CHAPTER IV
Second Phase (1930-39)

Introduction:

The dawn of 1930 signalled hectic activity in the ranks and files of Congress. The C.W.C. met on January 2, 1930 and gave a call to boycott the Councils and to celebrate January 26, as Purna Swaraj Day. The C.W.C. once again highlighted the ruinous economy of the country consequent of the British rule. The celebrations of the Purna Swaraj Day all over the country revealed the enthusiasm of the masses.

At this stage there were three factors working against the British and in favour of the Congress. First of this was the appointment of Simon Commission to study the working of the Constitution of 1919 and to recommend reforms that were essential. The second factor was the force generated by the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928. Though it was not a political agitation, it attracted all-India attention by the sufferings and sacrifices of the peasants of Bardoli. The third and the most important factor was the economic distress caused by the Depression. The steep fall in prices, particularly of agricultural products, made a lasting impression on the national economy. The poverty in rural areas was so grim that a peasant "could hardly buy a yard of cloth or a pint of oil" from his earnings.

At this juncture the Round Table Conference became a leverage to Gandhi. The theme of the Conference became the focal point of a controversy between Gandhiji and the British. Both remained unbending. It does not mean that Gandhi was bent upon starting any mass movement against the British. If possible he wanted to avoid it. But the circumstances created by the hardline policy adopted by the British made the mass movement imminent. In this environment the C.W.C. met in the second week of February at Sabarmathi and passed a resolution calling upon to start Mass Civil
Disobedience Movement (MCDM) against the British in all the Provinces. Gandhi was authorised to lead the movement.

Gandhi had been pondering over this issue even before the C.W.C. met at Sabarmathi. Writing in Young India he said, "Granted a perfectly non-violent atmosphere and a fulfilled constructive programme, I would undertake to lead the Mass Civil Disobedience struggle to a successful issue in the space of a few months." Subsequently he held talks with several friends which centred round salt law violation. The news of this discussion reached different parts of the country and the atmosphere was surcharged. Gandhi himself had no definite idea of the entire programme. He said every step of the movement would show the way for the next step.

Immediate plan was that Gandhi would go to some salt area and violate the law by manufacturing salt. No one was to do this with Gandhi, but remain idle, idle for subsequent action. He wanted to associate only a few inmates of his ashram at this stage. When Gandhi was arrested, the whole nation was to follow his example.

Before embarking on this plan Gandhi addressed a letter to the Viceroy explaining him of his intentions. Among other things he explained the ruinous economic policies of the British which had made India poverty stricken. Viceroy's reply was quick and crisp. Gandhi's programme, Viceroy said, was "bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." With this the initiation of the MCDM became imminent.

On March 5, 1930 Gandhi announced the plan of his march from Sabarmathi to Dandi, a seaside village 240 miles from the Ashram, where he would manufacture salt and thereby break law. Though his march looked symbolic, the outcome was something beyond the comprehension of the Government. Gandhi began his march with the motto "Victory or Death" on March 12, 1930 along with seventy nine inmates of the Ashram.
It was a historic scene. "It was in effect a warning against an intellectual analysis of a scheme of resistance, which even the best of adherents could not visualise in its full proportions at the time."\textsuperscript{12} Probably even Gandhi himself was not sure of the shape of things to come. Once the march began, people started gathering round the idea.\textsuperscript{13} It appealed both to the illiterate peasant and a sophisticated critic.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Salt Satyagraha in North Kanara :}

This second phase of the movement made history in Karnataka. Enthusiastic response was shown to the call of the Congress to celebrate Independence Day. Cities and towns witnessed processions, prayers and meetings. This upsurge was the symptoms of great struggle that was to follow. Subsequent upon the announcement of the salt satyagraha, the KPCC under R.R.Diwakar met at Bellary on February 23, to prepare a programme. A Satyagraha Committee of prominent Congressmen was constituted to make necessary arrangements before the actual commencement of the struggle. This Committee met on March 30, 1930 at Hubli and passed a resolution to start the salt satyagraha by manufacturing "contraband salt."\textsuperscript{15} Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi, a member of the Committee toured North Kanara and found it well suited for the violation of salt laws. Sites at Ankola, Gokarna, Karwar, Kumta, Honnawar, Bhatkal were considered for the manufacturing of contraband salt. Finally Ankola was selected considering the fact that it had natural salt pits along the sea coast.

Two factors favoured North Kanara. The first was economic and the other proximity to the headquarters of KPCC. The standard of living in this district had been declining gradually from the beginning of the century. Land under cultivation came down from 2,40,400 acres to 2,00,700 acres\textsuperscript{16} between 1890 to 1920. Deaths by malaria was on the increase.\textsuperscript{17} Population was moving out of the district. It declined by almost 30\% over a period of 30 years from 1911 to 1931.
A little earlier to the commencement of the struggle in 1930 the authorities had withdrawn certain privileges given to the local population in collecting forest produce in which she was rich for self-consumption. This made the people come together to fight for their privileges. Satyagraha was not new in this area. In the middle of the nineteenth century the peasants here had experimented non-cooperation against Thomas Munroe, the then District Collector. Again in 1890 when the authorities sought to take back the forest privileges there was a successful non-cooperation movement. The memory of these movements were not completely lost by the people here. One should also bear in mind that North Kanara was rural in its population contents. In early 1930's the number of towns and their size was insignificant. Total number of urban population here did not exceed 50,000.

The Satyagraha Committee formed a sub-committee to collect funds from the public and run the volunteers camps. This sub-committee consisted of Ranganatha Diwakar and R.S.Hukkerikar from Dharwar, Narayana Rao Joshi from Belgaum, Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi from Bijapur, K.Gururaja Rao from Bellary, B.M.Basrur from North Kanara and Vittal Rao Kamath from South Kanara. These men not only collected funds for the movement, but also preached the virtues of satyagraha. The Committee also educated the people by publishing pamphlets criticising the levy of the tax of Rs. one and a quarter per maund of salt. They also called upon people to resist this unjust tax.

This satyagraha movement was all-Karnataka movement. Hence leaders and volunteers from different parts of Karnataka were to come and camp at Ankola and elsewhere in North Kanara. Mysore State alone sent 300 volunteers and a few leaders. Shankar Rao Gulwadi and Anantha Mavale toured the whole of the District and prepared the population for the coming event. The Satyagraha Committee also undertook to educate the common man of the aims and objectives of the MCDM by publishing handbills, booklets
and through mass contact. N.S.Hardikar addressing a huge gathering at Hubli called upon the youth to take a leading part in the coming MCDM.23

All volunteers coming to Ankola were required to stay in the camps where the meaning, scope and methods of satyagraha were explained and they were mentally trained to withstand the wrath of the authorities in case it was let loose.

The day of Jallianwala Bagh, April 13, every year was being celebrated as the National Day. The same day was fixed as the day on which the salt law would be violated at Ankola. A large camp was established in the middle of the town to house the volunteers coming from different parts of Karnataka. Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao and Swami Vidyanandaji, a saint, were in charge of the camp. By April 12, Ankola had received several batches of volunteers with their leaders. R.R.Diwakar and Karnad Sadashiva Rao joined this camp to lend moral courage to the volunteers. Government also geared up to meet the situation. Deputy Superintendent of Police with a special force camped at Ankola along with the District Magistrate and host of other officials.

Dr.N.S.Hardikar was to lead the satyagrahis on the first day from the centre of the town to sea-shore at 1 p.m. Since he could not come M.P.Nadakarni of Haigunda was nominated 24 to lead the march with nine satyagrahis and equipment to manufacture the salt. About 3000 volunteers assembled here from different parts of Karnataka followed the satyagrahis. This apart there were thousands of spectators who included women and children. The Satyagrahis and the volunteers were disciplined and dedicated to fulfill the task assigned to them. This earned the appreciation of the police officials present on the spot.

The volunteers stayed in an open field at a short distance from the seashore and the ten satyagrahis marched ahead to collect the sea water. Until their return to the open field Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao addressed the gathering explaining them
the significance of salt satyagraha. The satyagrahis and the volunteers then returned to the taluk office field. Here the sea water in the earthen pots was boiled and some quantity of salt as a token was manufactured. With this symbolic act the salt law enacted by the British was violated. The law was further violated by auctioning the contraband salt. Honnappa Nayak of Ankola and subsequently others bought this contraband salt. The police present did not initiate any action against the satyagrahis or the buyers of the salt, but were mere spectators to the drama unfolding before them.

Next day early in the morning, the police arrested M.P. Nadakarni for violatig the salt law and Swami Vidyananda for inciting the passions of the masses by his speech. They were produced before the District Magistrate who had camped in Ankola. The former was sentenced for six months and the later for a year.

The arrest of the satyagrahis of the first day did not dampen the spirit of the volunteers and the general public. On April 14, 20 volunteers under the leadership of L.V.Kamath enacted the same drama of the previous day. Police this time did not arrest the satyagrahis, but assumed that the movement will come to an end if the leaders guiding and sheltering the satyagrahis were arrested. Accordingly, Shama Rao Shenoy who had given his house to accommodate the volunteers was arrested. R.R.Diwakar, President of the KPCC was also arrested on April 14, in Hubli. Subsequent development went contrary to the expectation of the police. People spontaneously resorted to manufacture salt and thereby invited the police arrest. The police brought magistrial order to close down the satyagraha camp at Ankola. On refusal to move out, the police arrested twenty five volunteers including Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao and Kaka Karakhanis, and sealed the building. However the building was returned to N.S.Hardikar on 26th when it was realised that the confiscation was illegal. Bombay Chronicle the leading newspaper of the Presidency wrote an editorial condemning this confiscation.
K.P.C.C. was encouraged by this development. To give a wider scope to this movement and also to chanelise the enthusiasm of the masses a novel programme was announced. It was announced that the whole of Karnataka province will take part in violating the salt law on April 26. Ankola, Karwar, Kumta, Gokarna, and other coastal towns took a lead on this particular day. When the quantity of illegal salt became large weekly fairs were held to auction this salt.

When the movement was gathering strength, the British committed a tactical mistake by arresting Gandhi who was the focal point of the entire nation. When Gandhi announced his plan of raiding the salt works of Dharsana and Chharsada, his arrest became imminent. During the early hours of May 5, he was arrested and was taken to Yerawada Jail. Before his arrest Gandhi had given a message to the nation calling upon to continue the fight till swaraj was achieved, even in his absence. His parting message was "Die without killing."

Subsequently the C.W.C. met at Allahabad and here it decided to intensify the M.C.D.M. Inter alia the C.W.C. passed resolutions calling upon workers, students, professionals, government servants and others to contribute to the success of the fight for freedom, and to resort to no-tax campaign in certain provinces including Karnataka. At this juncture the hands of K.P.C.C. were strengthened when the Non-Brahmin Party disillusioned by British economic policy decided to merge with the Congress and fight for swaraj.

Following the raids at Dharsana salt works, the volunteers in North Kanara planned to raid salt works at Sanekatte near Kumta. On May 31, S.P. Balagi led a batch of satyagrahis followed by ten to fifteen thousand men to Sanekatte. The workers at the salt works were asked by the custom officer to destroy the salt by allowing water before the satyagrahis could lay their hands on the salt. Inspite of this, about 250 maunds of salt was lifted, carried and sold in the market at Kumta. The police and the
guards at the salt works did not come in the way of the satyagrahis. The violation of salt law in this district went on for two months between April and June 1930. The police remained inactive. This contradicts the violent reaction of the police at Dharsana salt works where the satyagrahis suffered serious physical injuries.

To discuss the directions of the C.W.C. to intensify the M.C.D.M., the K.P.C.W.C. met at Hubli on May 17. Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi was elected as the President since R.R. Diwakar was behind the bars. The K.P.C.W.C. took a decision to intensify the struggle. Hindustani Sevadal was asked to start satyagraha camps in as many places as possible. T. Subramanyam of Bellary, Mathanda of Kodagu, K.T. Bashyam of Mysore, Karamkar of Dharwar were entrusted with task of leading the campaign. K.A. Venkataramayya of Mysore was appointed as Commander of all the camps that were planned to be founded.

The British countered the impending M.C.D.M. by promulgating three ordinances. One to gag the press, the second to punish persons providing shelter and food to the Congress volunteers and the third to provide extraordinary powers to police to deal with the agitators. In subsequent months all these ordinances were used by district administrations. At times and in some places the police behaved brutally in dealing with Congress workers and sympathisers. The history of this period is crowded with many events of police brutality upon satyagrahis and volunteers. For a province which had vowed to break law after law these ordinances looked a small hurdle.

Other forms of Satyagraha:

The K.P.C.W.C. announced that M.C.D.M. will be intensified with picketing of liquor shops, violation of Press Act, breaking of forest law, boycotting of imported cloth and above all with no-tax campaign. In rural North Kanara people had to pay
Hulabanni, a tax of two annas levied for grazing cattle in forest and on grass land. Families without cattle also were required to pay this tax. The Satyagraha Committee which organised the salt satyagraha took measures to organise no-tax campaign through refusal to pay hulabanni. Then the auctioning of the excise rights was also due in May. Volunteers were instructed in the ways of obstructing the auction of excise rights. Along with these campaigns, the boycott of foreign cloth and breaking of forest law was also undertaken on a large scale.

Picketing of liquor shops was undertaken all over Karnataka commencing from May. Thousands of toddy trees were felled throughout. In North Kanara liquor was extracted from coconut trees also. Leaves of such trees were cut and they were rendered useless for extracting liquor. In Ankola hundreds of volunteers including some women would station themselves before liquor shops and prevent people from approaching the shops. Persons in the habit of consuming liquor were convinced how the British were perpetuating their rule over India by raising substantial income through excise duties and how the national health was being deteriorated by allowing consumption of liquor. On number of occasions the police instigated by the liquor vendors used lathis against the volunteers and sometimes they were even arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. This prohibition movement was very popular and provided a wider opportunity for the masses, who hitherto had no chance to participate in the salt satyagraha. This movement not only hurt the British in the form of dwindling income, but thousands gave up consumption of liquor and several excise contractors stayed away from participating in the excise auction.

Another popular movement of this period was the boycott of foreign cloth. Ankola led other towns in North Kanara in destroying large quantities of foreign made cloth. Yashoda Shama Rao Shenoy organised several women volunteers who went round the town collecting foreign made cloth and burning them
in the centre of the town in the presence of hundreds of people. During weekly fairs and wherever people gathered they were requested to discontinue the use of foreign made cloth. Shops selling foreign made cloth were picketed and the merchants were persuaded to sell only Indian made cloth.

The monsoon rains start in June in the coastal areas of Karnataka. During this period the activity in this part will come down considerably because of incessant and heavy rains. As a result salt satyagraha in Ankola and other areas had to be given up during this period. The Satyagraha Committee realised that violation of forest laws during the rainy season would be a novel method of M.C.D.M. The scene of action was shifted from Ankola to Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. K.A.Venkatararamalah arrived at Sirsi and started making necessary preparations for the commencement of the movement. Volunteers from Dharwar, Belgaum and Mysore arrived in large numbers to Sirsi where a camp was founded. Through folk songs, meetings, political speeches, processions and pamphlets the event was publicised. The popular response was overwhelming. Within a short span of time forest satyagraha developed into the epic no-tax campaign.

It was at this juncture that Congress was declared as an unlawful body and many leaders were sent to prison. This intensified the movement. Gandhi had been arrested on May 21, and the fourth of every month was celebrated as Gandhi Day. The police reprisals became more severe. Mr.Brailsford in the course of an article in the Manchester Guardian says, "... a man was beaten till he removed his Gandhi Camp ... a man was beaten (twelve lathi blows)till he saluted the police seven times. A frequent police joke was to say 'Do you want Swaraj? Then here it is, and down would come the lathi.' Such was the brutality of the police. The Viceroy was also determined and addressing both Houses of Legislature on July 9, 1930 said that Government will "fight it with all our strength."
On August 1, several of the C.W.C. members including N.S. Hardikar, were arrested. As a mark of protest the leaders at Sirsi decided to initiate forest satyagraha from August 4. A large number of satyagrahis with musical bands and decorated carts were given a hearty send off by the town's women folk. K.A. Venkataramayya, Commander of the volunteers, led this procession to the nearby reserve forest. Here many trees were felled in the presence of the police and forest guards. Back in Sirsi the branches of the felled trees were auctioned. Subsequently police arrested 10 volunteers. Since this satyagraha continued without respite the police initiated measures, particularly lathi charges and resorted to arrest of leaders.

Meanwhile the forest satyagraha spread to other places within Sirsi taluk. Manjuguni, Karaguppe, Tarakodu, Isalur and Banavasi were in the frontline. K.R. Krishnappa of Shimoga, M. Rudraiah of Davanagere and R.G. Yadavdu from Bagalkot were arrested. From Sirsi the satyagraha spread to Siddapura, Ankola and Kumta taluks. In these taluks women also took part in breaking the forest law. Inspite of heavy rains people exhibited great enthusiasm. The police could not arrest the participants en masse. By this the fear of police among common man vanished and more people came forward to participate in the satyagraha.

Along with forest satyagraha, the refusal to pay hulabanni was on the increase. As a culmination of these two movements the Satyagraha Committee gave a call to the patels (village heads) to resign from their posts and join the movement. This was meant to inflict a moral blow to the British administration. As many as 43 patels in Sirsi taluk presented their resignations to the Tahsildar on August 13, in the presence of hundreds of volunteers. This was soon to be followed by the resignation of patels in Siddapura and Ankola taluks.

Government thought that the volunteers of Hindustani Seva Dal were responsible for the organisation and running of the
Satyagraha movement. Hence the District authorities passed an order asking 23 Sevadal volunteers to leave for Hubli immediately. On August 30, the Commander K.A.Venkataramayya was arrested. By these acts the Government thought that the movement will collapse. The Satyagraha Committee passed on the responsibility of keeping the movement alive to the masses. Village level Committees were organised to refuse hulabanni, seek the resignation of patels, to arrange political meetings and processions and to collect funds.

To curb the increasing activities of the volunteers the district authorities clamped prohibitory orders. By this picketing, political processions and meetings were prohibited. However the circulation of pamphlets and illegal new^bulletins could not be suppressed. The flow of volunteers into North Kanara also could not be effectively prevented. This forced the police to behave violently. In September, police unleashed heavy lathi charges on volunteers at Karwar, Siddapur and Huliyala injuring hundreds of volunteers. Already the two most popular vernacular newspapers of this district, namely, Kannada Vritha and Karnataka Dhurina had been forced to close down. In November, Kaujalgi was arrested and imprisoned for six months.47 In the same month K.P.C.C. and Sevadal were declared unlawful associations.48 All these were done to put down the movement, but in vain.

Like salt satyagraha, K.P.C.C. thought, no-tax campaign must also be intensive and confined to a district or to a few taluks. Ankola taluk was selected. This campaign on an intensive scale required training and technique on the part of the satyagrahis. A study team consisting of V.V.Patil, D.P.Karmkar, B.N.Dathar and N.B.Kabbur was sent to Bardoli.

No-Tax Campaign:

No-tax campaign is an extreme form of satyagraha, which is different from other forms such as picketing, salt satyagraha
and the forest satyagraha. But refusal to pay tax by people means a challenge to the government, which the latter will never tolerate. A satyagrahi participating in no-tax campaign should possess a strong will to withstand the violent reaction from the opponent. The authorities will resort to seizure of property, both movable and immovable, apart from sending the satyagrahi to prison.

The Satyagraha Committee brought out a pamphlet which detailed the hardships one has to undergo if no-tax campaign was practised. Satyagraha Committee's intentions was to explain the whole truth to the intending satyagrahis. But this pamphlet did not dampen the spirit of the satyagrahis.

The Committee entrusted the work of organising the no-tax campaign in Ankola to R.R.Diwakar. Diwakar toured several villages of Ankola taluk and explained to the peasants the virtues of the campaign and its purpose. He also described the no-tax campaign at Bardoli, and the valour and sacrifice of the peasants there. Diwakar was convinced that the campaign would receive full support from the peasants of Ankola. Karamkar and Krishna Panjikar assisted Diwakar in all his efforts. But before the satyagraha campaign could start all the three were served with notices to leave the district at once.

In villages where the campaign was practiced, the morale of the participants had to be always very high. As a step in this direction the patels were requested to resign from their posts. Some, who had resigned during the salt-satyagraha had taken back their resignations. Hence the call was renewed. The whole taluk was divided into 24 blocks. Trained volunteers were assigned to each block to organise it as a strong fort against the authorities. They were assigned with the work of maintaining contacts with the satyagrahis and the Satyagraha Committee, to keep accounts of funds collected and spent, collecting news and views from the local people, and to distribute pamphlets and newsletters illegally.
published by the Satyagraha Committee. Volunteers had come
mainly from Mysore and northern districts of Karnataka.

Unlike salt satyagraha there was no definite date to initiate
this movement. This satyagraha was more than simple violation
of British Indian laws. In execution this campaign was not as
dramatic as salt satyagraha. In the latter the central figure
was Gandhi himself, whereas in the former it was the small number
of peasants who refused to pay the land revenue. In salt satya­
graha, the family and the property of a satyagrahi was not even
remotely connected with the act of his satyagraha. But whereas
in no-tax campaign the satyagrahi's family and his property,
both movable and immovable became the immediate target of the
authorities. Salt satyagraha attracted large number of participants
from all over the country. No-tax campaign contrary to this was
confined to a small number of satyagrahis and to a particular
area. These outwardly show that no-tax campaign was not a mass
movement. But this campaign generated immense moral force
among the satyagrahis.

In Ankola taluk the land revenue was collected in two instal­
ments. The first instalment fell due between January 15
and February 15, every year. Satyagraha Committee fixed
January 26, 1931, the Independence Day, as the day on which
patels of the taluk were to announce their resignations and the
peasants to take an oath affirming their faith in Gandhian methods
of struggle.

On the fixed day, of the 63 patels of the taluk, 41 resigned
and set in motion a great movement against the British. This
campaign had no secrecy about the planning and execution. The
authorities were informed of the plan and programme before hand.
As a first reaction the authorities arrested many leaders including
N.S.Hardikar on January 1, 1931. They tried caste politics,
attempted to appease the peasants and to a little extent succeeded
in winning over a few big landlords and absentee landowners,
but this did not come in the way of the campaign.
At the national level the Viceroy was ready for negotiations, but always within a framework created by the British Government back in London. Dominion Status did not come within this framework. Congress was ready to accept certain conditions of the Government, but in return wanted Dominion Status. Still the Viceroy persisted with the idea of negotiations. So, on the night of January 26, 1931 Gandhi and other leaders were released from the prison. Many thought that the release of Gandhi and his followers, and Viceroy's intention to negotiate with the Congress as a prelude for the suspension of the no-tax campaign. But Gandhi in a press statement clearly indicated that the campaign should continue unabated.

So, question of suspension of the movement in Ankola did not arise. Here many were absentee landlords. They had leased their lands in return for a share of the produce. Since they were the landowners they had to pay the land tax. For them, the collection of their share of produce used to be a difficult task due to many reasons. On this issue many law suits were pending in various law courts at different stages. When the actual cultivator, who was not paying the tax joined the no-tax campaign, the situation became very complex. While the land owner wanted to pay the tax, the cultivator, who had joined the campaign asked him not to do so and if he did pay, his share in the produce would be withheld. The land owner had to face the actual cultivator on the one hand and the hostile authorities on the other. Most of the absentee landlords preferred to pay the land tax and forego their produce share rather than face the authorities who were now armed with more powers to meet the situation. On the whole, very few landowners, staying away from the lands, joined the no-tax campaign.

There was yet another problem in the land owner system. Several of the small land owners and actual cultivators had raised loans by mortgaging their holdings. Under such a condition, if the land owner refused to pay the tax, the actual sufferer
would be the money-lender since the land on whose security he had given loan would be confiscated by the Government. In such a situation the authorities brought pressure on the money lenders to pay the land tax to save their loans. The authorities wanted to collect in this way a major part of the land tax and to lend a moral blow to the satyagrahis. This was the picture during the one-month period when the first instalment of the land tax had to be collected.

As the end of the period about 40 percent of the land tax was due to the Government. A few had paid the first instalment of the tax in full, whereas a vast majority, about 75 percent had paid partial amount of the first instalment of the tax. This was done to escape the action of the authorities on the one hand and on the other tax due was maintained to sympathise with the satyagrahis. However there was a total boycott of government officials in almost of all the village of Ankola taluk, whenever they entered a village for official business, including collection of land tax. The authorities at taluk and district level had lost contact with many villages since a majority of patels had resigned. Wherever new patels were appointed, they too had to resign or face the prospect of a social boycott from the villagers.

The authorities did not resort to the act of confiscation of movable and immovable properties of the satyagrahis after the time limit had expired. Since the ground for negotiations between the Congress and the British had been laid, the authorities at the local level were not supposed to vitiate the atmosphere by confiscating the properties of the satyagrahis. It was also true that confiscation was a difficult task, for transportation was not provided by the villagers to shift the confiscated articles to taluk headquarters. Volunteers had shifted valuable articles and food grains from the houses of satyagrahis to safer places anticipating confiscations.

The wait and see policy of the authorities to initiate legal action against satyagrahis prompted a few more landowners to
take the oath of non-payment of land tax in March. The Satyagrahis were full of spirit on the eve of the due date for the second instalment of the land tax. But on March 5, 1931, the news of Gandhi-Irwin Pact was flashed to every corner of India. By this Pact Gandhi agreed to suspend the no-tax campaign in return for certain concessions from the Government. With this agreement the first round of the no-tax campaign came to an end in Karnataka. The camps of volunteers were closed and the inmates were asked to return to their native places. The satyagrahis were instructed to pay all the tax dues to the Government.

While Ankola was witnessing a no-tax campaign basically for political reasons, peasants in Sirsi and Siddapura in North Kanara and Hirekerur in Dharwar district organised the same campaign purely for economic reasons, particularly agrarian.

In these three taluks the economic condition was grave since the second half of the 1920's. This condition was aggravated with the coming of the economic depression coupled with the failure of the monsoon rains. The major crops grown here were paddy, pepper and arecanut. The depression caused a steep fall in price of these articles, though the production was less due to shortage of rainfall. At the same time the investment per acre of land went up by 35 percent mainly because of shortage of labourers to work in the field. In 1931 it is computed, the income from one acre of arecanut garden was Rs.143/- whereas the investment was Rs.197/-. This agrarian distress took away the capacity of the peasants to pay land tax. The authorities were aware of this situation. But they remained unconcerned and assumed that remission in land tax in these taluks will have its effects on Ankola taluk where politically motivated no-tax campaign was gaining strength. Further, the Government held a different factor as the cause for the depression which was responsible for the economic distress. The Viceroy observed at the Annual General Body meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Dec.1930,
that the Civil Disobedience movement was to a great extent responsible for the depression because the programme of the boycott of British goods had created an atmosphere of uncertainty and unrest. 59

This attitude of the authorities forced the peasants to resort to no-tax campaign in these three taluks. The no-tax campaign was not a new idea in this area. Way back in 1831 there had been a large scale no-tax campaign in this area. 60 Before the campaign peasants sent representations to the authorities explaining their inability to pay the land tax under prevailing economic situation and requested for the remission of land tax. Since the authorities did not respond, the farmers held protest meetings in several villages. An attempt was also made to negotiate with the authorities regarding the remission but without any success.

In these three taluks the no-tax campaign involved refusal to pay tax, courting imprisonment and peaceful picketing directed against the local authorities. 61 The authorities could not collect the first instalment of the land tax in full which had to be completed by February 15. The second instalment of the tax was due from March 16 and the authorities were prepared to collect the tax under duress or to initiate legal action against no-tax campaigners. On the other hand, Congress was also organising the peasants to resist the authorities.

While in Ankola the campaign was suspended consequent of Gandhi-Irwin Pact, in Sirsi, Siddapura and Hirekerur it became impossible to do so. 62 While peasants in Ankola had taken an oath not to pay the tax until the KPCC asked them to do so, the farmers of the three taluks had failed to pay the tax because of their poverty. Though Gandhi-Irwin Pact included a clause about this problem, it was not clear enough to solve it. Congress was morally bound to support the peasants. But the authorities were bent upon making use of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact to their advantage. While Congress was impressing upon the peasants the necessity of paying at least a part of the land tax, the local
authorities resorted to seizure of the properties of the peasants who had failed to pay the taxes by the stipulated date. The authorities gave a few concessions to the peasants of Hirekerur taluk in Dharwar, where as the peasants in Sirsi and Siddapur were made to pay the land tax in full. This was because of the fact that North Kanara had embarrass the officials during the salt satyagraha campaign a few months earlier.

Conclusion of the campaign:

In the meantime, after great pursuasion, W.W. Smart, the Commissioner of Southern Districts of Bombay Presidency agreed to meet R.R. Diwakar the President of K.P.C.C. On April 9, 1931 they arrived at an understanding. According to this the aggrieved peasants had to represent individually to the Collector seeking remission in the second instalment of the land tax and at the same time Congress should give up no-tax campaign. The Collector had to report to the Commissioner, if the remission in large number of cases was found necessary. Commissioner had no power to order such remissions without the consent of the Government. Legal action against the defaulting peasants was also to be withdrawn once the campaign was suspended. Uncollected fines levied upon no-tax campaigners were not to be insisted upon.

Considering the situation, when the authorities were not even ready to listen to the woes of the peasants, this agreement was an achievement on the part of K.P.C.C. Before this agreement was arrived at, the officials had carried out 70 seizures and five cases of auction of movable property in Siddapur taluk. In Sirsi the number of cases of seizure were 50. Without this agreement the hardships of the peasants would have been more in the form of seizures.

Wellington who succeeded Irwin as Viceroy never made any efforts to implement the conditions accepted under Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Provincial authorities were not enthusiastic about the Pact.
This was the immediate problem that Congress had to face. In spite of this the Congress made around efforts to implement the Pact on its part.

The same attitude was shown by the Collector of North Kanara to the Diwakar-Smart understanding. Contrary to the spirit of the understanding seizure of immovable property and auctioning of the same continued with greater vigor. Kannada Vritta in its editorial on May 4, 1931 condemned this attitude and demanded the transfer of the District Collector.

The situation in Sirsi and Siddapura went from bad to worse. At the sixth Karnataka Provincial Conference which met at Hukkeri, the economic situation of these taluks were discussed. Subsequently a study team under S.N.Keshavyn was constituted to tour these taluks and to suggest means to alleviate the sufferings of the peasants. This team arrived at the conclusion that the economic situation was grave and that immediate relief action should be taken. R.R.Diwakar wrote a letter to the Commissioner explaining the findings of the Committee and high-handedness of the officials in coercing the peasants to pay the tax due to the Government. He also demanded immediate relief in the form of tax remission.

Simultaneously the K.P.C.C. organised relief measures through Gandhi Seva Sangh. Money and food grains were collected from all over Karnataka to be distributed among the needy in Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. The Bombay Presidency Government in July 1931 announced tax remission in the second instalment in 115 villages of Sirsi. But it was late and already in many of these villages the second instalment of land tax had been forcibly collected, mainly through attachment of immovable property.

**Results of the campaign :**

The coersive methods adopted by the British at a very critical economic situation made the people to realise the disadvantages of having an alien administration. This left a deep
scar on the minds of the people who witnessed the oppressive machinery of the British. This apart there was no material achievement as a result of this campaign. Hundreds went to prison, press was gagged and properties were confiscated. Congress could do nothing about this. Further, the peace that was established was deceptive. Diehards within the Congress wanted "a fight to a finish." Events were also moving in their way.

Second No-Tax campaign:

Gandhi who had gone to London as the sole representative of the Congress to participate in the Second Round Table Conference returned disappointed. The composition of the Conference itself was on communal lines, which was denounced by many. Anticipating this failure the Indian Government had made elaborate arrangements to meet any eventuality. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on December 26. A little later, on January 4, 1932 Gandhi was arrested. These arrests signalled the commencement of the second round of the campaign throughout India.

This campaign ran much on the same lines as those of 1930-31. The second round of the struggle was more intensive and more determined. Emphasis on non-violence was greater, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor was on a large scale, with women taking larger part in these campaigns. The reaction of the Government was also more brutal. In all Congress Provinces 'Dictators' were appointed who exercised the rights of the Provincial Congress Committee. Further, it percolated down to districts and taluks and even villages had a Congress dictator during this period.

Day after the arrest of Gandhi, the Bombay Presidency Government issued an Extraordinary Gazette declaring K.P.C.C. and Hindustani Seva Dal as illegal bodies. However, by this time the Seva Dal had become a part of the Congress by a resolution of the C.W.C. of July, 1931. The properties belonging to the above bodies were all confiscated. Subsequently, hundreds
of volunteers and suspected sympathisers of the Congress were arrested without warrant. By May 31, 1932, 1194 Congress men and other related to the campaign were in jail. In the subsequent months Karnataka Dhureena of Kumta, Karnataka Vybhava of Bijapur and Karmaveera of Dharwar went out of publication since their editors were arrested. The intention of the Government was to scuttle the campaign in its early stage by arresting enmasse the Congress workers, volunteers, leaders and even sympathisers and by gagging the press. The local authorities even issued instructions to the owners of cars and lorries not to carry Congressmen.

The K.P.C.W.C. which had met at Dharwar had decided to initiate the campaign once again in North Kanara. Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapura were selected. Karamkar was requested to organise the Ankola taluk while R.R.Diwakar was to organise Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. Diwakar addressing the Congress workers and volunteers in these taluks made it clear that the participants in the movement had to face grave situations. He also laid down certain conditions to the satyagrahis. According to the principles of satyagraha as enunciated by Gandhi a satyagrahi was not expected to receive any kind of help, financial or otherwise from the public or from the Congress. A satyagrahi was expected to suffer and face the gravest of dangers and even death. When it was for economic reasons, the helping hand extended by Congress to the peasants of Sirsi and Siddapur, Diwakar said, may not be available when the campaign was for political reasons.

As the plan of the campaign was announced, Diwakar was arrested on January 11, 1932 at Sirsi. But before this he had organised volunteers in Sirsi and Siddapur. The taluk unit of the Congress appointed Shiralagi Subrayabhatta as the first dictator of Siddapur taluk. Anticipating the arrest of the dictator six more dictators were named to succeed him one after the other. The whole taluk was divided into 18 divisions. To gather information and convey the decisions of the dictators volunteers were stationed in all these divisions.
February 15, was fixed by the administration as the last date to collect the two instalments of the land tax. The date was brought back by a month so that a large number of peasants would pay before the Congress could organise the no-tax campaign. But the first dictator Subrayabhatta issued a pamphlet containing the programme of the Congress and calling upon the peasants of Sirsi taluk to restrain from paying the land tax.

At this juncture, K.A. Venkataramaliah took over the responsibility of organising the campaign. Tagadahalli, in Mysore State, adjacent to the area of the campaign was selected for setting up the volunteers camp. From this camp daily bulletins were published and volunteers carried them to the centre of no-tax campaign. Doddamane Nagesha Hegde was entrusted with the task of running this camp. The authorities continued with the act of seizing and auctioning of movable property to realise the land tax. Out of about 1500 tax payers 283 refused to pay. The authorities could collect only Rs. 45,000/- out of 75,000/- of tax amount. To realise the dues the authorities carried on 306 seizures. During the collection of second instalment of land tax the number of satyagrahis refusing to pay the tax increased to 592. Out of Rs.73,000/- only Rs.33,000/- could be realised.

In Sirsi the campaign started with political meetings, prabhat pheris and jungle satyagraha. Volunteers cut off the branches of sandal trees and auctioned them in the centres of the town. Contraband salt was also sold openly in the market. The authorities in this taluk made attempts to organise a public meeting to counter the Congress programme. But this did not evoke expected response from the citizens of Sirsi town. In this taluk 150 peasants signed the Congress declaration of participating in no-tax campaign. Two patels, Kadabala Thimmaiah Hegde and Kanhalli Subbaiah Hegde resigned their posts.

The authorities started collecting the first instalment of the land revenue on February 5, 1932. There were about 3000 tax payers in Ankola. About 400 peasants refused to pay the
first instalment of the tax. Their number rose to 734 during the collection of the second instalment of the tax. To realise the tax, the local authorities undertook nearly a thousand seizures of movable property. About 600 peasants were served with the notices of forfeiture of their land holdings and about 150 acres of land was auctioned. Though there were persons in the beginning to buy such lands, subsequently their numbers decreased considerably, because the buyer had to face women picketers and social boycott from friends and relatives. In this taluk the assessment was Rs.52,000/- for the first instalment. Inspite of confiscation and auction sale the authorities could not realise Rs.7,000/-. For the second instalment the assessment was Rs.40,000/- But more than Rs.16,000/- could not be collected from the peasants. The violation of salt law was also continued as per the direction of the A.I.C.C. Salt was manufactured and was sold in hundreds of places. Salt was imported from Goa, a Portuguese Colony, without paying excise duty and was sold in North Kanara, particularly in Karwar.

The above study of the second round of satyagraha campaign in the form of no-tax movement clearly shows that this round was much stronger and the peasants were more determined, compared to the first round of the satyagraha campaign, during which the act of violation of salt law was prominent. During the no-tax campaign, the women volunteers played a vital role and provided a new dimension to the movement by their participation.

As already told earlier, there were some persons willing to buy seized cattle, household articles and land in Government auction. Venkataramaiah organised a batch of women volunteers who would picket in front of the buyer's house until he accepted to return the article or land and agreed not to participate in the auction in future. The idea was new and the outcome was not definite. Picketing means, sitting or standing in front of the opponents' house, day and night without taking any food.
This demands stern discipline, strong will and patience on the part of the satyagrahis. The women satyagrahis participating in such campaign exerted immense moral force on the wrong doer. Women are held in high esteem in this part of Karnataka and their sufferings evoked sympathy from all quarters.

Many volunteers were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. These women prisoners were lodged in prisons of intolerable conditions. It would not be irrelevent here to describe the conditions of female prison of Belgaum as experienced by the famous satyagrahi Mani Vallabhai Patel. She stayed in this prison with 77 other prisoners, among whom four had babies. This apart staying with them were 15 ordinary criminals. The one barrack prison measured 138' 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" x 18' 6". There was no proper sanitary facilities and hence the condition was unhygenic. The prisoners lived here at the whims and fancies of the jail officials. No lady doctor ever visited the female prisoners inspite of repeated requests.\(^90\)

The first such satyagraha or picketing took place on March 29, 1932 at Hechche,\(^91\) a village in Soraba taluk in Shimoga district then a part of Mysore State. A person by name Ramappa from this village bought a milch buffalo in an auction sale held at Taluk office of Siddapur. Venkataramaiah who was in charge of the taluk organised the picketing in which his wife Gowramma along with Kaveramma and Lakshamma took part.

This picketing was called Anna Satyagraha (or food satyagraha) since the satyagrahis would fast until death. At Hechche the satyagraha started on the afternoon of March 29, and ended during the small hours of April 1, 1932. The fasting was for more than 60 hours, during which only water was consumed.\(^92\) For the first 48 hours Ramappa was adament, but thereafter yielded to the moral force generated by the satyagrahis. Women from his own family took him to task for having made the three women satyagrahis suffer, particularly the young Gowramma whose condition
became precarious after two days of fast and loud singing of prayers and bhajans. Ramappa whose mind was now converted repented for his sin and returned the buffello to the satyagrahis.

The number of suh satyagrahis increased in subsequent months. Consequently, there were practically no persons to participate in the auction sale. Authorities lost patience and the police turned violent. In Akkunji where women satyagrahis were picketing under the leadership of Gowramma, the police manhandled the satyagrahis and a couple of them were thoroughly beaten with lathis. Earlier the constables and the police officer present used foul language against the satyagrahis, but without any reaction. This police violence instead of deterring the women satyagrahis, made them determined and their numbers increased. In one instance sixteen women satyagrahis took part in the picketing among whom three were having babies of 12 to 24 months.

On December 22, 1932 the Governor of Bombay Presidency visited Karwar. As a precaution a large number of volunteers were arrested. However a women by name Kanagila Bomma went to the harbour incognito and demonstrated with a black flag when the Governor arrived. Before she could be arrested, she disappeared from the scene.

The women satyagrahis who took part in the campaign were mostly illiterate. They had little or no knowledge of what harm the British administration was doing to Indian economic, social and political life. The sufferings of the satyagrahis participating in the salt satyagraha campaign of 1930-31 was sufficient for them to mark out the British as bad and that they should be driven out of the country. With the participation of women the movement truly became a mass movement. It also provided spiritual tone, as Gandhi planned, to satyagraha movement.

In the months February and March the police resorted to heavy lathi charge and large scale arrest in Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. Most of the leaders were arrested and sentenced
to imprisonment. This helped the campaign to go to rural areas from urban centres. In villages meetings were held and forest laws were violated. In the month of May the movement saw a downward tendency. The authorities inspite of this continued the act of seizure of cattle, household articles, food grains and immovable properties like the land and houses belonging to the satyagrahis.

This apart the government levied punitive tax on certain villages to punish them for having helped the satyagrahis. The issue went to the Bombay Legislative Assembly for a discussion in March 1933. But the Home Member disallowed the discussion. The punitive tax, the Government said, was levied on the basis of stationing extra police force for which the residents of the villages had to pay. Since the peace was enjoyed by them, they had to bear the extra burden. During this period a punitive tax of Rs.35,000/- was levied on the peasants of Ankola Taluk.

In July rains started and for the rainy season the satyagraha campaign was suspended. With the end of rains and the commencement of harvest, the campaign once again gathered momentum. Deputy Inspector General of Police had earlier warned of this resurgence once the rains stopped and harvest activities started. The authorities had seized about 2,000 acres of land and had a suspicion that nobody would come forward to buy them fearing picketing by satyagrahis. Posting police force to prevent satyagrahis from harvesting arecanut in the seized gardens was impracticable. Even getting labour force by the authorities for this purpose became difficult because volunteers prevented the labourers from accepting the jobs. At this juncture, a large number of satyagrahis and volunteers were released from the prison for want of accommodation. These satyagrahis and volunteers at once organised as 'Raid Parties' under Venkataramaiah to raid paddy fields and arecanut gardens, confiscated by the Government, to reap the harvest.
The authorities harvested the arecanut garden in some areas and attempted to sell the produce in Sirsi and Byadgi, the two large arecanut trading centres. The volunteers immediately undertook to picket the godowns of the arecanut merchants. This apart Venkataramaiah wrote letters to the Association of Arecanut Merchants of Bombay asking them not to deal with their counterparts in Sirsi and Byadgi. Arecanut from these centres went to Bombay. When the Bombay merchants refused to buy the product the local merchants were put to great deal of difficulty. On the one hand, they were reluctant to displease the authorities and on the other were not willing to buy in the absence of customers. Without any alternative they accepted the conditions laid down by the Congress not to deal in arecanut brought from the confiscated gardens. This was a major victory for the Congress. The authorities gave up their plan to harvest and sell the arecanut. The owners of the gardens were subsequently allowed to harvest the arecanut.

Conclusion of the campaign:

This phase of the movement which lasted for 17 months was free from violence on the part of the volunteers. They were peaceful even in the face of grave provocation. On the other hand, unable to arrest hundreds of satyagrahis violating the forest law, the police resorted to indiscriminate lathi charge injuring hundreds of the participants. L.W. Matts, a Member of India League in England visited North Kanara in September 1932, to enquire into the police excesses. The authorities accepted that arresting hundreds of volunteers and imprisoning them was physically impossible, hence lathi charge was resorted to disperse the agitating masses.

The government was well organised to meet any challenge from the Congress, since the scene of action was confined to a small part of Karnataka. On the other hand Congress through a net work of offices secretly maintained by volunteers, issued regular instructions to volunteers and satyagrahis active in the
field. Secrecy, though against the principles of satyagraha but commonly practised elsewhere in India was adopted by a few leaders whose presence was essential for the smooth running of the campaign.

To change the hearts of caste Hindus about the Harijans' temple entry and also for self purification, Gandhi started 21 days fast on 8 May, 1933. On the same day he was released from the prison. Before he started his fast he asked Madhava Rao Aney, President of the Congress to officially declare suspension for one full month or even six weeks of the satyagraha campaign. This was an opportunity provided to the Government to come to an understanding with the Congress. But the Government insisted upon the complete suspension of the campaign. At this juncture Gandhi realised that the campaign was getting more and more secretive, that the satyagrahis were ill prepared to bear the rigorous repression and were unable to act as one man, and withdrew the M.C.D.M.

Instead Individual Civil Disobedience Movement (I.C.D.M) was announced. Whoever were able and were willing to participate were advised to take up this campaign. This campaign was initiated by Gandhi on August 1, 1933 by violating a Government Order, for which he was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. From August 1933 to April 1934 a regular stream of volunteers maintained the campaign in Karnataka and hundreds went to prison. This campaign lacked the appeal of M.C.D.M. and hence was not very popular.

Gandhi was released in a shortwhile on August 20, 1933, when he resorted to fasting because the jail authorities refused to continue the facilities offered to him earlier. During the subsequent period he decided to work for the cause of the Harijans. Gandhi decided particularly not to court arrest and embarrass the British. On the other hand, the volunteers who resorted to individual satyagraha were arrested and were released frequently.
Lathis, at times, were also used freely on volunteers. The mood of the volunteers and the authorities can be understood by the fact that the number of political prisoners in jails all over India came down drastically. In May 1932 it was 31,194, in February 1933 it came down to 13,671 and by February 1934 the numbers trickled down to 1664. The volunteers had become wearisome and hence the movement began to falter. The CDM during these days was confined to 'Independence Day' and other memorial days. Simultaneously large number of Congressmen began to lean towards the idea of Council entry and to this end they wanted to revive Swaraj Party. Their intension was to fight the imperialists from within and expose the weakness of the system. On May 18, 1933 the AICC met at Patna and revived the Swaraj Party to contest for the Central Assembly. Hereafter the Congress had two units - one fighting the elections to enter the Councils, and the other engaged in constructive programme, particularly Harijan upliftment.

Gandhi also issued a statement on April 7, 1934 from Patna suspending the civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. Gandhi after his Harijan tour realised that the "masses have not received the full message of Satyagraha, owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission." He also felt that the volunteers "had never reached" the masses. He called upon the satyagrahis to devote their time in nation building activities like Harijan movement, temperance movement, khadi propagation, etc.

Results:

The suspension of the CDM prompted the Government to lift the ban on certain bodies of the Congress. The suspension cleared the way for council entry on the part of the Congress. With this the Second Phase of the Satyagraha for political emancipation came to an end. The period between 1934 to 1939 was vastly devoted for constructive programme by Gandhi and for fight
within the Councils by the Congress. Vast majority of Congressmen and leaders of other shades welcomed the council entry programme. By a resolution of the AICC meeting at Patna in May 1934 the Provincial Congress Committees were reorganised to meet the new political situation. Gangadhara Rao Deshapande was asked to undertake this task in Karnataka.

With the suspension of the no-tax campaign the plight of the satyagrahi-peasants of Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapura increased. Many peasants had lost everything they had. Some had become ill and were unable to do any manual work. Moved by the sacrifice of the peasants in different provinces Gandhi abandoned Sabarmathi Ashram, his only possession in July 1933, saying that there was no meaning in enjoying it when others had lost everything they had. This situation prompted the KPCC to appoint Kanara Farmers' Relief Committee in July 1934 under Gangadhara Rao Deshapande. The Committee toured the area and confirmed the accounts about the pitiable condition of peasants. The Committee recommended two types of relief, one permanent and the other temporary. Permanent relief was securing lands and houses for those who had lost both, so that they might have something to live in and labour upon for their livelihood. Temporary relief was to be in the nature of food and cloth for the needy peasants.

Subsequently two local committees were appointed. One was at Siddapura and the other at Ankola for the distribution of temporary relief. The rate was fixed at Rs.2 to 3 per adult and a little less per child per month. Further two relief centres, at Shimoga and Karwar, were started to provide shelter to affected women and children. The Committee contemplated a series of permanent measures to alleviate sufferings of the peasants of North Kanara. But all of them could not be implemented for want of sufficient funds. In spite of lack of funds the Committee undertook the following steps: (1) Assistance to peasants incapacitated by oldage; (2) Providing lands to families who had lost everything
they possessed; (3) Providing assistance to peasants who were willing to migrate to Mysore State; and (4) The destitute peasants of Siddapur were secured garden lands. These permanent and temporary measures to some extent provided relief to the peasants of North Kanara. But to a great extent their plight continued for some more years. Only in 1937 when Morarji Desai was the Home Minister of the Bombay Presidency a law was passed and the confiscated and auctioned land was restored to the original owners.

The Campaign of 1930-34 in other districts of Bombay-Karnataka:

During this period about 750 volunteers courted imprisonment by violating various laws. This figure was almost half the number of volunteers who courted imprisonment from Bombay-Karnataka districts other than North Kanara. With the initiation of salt satyagraha, the political movement gained ascendency once again. War councils to lead the campaign were established in almost all the towns of the district, particularly in Gadag, Gokak, Bailhongala, Kittur, Hukkeri and Savadatti.

Deshapande Gangadhara Rao was once again in the lead. He was arrested on the day he violated the salt law. A batch of volunteers led by Keshava Rao Gokhale, who were on their way to Ankola were arrested. In the first month salt laws were violated in several places and about 300 volunteers were arrested and many were sentenced to imprisonment for different durations. Punitive measures against several villages were initiated by the authorities for having hosted satyagrahis. Pachchapur was one such small town where the authorities levied punitive fines. Upon the refusal of the people to pay the fine, the authorities resorted to confiscation of household articles and utensils. Picketings were organised when an attempt was made to auction the confiscated articles.

Between 1930-32 the violation of forest laws were organised. This apart hundreds of palm trees were destroyed and excise
income to the Government was brought down considerably. This was a serious act which the authorities did not tolerate. About 45 volunteers were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, particularly a volunteer by name Venkareddy Hooli was sentenced to ten years rigorous imprisonment, the longest imprisonment in the whole of the province during the period under study. In December 1931, Jawaharlal Nehru visited Belgaum and his speeches inspired the volunteers to enlarge the scope of the movement.

In 1932-34 the movement was more of the nature of constructive activity, particularly the Harijan upliftment. Gangadhara Rao Deshapande, President of the AICC released recently was arrested in Belgaum in 1932, under the ordinance 2 of 1932, causing spontaneous upsurge of the campaign in several parts of Bombay-Karnataka.

With the dawn of the year 1930 the political activities in Dharwar district started warming up. Anticipating a national struggle in the immediate future necessary arrangements were made. As elsewhere, January 26, was celebrated as the Independence Day. Hosamani Siddappa, Hardekar Manjappa, Muduveedu Krishna Rao and other prominent leaders toured the district, spreading the message of Gandhi. Subsequently volunteer camps were organised in several places. Hindustani Seva Dal became a household name during this period. N.S.Hardikar organised training camps in important towns like Hubli, Dharwar, Gadag, Haveri, Ranebennur, Byadgi and Ron.

When North Kanara was selected as the site of salt satya-graha, Dharwar district organised a march of the volunteers from Hubli to Karwar under the leadership of N.S.Hardikar and R.R.Diwakar. Subsequently several volunteers from different camps in Dharwar district went to North Kanara to take part in the campaigns of 1930 and 1932. Karmaveera and Rajahamsa of the district played a very important role during these campaigns. This apart a large number of bulletins were published and the
people were regularly informed of the Congress activities. In 1930 the citizens of Hubli and Dharwar boycotted the census, on the lines of Bombay, for which the District Congress had given a call.

Though North Kanara was the showpiece of the movement between the years 1930 and 1934, the real plans and programmes were chalked out from Hubli and Dharwar. Several leaders of this district went to prison and dozens of volunteers were deported. During this period police atrocities were also common. Police opened fire on volunteers at Gadag, Haveri and Hubli in which many were wounded. Though Congress had been banned, its presence was felt in the whole of the district. When the Hubli Municipality hoisted the National Flag the Government threatened to stop all financial aid to the municipality.

During the ICDM individual volunteers courted arrest by violating ban orders, distributing proscribed literature, by picketing liquor shops, and by organising meetings and delivering speeches. Bijapur, Indi, Sindagi, Hunagunda and Badami taluks played important role in the satyagraha campaign of 1930-34. For sometime K.F. Nariman, Jeevaraj Mehta and K.M. Munshi were prisoners in Bijapur. Naturally their presence inspired the Congress men in this town.

During the first round of the campaign felling of toddy trees was common. Wherever reserve forests existed, the volunteers violated the forest law either by felling the trees or by cutting off the branches and carrying them away for public auctioning. Several volunteers went to Belgaum and to North Kanara to participate in the salt satyagraha.

When Gandhi was arrested in May, 1930 hartal was organised in important towns of this district. Prabhat pheris and women's marches were frequently organised to keep the spirit burning among common people. A few young men from Indi taluk went to Gujarat to participante in the Dandi March. When they
returned with rich experience, the complexion of the whole taluk was changed. Spinning wheel and khadi became popular at once. Violation of forest law and picketing before foreign cloth shops became a common feature. N.S. Hardikar sent Seva Dal leaders to organise a camp in Bijapur to train volunteers\textsuperscript{127} for the coming Karnataka Provincial Conference.\textsuperscript{128} Kaujalgi Srinivasa Rao, Mohare Hanumantha Rao and Srinivasa Rao Mangalavedhe toured the district spreading the message of Gandhi. In 1933 Mohare Hanumantha Rao gave up the leadership of the district and went to Belgaum to become the editor of \textit{Samyukta Karnataka}.

The campaign between 1932-34 was confined to certain days like the day Gandhi was arrested, Independence day and other Memorial days. During ICDM a few volunteers from this district went to jail.

\textbf{Campaigns in Madras-Karnataka:}

Since South Kanara was close to North Kanara, the impact of the movement was always felt. Karnad Sadashiva Rao accompanied by Deshapande Gangadhara Rao and Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi toured the district and prepared the ground. A camp to house the outstation volunteers was founded in Mangalore. For this purpose Astulla Saheb, a Municipal Councillor provided his building. A Committee to organise the salt satyagraha was formed under the guidance of Karnad Sadashiva Rao. On 13th as elsewhere in the country salt law was violated by manufacturing salt from the sea water and by auctioning it in the open market.

On April 30, Sadashiva Rao was arrested and sentenced to 15 months imprisonment.\textsuperscript{129} His arrest along with several volunteers gave further strength to the movement. On May 1, 1930 around 20,000 people participated in a procession and a meeting to show their solidarity with Sadashiva Rao and other arrested volunteers.

Along with salt law violation, picketing liquor shops was very popular in this district. Authorities were very strong
measures to break-down the campaign by resorting to arrests, beating of the volunteers and by promulgating prohibitive orders. On June 25, hundreds of persons, both volunteers and innocent by-standers, were thoroughly beaten by the police in Mangalore. The crime they had committed was the violation of the Section 144.

In Udupi, a town about fifty kms. from Mangalore, the campaign had gathered momentum. A volunteers camp was founded and from here processions and political meetings were regularly arranged. N.Vasudeva Rao was the camp leader and he trained large number of volunteers who were sent to Mangalore and from here to other places. This activity invariably attracted the police attention. In July, a strong posse of police raided this camp, caned the volunteers present there and confiscated the furniture, records and other things kept there. Camp leader was arrested and subsequently Imprisoned. After the closure of the camp, the campaign lost ground in Udupi.

The failure of the second Round Table Conference once again gave life to the political activity in South Kanara. In the last week of January, 1932 volunteers picketing toddy and foreign cloth shops were mercilessly beaten and mortally wounded. This incident was discussed in the Madras Legislative Council on March 14, 1932. The Government however refused to appoint an enquiry commission on this incident. In June 1932, the South Kanara District Conference was held at Mangalore. Khandige Krishna Bhat presided over this Conference. The Conference was held inspite of the ban on Congress. This Conference gave strength to the weakening movement in South Kanara. But the energies and attention of the leaders of this district were concentrated more at Sirsi, Siddapura and Ankola and hence the campaign here suffered.

In Bellary district, apart from Bellary, Harapanahalli and Kottur were the main centres of satyagraha activities during this period. The movement started with a public meeting in Bellary on June 4, 1930. Tekur Subramanyam, leader of the district
addressed the meeting. A volunteers' camp was founded in Bellary to train dedicated satyagrahis. At Kappagalli, near Bellary, salt was manufactured, auctioned and was bought by several persons thereby violating the salt law. N.S. Hardikar and Deshapande Gangadhara Rao toured important towns of Bellary and explained to the people the aim and essence of the satyagraha campaign.

In 1931 Karnataka Kesari, a Kannada Weekly was founded. This weekly served the cause of the campaign by informing the readers of the development and progress elsewhere. T. B. Keshava Rao, Tekur Subramanyam and V.M. Giri organised the printing and publishing of this weekly until 1932 when the authorities forced its closure by demanding heavy deposit. In the Bellary Jail many national leaders had been housed. In March 1932, K.F. Nariman, Munshi and Perin Captain were released on paroles, but were immediately rearrested and sentenced to imprisonment by the city Magistrate. On September 12, the political prisoners here were lathi-charged for a simple reason that a prisoner from Punjab raised an anti-British slogan. The wounding of several political prisoners was discussed in the Madras Legislative Council on October 23, 1932, without any outcome.

In 1932 the movement gained followers in Hospet and Bagalkot also. In 1933 Mallasajjan gymnesium and Navajeewan gymnesium were founded by the local Congressmen to give physical training to the Congress volunteers. They became the centres of all political activities, particularly for the youth in Bellary District. In 1933, Bellary District Political Conference was held at Kottur. In March 1934, on an Harijan tour Gandhi visited Bellary and Kottur. In 1934 the Congress did extensive work in the cause of Harijan upliftment.

Impact of the movement on Hyderabad-Karnataka:

While the British-Karnataka was witnessing one of the epic struggles against the British to achieve purna swaraj, the people
In Hyderabad-Karnataka were mute spectators. The Nizam of Hyderabad had taken all the necessary precautions to nip the movement in the very early stage. Anticipating political campaigns against the British he had imposed ban on all public meetings in 1929.  

Any attempt to organise political associations had been frustrated by the Nizam's government. In 1935 an attempt was made to organise a non-communal body called Subjects' League to fight for political reforms. A large number of leading citizens were involved in this venture. But the Government did not allow this attempt to fructify.

Hyderabad had taken part in the Round Table Conference and was against the principles of Congress. The Government had been telling that Hyderabad was a part of India and Hyderabadis were Indians, but in action this was never putforth.

The salt satyagraha campaign had little effect on Hyderabad Karnataka. Apart from boycotting and burning foreign made cloth and propagation of Khadi on a small scale, no definite programme was chalked-out in Hyderabad-Karnataka because of the prevailing political situation.

The Haripur Congress attracted quite a few delegates from this part. Influenced by the resolution of this session, an attempt was made to form Hyderabad Congress in 1938. But it was destined to die before its birth by an order of the Nizam's government. In the meanwhile, the Karnataka Parishat on the lines of Andhra Maha Sabha and Maharashtra Parishat was started in Hyderabad-Karnataka under the leadership of Janardhana Rao Desai, Guda-gunth Ramacharya Joshi and G.K.Pranesha Charya. In due course this body started taking active role in the politics of Hyderabad-Karnataka and when Hyderabad Congress was declared an illegal body, Parishat took over its activities.

The declaration of ban on Hyderabad Congress led to a series of Satyagraha campaigns in Hyderabad. Eighteen batches
of satyagrahis went to prison protesting the repressive administra-
tion of the Nizam. Janardhana Rao Desai was one among the first
to be arrested and imprisoned. Considering the political situation
in British India and communal politics in Hyderabad, the satyagraha
campaigns on the advise of Gandhi were suspended. Subsequently
in April 1939 all the imprisoned satyagrahis were released from
the prison. But the ban on Hyderabad Congress and congress
workers was not lifted.

Impact of the movement on Mysore:

The political turmoil in British-Karnataka had its effect
on Mysore State also. Dr.N.S.Hardikar visited Mysore State and
addressed several public meetings in different places. The Dandi
March and Gandhi's arrest had electrifying effect on the masses
here. Large number of young men went to Hubli for training and
after training to Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapura. The help in men,
money and material rendered by Mysore Congress to the satyagraha
campaigns in North Kanara is highly commendable. K.A.Venkatara-
maiah and his wife Gowramma were familiar names in North Kanara
in those days.

The political movement in Mysore State gathered momentum
after Nehru's visit to Bangalore in 1931. However Congress was
against its name being dragged into the politics of princely states.
Consequently no actual campaign was organised in any part of Mysore
State. But the Mysore Congress was free to support the volunteers
of British-Karnataka. On several occasions the leaders of the
satyagraha campaign in Karnataka met in Bangalore to plan the
satyagraha campaigns away from British-Karnataka police. Members
of Mysore Congress played an important role in organising Satyagraha
campaigns in North Kanara. Sampige Venkatapatnaiah was in charge
of collecting funds in Mysore State and sending it to V.S.Narayana
Rao who was in North Kanara organising the distribution of help
to the affected families. Hundreds of satyagrahis in North Kanara,
both men and women had been to prison, leaving behind children.
To look after these children, Mysore Congress founded a "Children's Home" in Shimoga.\textsuperscript{140}

At Faizpur Congress, the A.I.C.C. influenced by young leaders like Nehru and Patel, gave its assent to Indian States' people to organise struggle for responsible Government on their own. Individual Congress leaders were permitted to support such a struggle. With this a new political era commences in the history of Mysore State. Mysore Congress became popular and powerful. The events hereafter moved at high speed.

The aspiration to have responsible government became more pronounced in the early 1930's. More than 20 members of the Mysore Legislative Council submitted an appeal to the Viceroy and the Congress demanding representation in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. They pointed out that they were the true representatives of the people\textsuperscript{141} and not the prince. The newly founded Praja Paksha (People's Party) was aggressive in demanding responsible government at its first conference held at Channapatna in September 1931.\textsuperscript{142} Further, D.S. Mallappa, President of the Party condemned the attitude of the authorities towards the national flag and volunteers picketing liquor shops.

In April 1932 an All Parties Conference was held at Shimoga under the chairmanship of H.B. Gundappa Gowda. This conference welcomed the idea of the India Federation as conceived under the forthcoming Reforms in British India. The Conference wanted that the States' people should have the same rights and privileges as those of the citizens of British India.\textsuperscript{143} Further the Conference also demanded the establishment of a responsible government in Mysore. The same sentiments were expressed in subsequent conferences of the political parties.\textsuperscript{144}

The State administration was against such ideas.\textsuperscript{145} Mirza Ismail, the Dewan, wanted the princely states to retain their identity in any Federation. He wanted that the prince should be given a proper place in the scheme of the Federation.\textsuperscript{146}
This opposing view was expressed to gain time and also to pursue the policy of wait and see. On the other hand the British were also apprehensive of the Congress spreading dissatisfaction in Princely India. Consequent of these the idea of the Confederation never came into being.

The year 1933 saw economic depression in Mysore State as elsewhere. The agricultural prices went down steeply. This increased the rural indebtedness and sapped the economic strength of the peasants. This in turn affected the standard of living in the State. In almost all the British provinces and Indian states the authorities had given remission in land tax. But in Mysore State the revenue demand was not reduced. This led to a serious agitation in the Mysore Legislative Council. The non-official resolution asking 25% remission in the revenue demand was defeated by the official majority. This negative attitude of the Government towards the peasants in distress drew widespread criticism from all sections within the State and outside. The Hindu wrote two editorials denouncing the stand taken by the Revenue Member of the Mysore Government.

These developments, political as well as economic, were gradually crystallising the political scene in the State paving the way for the foundation of a stronger political party fighting for 'responsible government' against 'responsive government.'

The Praja Paksha and the Praja Mitra Mandali, the two leading political parties merged to form Prajasamuyktha Paksha. The non-Brahmin movement gradually withered away and a new generation of national leaders appeared on the scene.

In British India also political atmosphere was changing in favour of the Congress. The Act of 1935, the consequent elections in British India and Congress victories in the elections further intensified the political aspirations of the masses in Indian India. In Mysore State the people's representatives had
been kept away from the prescints of power. This led to frustra-
tion and violent reaction on the part of the representatives at
the Assembly and Council meetings.

Soon this situation led to a friction between the Mysore
Congress and the Government. In Bangalore processions and
meetings were banned in view of the prevalent labour unrest.
The Congress leaders took this opportunity to launch a campaign
against the authorities. A Council of Action having Tagadur Rama-
chandra Rao, Seetharama Sastry and T.Siddalingaiah was
formed. At this juncture K.T.Bashyam, a Congress leader,
was arrested for his speech denouncing the prohibitory order.
He was also a Member of the Assembly, which was to meet the
day after his arrest. On November 8, 1937 he was sentenced
to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs.1000/- or
in default a further 3 months' imprisonment. This punishment
was excessive and needlessly harsh. In the meanwhile on
October 16, 1937 at a convention the Prajasamhyuktha Paksha under
the leadership of K.C.Reddy and S.Nijalingappa opposed the
Government action, drew a plan of stir against the reactionary
Dewan and also a plan to merge with the Mysore Congress, which hereafter was called Mysore State Congress (M.S.C).

Subsequently, when the Assembly met there were several
walkouts protesting against the Dewan's style of working. Outside
the Assembly the agitation against the Dewan gained strength.
It spread to other towns and the authorities in return set in
motion the machinery of oppression. Several Congressmen
who violated prohibitory orders were arrested and were
imprisoned. These prisoners were illtreated by jail
authorities. Ban on processions, hoisting of national flag
and entry of national leaders from outside the state was imposed.
Soon this drew all India attention. The C.W.C. gave moral support
for the struggle in Mysore State by sending a warm message of
encouragement. The Dewan was against outside interference
in the politics of Mysore State. He did not like Congress inter-
ference. Addressing the Assembly in October, 1937 he clearly
expressed his displeasure at Congress interference.\textsuperscript{160}

K.C. Reddy, President of the M.S.C., issued a press statement denouncing the antique idea of the Dewan. He supported the interference of Congress by saying that India was one and indivisible, which should have one political party, and that political party was the Congress.\textsuperscript{161} The A.I.C.C. meeting in Calcutta in October 1937 also condemned the repression in Mysore.\textsuperscript{162} Nehru addressed a letter to the Secretary of the K.P.C.C. asking to give full support to the M.S.C. but not to interfere directly and violate any state laws.\textsuperscript{163} It was oppression everywhere of individual freedom, freedom of speech and freedom of movement. The Dewan even resented the hoisting of national flag anywhere in Mysore State.\textsuperscript{164}

Many national leaders had realised that the day of British quitting India was not far off and they wanted Indian States to be a part of united India. Hence at Haripur Session the A.I.C.C passed the following resolution: "The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated."\textsuperscript{165} This resolution meant strong support for the political movements in Indian states. But still this fell short of direct participation of Congress in the political emancipation of Indian States. Gandhi was firm about this.\textsuperscript{166}

The first session of the M.S.C. after the merger of Praja-samyukta Paksha met at Shivapura, near Maddur in Mandya District in April 1938. T. Siddalingalih presided over the session. Sometime earlier the Magistrate had issued an order banning the hoisting of national flag at the venue of the Session. This was an insult not only to the M.S.C. but also to the national flag.\textsuperscript{167} This led to a campaign called Dwaja Satyagraha (Flag Satyagraha),\textsuperscript{168} which went on for almost a month ending in the moral victory of the M.S.C. In between these two points of time a few untoward incidents occurred, the most important being the Vidhurashwathwa incident.
As a part of the Dwaja satyagraha the leaders of M.S.C toured the State and addressed thousands of people. Wherever they went the national flag was hoisted and the ban order was violated. Hundreds of volunteers were arrested and sent to prison. In April 1938 the police opened fire at Vidhurashwatha, in Kolar District to disperse a violent mob which had gathered on a religious festival day and the national flag had been hoisted by the Congress volunteers. Several innocent persons lost life in this firing. Subsequently the authorities came down heavily on volunteers and many newspapers were forced out of circulation.

At this juncture, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani came to Mysore in May 1938 and brought about an understanding between the administration and the Congress. Congress was allowed to hoist the national flag, but along with the State flag. Congress further agreed to co-operate with the Constitutional Reforms Committee set up by the Government. But the understanding did not work smoothly. Soon the administration and the Congress were at loggerheads with each other. The Congress members of the Reforms Committee also came out in January, 1939 in protest against the attitude of the Government. Many lawyers who had either joined or were sympathetic to the Congress movement were later on disenrolled from bar thus disqualifying them from practicing in the law courts.

The Government this apart had initiated a policy of arresting volunteers, curbing civil liberties and gagging of the press. Permission for editing, printing and publishing was withdrawn for the three leading newspapers, viz., Tainadu, Navajivan and Vishwakarnataka. In June the State Government sought to replace Press Act of 1908 with a more draconian Act. But in the face of stiff opposition the move was dropped.

The year 1939 started with boycott of the Viceroy's visit to Bangalore on January 13. It was the authorities who always provided opportunities for the M.S.C. to organise satyagraha campaigns. One such case was the Hamilton Building Satyagraha. Hamilton was the Inspector General of Police in Mysore State.
and was well known for his repressive measures. When his name was proposed for the newly constructed Central Police Station building in Mysore, the satyagrahis of Mysore opposed this. This campaign went on for 45 days in February and March.

The Vidhurashwatha Congress session held on April 15, 1939 is of historic importance in the growth of the demand for responsible government. When the Dewan refused even to listen to the M.S.C., it led to the inauguration of C.D.M. with celebration of Responsible Government Day on July 30, 1939. In September the stand of the M.S.C. was reiterated. Subsequently the Government also resorted to mass arrests. The KGF Satyagraha and the forest satyagraha in Chitradurga were a great success. In the former 31 satyagrahis went to prison. In forest satyagraha in Chitradurga and elsewhere 1238 went to prison.\textsuperscript{175}

In the meantime the report of the Reforms committee was made known. It did not have anything even closer to the responsible government the M.S.C. was demanding for. Hence the M.S.C. decided to continue the M.C.D.M.\textsuperscript{176} A delegation also went to meet Gandhi. Consequent of this Mahadeva Desai visited Mysore on the invitations of the Government. This visit brought out the truth of illtreatment and torturing of satyagrahis in Mysore. The Justice Nageshwara Iyer's report on this issue came to be criticised by Gandhi on several grounds.\textsuperscript{177}

This campaign did not bring any concrete results. But exposed certain weaknesses inherent in the volunteers of M.S.C. On the whole, this campaign proved a blunder. Neither the volunteers nor the leaders had foreseen the consequences of an ill conceived non-violent campaign. "It was a short sighted and ill-advised course....."\textsuperscript{178} Many of the volunteers who had courted arrest tendered unconditional apologies and assured that they would not join any Congress movement in future.\textsuperscript{179}

While the movement was going on, Mysore Public Security Act was passed by the Representative Assembly consisting for
the most part elected members. This gave moral strength to the Government and it was in no mood to entertain any peace move initiated by certain Congress leaders. In the meanwhile Gandhi asked the M.S.C. to suspend the movement considering the political atmosphere in the whole of the country in the wake of the Second World War. State leaders accepted his advice and suspended the movement.

Campaigns in Coorg:

The appeal of the salt satyagraha came to Coorg in the early days of the campaign. This movement like the non-co-operation movement was not widespread. Congress in this district did not extend its hold on rural areas. Further the rich planters did not evince keen interest in the violation of laws. The movement erupted sporadically, in urban centres where Congress had its influence, on certain occasions like Independence Day and other memorial days.

During the second round of the movement volunteers camps were founded in places like Mercara, Gonikoppal, Somwarpet and Virajpet. M.C. Poonacha was the spirit behind the movement in those days. Through his newspaper Veera Bharathi he endeavoured to keep the movement alive. But with his arrest his newspaper ceased to exist.

Because of its political status Coorg had to remain outside the main stream of political life of Karnataka. In 1933 the Coorg Legislative Council passed a resolution requesting the Indian Government to grant Coorg a separate autonomous government or to merge Coorg with Mysore State. But the British were reluctant to cede Coorg to Mysore. The merger with Mysore would have certainly brought Coorg in line with the political movement in Mysore.

On the lines of the Act of 1935, the Coorg Act, 1935 was passed and a Council consisting of 20 members was formed, out
of which 11 were elected. In 1937 the District Board was established having 19 members, among whom 11 were elected. In the elections that ensued Congress won all the eleven District Board seats. N.S. Hardikar addressed voters canvassing votes for the Congress candidates.

In 1938, the C.W.C. meeting at Wardha passed a resolution demanding the merger of Coorg with Karnataka. But the Government of India did not take any initiative in this direction, considering the political implications of such a merger.

Constructive Programme During the Second Phase:

As the Civil Disobedience part of Satyagraha was coming to an end, the C.W.C. met at Wardha in June, 1934 and prepared a plan to reorganise the Congress at Provincial level and reorient the volunteers' corps once again for the constructive aspect of the satyagraha. While the Civil Disobedience movement was in progress, constructive aspects like prohibition and swadeshi had received due attention. But it involved resistance with the authorities. Now C.W.C. made it clear that the constructive programme should not involve any form of civil resistance.

The C.W.C. called upon the Congressmen and volunteers to involve themselves in constructive activities such as production and propagation of khadi, removal of untouchability, promotion of national education, reconstruction of rural life in its economic and social aspects, etc. Apart from these aspects new items like boycott of British Insurance, Banking and Shipping concerns were also advocated. For Gandhi constructive programme meant intensive social service. It was more so during the year 1934-39 when Gandhi laid more stress on the removal of untouchability.

In 1931, Jamanalal Bajaj presiding over the Karnataka Provincial Political Conference at Hukkeri in Belgaum District had called upon Congressmen in Karnataka to pursue the constructive
aspect of the satyagraha along with political struggle. He suggested four fold programme. The first was involvement in the production of khadi. The second was removal of untouchability. Under this programme he asked for a definite attempt on the part of the Congressmen to throw open all the public schools, temples, wells, etc. for the use of the untouchables. The next programme was communal harmony and the last was national education on sound and permanent footing. When the demand was made the KPCC was ready to switch over from political struggle to constructive activities without much difficulty. In the cause of removal of untouchability Gandhi thrice undertook the tour of Karnataka province, first in 1931, then in 1936 and for the third time in 1937.

Writing in Harijan Gandhi said,"mylife is dedicated to this cause (Harijan service) and I shall consider no penance too great for the vindication of truth." He also called upon Congress workers to celebrate September 24, every year as Harijan Day.

In 1934 speaking at a public meeting in Kanpur, Gandhi explained the scope of Harijan service. According to him it was limited to the removal of feeling of superiority by caste Hindus and inferiority by Harijans, and it had nothing to do with inter-dining and inter-marriage. He claimed for untouchables the same social, civil, and religious rights as belonging to any other Hindu.

To organise the movement, Gandhi founded Harijan Seva Sangh in 1934. In the same year a branch of this Sangh was started in Karnataka. Veeranna Gowda Patil was entrusted with the task of organising the movement in Karnataka. The annual reports submitted to the Head Quarters from Karnataka speak of the commendable work done here in this direction. Veeranna Gowda Patil started a Harijan hostel for women in Hubli. Kaka Kharanis and Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao started another women's hostel at Bijapur. The Harijan Seva Sangha also started a
few hostels for Harijan girls. One was at Bellary and the other called Panchama Girls' Hostel at Hospet. For this the Central organisation gave an annual grant of Rs.100/- This Sangh organised meetings of untouchables to create awareness among them. Religious education to untouchables was one of the important programmes in Karnataka. Bhajan Mandals were organised in several towns. Attempts were also made to start schools exclusively for Harijans. However, this programme did not receive popular response. This Sangh played an important role in Karnataka in converting the minds of conservative Hindus about allowing the untouchables to enter Hindu temples. This was a great service rendered by the Sangh to the cause of Harijans. The most important fact about this programme was that temple entry was made possible without compulsion and violent altercation with the caste Hindus.

In 1934, when Gandhi visited Karnataka, he persuaded the caste Hindus to throw open the famous Marikamba temple at Sirsi in North Kanara district to untouchables. This was achieved with least resistance from the caste Hindus. On the insistence of Gandhi, the cruel animal sacrifice at the temple was also stopped.

Excluding untouchables from entering the temples was not universally practiced in Karnataka. In many places there was no restriction as such for the untouchables to enter the temples. Like others they were allowed to enter the courtyard of the temple and worship the deity. But Gandhi insisted upon temple entry "on precisely the same terms as they are opened to other Hindus." This programme achieved a very high degree of success in Karnataka as temple after temple was completely thrown open to the untouchables. In a very few places there was friction between the volunteers and the caste Hindus, as it happened in Tagadur in Mysore State. In such cases the volunteers were impatient and had failed to convince their opponents. But on the whole the process of temple entry was smooth and the
transformation took place in a cordial atmosphere as desired by Gandhi.

As said earlier, several schools to impart education exclusively for the untouchables were started by Harijana Seva Sangh and Congress leaders during 1934-35. But these schools were closed within a couple of years and in some cases even earlier. One such example is the school started at Attur in Coorg in 1934 as a consequence of Gandhi's visit. This school was closed for want of students, funds to run and support from the local population. Unlike temple entry campaign, the school required continued and dedicated attention on the part of the organisers which was woefully lacking. Running a school also required managerial experience which was also lacking. Moreover such schools were founded by caste Hindus in moments of euphoria and when it calmed down, the interest was also gone.

In Mysore State also a few prominent members endeavoured to bring about a bill in the Assembly regarding the Harijan upliftment. But nothing came out of it.

Between 1934 and 1939 several organisations and associations came into being to propagate one or the other aspect of the constructive programme. In mid 1930's All India Village Industries Association was founded by Gandhi. A branch of this association was started in Karnataka under the leadership of Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao. This association made attempts to teach certain trades to people willing to start village industries. But the commencement of war in 1939 put an end to such attempts and to such training centres. The war atmosphere did not favour the village industries.

In 1932, Madan Mohan Malaviya founded All-India Swadeshi Sangh. Branch of this Sangha was founded subsequently in Karnataka. In the same year Buy India League was founded in Madras. This League had a strong base in Mysore State. The
goal of these two organisations was the propagation of swadeshi. This campaign was carried on by means of securing swadeshi pledges from willing people, house to house visits conveying the virtue of swadeshi, the publication and distribution of hand bills, pamphlets, posters, directory, etc. singing swadeshi bhajans in Market places, and by organising public meetings, processions, exhibitions, museums, bazars and stores. Individuals, groups, men and women took active part in this campaign. These two particular organisations did, within their limits, commendable work in propagating khadi and organising khadi exhibitions in several towns.

Simultaneously in Bombay-Karnataka the Tilak Trust was started by R.R. Diwakar. Women were active participants in this Trust which planned the eradication of illiteracy, propagation against drink evil, Harijan upliftment and starting cottage industries.

Organisations which were not directly linked with Congress also took interest in swadeshi and Harijan upliftment. Mysore Womens' Conference founded in 1925, passed a resolution in 1935 calling upon women to help in eradication of untouchability and to give encouragement to swadeshi articles, particularly khadi.

These voluntary organisations which came into being to take the constructive activities to the Indian masses did not last long. Though the purpose was laudable, it lacked lasting popular support and organisational backing. They were all destined to die once the trend changed. The elections that were held towards the end of 1939 took away majority of the Congress leaders and volunteers for election canvassing. Many capable leaders who had led the campaign of constructive aspect entered the legislative bodies thereby creating a void in the leadership of constructive activity. Also this was the time when political ambition and political corruption started affecting the Congress
A new breed of leaders emerged within the Congress who were though non-violent and had faith in Gandhian principles, were dare enough to move on their own. The idea that social reform should accompany the political reforms fell into the background. Political ambition began to precede the social reform. This was amply proved when the candidates for the election were nominated and the volunteers and Congress leaders entered the election fray. The general trend throughout the country favoured such a transition. People were interested in the programme of the formation of Congress ministries in the British Indian Provinces. This trend affected the Indian States also where the demand for responsible government gained momentum. The political development after mid-1930’s in Mysore State is an example. C.W.C. also favoured the idea of Congress ministries.

Once the Congress accepted the office, they were in a better position to help the constructive activities, particularly khadi and village industries. But unfortunately this did not happen. Consequently the charm of constructive activity lost ground in all the provinces, including Karnataka.

In spite of the deteriorating political conditions Gandhi was not in favour of any political campaigns. War clouds gathering over Europe were bound to influence the political situation in India. The turning point came earlier than expected. Congress ministries in all the provinces resigned towards the end of October, 1939 in protest against England dragging India into war "without the consent of the (Indian) people" and passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of provincial governments.

With this act the second phase of the movement came to an end. This also signalled the institution of the third and the final phase of the satyagraha movement for the political emancipation of India.
NOTES

3. For example, the price of pepper fell from Rs.600/- to Rs.120/- in 1930. See *The Hindu*, October 21, 1935.
7. *Young India*, January 9, 1930.
11. *Young India*, March 12, 1930.
See Young India, March 27, 1930.


Kasturi, January 1965, p.45.


Ibid., Vol.I, p.44.


Forest Department suffered loss of revenue because of this satyagraha campaign. See Judith M. Brown, p.132.


Joan, V. Bondurant, Conquest of Violence, p.98.


Ibid., p.206.

R.R. Diwakara, Kara Nirakarane, p.36.

Sir Henry Craik, Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council considered Hindustani Seva Dal as a "revolutionary body" See K. Sampathagiri Rao, Gray but Fresh, pp.202-203.


Ibid., p.60.

Gandhi during his Dandi March had initiated social boycott of Government servants to force their resignations from their offices. This example was followed in Karnataka, See Judith M. Brown, p.133.


R.R. Diwakar, Kara Nirakarane, p.66.

Ibid., p.66.

For details see A Report on No Tax Campaign in Siddapur and Sirsi, 1934, Para 30, KPCC.


Ram Rattan, Gandhi's concept of Political Obligation p.275.
145

62 A Report on NTC, 1934, Para 31, KPCC.
63 Ibid., Para 32, KPCC.
66 Shirasi Nagarasaabhe Shatamanotsava Smarana Sanchike, p.207.
67 A Report on NTC, 1934, Para 36, KPCC.
68 See also Kannada Vritta, August 13 and 20, 1934.
69 For details of a typical case of coercion and harassment
See The Hindu, October 21, 1935.
74 P.Sitaramayya, Congress History, p.526.
75 Report on the CDM in Karnataka, KPCC, 1932.
77 Report on the CDM in Karnataka, KPCC, 1932.
79 Report on the CDM in Karnataka, KPCC; 1932.
80 Ibid, KPCC, 1932.
82 Report on the CDM in Karnataka, KPCC, 1932.
83 Kasturi, January 1965, p.45.
84 Ibid, January 1965, p.45.
85 Ibid., January 1965, p.45.
86 R.R.Diwakar, Kara Nirakarane, p.137.
87 Ibid, p.145.
90 See for details Mani Vallabhai Patel in "Letters to Editor,"
The Hindu, May 24, 1932.
91 A Report on NTC., 1934, Para 67, KPCC.
93 Kannada Vritta, April 25, 1932.
This release definitely gave strength to Congress whose strength as far as volunteers was considered had greatly dwindled.


Mysore Congress was considered as a District Unit of the KPCC before the birth of Mysore State Congress.

Praja Mitra Mandal was started by K.T.Bashyam in 1917.

K.Sampathagiri Rao, Gray but Fresh, p.212.

P.R.Ramaiya, p.53.

The Hindu, November 10, 1937.


160 See *The Hindu*, October 16, 1937.

161 See *The Hindu*, October 20, 1937.


163 See *The Hindu*, October 16, 1937.

164 See *The Hindu*, October 16, 1937.

165 P.R.Ramaiya, p.63.

166 See *Harijan*, February 26, 1938.

167 *Harijan*, March 5, 1938.

168 Gandhi was against this Flag Satyagraha considering the prevailing political situation in British India. Hence he advised not to pursue with the campaign. See *Sudha*, September 22, 1974.


172 *The Hindu*, November 17, 1939.


174 *The Hindu*, June 13, 1938.


176 *The Hindu*, September 1, 1939.

177 See *Harijan*, May 11, 1940.

178 *The Hindu*, October 16, 1939.

179 *The Hindu*, October 23, 1939.

180 *The Hindu*, November 9, 1939.


182 *The Hindu*, October 27, 1933.


187 P.D.Kaushik, p.237.

