PREFACE

The escalation of terroristic activities in the land of Gandhi, who insisted on non-violence being the only solution for obtaining permanent results out of conflict situations in matters - social, political, economic and religious, is a matter of great concern. It necessitates an indepth study of the Gandhian ideology of non-violence vis-a-vis the political violence in the first half of the twentieth century, when both the forces were conspicuous by their presence. This period witnessed the emergence of the Indian National Movement which is fairly comprehensive because of the divergent political and ideological perspectives represented by various streams of thought like the Pre-Congress Peasant and Tribal Movement, the Ghadr and the Home Rule Movement, the Revolutionary Movement and finally the Gandhian Movements.

The two main currents of thought that contemplated the nation’s liberation, however, were represented by the Indian National Congress under the guidance of Gandhi and the Revolutionaries. In fact, the Revolutionary Movement is of unique importance as it prepared the ground for inculcating nationalistic ideas among the youth of the country, immediately before Gandhi captured the Indian political scene.
to lead the country towards independence. While Gandhi tried to translate his ideas of non-violence and truth into action and planned to fight against British imperialism solely with the help of his novel technique of Satyagraha, the Revolutionaries were advocates of all possible means. For them violence or non-violence were only questions of effective weapons under a certain set of conditions.

Irrespective of their conflicting ideologies, Gandhi and the Revolutionaries aspired to reach a common political end - the freedom of the motherland. Gandhi stressed that the "means" were as important as the "ends", while the Revolutionaries believed that the "ends" justified the "means". The common goal - freedom of India - brought them together during the two major Gandhian movements, namely the Non-cooperation movement of the early twenties and the Civil Disobedience movement of the early thirties. Thereafter the Revolutionaries started drifting towards other ideologies such as Communism and Socialism, since they had realised the futility of carrying out individual assassinations and collecting funds through robberies for bringing about a revolution. But Gandhi continued to remain consistent in his faith of non-violence. In fact, his conviction about the power of non-violence grew stronger. He wrote, "My faith in truth and non-violence is ever growing and as I am ever
trying to follow them in my life, I too am growing."* In view of this it was deemed fit to deal with the interaction and interrelation between Gandhi and the Revolutionaries during the years 1915 to 1935.

The coexistence of Gandhi and the Revolutionaries, therefore, requires an indepth study of their coming together during the period mentioned above with special emphasis on certain issues like the relationship that existed between Gandhi and the Revolutionaries; the factors which brought them together; the efforts made by them to convince each other; and the impact, if any, on each other.

The study is primarily based on historical methods, wherein the documents available in the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, and Gandhi Samarak Nidhi in New Delhi, were scanned for factual information. More emphasis has been laid on the Fortnightly Reports and the Home Political Files, housed in the National Archives for searching out facts that might provide a deeper insight into the subject. The transcripts of the interview with the revolutionaries who could not put down their ideas in the form of a book were perused for knowing their mind especially for understanding their attitudes towards Gandhi and his techniques. In order to make the study empirical and

* Harijan, March 2, 1940.
get a first hand account on the subject, some living revolutionaries were also interviewed. Since the revolutionaries were directly involved with the Freedom Movement they were asked questions regarding their attitudes and experiences during the years of their participation. The questionnaire was so framed as to cover the major areas of thrust. For eliciting Gandhi’s views regarding the revolutionary ideologies and activities, the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Young India, Harijan etc. were scanned. In addition to these the published materials in the form of Government Reports, Biographies, Autobiographies, Reminiscences, Diaries and Accounts of the revolutionaries were consulted. Periodicals, Journals and Newspapers were also made use of.

The subject under study has been categorised into different chapters for a better understanding of the problem. The first chapter deals with the history of the Revolutionary Movement and Gandhi’s formulation of Satyagraha prior to 1915. The second chapter traces the course of the Non-cooperation Movement of Gandhi and the extent to which the Revolutionaries had participated in it. The next chapter traces the simultaneous course of Gandhi’s Civil Disobedience Movement and the revolutionary activities between the years 1930-35. The fourth chapter deals exclusively with the correspondence between Gandhi and the Revolutionaries to show
their interaction. The fifth chapter examines the kind of relationship that existed between Gandhi and some well known revolutionaries. In the last chapter captioned "Discussions and Conclusion" the findings of the works are synthesized.

The author owes her gratitude to her Research Supervisor, Dr.(Mrs.) Sandhya Chaudhri for extending unfailing help during the course of her work. But for her constructive criticism which has gone a long way in improving the quality of this work, the presentation of this thesis in its present form would have been difficult.

Thanks are due to Dr.(Mrs.) Rashmi Sudha Puri, Chairperson of the Department of Gandhian Studies for the help rendered by her during the days when research work was carried out at the Department of Gandhian Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Dr. S.L. Malhotra provided unstinted support, in times of need and the author is grateful for the same.

Help received from the Librarians and staff of the India House Library, London, the National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and Gandhi Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Haryana Civil Secretariat Library, the Panjab University Library and the Gandhi Bhawan Library, Chandigarh, is thankfully acknowledged. Financial assistance was received from the University Grants Commission, New Delhi to complete this project.
Finally, I must acknowledge the support of my husband who motivated me to take up the project. I must also thank my mother-in-law and my daughters for showing forbearance during this period.

Chandigarh.

( Rama Harishankar )

Date : 24 August 82