case. This was that as the crops were less than one-fourth of the normal yield, they were entitled under the revenue code to a total remission of the land revenue. The *Gujarat Sabha*, of which Gandhiji was the President, played a leading role in the agitation. Appeals and petitions having failed, Gandhiji advised the withholding of revenue, and asked the peasants to ‘fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny’\textsuperscript{18}, and show that ‘it is impossible to govern men without their consent’\textsuperscript{19}. Vallabhbhai Patel, a young lawyer and a native of Kheda District, and other young men, including Indulal Yagnik, joined Gandhiji in touring the villages and urging the peasants’ to stand firm in the face of increasing Government repression which included the seizing of cattle and household goods and the attachment of standing crops. The cultivators were asked to take a solemn pledge that they would not pay; those who could afford to pay were to take a vow that they would not pay in the interests of the
poorer ryots who would otherwise panic and sell off their belongings or incur debts in order to pay the revenue. However, if the Government agreed to suspend collection of land revenue, the ones who could afford to do so could pay the whole amount.

The peasants of Kheda, already hard pressed because of plague, high prices and drought, were beginning to show signs of weakness when Gandhiji came to know that the Government had issued secret instructions directing that revenue should be recovered only from those peasants who could pay. A public declaration of this decision would have meant a blow to Government prestige, since this was exactly what Gandhiji had been demanding. In these circumstances, the movement was withdrawn. Gandhiji later recalled that by this time ‘the people were exhausted’ and he was actually ‘casting about for some graceful way of terminating the struggle……’

Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda served as demonstrations of Gandhiji’s style and method of politics to the country at large. They also helped him find his feet among the people of India and study their problems at close quarters. He came to possess, as a result of these struggles, a surer understanding of the strengths and weakness of the masses, as well as of the viability of his own political style. He also earned the respect and commitment of many political workers, especially the younger ones, who were impressed by his identification with the problems of ordinary Indians, and his willingness to take up their cause.

**Rowlatt Satyagraha**

Despite his triumphs at Champaran, Kaira and Ahmedabad, Gandhi could not get admission into the inner echelons of the Indian National congress which still remained a close preserve of the metropolitan elite of Bombay and Calcutta. They looked with disdain the activities of the brief less barrister of Gujarat who is yet to attain the halo of the ‘Mahatma’. Being an astute judge of men and matters Gandhi was well aware of his position in the hierarchy of the Congress. This was evident by his reaction to the Montague -Chelmsford report. When Srinivasa Sastri pressed
Gandhi to comment on the Montague-Chelmsford Report, the latter declared that he was not a keen politician and had not studied the proposals in great detail, and therefore hesitated to give opinion on them. At the same time he declared that the proposals deserved “sympathetic handling rather than a summary rejection”. Gandhi emerged on the national scene on his own right after the publication of Rowlatt report on 19 July 1918. His reaction to the report was sharp. He correctly guessed that the time has come for him to take over the leadership and guide the masses in the struggle for freedom.

By the end of First World War, momentous developments were taking place in Andhra, the Telugu districts became more politicized and even women were evincing keen interest in the developments of the country. The agitation for creation of separate Andhra province and forays of the national leaders into Andhra to enlist support for their activities made Andhra, like Bengal, the Punjab and Maharashtra, the hotbed of political activity in the south. After the publication of Montagu-Chelmsford Report many meetings and special conferences were held in various Andhra towns to express disappointment on the report. Even in a place like Cuddapah in the politically dormant Rayalaseema region a public meeting was held on 21 1918 to express resentment over Montagu-Chelmsford Report. At the special conferences of the districts of Krishna, Nellore, Chittoor and Ganjam similar were passed. But in the special session of the Andhra Mahasabha divergent views were expressed. Some delegates favoured the acceptance of the scheme with certain modifications and additions. Finally a resolution on the above lines proposed by B.N. Sharma was passed.

Many Telugu journals opposed the scheme on the ground that it did not bring about any real transfer of power into the hands of the Indians. Krishna patrika in its leader of 13 July 1918 observed thus….

“A mountain has been dug and rat has been caught. What the country has so long demanded is one, and what has been offered is another.”
Government did not take the criticism on the report with good grace. Hundreds of people were arrested for opposing the Report. This created bitterness against the government. Among the arrested, including Darsi Chenchaiah. These repressive measures affected the recruitment to the army and the raising of war loans. The lawyers of Ramachandrapuram in East Godavari district refused to subscribe to the war loans until the reforms were introduced. As the days passed on, the relations between the government and the people further deteriorated with the publication of the Rowlatt recommendations. The apprehension of the people that their basic rights are endangered even in times of peace came true. As a result the Andhra like the other Indians supported Gandhi’s call to protest against the Rowlatt Bills through Satyagraha.

Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch a Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. Before Gandhiji called for hartal he had consultation with Khilafat leaders. Thus began Gandian era in Indian politics. In February 1919 Gandhiji urged the Indians; to join the Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act. He drafted a pledge for those who were prepared to offer Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. Mahatma Gandhi decided to tour the country to explain Satyagraha. In the course of his tour, Gandhi was overwhelmed by the people of Andhra during his tour. Gandhiji’s speech was translated into Telugu by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao. He then preceded to Madras. The Madras meeting was presided over by Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu. While Gandhi was in Madras, the Rowlatt Act was passed. On 23 March 1919, Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the people to observe 6 April “as a day of humiliation and prayer”. The people all over India responded with unprecedented enthusiasm. But the Delhi people observed the hartal on 30 March 1919 because of confusion about date, and there was a clash in Delhi streets. At this juncture Gandhi tried to proceed to Delhi, but he was arrested on his way. This news led to disturbances in several places. The agitation was very high in Amritsar. The arrest of Dr Satyapal and Saifuddin Kitchlew, the prominent leaders in Punjab, enraged the public and protests were organized. In these circumstances, the British government banned public meetings, but there was no wide publicity.
In this surcharged atmosphere, a meeting was held on the “Vaishakhi” the Punjab New Year day on 13 April, 1919 at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. While a local leader Dr Hansraj was addressing the gathering, General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, entered with 150 troops and blocked the only one exit of the Bagh (garden). The troops opened fire on a peaceful unarmed crowd. They fired till their ammunition was exhausted. 380 people were killed and 1500 people were wounded. The massacre shows the callous attitude of colonial rule. The entire nation was stunned at Punjab massacre. Punjab was placed under martial law, and the Punjab people were forced to indignities like scrawling on the roads. C.F Andrews described it as “a cold and calculated massacre, an unspeakable discharge, indefensible, unpardonable, and unexcusable”. Gandhi’s response was “if Plassay had laid the foundation of the British Empire, Amritsar had shaken it”. Rabindranath Tagore renounced the knighthood, and Sir Shankar Nair resigned from the Viceroy’s Executive Council. The Viceroy forced to appoint a committee on Punjab massacre under the Chairmanship of Hunter, but the public was not satisfied. The Congress also set up their own Committee. The Congress Committee on Punjab massacre held General Dyer responsible “for cold blooded” massacre. Mahatma Gandhi withdrew the movement, but later he launched another nationwide struggle with the main objective of redressing the Punjab wrongs. The non-violence methods had proceeded to plant his South African experiments in India against foreign rule.

The Non-Co operation Movement

A new wave came into the Indian national movement with the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, martial law in Punjab and the Khilafat movement. The Indian Muslims were incensed with British policy towards Ottoman (or Turkish) Empire after the First World War. The elite political leaders of Muslims criticised the violation of earlier pledge of the then British Premier Lloyd George. A Khilafat committee was formed under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, and other Muslim prominent leaders like Maulana Azad, Hakim Azmal Khan and Harsat Mohani. In November 1919, The Khilafat Committee met in Delhi and decided to withdraw their co operation from the British government and offered to support to the Indian
National Congress. In these circumstances the Congress captured the golden offer from Muslims and decided to fight against colonial government unitedly. Mahatma Gandhi was ready to garner support from Muslims and launched a nation-wide Non-co operation Movement against the British government.

Originally, the original impulse to the Non-co operation came from the Khilafat agitation. The Non-co operation programme was formally inaugurated on 1 August 1920 by Gandhi until the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. The day on which the prominent leader Lokamanya Tilak died. The Non-operation programme was formally inaugurated on 1 August 1920 by Gandhi until the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. The day on which the prominent leader Lokamanya Tilak died. Mahatma Gandhi surrendered his decorations and titles conferred on him by the British government. The special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta (Kolkata) in September 1920, approved the Non-Co operation under the chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. But the resolution evoked mixed response. The Annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Nagpur, presided by Vijayaraghava Chariar also reaffirmed the resolution of Calcutta session. The movement stirred the hearts of millions of people in India and the political agitators preached everywhere non-co operation with the government. The movement was both positive and negative factors; the positive ones consisting of boycott of foreign cloths, picketing of shops selling the foreign goods, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition of the use of alcohol, removal of untouchability and collection of one Crore rupees to Swaraj Fund in memory of Lokamanya Tilak. The negative factors included the withdrawal of candidates from the election, refusal to vote, withdraw of students from the government institutions, establishment of national schools and colleges, and non-payment of taxes.

Mahatma Gandhi and other All-India leaders toured the country and spread the message of non-co-operation among the people. To popularise the movement public meetings were organized, speeches were delivered, patriotic songs, Bhajana, and Sankirtan performances were utilized and dramas were also staged. All these gave impetus to the Non-co-operation movement throughout the country. The newspapers like, The Hindu, Andhra Patrika, The Congress, Krishna Patrika, The Swadeshabhimani and ,Swadeshimitran, played a vital role in the spread of the
Non-co operation movement. There had been a quick and enthusiastic response from people in Andhra. Due to the strenuous efforts of prominent Andhra political leaders like Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, Unnava Lakshminarayana, Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, and others the spirit of defiance rose against the foreign rule.

From 1920 onwards Andhra became an important centre of Gandhian experiments. The Madras government in its Annual administration report summed up the impact of the Nagpur session thus:

“The return of the local delegates from the Nagpur meeting of December 1920 marked the beginning of an intensified campaign. Persistent propaganda in the rural areas throughout the Presidency however…. produced results”

Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao withdrew candidature to the council, Ghulam Mohiddin from Viajayawada, resigned his Magistrate post. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya gave up his practice as a lawyer and played a vital role in Andhra for the freedom movement. Besides he won praise of Mahatma Gandhi. Another Andhra prominent leader Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu joined the freedom movement. Women like Duvvuru Subbamma, Unnava Lakshmirayamma, Ponaka Kanakamma excelled men propagandists by their ability in swaying the masses. Garimella Satyanarayana’s “Makodde Tella Dorathanam” (We don’t want this Whiteman’s rule) became very popular.

The Non-co operation movement soon developed into a mass movement due to the above propaganda devices. Government was forced to admit the impact of the movement in its fortnightly reports. The report of 18 April 1921 stated thus:
“There is no doubt that anti-British and anti-Government sentiments are being preached extensively up and down the country, and that the preaching is having some effect.”

In Andhra, there were several episodes which attracted the attention of the whole country during the Non-Co-operation movement. Among them was a heroic episode was the no-tax campaign undertaken by the ryots of Pedanandipadu of Guntur district under the leadership of an ordinary peasant called as “Andhra Tilak”, Parvataneni Virayya Choudari. Before the Ahmedabad Congress session the Andhra Provincial Congress Executive Committee had passed a resolution to withhold the payment of taxes on 15 December, 1921 at Guntur. In spite of the attempt to launch a no-tax campaign was made in the three districts of Guntur, Krishna and Godavari, it was effectively organized in Guntur only. Even here it was more effective in Pedanandipadu firka and Bapatla taluk in Guntur. The leader of the Pedanandipadu campaign Parvataneni Virayya Choudari, though he was not a highly qualified person, his honesty and sincerity were of a very high order. By his sincere efforts, the campaign achieved almost complete success as by the time it was called off in February, 1922 not even 5% of the total tax demand was collected. Lord Wellingdon, then Governor of Madras said that the Pedanandipadu campaign led by Parvataneni Virayya Choudari, shook the British Empire in India to its very roots. The people in Vijayawada launched a no-tax campaign under the leadership of Kaleswara Rao and Ramaseshayya Sreshti. Here also pressure was brought upon the Municipal Councilors to resign and 18 out of 24 of them resigned. A Parallel Council was set up consisting of popular representatives and people were called upon to pay taxes to it. There was deadlock in the administration of Municipality. The leaders were arrested and sentenced to one year’s imprisonment. The Government realized the seriousness of the problem, opened negotiations with the people’s representatives and conducted the election. The Congress captured 15 out of 24 seats and retained control over the Municipality. It was victory for the people.
Defiance of Forest Law

The Non-Cooperation Movement also took the form of defiance of forest rules and the non-payment of grazing fees. It spread to several districts like Guntur, Nellore and Cuddapah in the Madras Presidency. There were demands from the villagers for cutting wood for fuel, for making agricultural implements and for grazing the cattle in the reserved forest areas and to all water resources at all times in the year. They also demanded for the reduction of grazing fee. In contravention of the forest rules and regulations, the villagers led their cattle into the reserve forests in organized parties. Large number buffaloes, cows and goats were impounded by the forest guards. The Government servants were socially boycotted in the villages which were very effective. The forest law became inoperative in many areas. In Cuddapah the defiance of forest law was extremely serious and the Government had to call the punitive police. The police had to open fire in September, 1921. Since Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience Movement, the tempo of the forest Satyagraha was considerably weakened.

Palnad Satyagraha

The non-cooperation propaganda reached almost all the villages in the Madras Presidency. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee leaders appealed to the villagers to break the forest laws. The outcome of this campaign was an extensive outbreak of lawlessness in the villages of Guntur district and in the Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah district. Palnad in Guntur District was traditionally known as the land of heroes where the experiment of civil disobedience was tried. The villages had to pay high fees for grazing their cattle, for cutting wood for fuel and for gathering leaf-manure. They were also subject to prosecution at the hands of forest staffs. The conditions specially bad in 1921 owing to an unfavorable season, great shortage of food, water and a more rigorous enforcement of forest rules and regulation. Concessions were not secured by the villagers of Palnad in time due to administrative delay. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met in July, 1921, considered the matter and deputed Unnava Lakshminarayana and Vedantam Narasimhachari,
two well-known leaders of Guntur to organize the social boycott of all the local officials. The Collector of Guntur asked the two leaders to furnish security for their good behavior. When they refused to furnish security, the Collector sentenced them to one year’s imprisonment. This infuriated the villagers and they launched no-tax campaign. They sent their cattle into the reserve forests without paying the usual grazing fees. Both Gupta and Konda Venkatappayya, who presided over the Palnad taluk political conference in August, opposed this campaign on the ground that it was not approved by the All-India Congress Committee. However, the villagers continued sending their cattle into the forests without paying the grazing fees. Swaraj was proclaimed in several villages. Clashes between the forest guards and the police who impounded the cattle and the people who were bent on rescuing them became frequent. Matters came to a head in February, 1922, when the no-tax campaign was at its height in Pedanandipad firka.  

In many villages the police were overpowered by the villagers. At Veludurthi, the reserve police were not only driven back but were also besieged in the bungalow. At Jattipalem over hundred cattle were rescued from the pound and the police were unable to do anything till the Collector and the Superintendent of police came there next day and arrested several of the leading men. On 26 February, 1922 the forest officers along with a Sub-Inspector of police led a party of 20 Constables, seized 50 goats and 120 she-buffaloes and drove them to the Muthkur pound. A Crowd of two to three hundred men and women attacked the police party with sharp-stones and rescued the cattle. Firing was ordered and as a result three died and several wounded. The next day the Collector and the Superintendent hastened to the village, arrested 28 men and 9 women and at last peace was restored. The death of the leader, and the large number of arrests and the continued use of force by the police demoralised the villagers. Moreover by the end of February the tempo of the Non-Cooperation Movement in the district grew weak as a result of the Bardoli resolutions.

The Government was not slow in taking steps to suppress the movement. The first step was to persuade the village officers to withdraw their resignations by assuring them of their hereditary rights and increased pay. A number of
administrative measures were taken to bring pressure upon the ryots. Revenue Inspectors and clerks were posted as collecting agents in the place of village officers. Rules regarding the distraint and sale of properties attached for the non-payment of taxes were modified. Collectors were instructed to proceed against land and cattle in preference to household articles. As bidders were not forthcoming, the Government permitted its own servants to bid for distrainted or attached property. In spite of these measures the position continued to be the same. Ryots were not deterred by them. Government was not prepared to surrender the right to collect tax. Therefore four armed cars and two hundred punitive police were brought to the district, with their help the revenues were collected by using force and coercive methods.\(^{(62)}\) It wills, however, be a mistake to conclude from this that the defiance of forest law was a total failure and it did not produce any fruitful results.

**No-tax campaign in Chirala and Perala**

Chirala and Perala were the two neighboring villages in the Bapatla taluk of Guntur district with a population of 15,000. Most of the people there were petty ryots, weavers and laborers working for low wages and living in thatched houses. From 1915 onwards, there were proposals to constitute these two villages into a Municipality. In spite of their protests a Municipality was forced upon them in 1919.\(^{(63)}\) Elections to the municipal Councilors were conducted and a new Council was constituted. With great difficulty the people paid the new taxes, levied upon them in the first year. Later they submitted petitions to the Government urging for the cancellation of Municipality. They brought pressure upon the councilors and all of them resigned.\(^{(64)}\) Thereafter the Government administered the affairs with a paid Municipal Chairman. There was no change in the attitude of the Government even in 1921 under the newly introduced constitutional scheme of dyarchy. The then Chief Minister Raja Ramarayanigar was also in charge of local and municipal administration. He belonged to the Justice Party which was in opposition to the Congress policies. Therefore he did not cancel the Chirala Municipality as demanded by its people.\(^{(65)}\)
One Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya became the leader of the Chirala people early in 1921. He brought into existence a volunteer army the ‘Rama Dandu’ and more than a thousand were recruited into it. It wore red dress. It was perfectly disciplined but it was a powerful peace army which played a vital role in the no-tax campaign of Chirala. When the people of Chirala were disgusted with their protests and memorials to the Government, they refused to pay the municipal taxes levied on them. In March, 1921, twelve of those who refused to pay the taxes including an elderly lady were arrested and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. She was perhaps the first woman in the whole country to be sent to prison for a political offence. On 30 March, Duggirala Proceeded to Bezwada where Gandhi and other all India leaders were participating in the All-India Congress Committee meeting, and invited Gandhi to visit Chirala. Gandhi visited Chirala on 6 April and advised its people to continue the no-tax campaign in a non-violent manner without minding prosecution, imprisonment, sale of their movables etc., or a mass exodus from the town which would result in the disappearance of Chirala Municipality. The people of Chirala choose the second one. It was summer when the exodus began. Almost all the people of the town-15,000 people, men and women, pregnant ladies, women with babies in arms, the aged and crippled marched across the scorching sands, Chirala was completely deserted. A new township-Ram Nagar was created and the people of Chirala spent eleven months there. The volunteers of ‘Rama Dandu’ Served as the police force of the town, helped in the construction of huts, dug wells and provided a few other amenities of life. Gopalakrishnayya experimented here a parallel Government. He established a Panchayat which consisted of the representative of all communities. It passed necessary laws. It issued administrative orders. It acted as a judicial tribunal. Life became a new joy to all. In May-June, 1921, the people experienced both the hottest summer and heavy rains. The Government strictly enforced the Revenue Code, inflicted a heavy penalty and passed eviction orders upon the people who raised their huts on proramboke lands. The people did not mind either the extremes of weather or the harassment of Government officials or the financial or other difficulties. Gopalakrishnayya toured the neighboring towns and villages, made speeches and collected funds for the people disregarding the
prohibitory orders of the Government. He was arrested and sentenced to two years’ imprisonment for defying prohibitory orders and seditious speeches. Along with him some others also were sent to prison. The huts in Ram Nagar were set on fire by hired hooligans. Demoralization slowly crept in. when in February, 1922, the non-cooperation was suspended after the Chauri-Chaura, the no-tax campaign died out.

**Removal of Untouchability**

Gandhi made it a condition that no area should embark on civil disobedience unless the people in it completely abandoned untouchability those who were keen on starting civil disobedience naturally made every effort to eradicate untouchability from their minds. Serious attempts were also made to remove untouchability. Several of the Harijans joined the movement along side of caste Hindus. In some villages Panchamas were enlisted as volunteers and they were allowed to march side by side with the members of other communities. Some Panchamas were admitted into the panchayat Board. In some places even the orthodox Hindus took the Panchamas by hand and seated them in their midst.

**Swaraj Fund**

The nationalist and the pro-Congress press exercised their influence in favour of raising the Tilak Swaraj Fund in order to perpetuate the memory of Lokmanya Tilak and to utilize the fund for promoting activities calculated to win Swaraj. The Madras Presidency had promised to raise an amount by Rs.8000/- for the fund but actually contributed Rs. 1,80,060-45. Another item in the constructive programme was the raising of a band of national volunteers who would be prepared to serve the cause of freedom under all circumstances. Such volunteers were enlisted in every district in Presidency. Some of the older students in national schools were given special training so that they might go out and serve as special volunteers during vacations. Most of the volunteers did their work without receiving any pay. In the presidency, through the consistent and constant work of the Congress Committees 1,00,000 members were enrolled as members and some 20,000 charkhas were introduced.
The AICC Session-Vijayawada, March-1921

The Vijayawada session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) is a unique event in the history of freedom movement in Andhra. When Andhra was enthusiastic with non-co operation programmes, the Congress decided to hold the AICC session at Vijayawada. For the first time Andhra played host to the conclave of national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Jawaharlal Nehru and others. The AICC session at Vijayawada met on 31 March and 1 April 1921, and decided to launch constructive programmes like hand-woven-cloth-khaddar, eradicate untouchability, and prohibition of liquor. The Vijayawada session is important as an Andhra young Pingali Venkayya designed the tri-colour flag for the Congress, which Mahatma Gandhi approved with slight modification. Later the flag with other modifications became the National flag of free India. In spite of poor transport facilities people all over Telugu districts tracked the long distances on foot to have a glimpse of their leaders. After the conclusion of the session, Gandhi undertook a tour of Andhra, and he made an appeal to the people to contribute liberally to Tilak Swarajya Fund. Women came forward to donate their jewellery, and they were greatly impacted by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi again visited Andhra in September – October 1921, and toured the Rayalaseema accompanied by Shoukat ali, Konda Venkatappayya. He addressed gatherings at Bellary, Tadipatri, Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Tirupati. With the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Andhra (Coastal and Rayalaseema) the people’s “feelings were inflamed” and they resolved to make the non-co operation movement a success.

Boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales

After the AICC at Vijayawada, the Non-co operation movement gained momentum. In face of the mounting pressures from below the AICC met at Bombay on 28-30 July 1921, adopted a somewhat more militant stance, concentrating on boycott of foreign cloth and also boycott of the coming visit of the Prince of Wales in November. The Andhra immediately responded to the AICC’s call for boycotting
the visit of the Prince and “to stop from participating or assisting in any function organized officially or otherwise in connection with his visit”. Prince of Wales landed on 17 November, 1921 in Bombay. There were observed hartals in almost every town in Andhra. When the country was agog with non-co operation movement, the movement sparked off an incident of mob violence in (UP) on 5th February 1922. A mob pushed 21 Constables and one Sub Inspector into police station and set it on fire at Chauri-Chaura in Uttar Pradesh. Other incidents of violence by crowds had occurred early in different parts of the country like Bombay and Madras. Disturbed by these incidents, Mahatma Gandhi suspended the non cooperation movement. Gandhi realised that the country was not yet ready for non violent method, as envisaged by him. The sudden suspension of the non-cooperation movement was not welcomed by many leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das, Subhash Chandra Bose, both Jawaharlal and Motilal Nehru. Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das formed the Swaraj Party, and their motive was to enter the council and then destroy the constitution from inside.

Though Mahatma Gandhi failed to achieve the main objective of “Swaraj within one year” it raised the pitch of political agitation to a height never dreamed before. The weapon of passive resistance or Satyagraha forged by Mahatma Gandhi, emerged as the greatest asset of the Indians. By the promotion of Khadi, Charka, and Indian handloom products, weavers gained employability. The freedom struggle assumed an all India character under the Mahatma Gandhi leadership. Besides, the Khilafat issue led to the rise of Muslim fanaticism, and it subverted composite Indian nationalism. The final result was the partition of India.

Civil Disobedience Movement 1930 -34

After the sudden withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement by Mahatma Gandhi, the country appeared dark indeed. There was apathy in the freedom struggle, the Swarajists were split. Communalism was flourishing, Gandhi was living in retirement. Many young nationalists were dissatisfied with Gandhian ideas. The milieu of Indian freedom movement was in turmoil, when the announcement was
made for the formation of the Simon Commission in November 1927, for drawing a constitution for India. India entered a new era of freedom struggle. The British government appointed a Royal Commission popularly known as Simon Commission to go into the question of further constitutional reform. The Simon Commission visited India twice February – March 1928, and October 1928 to April 1929. Its tour started from Bombay. The nationalist parties including Muslim League considered the Commission as ‘White Commission’ and boycotted its tour premises. The AICC at its Madras session in 1927, decided to boycott the Simon commission “at every stage and in every form” under the chairmanship of Dr. Ansari. Wherever the Simon Commission went, it was greeted with hartals and black flag demonstrations under the slogan of “Simon go back”. The British government used brutal suppression on the hartals. The anti Simon Commission surcharged the mood of Indian freedom struggle.

Poorna Swaraj

Mahatma Gandhi came back to politics and attended the AICC meeting at Calcutta. The historic Lahore session in 1929 met under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru and declared “Poorna swaraj” (complete Independence) to be objective of the Congress. The session hoisted the newly adopted tri-colour flag of freedom. The Lahore Congress also decided to observe 26th January as Independence Day every year. And Mahatma Gandhi was vested with full powers to launch any struggle at a time and place of his choice.

The Civil Disobedience Movement

Then there was a great resentment against salt tax. Mahatma Gandhi used the opportunity that the cheapest salt may turn into the gun powder to the struggle. Everybody used salt, everybody paid the tax, why not incite the masses to break the monopoly by making their own salt. Gandhi decided to attack on “government nefarious monopoly”. Before launching his campaign, on March 2nd 1930, Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, wherein he highlighted on 11* point charter of demands. On 3 March 1930, Mahatma Gandhi
sent an ultimatum to Lord Irwin, through an English friend of his Reginald Reynold, living in his *ashram*. But the Viceroy turned a deaf ear to the pleas of Mahatma Gandhi, and then Gandhi embarked on his Dandi March on the historic day of 12th March 1930.

**Dandi March (1930)**

Mahatma Gandhi launched his historic Dandi March on 12th March 1930 with his 78 chosen followers from Sabarmati Ashram. Thousands of people gathered on either side of the road and saluted their great leader. On 6th April Gandhiji reached Dandi picked up a handful of salt and broke the salt law. A party of 500 people had gathered to witness the historic ceremony. Subhash Chandra Bose compared it to “Napoleon’s march on Paris on his return from Elba” and to “Mussolini’s march to Rome”. Motilal Nehru commented “Like the historic march of Ramachandra, the march of Dandi would be memorable…”. The historic movement of Gandhiji began to spread like wild fire and the whole country was caught in the conflagration of the Salt Satyagraha. On the same day salt was made at 5000 meetings throughout country. The defiance of Salt laws started all over the country as Gandhiji’s ritual beginning at Dandi, and the Indian press gave the widest publicity but the Anglo-Indian press equally ridiculed the Satyagraha. The *Statesman* of Calcutta sarcastically commented that Mahatma Gandhi could go on boiling sea water till Domain status was attained. Mr Brailsford, an English journalist, described the Dandi March as ‘the kindergarten stage of revolution’ and ridiculed the nation that the king emperor can be unseated by boiling sea water in a kettle.

In the beginning the prominent leaders like Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested but Mahatma Gandhi remained free, even though the British government called his acts as “rebellion”. At this juncture the Congress has denied using the telegraph and the mails. The whole country united under the call of an unarmed Satyagrahi, Mahatma Gandhi. Besides, the breaking of the salt law, the movement incorporated, picketing of shops selling foreign goods and liquor, bonfire of foreign cloths, refusal to pay taxes, and anti-drinking campaign, avoidance of
offices by the public officers and institutions by the students. And in some places, even mass risings in resentment against the repressive measures taken by the servile British government. There was a splendid response even from the women; they joined forces against the undesirable government. Perturbed by the growing popularity of the movement, the diabolic British government, at last decided to arrest Mahatma Gandhi. On 5 May 1930 at Karadi (Gujarat) Mahatma was unobtrusively arrested under regulation 25 of 1827 and sent to Yerawada jail. There were a few demonstrations—serious ones in Delhi and Calcutta and the remaining Congress leaders called on all Indians to intensify the campaign. The British government, freed from the moderation necessary when backing up. Mahatma repaid with oppressive-five year’s rigorous imprisonment for failing to give information to the police, seven years and heavy fine for carrying a Congress flag. The velvet glove was certainly off.

With Gandhiji’s arrest, things moved fast in India and the main events such as the raids by Congress volunteers under the leadership of Smt. Sarojini Naidu at Dharsana, Bombay and Wadalba salt depot on 26th May, and the unique situation in the North – West Frontiers Province in June. In respond to Mahatma Gandhi’s call, C. Rajagopalachari, a trusted lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi, led a salt march from Trichinopoly to Vedaranniyam, but he was arrested on 30 April. In Malabar, K. Kelappan, the hero of the Vaikom Satyagraha, walked from Calicut to Payyanur to break the salt law. Dandi March had immense impact on entire Andhra. Each and every corner of the Andhra was gripped in a unique fervor of the movement. Among the seventy eight Satyagrahi’s, Erneni Subramanyam, an Andhra, was one of the followers of Gandhi for his historic Dandi March. Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappaya who had been to Jambusar to seek advice from Gandhi, sent a telegram to the Andhra leaders to start civil disobedience from 1st of April 1930. He had also been appointed as Dictator for the whole Andhra Province. Each district had a Committee constituted with a Dictator and a war council to advice him. A shibirum was also established in each district. The Satyagraha camps that were set up had popular support. People from all communities joined and contributed voluntarily
to maintain these camps. Guntur was an important centre during the movement in the whole of the Andhra. There the movement enjoyed a great deal of public sympathy and support. For the first time, middle class women had came out on the streets, broke the seclusion which had hitherto been their lot and publicly participated in the civil disobedience movement. Two Andhra leaders, T.Prakasam and K.Nageswara Rao devoted their activities to the city of Madras, to see that the movement was successful there. Smt. Durgabayamma (Smt.Durga Bai Deshmukh) and Smt.Rukmini Lakshmipathi were actively associated with Satyagraha movement in Madras city.

On the forenoon of 13\textsuperscript{th} April 1930, these leaders, manufactured salt in Triplicane beach. The speakers at the meeting demanded the repeal of the “unholy, unjust, and oppressive” tax imposed on a commodity so essential to both men and cattle and which on was a free gift of nature.

In Rayalaseema the salt Satyagraha was not so strong as it was far away from the sea coast. But salt laws were violated by preparing contraband salt from salt clay and distributed in pockets. Besides Dharmavaram, Bellary (then it was a part of Rayalaseema) was the camp for the entire Rayalaseema Region. The prominent Rayalaseema leader Kalluri Subba Rao played a vital role in the region to see that the movement was so successful there. When Gandhi was arrested, \textit{harthal} was observed and protest meetings were organized in Ceded region at Tadipatri, a bench Magistrate and vice president of Taluk Board resigned and in Rajampeta of Cuddapah district a decision was taken to popularize Khaddar and boycott of foreign goods.

In April 1930 the Rayalaseema students went on strike at the Ceeded Districts in Anantapur College to protest against lati - Charge on the Congress procession at Bombay. It was organized by Seshadri a lecturer and Kalluri SubbaRao. The salt Satyagraha and spectacular march of Gandhiji and his men had a good impact on Rayalaseema. It was in this explosive situation that the long – awaited report of Simon Commission was published in two volumes; the first on 10\textsuperscript{th} June and the second on 24\textsuperscript{th} June 1930. The report had been received in India with surcharged indifference. The Muslim League rejected that enough safeguards had not been
provided to him. In accordance with the Viceroy’s declaration of 12 May 1930, the first Round Table Conference opened on 12 November 1930, with an address of the king at St James palace London. There were altogether 89 delegates, 57 representing British India, 16 representing the Indian states and 16 the British Government. The Indian National Congress was not represented and it insisted that the conference was useless and unless Britain conceded the principle of complete independence. Brails Ford commented “In St James palace they did assemble princess and untouchables, Sicks, Muslims, Hindus, and Christians and spokesmen of landlords, trade unions and chamber of commerce, but mother of India was not there”. But the conference could not be of little value and it brought about nothing. The fate of country, the future of structure of its government, will be settled only with the cooperation of largest political party in India- the Indian National Congress. In these circumstances, Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders were released from jail on 26 January 1931. After the liberal leaders, Sapru and M.R Jayakar held prolonged discussions with the Congress leaders. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, authorized Mahatma to negotiate with the Viceroy Lord Irwin. The Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on 5 March, 1931, after the result of 15 days negotiations, in connection of which Mahatma Gandhi visited the Viceroy’s House eight times and spent altogether 24 hours, for a time it seemed that the talk would collapse. The Gandhi-Irwin pact included the immediate release of political prisoners except convicted for violence, fines imposed on people during the Civil Disobedience movement were to be remitted. The colonial government accepted the right of Coastal villages to make salt for consumption and non-aggressive picketing. Mahatma Gandhi’s demand, for an enquiry into the police excesses on the Satyagrahis was considered undesirable. The Congress would participate in the next Round Table Conference and the Civil Disobedience movement was to be drawn. But there was anger among the youth, why Mahatma Gandhi had not refused to sign the Pact on the Commutation of the death sentences of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Even before the ink was dry on the Pact, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj guru had been executed despite pleas from the Congress leaders for mercy.
The AICC at Karachi on 26-29 March, 1931, endorsed the pact, and authorized Mahatma Gandhi to attend the next Round Table Conference as its sole representative. Besides, the Pact compromised on non-essential and ignored essentials, having been arrived at more through Gandhi’s conviction of Irwin’s sincerity of character and his essential goodness than through hard bargaining. It nonplussed the other congress leaders and caused Jawaharlal Nehru to waver in his support for Gandhi while Subhas Chandra Bose, Bengal’s major leader after Das’s death, came out in opposition to the pact. The curtain was thus drawn on the first phase of the Civil Disobedience movement led by Mahatma Gandhi against the British null government.

M.K. Gandhi sailed for England with the power of plenipotentiary given by the Congress, to attend the second Round Table Conference. The conference began in London on September, 1931, under the shadow of the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. He, however, vehemently opposed both separate electorates and safeguards for minorities, and also demanded for responsible government both at the centre and in the province. Gandhi returned from the second Round Table Conference to Bombay on 28 December, 1931, with disappointment. Mahatma was apprised of the new development in India in spite of his absence.

Lord Willingdon, Succeeded Irwin as Viceroy in April 1931, adopted the policy of repression, in the absence of Mahatma Gandhi. Hence Gandhi has compelled to resume the struggle in January. The British government declared the Congress as unlawful, and M.K. Gandhi was once more in prison. Terrorism appeared in Bengal and militant ‘red shirts’ volunteers of Abdul Ghaffer Khan were created in the North-West Frontier Province. The British government adopted repressive measures to suppress the outbreak. By April 1932 more than 66,000 persons, including 5,000 women courted arrest. The repression was more brutal and severe than before. The announcement of Communal Award on 17 August, 1932 by the then British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald, provoked Gandhi in jail to undertake a fast on 20 September, 1932. The Award was an attempt to perpetuate division based on caste and creeds in India. When Gandhi on fast unto death, the
Hindu leaders met him in Poona and concluded an agreement on 25 September, 1932 known as the Poona Pact. The pact benefited the Depressed classes with 148 reserved seats in place of 71.\textsuperscript{132} The third and final Round Table Conference was held (November-December) in the absence of the Congress.

The Civil Disobedience movement was officially called off by Mahatma Gandhi on 8 May 1933. It caused intense disappointment to many, particularly to Sardar Vallababhai Patel and Subhas Chandra Bose who issued a manifesto condemning Gandhi’s decision to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement.\textsuperscript{133} The Civil Disobedience Movement had certain marked features which distinguished it from the Non-Co-Operation Movement. This time it was the government which took the initiative and acted with a great swiftness, and was determined to crush the movement. The repression was much more brutal and severe than before. The Movement, however, apparently failed because it came to be stopped without achieving its objective. Further, the support of the Indian business and industrial elites was not as manifest as earlier. The Muslims by and large kept away from this movement. Only Pathans led by Khan Abdul gaffer Khan actively participated in this movement. Nevertheless, the spirit of revolt took firm roots in the heart of the people and the fire of patriotism remained smouldering.

\textbf{Quit India Movement}

The Quit India Movement rose as a wave to engulf the Colonial power in India, as a revolution to edit the British power and free India from the alien rule. People of all sections participated with dedication. The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 put the India’s political future into a new perspective. On 3rd September 1939, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, without consulting or even taking into confidence the Indian leaders, India was announced to be a party to the war for being a constituent component of the British Empire. Following this declaration, the Congress Working Committee at its meeting on 15 September 1939, declared that since war had been proclaimed without consent of the Indian people, it would not associate itself with it unless India was declared an independent nation.\textsuperscript{134}
Responding to this declaration, the viceroy stated that, after the war, the Government would initiate the desires of the Indians. Immediately Mahatma Gandhi stated that “the whole policy of divide and rule is to continue, the Congress has asked for bread and it has got stone”. The Congress Ministers from Eight Provinces were directed to resign. The resignation was an occasion of great joy and rejoicing of the Muslim League, and Jinnah called the day of 22nd December 1939 ‘the day of deliverance’, the Lahore session of Muslim league declared for Pakistan. Meanwhile, Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. Mahatma Gandhi wrote on 1st June 1940,’we do not seek our independence out of Britain ruin’. The reply of the British War Cabinet was the August Offer. However, the Congress rejected the offer followed by the Muslim League. In the context of wide spread dissatisfaction, Mahatma Gandhi revealed his plan to launch Individual Civil Disobedience Movement. In November 1940, the Individual Satyagraha was started against the British dubious role in India. Vinoba Bhave a follower of Mahatma Gandhi was selected by him to initiate the Movement. Anti war speeches ricocheted in all corners of the country, with Satyagrahis earnestly appealing to the people of the nation not to support the Government in its war endeavors. It is estimated that more than 14000 persons courted imprisonment, including all the top ranking leaders like Nehru and Azad.

The entry of Japan into the war in December 1941, created a new dimension in the 2nd world war. Her armies began a rapid advance towards India and some bombs were dropped on Indian soil. With these developments USA felt that without Indians and Congress support the war would be lost. Pressure from USA and China, Churchill and his colleagues moved for to break the deadlock in India. On 11th March 1942 Churchill announced the dispatch of Sir Stafford Cripps a member of the War Cabinet, on a mission to India with generous Offer. Cripps arrived at Delhi on 22nd March, discussed the Draft Declaration with all party leaders. Cripps proposed that India would be given Dominion Status after the war, a constituent assembly would be formed to frame the constitution for the Dominion Status, freedom to the provinces or the states to join or remain independent from the Indian union. The Congress
Working Committee rejected the Draft Declaration because the portfolio of defence was to remain in the British hands, Muslim league rejected it as there was no clarity on Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi described the Cripps offer as “a post – dated cheque” on “a failing bank”. The failure of the Cripps Mission plunged the country in anger. Cripps left the country amidst unprecedented excitement. The failure of Cripps Mission led to the Quit India Movement. Mahatma Gandhi announced Quit India as the war cry of the Indians. The CWC adopted the well known Quit India resolution at Wardha in July 1942.

The AICC met in Bombay, accepted this resolution including Gandhiji’s leadership for the Movement. Quit India movement was the Gandhiji’s final bid to secure India’s freedom. Mahatma Gandhi appealed to all the people to participate in the movement and urged them to sink all differences of religion and work unitedly and gave a call for do or die for getting freedom. On 9th August 1942 main leaders including Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad was arrested. The masses were left without any guidance. The public reacted spontaneously and demonstrations were organized throughout the country. People damaged the communication systems like the post offices, telegraph and telephone offices and the network of the railways.

In Andhra, the APCC welcomed the quit India resolution and issued a confidential circular dated 29th July 1942 drafted by Kala Venkat Rao the general secretary. The government suspected that the Congress had planned violent rebellion. In fact, it was a confidential Circular giving the details of the programme to defy prohibitory orders, to give up legal practice by lawyers, students to boycott colleges and schools and to cut off toddy trees and to destroy communication systems. But it also warned people not to indulge in violence and to wait for instructions from Gandhiji to commence the struggle. A Circular was issued by APCC which was popularly known was Kurnool Circular. Further it was prepared earlier than the Quit India resolution. The Circular later approved by the CWC as well as the AICC. The viceroy lord Linlithgow, adopted a policy which was harsh all over the country and gory instances of Colonial government’s atrocities abounded all over. By the end of Quit India Movement about 900 persons lost their life, 250
railway stations and 500 post offices were damaged or destroyed and over 150 police stations were attacked. The movement was an ultimatum to the Britishers to quit India and at last of a series of the Congress led movements for wresting power from the Colonial clutches. Finally the Quit India Movement was instrumental in loosening the grip of British and ultimately compelled them to leave India, and it was also paved the way for the creation of Pakistan. “The Viceroy and the India office wanted to build up Mr. Jinnah as their crescent card to neutralize the congress challenges”.

With the end of the Second World War on April 1945, India’s freedom struggle entered a new phase. The Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose revealed the heroism and determination of the Indian people. Even though Britain was on the winning side in the war, it could not any longer rely on the Indian personnel of its civil administration and armed forces to suppress the freedom struggle. Into this distracted scene came the historic announcement of the British Prime Minister, Attlee on 20February 1947. He declared in no uncertain terms decision of the British Government to quit India by June 1948. The Viceroy Lord Wavell did not agree with the opinion of Attlee as the former feared the inevitable outbreak of disorder and violence on the British withdrawal. It was also announced that Lord Mountbatten would succeed Lord Wavell to prepare a plan for the hand over. This momentous proclamation evoked hearty enthusiasm all over India. Jinnah saw victory in sight and made a desperate attempt to secure control over the provinces with Muslim majority. Riots broke out in wild frenzy in Calcutta, Assam the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. It seemed to the Congress that partition was the only alteration to civil war and dreadful destruction of human life.

The new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten who assumed office on 24 March 1947, was a practical man. He realised that the Cabinet Mission plan was unworkable and a partition of India was inevitable and sought to effect the transfer of power without any delay. He held frequently discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Baldev Singh and others. Mountbatten accepted the plan of V.P. Menon, a high official in the Viceroy’s secretariat which involved the
partition of India into two states the predominantly non-Muslim areas in the Punjab and Bengal being excluded from Pakistan. On 3 June 1947 he announced the British Government’s acceptance of the principles of partition. The next day in a press Conference the Viceroy announced that the transfer of power would be effected probably on 15 August 1947.

On 4 July 1947 the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. The Bill was passed without any division and received the Royal assent on 18 July. This act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of the two new Dominions India and Pakistan- on 15 August 1947. Each Dominion was to have a Governor General appointed by the King. There was a provision for one Governor General for both the Dominions, if they desired. The legislatures of both Dominions were empowered to make the laws for their Dominions. The jurisdiction of the British parliament over India was to cease from 15 August 1947. The act also terminated the suzerainty and paramountcy of the British crown over the Indian States and all treaties, engagements between the two were the lapse on 15 august 1947.\(^\text{149}\) The office of the Secretary of State for India was to be abolished and his work to be taken over by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs. This act was the fitting epilogue of the British power in India and was acclaimed as the noblest and greatest law ever enacted by the British parliament. At midnight on 14-15 August 1947, special session of the Constituent Assembly was held in Delhi. It solemnly declared the Independency of India as a part of the British Commonwealth and appointed Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of the Indian Dominion. Jinnah became the Governor-General of the Pakistan. The new Government was inaugurated on 15 August. Thus ‘the British period in India came to an end after nearly three and a half centuries of trading, two centuries of political power, and a hundred and thirty years of general supremacy’.\(^\text{150}\)

In spite of Gandhi’s staunchest disapproval of partition, the country was divided. His famous comment was “India will be partitioned over my dead body”, but according to Michael Brecher and Dr. R.C. Majundar “The Quit India Movement, started by Gandhi, paved the way for the creation of Pakistan. This
movement not only accentuated the differences between the Congress and the British, an aspect about which Gandhi was cautioned by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Azad and Dr. Radha Krishnan, but the political vacuum created by the arrest of congress leaders for about three years provided an opportunity to the Muslim League to consolidate Muslims under its banner”.

Again, “the talks with Jinnah” (September 1944), In Brecher’s view, “placed Jinnah on a footing of virtual equality with Gandhi”.  

Thwarted in his pacifist attempts, Mahatma Gandhi travelled across the riot-ridden country, trying to spread the message of peace and brotherhood, but with little success. Gandhi did his best to promote communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Viceroy, Lord Mount batten acclaimed him as ‘the one man boundary forces”.  

Mahatma Gandhi stayed in Calcutta in a locality which had been one of the worst affected by the communal riots. Mahatma spent the Independence Day by fasting and spinning. The celebration, had hardly died down , when Mahatma Gandhi became the martyr for ideals, Nathuram Godse, a hate-filled Hindu fanatic , assassinated him at a prayer place at Birla Mandir on 30\textsuperscript{th} January 1948. A pall of gloom enveloped the country after the incident. Despite his bodily death, the legacy of Gandhi’s ideals stayed on as India marched bravely on through its new era of Independence. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, first President of India, remarked “Gandhi is dead, but Gandhism will live till the stars shine and oceans roll on”. It is true.
References


3. Ibid. p.459.


10. Ibid. P.4


13. Ibid.


16. Ibid.

29. The pledge ran as follows:
   “Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the concept of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary right of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee, to be hereafter appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle, we will faithfully follow truth, and refrain from violence to life, person or property.”

32. The Hindu 2nd April, 1919.
35. Ibid. p.74
36. Ibid. p.74
37. Ibid. p.74
41. Indian National Congress 1920-23, Resolutions from September 1920 to December 1923, (Allahabad, 1924) p.48
42. G.O.No.385, Public Department, dated 18-6-1921, TNA.
43. Bamford. P.C. The histories of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements (Delhi, 1923), pp.1-20
44. Ibid. p.1-20.
45. Ibid. pp.49-64.
46. G.O.No.946, Public Department, dated 18-12-1921, TNA.
51. Ibid. p.7.
52. F.N.R, 18 APRIL 1921.
54. Guntur Collectors Report On Resignation of Villages Officers, dated 8-1-1922; G.O.No.608, Public Department, dated 16-9-1921, TNA.
56. G.O.No.130, Revenue Department, dated 10-1-1922, TNA.
57. G.O.No.362, Revenue Department, dated 26-4-1922, TNA.
59. Ibid.p.37.
61. Ibid.p.94; F.R.II half of February,1922 .
62. G.O.No.608, Public Department, dated 16-9-1921; Report of the Revenue Board member, Harris, on the situation in Guntur, Krishna and Godavari dated 16-1-1922.
65. Ibid.p.32.
66. Ibid.p.33.
67. F.Rs. I and II half of March,1921.
69. F.Rs. II half of April, I half of May,1921.
70. Ibid., I half of May,1921.
72. Andhra Patrika, 29 August 1921, NNR.
74. G.O.Nos.803,804,Public ( Conf.) Department, dated 7-10-1922, TNA.
75. I.A.R.1921.
76. F.Rs. I and II half of May, 1921.
77. C.D.E.C., appendix III and VII.
86. Sarojini Regani and Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao, Desamlo pilupu, (Telugu), pp.6-8.
88. Ibid., p.115.
90. Swadesamitran, dated 28-2-1928, NNR.
91. AICC File No.119/126/1929, NML.
92. AICC File No.G.29/178A/1930, NML.
93. Ibid.

* 1. Total prohibition,
   2. Reduction of the ratio Is.4d.
   3. Reduction of land revenue to at least 50 percent, and making it subject to legislative control.
   4. Abolition of the salt tax.
   5. Reduction of military expenditure to at least 50 percent. To begin with.
   6. Reduction of high grade salaries to one half or less so as to suit the reduced revenue.
7. Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
8. The passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
9. Discharge of all political prisoners, save those condemned for murder or the attempt thereat by the ordinary judicial tribunal; withdrawal of all political prosecutions; abrogation of Section 124-A; the Regulation of 1818 and like; and permission to all Indian exiles to return.
10. Abolition of C.I.D., or its popular control.
11. Issue of licenses to use fire-arms for self-defence subject to popular control.

95. Young India-January 30, 1930, refer in Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (Fourth edition) G.A. Nateshan & Co. Madras. TNA.
101. Ibid., p.455.
103. Home Poll. File No.257/VIII/1930, NAI.
104. The Hindu dated 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 May and 23 June 1930.
110. F.R.II half of April, 1930.
111. The Hindu 14th April, 1930.
113. District Magistrate Accounts of the Movement in their respective districts
Anantapur, 1930-32.
118. The Hindu dated 13, 14, 26 and 28 June, 1930.
119. The Hindu dated 20 June, 1930.
120. The Indian Round Table Conference, (London, 1931), pp.3, 9.
123. Ibid. p.182.
127. Ibid. p.284.
129. Ibid. p.97.
134. Ibid. p.206.
136. Ibid. p.123.
143. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
150. Ibid. p. 217.