CHAPTER V
Final Phase (1940-48)

Introduction:

The British and her allies fought the Second World War to make the world safe for democracy. On the other hand, Britain was also struggling to hold on to her colonial possessions. In India the British not only sought to suppress national movement, but also drew India into war without her consent.

The C.W.C. which met shortly after the declaration of India's belligerancy made an appeal to the British asking her for the declaration of the aims of the war in a clear and unmistakable manner. The Congress ministries which were unaware of the aims of India's war had no other way but to resign in protest. With this once again the British and the Congress were at loggerheads.

Within the Congress pressure was building upon the leaders, particularly Gandhi, to start a civil disobedience movement at a time when the British were at an unadvantageous position. But Gandhi was reluctant to initiate any political campaign against the British when they were facing gravest of the dangers. He abhored the idea of making use of opponent's distress. But he was bound to listen to a vast majority of Congressmen who wanted to start a civil disobedience movement against the British.

During such an uncertainty several new forces within the national movement gained strength. Muslim League had become more communal. League was convinced that it could get a separate State for the Muslims when the British left India. To this end League did not even hesitate to precipitate communal disturbances in the country. Opposed to this was the Hindu Mahasabha, a communal organisation which wanted no trace of Muslims in free India. Many Congress leaders had come out of the Congress to
form different forums and parties ranging from moderates to revolutionaries like M.R. Jayakar and Subhas Chandra Bose. Communist movement was seeking to gain a stronger hold on the urban labour population. The Communists did not support the national movement because England was allied with the Soviet Union in its war efforts against Germany. British never lost an opportunity to gain the support of such parties in India.

At this juncture Congress and Gandhi had to provide some political programme to the Indian masses to keep them away from reactionary political forces. This apart Congress also had to face the reactionary regimes of the Indian Princes who were seeking to strengthen their own positions in the event of British withdrawal from India.

All these developments greatly influenced the Quit India Movement in Karnataka and the subsequent struggle against monarchies in Mysore and Hyderabad-Karnataka. During a decade of this struggle Karnataka though exposed to various influences stayed with Gandhi and the Congress. In 1940 in the Congress Presidential election, Karnataka Congress delegates supported Abul Kalam Azad, a staunch Gandhian against M.N. Roy.

To suppress any possible Congress agitation the British brought into force Defence of India Act and arrested innumerable Congress workers. The British assumed that Congress which opposed Fascism and Nazism did nothing to defeat it, but rather did everything to embarrass the British war efforts. The Defence of India Act had curtailed the freedom of speech and political leaders were barred from commenting on British-Indian war efforts. Gandhi desired to sort out the issue over a dialogue with the Viceroy. Lord Linlithgow said 'No' and thereby closed the doors of negotiation. Subsequently Gandhi initiated Individual Civil Disobedience Movement (ICDM) against the repressive law.
Individual Civil Disobedience Movement:

Gandhi even now was reluctant to start any mass movement and embarass the British. He also sensed violence in the general atmosphere, particularly communal disharmony, which was not conducive for satyagraha on mass scale. At the same time he was reluctant to keep silent to the challenge thrown at Indians by the British. Congress also could not overcome the idea of embarassing the British and accepted ICDM as the only course left against the British.

Gandhi announced that Vinoba Bhave would offer ICDM from October 17, 1940. He was arrested on November 7, 1940 and soon Nehru followed him. Subsequently, the campaign spread to all the provinces of British India. It was clearly stated that the aim of the campaign was to restore the freedom of speech. However, Gandhi never allowed this campaign to be diluted by satyagrahis not adhering to his principles. He was very particular that only true satyagrahis should take part in this campaign. Any Congress worker violating the Congress direction in this campaign became an object of disciplinary action. Gandhi also requested the dissidents within the Congress to leave the organisation. This indicates how apprehensive Gandhi was at this juncture about violence erupting and undermining the satyagraha campaign.

The ICDM which Secretary of State for India, L.S. Amery termed as illegal action, went on for fourteen months, until the end of 1941. The progress of the movement was not spectacular. It lacked mass appeal, though several hundred satyagrahis courted arrest and went to prison.

ICDM in Karnataka:

On the eve of the War the public opinion in Karnataka was also torn between two different schools of thought - one propagating complete non-cooperation with the British and the other willing
to extend the helping hand to the British war efforts. The former was led by the provincial leaders of the Forward Block of Subhas Chandra Bose and the latter by the Moderates and also by the Congress. The common people were also agitated because of the deteriorating economic conditions on the eve of the War.\(^{24}\)

The political activities in Karnataka started only in April 1940. In March 1940, Gandhi instructed all PCCs to become provincial satyagraha committees.\(^{25}\) The Working Committee of the KPCC met on April 14, 1940 and declared itself as the Satyagraha Committee for the Karnataka Province. Further, it directed all the district committees to follow suit.\(^{26}\) South Kanara and Dharwar District Committees were the first to follow the directive. Anticipating satyagraha campaign in the immediate future National Week was observed in all the parts of the province. Khadi propagation and Harijan upliftment work was extensively undertaken during this period. The District Committees were also required to organise training camps for the satyagrahis. Arrangements were made to translate into Kannada, print and distribute circulars from AICC and instructions from Gandhi. After these early activities and enthusiasm, Karnataka had to wait almost for a year to participate in the campaign on a significant scale, since Gandhi wanted the campaign confined only to a few selected satyagrahis.\(^{27}\)

The I.C.D.M. in Karnataka was confined to urban centres like Dharwar, Belgaum and Mangalore. Delivering speeches denouncing the British War policy in India in public meetings\(^{28}\) was the common method of violating the law and thereby courting arrest. By March 1941 according to an A.I.C.C. release 4,749 satyagrahis from all over India, excluding Punjab, were behind the bars. A fine of Rs.2,09,663 had been levied upon the satyagrahis. Out of these 210 satyagrahis were from Karnataka where the fine levied was Rs.5,385.\(^{29}\)

In the beginning the prison sentences were usually long, extending sometimes up to two years. This was also a deterrent
for many volunteers. Towards the end the sentences became much lighter and was confined to three months imprisonment for the first arrest and a little more for the subsequent arrests. The living conditions in prisons were intolerable and the food was bad. Consequent of this many satyagrahis fell seriously ill and upon their release could not once again participate in the campaign. To provide new vigour into the campaign Gandhi called upon the unarrested satyagrahis to carry on man to man, and house to house propaganda in their locality against the British act of curtailting the freedom of speech of the Indians.

Subsequent to this call, the campaign once again gathered momentum in Karnataka. The number of arrests increased by several times. By June 1941, 1101 satyagrahis were in the prison. Only about 20 volunteers offering satyagraha were not arrested by the police. Districtwise Belgaum sent 403 satyagrahis to prison, followed by 274 from Dharwar, 217 from Bijapur and 93 from South Kanara. In Karnataka, except Mysore State a fine of Rs.23,775 was imposed. Out of this fine only Rs.10,050 was recovered. In Belgaum on a single day 100 women satyagrahis were arrested during this period.

In Mysore State the administration under the prince extended full support to the British war efforts in the form of men, money and materials. The I.C.D.M. was against the curtailment of the freedom of speech and not against the war efforts of the British. Hence there was no I.C.D.M. in Mysore State. The M.S.C. in the State had not been given any representation when the first Council of Ministers was formed in June 1941 under the provisions of the new Constitution, though M.S.C. was the largest party in the Legislative Assembly. This provided a perfect pretext to the M.S.C. to initiate a satyagraha campaign against the State Administration. The stand in this regard had been made clear earlier by H.Siddaiah, the President of the M.S.C. at the Fourth Session of the Congress held at Shimoga in April 1941. During the process of the election the Congress nominees had been harassed
and many nomination papers had been rejected on flimsy grounds. These factors had created an unfriendly political atmosphere in the State inviting some kind of a campaign by the M.S.C. Instead of confrontation the M.S.C. had very clearly stated its policy to "strive from within the Houses of the Legislature" to realise the Congress objective of responsible government. Hence the movement was confined only to British-Karnataka.

The British administration, as expected, imposed a very strict censorship of the national press. Hence many news items of I.C.D.M. did not appear in the newspapers. In the course of the campaign Gandhi gave a statement calling upon the satyagrahis to pay the fine imposed on them in the law court. For reasons not known the British blacked out this news from appearing in the newspapers. This is a good example of the censorship of news during the war period in India. To compensate this the A.I.C.C. and K.P.C.C. regularly issued news bulletins informing the general public of the progress being made in the satyagraha campaign.

Though Gandhi wanted the campaign to be confined only to a few selected satyagrahis, he could not adhere to this. In January 1941, the campaign entered the provincial phase when selected provincial leaders were allowed to offer satyagraha. Since most of them were arrested their followers had to take the burden of carrying on the campaign. Hence by April the campaign entered the final stage when the rank and file of the Congress took part in the campaign.

The political situation of late 1941 was entirely the creation of the British in India. Their handling of the Indian affairs came to be criticised by even the moderates. M.R.Jayakar a renowned moderate at a public meeting at Dharwar blamed the British for mishandling of the Indian issue.

Suspension of the I.C.D.M. and Cripps Mission:

On the other hand, the British were apprehensive of the
war spreading to the East. To gain the confidence of Indians, the policy of suppression was given up and on December 3, 1941 all the imprisoned satyagrahis were unconditionally released from jails. As all expected Burma fell within four months of Pearl Harbour attack and Japanese were at the door-post of India.

In the meanwhile, the C.W.C. met at Bardoli towards the end of December 1941. The Japanese offence prompted the C.W.C. to extend its helping hand to the British with mobilising all the resources of the country. This meant giving away the fundamental policy of non-violence and also for the time being suspension of the satyagraha campaign and disassociating with Gandhi. The demand for restoration of freedom of speech was given up.

In response to this the British were not in a position to send any military assistance to India to resist the Japanese invasion. The least the Prime Minister Winston Churchill could do was to send Stafford Cripps to India to negotiate a settlement that would finally lead towards the creation of a Dominion. Cripps arrived in India on March 23, 1942 and met almost all the leaders belonging to different political parties. The Cripps proposals were not accepted by the Congress, particularly regarding the issue of political unity of the sub-continent and of defence. Gandhi termed the proposals as "too ridiculous."

The subjects of Indian States also expressed their disappointment about the Cripps Proposals. The M.S.C. at its Fifth Session held on April 12, 1942 at Channapatna expressed its disappointment. It also was not pleased at the non-recognition of the place of the Princely States.

During this period, the Indian masses were experiencing the effect of the War in the form of deteriorating economic situation. There was allround food shortage causing steep rise in the prices of the food articles. An indiscriminate expansion of currency by the Indian Government aggravated the situation by
increasing the inflation. It is estimated that the quantity of money in circulation in India in 1939 was Rs.172 crores which rose to Rs.1,151 crores towards the end of 1945. This brought down the value of Indian rupee and the purchasing power of a poor and common Indian. To crown this a grave famine occurred in Bengal which took the lives of countless poor. British could do little to mitigate the sufferings of the Indians.

Quit India Movement:

This deteriorating situation of political and economic life of Indians was well read by Gandhi and in April 1942 he called upon "orderly and timely British withdrawal from India" not only in the interest of India, but also that of British and her allies. The C.W.C. met in the first week of May and repeated the demand of Gandhi. Subsequently, in July 1942 the C.W.C. passed a resolution demanding full and immediate freedom to India. The A.I.C.C. which met on August 7, 1942 endorsed this and called upon Gandhi to "lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken" for the "starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale" for the purpose of "the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence." From this came the epic struggle of "Quit India Movement."

The Quit India Movement differed from Gandhi's non-violent campaigns of earlier periods. Neither Gandhi nor the Congress had prepared a plan of action as was the custom during the earlier satyagraha campaigns. Gandhi accepted the request of the A.I.C.C. to lead the nation in a mass movement. However, he explicitly abhored any kind of underground activities which involved secrecy. He was aware of such an activity entering into a mass movement considering the war time situation and revolutionary tendencies in the atmosphere. But at the same time he did not spell out a plan of action to be followed by the masses. Congress anticipated a stage where there would be no leaders left unarrested to lead the campaign and called upon every satyagrahi to be
his own guide during such a situation. For Gandhi this was a final political struggle and said, "the Congress will do or die."

The idea of "Quit India" occurred to Gandhi after the failure of Cripps Mission. This was his answer to the Cripps failure. Once the thought occurred to Gandhi, the propaganda of this campaign was initiated. The slogan 'Quit India' appealed to the patriotic senses of the Indian masses. His dictum 'do or die' had an electrifying effect on the whole of the nation.

The Government on its part was ready to face the situation created by the passing of the AICC resolution at Bombay Session. Even before the campaign was initiated police arrested several Congress leaders, including Gandhi in Bombay. Simultaneously provincial leaders were also arrested wherever they were found. British acted as though that success lay with the first strike. But actually this action clearly shows the panicky state of mind of the British at that particular hour.

Press censorship introduced under Defence of India Rule was further tightened. News related to Congress programme and 'Quit India' movement was completely blacked out. However, the news of arrest of Gandhi could not be suppressed. This arrest electrified the whole nation. Instead of suppressing the campaign, the British gave a fillip to the movement. At the outset A.I.C.C. and all the P.C.Cs. were declared as illegal bodies.

Quit India Movement in Karnataka:

In Karnataka leaders who escaped arrest went underground. K.P.C.C. which was an illegal body now, was shifted to Bombay. Here the leaders were free to move about since the Bombay police were not concerned about the activities of K.P.C.C. The leaders and the volunteers had no clear idea as to the programme to be followed. Before his arrest Gandhi had sent a signed message in Kannada, exhorting the local population to take active part in the great Quit India movement. This apart it said nothing.
The act of going underground was spontaneous. This was subsequently followed by secret political activities, which at no time had the sanctions of Gandhi.

At this juncture, Kishorilal Mashruwala, a close associate of Gandhi wrote an article in Harijan and advocated a programme and a plan of destroying government properties as a part of the campaign. Many national leaders approved this political programme since it had all the ingredients of a mass appeal.

So, Quit India Movement in Karnataka thereafter meant the destruction of government property without inflicting injury to any individual. Exploding bridges, felling of telegraphic wires, burning of railway stations, attacking police stations to snatch away fire arms and police uniforms, destruction of mail, robbing of treasuries became the main activities of the participants in this movement. In truest sense it was a mass movement on a widest possible scale. It was not confined to one particular area, but was spread in the whole of the province, including the princely state of Mysore.

All these activities of the satyagrahis were to have undertaken without any secrecy and informing the authorities beforehand, would have generated immense moral pressure on the British. Secrecy in the Congress programme during this period put the public to annoyance at times and made the British treat the volunteers as criminals, rather than political activists. Secrecy and underground activities were the prime enemies of satyagraha and Gandhi unequivocally condemned this tendency.

Non-violence, another important part of satyagraha was generally followed in the whole of Karnataka. Though lakhs of rupees worth of government property was destroyed, the opponents were never injured. Secrecy though not desired, became a part of this non-violent movement in the absence of a true satyagrahi leader. To support these secret activities and to keep it going a wide network of underground communication system
was created and maintained in Karnataka. To keep the volunteers informed, news bulletins were printed and distributed secretly. The most important feature of this movement was that the volunteers seldom sought to take revenge against any government official who had harassed or had injured a volunteer. This non-violence on the part of the volunteers inspite of the sufferings at the hands of the authorities speaks well of the campaign of 1942.

Because of its proximity to Bombay, where the office of the K.P.C.C. was temporarily located, the region comprising the districts of Belgaum and Dharwar was in the forefront of the movement of 1942. Here the British authority was challenged by scores of volunteers by a series of sabotage activities aimed at giving a moral blow to the administration. In return, the people here suffered the most at the hands of the police and other government agencies. Further, large number of volunteers from other neighbouring districts also came to this region since it became the centre of political activity during this campaign.

Quit India Movement in Belgaum District :

Several leaders of the district were arrested on the night of August 8, 1942. A few remaining leaders went underground. The arrests had electrifying effects on the masses throughout the district. But at the moment they were leaderless and also as said earlier there was no definite plan as such to follow. It took almost a fortnight for the underground leaders to come together, take command of the political situation and organise the Quit India Movement.

In the meanwhile, Congress workers spontaneously undertook to organise political meetings, processions and hartals. Women and school students in large numbers took part in prabhat pheris. Even this moderate form of protests were not tolerated by the authorities. In the first place educational institutions were closed in Belgaum town for a week. Police also resorted to lathicharge
to dispurse the processionists. At Shivapura in Saudathi taluk, the police sergeant shot point-blank a young volunteer by name Sathappa Topannavar, who was guarding the national flag. In Nippani police opened fire on a procession killing a volunteer by name Shankar Pangire. In Bailahongala seven people died in an identical incident. These police atrocities enraged people everywhere and many villages rebelled against the British authority by declaring their independence. Even women folk who participated in processions were not spared by the lathi-wielding police.

The spontaneous outburst and the police heavyhandedness were an interregnum between two events, namely, the declaration of Quit India and its subsequent organisation. Once the first shock of police arrests, lathi charges and firings were absorbed, the leaders took stock of the situation and organised themselves.

Towards the end of August a secret meeting of the district leaders was held at Pantabale Kundri where Sriranga Kamath and M.P. Patil explained the plan of the campaign to be pursued as directed by the Action Committee formed in Bombay. Jayadeva Rao Kulkarni was elected as leader and an underground office was started in Belgaum. Through this office leaders in different taluks were organised and were directed to carry out sabotage activities. Funds collected were also distributed from this office to various volunteers working in different parts of the district. This fund was utilised to remain underground and carry out sabotage activities. A reliable network of communication was established by employing hundreds of volunteers spread over the whole of the district. This network did commendable work and the district leaders were able to keep a watch on the sabotage activities. The network also helped in distributing news letters and bulletins issued from time to time by the K.P.C.C. Once the activities in Belgaum were organised, Jayadeva Rao Kulkarni was appointed to organise sabotage activities in all the four districts of Bombay-Karntaka.
In Belgaum area there were several groups of saboteurs each one specialised in one form of activity. One group was entrusted with the work of destroying telegraphic wires, the other with burning railway stations and panchayat offices in villages, and yet another with intercepting mail, etc. All these groups were always on the move and between two sabotage activity there used to be lot of distance in space and time. The method of each group also differed. Hence it was a real problem for the police officials to put them down. Further, persons who volunteered for such activity enjoyed local sympathy, support and above all protection whenever needed from police parties.

In the initial stages, upto April 1943, the saboteurs used fire arms to scare the opponent and resorted to large scale destruction of public properties including railway stations, inspection bunglows, village offices, police stations, bridges, etc. Attacking police parties to seize fire arms and police uniforms was a favourite pastime of a group of saboteurs. After 1943 the sabotage activities became lesser and lesser since a few were killed while a large number of them were apprehended.

In September 1942, telegraphic lines were cut in different parts of Belgaum district. In this act, extensive damage was done and telecommunication system was disrupted. This was the most popular method of sabotage. This activity required a short training, simple instrument and carried out by a small group in remote and isolated areas away from watching police authorities. Such activities were usually accomplished in the night with the assistance of local help.

In October, burning of village offices called Chavadi, inspection bunglows, railway stations and schools was popular. During this month inspection bungalow in Nandi (Gokak Taluk) was set to fire. Several small road and railway bridges were also damaged. In November, interception of mail runners and mail buses was extensive. Several post-offices were attacked in rural
areas and the postal articles were destroyed. Dozens of post boxes were either pulled down or were taken away. Anantha Shama Rao Kulakarni of Athani along with his followers undertook to attack several Chavadis and in October sought to take over the taluk office at Athani. Subsequently, police took over the whole of the town and shoot at sight order was issued against Kulakarni. He also carried a prize of Rs.2,000/- on his head.

In December, destruction of official records, particularly in land record offices was carried out widely. In Kittur taluk alone land records pertaining to 19 villages were burnt in the presence of the local officials. Likewise, land records pertaining to Tigadolli and Degadolli villages were also burnt down. In December and January the volunteers became more bold in their approach. Looting of government treasuries was undertaken. At Tolagi in Khanapur taluk land revenue collection of thirty villages amounting to thousands of rupees was looted under the leadership of Channappa Wall, who became a legend during this period for his sabotage activities. Subsequently, the district authorities announced a very large prize of Rs.5,000/- for the person assisting in his arrest.

In February 1943, the activities of underground volunteers reached the zenith. During this month, a telegraphic line drawing camp was raided in Bailahongala taluk. The raid-party, as it was called, was led of Chinnaya Swamy of Mugutukhana village. In this raid, equipment worth thousands of rupees was damaged or destroyed. On failure to apprehend the leader, the authorities declared a prize of Rs.2,000/- on his head and levied a punitive tax of Rs.10,000/- on his village. Likewise, Kittur was also levied with a punitive tax of Rs.10,000/- when the population here refused to co-operate with the police in tracing the underground leaders. In the same month, Sulebhavi railway station was partially gutted in the presence of armed police. During this month, several inspection bungalows were also attacked.

In March, the situation was very difficult for the police
and district authorities. In Hosur town the civil administration practically collapsed and army was sent to restore the authority of the government. A punitive tax of Rs.5,000/- was levied on this town. Padmaraja Bogara and Suthagatti of this town carried a prize money of Rs.1,000/- each. There was a group specialised in attacking police parties. This group was called Hebbal group. In March, they attacked a police party camping at Kini, a small town in Belgaum taluk, wearing police uniforms. The belongings of the police party, mainly the fire arms and uniforms were looted. This group in various actions had looted 43 pieces of fire arms from police officials. Several timber depots in the district were also attacked and the timber was put to fire. Many police outposts were also attacked.

Consequent of this large scale sabotage activities the government in many places came to a grinding halt. Delivery of post was suspended and in remote areas the post offices were closed. In some places, armed police was asked to take over entire villages to stamp out sabotage activities. Some villages were declared as disturbed areas and levied with punitive taxes. Rewards amounting to thousands of rupees were announced for the apprehension of underground leaders. The punitive taxes were forcibly collected and when refused, household articles were seized.

In the middle of February, a secret meeting of the leaders was held at Kolhapur to consider the situation arising out of Gandhi's fast. Here, it was decided to lay down the arms against the government. Directions were sent to all groups to lay down arms and not to undertake any large scale sabotage in the district. Within a short time, the activities lessened considerably. At the same time the government also took stringent measures to curb the underground activity by establishing military camps in Pachchapura, Bailahongala, Kittur and Gurlahosur. Also Jayadeva Rao Kulkarni and Sriranga Kamath, the two leaders directing all the activities in the area were arrested ultimately by the police.
Until the release of Gandhi in May 1944 and his fight against underground activities, the movement went on in one form or the other. But the intensity was gone after March 1943. About 2500 volunteers, including women, went to prison in this struggle. Police acted in a barbaric way. The district police were particularly well known for a third degree method called Bharamappa method. Here the volunteers were beaten severely on the bare hips with a leather strap dipped in water. The wet leather strap was called Bharamappa. The police using this method on several occasions succeeded in obtaining confession letters from volunteers as well as from innocent persons. But there were several police officers who were sympathetic to the national cause. One particular officer by name Mutsaddi of Kittur Police Station was demoted for having shown consideration towards the volunteers.

The conditions in the jails in this district were inhuman. Hindalagi Jail in Belgaum was a typical example. It was overcrowded and lacked proper sanitary facilities. Hence in December 1942, gastro entirities broke out and took the lives of three political prisoners. Only after this incident some measures were taken, but however the conditions did not improve.

Quit India Movement in Dharwar District:

The people of this district were in the forefront of the movement, Diwakar, Hukkerikar, Kurkoti, Burli, Karamkar, Hallikeri were the leaders on the eve of the movement. Narayana Rao Hosakeri was in charge of organising and directing the movement in Dharwar district. These leaders had complete faith in the satyagraha methods of Gandhi, but after the arrest of a few provincial leaders they all went underground. A few who did not go underground like Veeranna Gowda were immediately arrested. Those who went underground alone could do some work during this period and their undercover activities were imminent.

Sabotage activities in Dharwar were started in the first week of September 1942. The volunteers first attacked
and partially burnt four railway stations, namely, Amargol, Hebasur, Kusugal and Byadagi, the last town being a commercial centre. This apart in subsequent months five more railway stations in the district were put to fire. Among these five the burning of Savanur railway station by a raid party led by Mailara Mahadevappa was complete.

Before the initiation of the underground activities, the people here took to streets and organised peaceful marches protesting against the arrests of the Congress leaders. The death of Mahadeva Desai, the close associate of Gandhi, on August 15, 1942, people believed, was because of the atrocities committed by the British. In Hubli, a huge procession was organised. To disperse the surging mass without any provocation the police opened fire killing a youth by name Narayana Doni. This development immensely helped the Quit India Movement.

In September, in several places around Gadag and Navalgunda telegraphic wires were successfully cut-off which dislocated the communication system. Heavy loss was caused to Hombala-Gadag and Hombala-Balaganur lines in particular.

In January 1943, several chavadis and land records kept in them were destroyed. Hombala chavadi was the first to be attacked. The success inspired the saboteurs to carry out such activity elsewhere also. Subsequently, chavadis of Halahegda and Lingadha in Gadag taluk, Tuppada Kurahatti in Navalgund taluk were attacked and the records kept here were burnt in the presence of the local officials. Dutana, Gudisagar, Yalagacha, Kanavalli and Belavanaki were other chavadis to be destroyed by the volunteers.

In the same month police parties and outposts were attacked with limited success. But the attack on the Belavanaki police out post was a great success. In this attack police uniforms, police records, a few rifles and cartridges were looted. Moraba, a village in Navalgunda taluk had declared its freedom and no
officer was allowed to enter the village. Large pits were dug on the approach roads and were covered with sticks and leaves. Further obstructions were put on the roads to prevent any vehicle entering the village. To put down this resistance a strong armed police party headed by a couple of European officers came and occupied the village. All those who could run away escaped from the village. Subsequently, dozens of old men, women and children were beaten and harassed to find out the whereabouts of the missing persons. A punitive fine was levied on the village and was forcibly collected.

Inspection bungalows at Yamanur, Belavanki, Ammanabhavi, Budnala Nake were also burnt. In Chikkanaragunda grain storage was looted and the grains were distributed among the poor and the needy.

In March 1943, land revenue collection at Negalur were looted. In April, school buildings at Agadi, Haveri and elsewhere were set on fire. During this movement Haveri was famous for its bombs. Bombs manufactured here though crude, were effectively used to scare the police and watchmen. Bombs were also used to explode mail boxes. In April, a few persons connected with manufacture of bombs were arrested and were sentenced to imprisonment. Kariappa Sangur an expert in manufacture of bomb lost his right hand in an accidental explosion in a village called Sunkalbidarini in Ranebennur taluk in January, 1943. Next month in yet another accidental bomb explosion Thimmana Gowda Menasinahal lost his life. This accident took place after an operation in which looting of revenue collection at Kuppelur was involved. He earlier carried a prize of Rs.1,000/- on his head. Apart from Menasinahal, Shivanagowda Patil and Channabasavaiah Sulikermutt also carried prizes on their heads.

The movement after February was confined to small scale activities like destroying post etc. But a very unfortunate event occurred after this date. That was the martyrdom of Mailara
Mahadevappa and his two associates. Mahadevappa was the only person who represented Karnataka in the epic Dandi March. He headed a group of underground volunteers during the Quit India Movement. On April 1, 1943, he raided revenue collection centre at Hosaritti in Haveri taluk. Police were expecting such a raid and were prepared for any eventuality. When Mahadevappa struck, the police opened fire and killed on the spot Mailara Mahadevappa, Veeraiah and Thirukappa. This tragedy caused much consternation in the whole of Karnataka.\(^{94}\)

After April the movement lacked the early spirit.\(^{95}\) It however continued in one form or the other until Gandhi put an end to the unauthorised underground activities.

**Quit India Movement in North Kanara**

North Kanara was in the forefront of the salt satyagraha of 1930-34 and the peasants here made history by their sacrifice in the cause of the nation. Since the influence of Bombay was more, the authorities were apprehensive about the movement spreading in this district. Hence police had made all arrangements to bring the situation under their control and also to avoid the repetition of 1930-34.

During the Quit India Movement, the police had been provided with blank warrant forms duly signed by a magistrate.\(^{96}\) With this blank warrant the police arrested any person they wished by mere entering his name on the warrant. This shows how the police enjoyed unlimited power to put down the movement. As in other districts of Bombay-Karnataka the police arrested almost every leader worth his name in the taluks of Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola. They were further sent to prisons thereby effectively bringing the movement under control.

The first town to register the protest against arrest of national leaders was Siddapur. The satyagrahis here went in procession, violated the Defence of India Rule and courted arrest.
The people also expressed their solidarity with the leaders by participating in large numbers in processions and political meetings.

Once the news of approval for sabotage activities, without causing injury to the opponent was announced, there was a spurt in the political activity. The scene in 1942 was entirely different from that of the days of salt satyagraha. During salt satyagraha North Kanara was the focal point of all activities connected with the satyagraha in the whole of the province. National and provincial leaders were present here on that occasion. In 1930-34 the programmes were announced before-hand eliminating secrecy altogether. Camps had been founded to train volunteers in satyagraha method and only trained satyagrahis were allowed to resist the British. Location of training camps were known to all. Moral coercion, in other words, played a major part in this movement.

During Quit India Movement the ideas were the same, but the means were somewhat different. Training camps for volunteers were hidden from the eyes of the authorities. The movement of the leaders was secretive and the volunteers were trained in the art of sabotage. But however, violence was completely eschewed. Causing embarrassment to the opponent was the goal. The weakening of the authority of the British over India was the purpose of these sabotage activities. Destruction of Government property was prevalent even in 1930-34 period when salt depots and reserved forests were attacked. In 1942 movement, the plan of attack was never published before-hand.

In North Kanara the movement started with community prayers, public meetings and processions to protest the arrests of national leaders. Once Belgaum showed the way, soon North Kanara followed it. Dayananda Prabhu was the leader of this district during the 1942 movement.

The first major sabotage activity in North Kanara was executed at Gangavati in October 1942. The huge timber depot owned by the government was raided by about hundred volunteers.
from nearby villages and the logs collected here were completely gutted. The watchmen present were disarmed and taken to place of safety before the depot was set on fire. The authorities could not arrest all the volunteers involved. Hence to teach a lesson, a punitive tax of Rs.56,000/- was levied on Gokarna town.

In November yet another major blow was dealt to the morale of the district authorities. Two government owned ferries used to transport men and materials across the river Gangavati at a small town called Uluvare were burnt down. About 300 volunteers from nearby villages had gathered at the place to take part in this act. The authorities who had information on this had posted an armed posse to prevent this. But the volunteers disarmed the police and carried out the task successfully. The volunteers from the village of Hichkada played a major role in this activity. With this event the district authorities lost face and sought to use special powers to book the leaders of such activities.

After this event the police became more violent. Hundreds of innocent youth from Hichkada and other nearby villages were forcibly taken to police camps and were thoroughly beaten and were tortured to provide the names and whereabouts of the leaders of the Uluvare incident. Shoot at sight order was issued against 18 volunteers who were supposed to have organised and directed this sabotage. Armed police parties repeatedly raided Hichkada and created an atmosphere of terror.

Around the same time another government timber depot at Hattikeri, between Ankola and Karwar was also burnt. The inspection bungalow at Tadhadi and Belekana near Ankola were also burnt down in November. Apart from such activities, quite a few small road bridges in Ankola taluk were destroyed and thereby easy flow of traffic was obstructed. Mail in different places were interrupted and letters were destroyed and sometimes the post were put into mail boxes with 'Quit India' cancellation. The police were helpless since they could not identify the volunteers and nobody was coming forward to give the necessary
information they wanted.

In December volunteers sought the resignation of the patels in different villages, but very few resigned. Wherever there was a refusal to resign, the village offices and land records were destroyed.

Most of these activities in and around Ankola were organised from Hichkada and Gokarna. The volunteers much of the time remained underground. As underground activities increased, the police pressure on the volunteers also increased. Announcement of prize money for the information leading to their arrests was made. Induced by prize money information on volunteers were given to police by some people which led to the arrest of large number of volunteers by February 1943. With these successful arrests and imprisonment the sabotage part of the Quit India Movement practically came to an end in this part of the province.

The volunteers in North Kanara did not resort to large scale destruction of public property as we see in Belgaum and Dharwar districts. The people here though adventurous did not give room for uncontrolled destruction. Ankola taluk with its dense forests and several streams could have been a fertile ground for underground activities. A district which had witnessed a non-violent satyagraha movement in 1930-34 could not take whole-hearted part in the underground activities of 1942-44 movement.

Though to a great extent the sabotage activities were confined to the vicinities of Sirsi, Siddapura and Ankola, the authorities did not spare other towns from imposing punitive tax. Punitive tax of Rs.1000/- on each was imposed on Kumta, Hegedegrama, Handigona, Honnavara, Idagunji and other smaller villages in Ankola taluk. In Sirsi taluk, Sirsi town itself was imposed with a punitive tax of Rs.20,000/-. Bisalakoppa, Isiur and Chippugi were other villages which had to pay such a tax. The people in these villages had either supported the volunteers in burning
the village records or had given them shelter and food.

The volunteers' communication system was highly organised. The geographical location favoured the volunteers to move about from one place to another without being noticed by the police. Hence news bulletins and Congress instructions were freely flowing into the district from Belgaum and Dharwar. Strict vigilence by police could not prevent this. Only after the arrest of a large number of volunteers who were involved in carrying such materials the system ended and by that time, the movement also was loosing its early tempo. The activities after April 1943 were mostly confined to house to house propaganda of the national cause.

**Quit India Movement in Bijapur:**

In Quit India Movement, Bijapur could not occupy an important position. Since a few dedicated volunteers had to leave the district to work in Belgaum and Dharwar, the movement naturally lacked direction and leadership, and hence could not gather momentum. Veteran leader H.R.Purohit had joined Samyuktha Karnataka and had entered the political field of Dharwar district. Leaders of 1930's had become inactive because of advancing age. Bijapur during this period seriously lacked a leader who could have organised and guided the movement. Hence, the 1942 movement was confined to a few towns and the number of volunteers was also small. Sabotage activities were limited, loss of public property was not much and the challenge thrown at the authorities was also weak.

Once the movement gained tempo in the districts of Belgaum and Dharwar few volunteers like Mangalavedhe and Krishna Rao went to Solhapur to receive directions from Diwakar. These volunteers along with Channbasappa Ambali organised sabotage activities on a limited scale in Bijapur district. These volunteers though went underground in the early part, were later on arrested and naturally the movement slackened.
The sabotage activity in this district was confined to intercep-
tion of mail, felling of telegraphic wires and removal of fish
plates of the railway tracks. Channabasappa Ambali organised
his own group to carry on sabotage activities not only in Bijapur,
but also in Dharwar. Because of his activities he carried a
prize of Rs.5,000/- on his head. The important sabotage activity
carried on by this group was the burning of Jumanala and Manchini-
ala railway stations in November, 1942. The group also pulled
down a few village offices and destroyed the records preserved
there. The destruction of the railway bridge at Ingalal between
Bijapur and Manchinala created great excitement in the entire
district. Since the police could not arrest the persons involved
in this case, a punitive tax was imposed on Nagathana town and
was forcibly collected. Between January 1943 to June 1943 the
sabotage activity was confined to sporadic outburst of destruction
of public property here and there.

Quit India Movement in South Kanara and Bellary:

The enthusiasm of early 1930's was present in abundance
in South Kanara, but it lacked a leader who could provide a
programme and channelise the enthusiasm of the masses. The
response to the call of Individual Satyagraha was good, but the
Quit India Movement petered out within a short period since the
leaders were either arrested or were forced to go underground
or flee the district. Among the 32 leaders arrested in Madras
Presidency on August 8, 1942, one was from Mangalore by name
K.Rama Krishna Karanth. Though much nearer to Bombay,
the district was a part of Madras Presidency. But the later's
influence was minimal because of geographical separation.

In South Kanara the arrest of Gandhi was protested by the
masses in several towns in the form of hartals and processions.
In the meanwhile, many Congress councillors of Mangalore Muni-
cipality, District Board and Legislatures resigned in protest against
the arrest of national leaders. This culminated in the picketing
of district court by a large number of volunteers on September 9, 1942.\textsuperscript{105} In the evening a large protest meeting was organised. Here the police without assigning any reason resorted to heavy lathi charge against the peaceful volunteers and participants. Several hundred people, including women sustained serious injuries. After this incident for almost a couple of weeks the police frequently used their lathis against picketing volunteers. This lathi wielding police was almost on the verge of scuttling the movement effectively, when the programme of underground activities reached South Kanara.

In South Kanara there was enthusiasm, but it lacked experienced volunteer in sabotage activities. Leadership was also not in a position to switch over to this new kind of situation which demanded organisational capacity of high order, acting from a hide-out. Because of this lack of leadership the sabotage activities did not end always in success. Attempts were made in vain to set fire to the district court in Mangalore. The attempt did not succeed because lack of experience in proper handling of explosives for such kind of an operation. Attempts were also made to destroy the road bridge at Ullala across Nethravathi by exploding dynamite. This also failed because of the same reason given above. After such failures, there were no further attempts in this direction.

In November 1942 telegraphic wires were cut at several places and communication was disrupted. Consequent on the arrest of large number of volunteers in subsequent months sabotage activities were minimal. However, the movement was in progress in a mild form wherein printing, publishing and distribution of illegal Congress bulletins and other political matter was in vogue. Volunteers occasionally attacked telegraphic wires to thrill the masses.

In Bellary also in a pre-emptive strike the police arrested 64 leaders and volunteers thereby effectively preventing them from spreading discontentment among the people against the British.
Tekur Subramanya, T.B. Keshava Rao, Sitarama Reddy and others who were capable of organising people against British were sent to prison. Consequently the movement lacked direction and proper coordination of efforts by different groups.

Futile attempts were made in Bellary and Hospet to burn government property. The volunteers had no experience in such sabotage activity. They were not even motivated by the leadership. Some volunteers even failed to carry out simple sabotage activities like cutting telegraphic wires in isolated areas. But however, the spirit of resistance was high and this was expressed in the form of ticketless travelling in trains thereby courting arrest. Distribution of illegal publications and anti-war speeches were common in Bellary up to February 1943. By April 1943, the Quit India Movement practically came to an end. This is indicated by the fact that the prevalent political tranquility prompted the government to release all the political prisoners in December 1943.

Quit India Movement in Mysore State:

The Quit India Movement directed against the British was natural in British-Karnataka districts. But its adoption in Mysore State was not relevant as there was no British rule here as such. Also in 1941 the Maharaja had said that the differences between his subjects and his government were "for the most part superficial and transient." But however the M.S.C. fighting to secure responsible government thought otherwise. Consequent of this difference the movement started here to lend moral support to the struggle in British-Karnataka.

In fact before the commencement of the movement the M.S.C. had postponed its demand for responsible government owing to the emergency created by the war. Gandhi also had indirectly supported such an idea. Further the agitation was confined within the four walls of the Assembly where M.S.C. members
often staged walkouts in protest against the Dewan's administration or demanding responsible government. But once the movement gathered momentum in British-Karnataka, M.S.C. also fell in line. Further the All India States' Peoples' Conference which was hitherto a loosely built organisation also started to meet from 1942 along with the A.I.C.C. at the initiative of Gandhi, consequent of which the national movement in Indian States also at once became stronger.

In the beginning the movement was confined to urban centres. M.S.C. organised speeches, processions and protest meetings. The authorities reacted more enthusiastically. Lathi charges, firing and arrests became more common and more frequent. Deportation became a powerful weapon in the hands of the administration. The most important feature of the movement in Mysore State was the large scale participation of students and mill-hands. M.S.C. took particular pains in mobilising the students of Mysore and Bangalore. Subsequently students in smaller towns also joined the movement, thereby making it almost a students' movement.

Along with the arrest of leaders elsewhere M.S.C. president Subramanya and his colleagues, K.T.Bashyam, K.C.Reddy, Siddiah, Mariappa and others were sent to prison at Hassan by the second week of August. The arrests of the leaders were followed by mass arrests of M.S.C. workers in almost all the districts. M.S.C. and its districts units were declared as illegal bodies. The popular response to official repression was unprecedented. On 16 and 17, Bangalore witnessed a pitched battle between the mounted police and the people assembled at Mysore Bank circle to protest the arrests of M.S.C. leaders. The violent mob attacked a post-office and uprooted a few telephone poles. This incident left many wounded.

As told earlier, the students were in the forefront in the beginning and later on mill-hands also joined the movement. In anticipation of trouble the government had closed educational
institutions in Bangalore and Mysore. In spite of this, students in these cities organised huge processions and meetings defying the ban order. In the next four months the movement percolated to smaller towns. In many towns police opened fire to disperse volunteers. Many were killed and it is estimated that in Bangalore alone about 150 were killed during the Quit India Movement.

Tamilnadu, Janavani and Vishwa Karnataka played a major role in spreading and keeping alive the spirit of the movement. After some time the editors of these newspapers were arrested and the publication was banned.

To protest against the oppressive rule of the Dewan many government officials resigned from their jobs. Kesari Keshavan of Maharani's College, H.M. Shah and Modi of Hindustan Air Crafts were prominent among them.

Towards the end of August, the movement gained strength as it spread to smaller towns like Tumkur, Davangere, Shimoga, Bhadravathi and Hassan. In Davangere the police opened fire on the processionists and killed five volunteers. In Hassan the police fired on a group of sympathisers who were supporting a batch of satyagrahis picketing in front of a liquor shop. One Satyagrahi died on the spot.

Railway Stations, as elsewhere were the targets of saboteurs. Railway stations at Davangere, Tiptur and Banavara were set on fire. Explosives for such purposes were procured from the explosives depots of Kolar Gold Fields. In a few places, railway movement was disrupted by removing fish plates. Some trains of the Mysore State Railway ran abnormally late and on certain occasions trains were cancelled fearing sabotage. The destruction of public property compelled the government to impose punitive taxes on several villages. In Shimoga district the Congress volunteers called upon the government officials to resign and in response 12 patels tendered their resignations. On several occasions fire arms and explosives were used to carry out sabotage activities. However, the sabotage activities in the State were not many and
the loss of property was not high. 124

After this particular development, the movement further percolated to smaller towns like Kanakapur, Sravanabelagola, Channarayapatna, Chickmagalur, etc. In these places the people voluntarily came out of their houses to participate in the movement by organising processions and political meetings.

This movement which was basically to sympathise with the Congress aspirations in British India in the initial stage became partly directed against the autocratic rule of the Dewan. The M.S.C. or the leaders of the movement at no time attacked the Maharaja of Mysore. The goal of the M.S.C. had become very clear by this time. Establishment of a responsible government under the agies of the Maharaja was all that M.S.C. demanded. The M.S.C. sought to use this movement as a means to realise their aim. As long as British India could not achieve freedom, responsible government in Mysore State was an illusion. Hence M.S.C. took very active part in the Quit India Movement. In a free British India M.S.C. would get the moral and material support of the Indian National Congress. This was amply proved during the 'Palace Satyagraha' in Mysore in 1947. The popular opinion also favoured M.S.C. action in the light of police brutalities, which at several places reached the zenith.

In Channarayapatna, a small town in Hassan district, the police mercilessly caned the people including innocent bystanders. This resulted in a violent reaction of the popular mood leading to police firing in which the lives of five persons were lost. Several hundred people were arrested in this connection and a special court was constituted at Channarayapatna to try the arrested. 125 Subsequently the movement spread to smaller villages like Salagame, Javagallu, Gandsi and Halebidu in Hassan district. In some of these villages the people protested against the police atrocities by refusing to pay any taxes to the Government.

In Davangere, army had to be called into action when police could not check the popular insurgency. The soldiers opened fire
on a procession killing six persons and wounding more than a hundred. Such instances occurred in several places which gave more and more reasons for the M.S.C. to demand popular government at once.

The most tragic event of the Quit India Movement, in the whole of Karnataka took place at a small village called Esur in Shikaripur taluk of Shimoga district. The incident showed once again, that untrained satyagrahi volunteers were ill-equipped to withstand even the slightest of the provocation from the opponent.

Esur, a prosperous village had taken active part in the Quit India Movement. The message of the movement had been received here in all earnestness. The youth here organised processions and political meetings. As a culmination, this village declared its independence and elected its own officers. A provocative board restricting the entry of government officials was put up outside the village. The people refused to pay taxes to the government and forced the patel to wear Gandhi cap and join the independent administration. On his complaint the Amildar and Police Sub-Inspector of the area arrived at Esur on September 28, 1942 to set right the situation. The police officer was short tempered. When the local leaders attempted to replace his hat with Gandhi cap, he lost his temper and in a haste opened fire on the assembled. In the meanwhile, the entire village was altered and in a mob frenzy the villagers butchered the two officials. This un-Gandhism reaction set in motion one of the most ruthless act on the part of the government. Anticipating this reign of terror the entire village was deserted. The police and army which arrived in a day ransacked the entire village. Whoever were caught in the act of escape were arrested and were mercilessly beaten. The terror unleashed by the administration has no parallel in the history of modern Mysore.

In the trial at the lower court, eleven persons were sentenced to death and twenty-eight persons were sentenced to imprisonment.
ranging from one year to life. This included life imprisonment to three women. In the High Court the death sentences of five were confirmed. Inspite of the appeals by thousands of citizens, these freedom fighters were hanged to death in Bangalore Central Jail.

This incident left many families ruined. Many who left the village fearing police reprisals never returned. The police and army within a day was successful in bringing the village under control and taught the villagers 'a lesson' not to rebel against the government. This proved that the government reacts violently and ruthlessly in response to popular violence. In the name of satyagraha the villagers also had committed a ghastly act which has no place in the scheme of satyagraha.

Towards the end of November the movement gradually waned since the leaders who could have guided the movement were behind the bars. To provide fresh life to the movement a few leaders who had gone underground assembled at Bangalore under the leadership of K.A.Venkataramaiah. Here it was decided to recruit more people to the movement and the task was entrusted to the workers present. By December end some of these workers who were organising sabotage acts like removal of fish-plates, looting treasuries, destruction of telephone and telegraphic wires were arrested. The remaining few leaders carried on with the programme but it had definitely lost its charm and hold over the masses. By April 1943, the movement practically came to an end in Mysore State. By this time, even K.A.Venkataramayya had been arrested.

In the meanwhile, attempts were being made by a few leading publicmen to bring about an understanding between the M.S.C. and the government. The government also evinced interest in such a settlement and as a first step in this direction brought all the leading M.S.C. leaders to Bangalore Central Jail. But at this juncture realising that the movement was loosing ground the Government once again became rigid. Though by the end of
the year most of the leaders had been released, the ban on the M.S.C. and its activities continued. Many leaders, who were considered as troublesome, were deported to British India. Since M.S.C. could not force an agreement with the government many people suffered. Many mill-hands who had joined the movement and went to prison were not taken back to their jobs, many lost their properties because of this factor and some students put an end to their educational career as schools and colleges refused admission for them. After all these, the M.S.C. could not win responsible government for the people of Mysore State.

Though Quit India Movement did not gain anything materially, it clearly indicated the direction in which the Satyagraha campaign was flowing. Many had foretold that this movement would be the last campaign to gain independence. The subsequent political development proved this prediction correct. Only in Indian India, in some cases yet another round of satyagraha became inevitable to join the mainstream of the Indian political life.

**Quit India Movement in Hyderabad-Karnataka**

The Quit India Movement did not take a concrete form in the districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka. In these districts the political and social environment did not favour the commencement of the movement. The Nizam and his Officers always took measures before hand to curb all the national movements. In the 1940's the press was gagged and all political organisations were suppressed under the pretext of war situation. It was a closed society where social life was confined to rich people and high officials. An unsuccessful attempt was made to organise I.C.D.M. in Raichur, but it did not receive any popular support. Even local associations were unable to create any social and political awareness among the local population. Fearing police reprisals people here never joined any political movement, unless it was sponsored by the Government. I.N.C. or K.P.C.C. also did not initiate any definite programme in the direction of bringing this part of the province in line with other parts of Karnataka. This strange
aloofness\textsuperscript{132} on the part of the Congress helped the reactionary authorities in Hyderabad on the one hand and on the other the Congress had to face many serious problems after the attainment of freedom. Almost all attempts in this part to instil nationalism were made by individuals and sometimes also by Arya Samaj whose hold on Hindu population was considerable here. If at all the Congress were to have been active here the integration of Hyderabad into Indian Union probably would have been smoother. Some nationalists who wanted to be active in national movement had to go to Bombay-Karnataka. There were several such nationalists from the districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar who took active part in the Quit India Movement in other British-Karnataka districts.

\textbf{Quit India Movement in Coorg District}:

Soon after the I.C.D.M., Siddavanahalli Krishna Sharma came to Mercara and organised a Congress of the students of this district. A large number of high school students participated in this Congress. This was a firm base upon which within a short period the Quit India Movement gained strength and popularity. When most of the leaders of this district were arrested in August 1942, it was these young students who kept the movement going. Though schools were closed to prevent the students from organising processions, the enthusiasm did not dampen. Throughout September, the students violated ban order by organising processions and assisted underground workers in sabotage activities. The satyagraha campaigns at Virajpet, Somavarpet, Gonikoppa and Mercara had large number of students.

The dynamite case of Virajpet Post Office and Court Police Station were the incidents contemporaneously much talked of. In these cases the prestige of the British administration suffered in the eyes of a common man. A prize of Rs.300/- on every individual involved in these sabotage activities was announced by the district authorities. But nobody came forward to assist the police to apprehend the underground workers. Consequent of these
activities a large number of inmates of the school hostel were thrown out and sent home.

This apart minor incidents such as dislocating telegraphic wires in several parts of the district and setting fire to police outposts and other government buildings were common throughout the month of September. The police and district authorities acted swiftly to restore normalcy. By indiscriminate arrests, imprisonments, searching houses on suspicion and confiscation of movable property, the police effectively checked the spread of the movement. By October, the situation was under the control of the police.

As elsewhere the authorities here made extensive use of emergency powers under the provisions of Defence of India Rule. Particularly, the attack on the press was severe, Kodagu, the prominent nationalist newspaper fell prey to the oppression of the authorities. Subsequently, when the publication was resumed the authorities held up the supply of newsprint, which was a scarce commodity during the war period. Only newspapers praising the war efforts of the British were provided with subsidised newsprint. In such a way, the authorities sought to suppress the nationalist press and thereby the movement in the district.

Political Developments After Quit India Movement:

As told earlier, the Quit India Movement gradually waned with the dawn of 1943. Government had succeeded in ruthlessly suppressing the movement. In the beginning of the year there was a feeling of frustration in the country for having achieved nothing concrete. Most of the leaders and thousands of their followers were in the prison. The movement had come to be criticised once again by its opponents. It had also deviated from Gandhian path. In such a situation any spectacular political development was improbable. Inspite of this certain important events in 1943 and later definitely moved India closer to her goal of freedom.
The first significant event was the announcement of Gandhi's 21-day fast. Gandhi always opposed any kind of violent and secret activity to gain freedom. The continued violence both on the part of the people and Congressmen disturbed Gandhi. He had directed Congress to start the Quit India Movement when the people were not yet ready. As a measure of self-purification and protest against the violence he started this fast on February 10, 1943. The government did not show any concern at the deterioration of Gandhi's health after the week's fast. Instead secret arrangements for his funeral were made.

To protest against the pathetic attitude of the authorities a few Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council resigned on February 19. At a meeting of the leaders of different political parties a resolution calling upon the Viceroy to release Gandhi was accepted. They also hoped that the Government would arrive at some understanding with the Congress. The Government were unmoved. On February 25, thirty-five leading public men issued a statement urging the Congress and the Government to break the deadlock by adopting a policy of reconciliation. But both remained unbending.

Subhas Chandra Bose who had left India in early 1941 to Germany and from there to Japan announced the formation of Indian National Army (I.N.A). He wanted to fight the British on an altogether different plane than Gandhi and the Congress. The impact of I.N.A. on Indian freedom movement though not spectacular, led to military dissatisfaction. Even Organisations like Hindu Mahasabha were reluctant to subscribe to the ideology of Bose. His activities overseas had little to do with Gandhi's satyagraha.

Sir Linlithgow, who was considered as a reactionary by contemporary Indians, gave up his viceregal post in October 1943. Sir Archibald Wavell succeeded him. Before his arrival he had created an atmosphere of good will by his several speeches. But soon he was to disappoint the Indian political leaders by his
By this he was to a great extent responsible for the continued political deadlock in the country. He also refused to release Gandhi unless he disowned the Bombay Resolution.

With the beginning of 1944, Allied Victory was almost certain. Italy and Germany had been defeated in several fronts. The Japanese had bogged in Assam and the retreat had become imminent. Along with these developments the demand for Gandhi's release was going stronger by the day back in England. Hence, on May 6, 1944 Gandhi was abruptly released from prison with a few C.W.C. members.

The release of Gandhi did not mean a change in the policy of the British. While Gandhi was willing to help the war efforts and make the Congress join the National Government, Wavell did not reciprocate. He insisted that minorities, princes and other groups must agree on the future Constitution before the formation of the National Government. Since 1942, the British had maintained, even pretended, that the Indian disunity was the only or the main obstacle in their departure from India. Now, Wavell was insisting upon newer conditions that were not originally incorporated in the Cripp's proposals. Gandhi's initiative to resolve the differences with the British, at this juncture looked bleak.

Simultaneously, Gandhi also approached Jinnah to solve the communal tangle. Gandhi in fact, in principle agreed to a conditional partition of the nation. But Jinnah insisted upon the definite and unconditional creation of Pakistan. Henceforth, Muslim League became more and more stubborn vis-a-vis any proposals putforth by the Congress. Even Gandhi's satyagraha could not bring Jinnah to an understanding to avoid the partition.

In the meanwhile, the war in Europe came to an end with Allied victory. Opinion everywhere compelled the British to have a dialogue with the Indian leaders. The gloom in Indian politics gradually came to an end as the pressure on England increased.
The Indian politics began to move in a different direction. The vicissitude of 1943-45 looked meaningless. Wavell was called back to London to discuss about the future constitutional advancement. Consequent of this came the White Paper and the subsequent, Simla Conference. Simultaneously in the middle of June, 1945 most of the Congress leaders were set free from the prisons.

Simla Conference which opened on June 25, 1945 was destined to be a failure. Congress being a nationalist party insisted upon nominating its members to the proposed Executive Council, irrespective of the community of the nominees. But the Muslim League demanded the sole right to nominate the Muslims to the Council. On July 14, the Conference was declared as a failure.

In the meantime, Labour Party under Clement Attlee in whose victory Congress saw a hope of ray had come to power. In August, Wavell once again went to London to confer with the new leaders. On September 19, 1945 Wavell announced that he would soon convene a constitution making body. Again it was made clear that the Congress, minorities and the Princes must come to an agreement before the British could leave India.

The Congress at its Session in Bombay expressed its dissatisfaction over this statement. But the Session decided to take part in the ensuing elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. Congress proved itself as a national party and the Muslim League emerged as a communal party in Muslim dominated provinces. This result further strengthened the League demand for the creation of Pakistan, which had taken a definite shape in the minds of several Muslim leaders.

These internal and external factors compelled the British to change their policy of adamancy to one of accommodation. Adamancy about Congress and Muslim League understanding was given up. This inaugurated the new policy of the British to quit India as early as they could.
While elections were being held, a Parliamentary delegation came to India to learn the views of the Indian leaders about the future of India. Subsequently, the labour Government sent Cabinet Mission whose purpose as Cripps, a member of the Mission, said was "to find out means for the transfer of power to Indian hands." British press generally assured that the Mission was not a plan to "frustrate the Indian aspirations." But it had its own pitfalls. It was made clear that the Mission would consult only the Princes and not the representatives of the Indian States. S.Nijalingappa, the President of the K.P.C.C. also expressed his dismay at this attitude. Jawaharlal Nehru in the capacity of the Office bearer of A.I.S.P.C. in a letter to the Mission demanded that it should also meet the elected representatives of the Indian States.

The Cabinet Mission envisaged the creation of a United India, without Pakistan, but with certain safeguards for the Muslims. The League in the first instance accepted the Plan but later on rejected it. Congress accepted the Plan, though Nehru wanted some major modifications. Infact Nehru was not in favour of accepting the Plan. Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs also opposed this plan on various grounds. But the Press in general welcomed the Plan since it would lead to the formation of the Constituent Assembly. Since there was much opposition the Plan was shelved.

In the meantime, Wavell also invited Indian political leaders to join the Interim Government, which was to be in power until the Constituent Assembly framed a new Constitution. In the beginning Congress declined, but later on joined the Government, along with the Muslim League in August, 1945. Before the Government was formed the League resorted to a plan of Direct Action to force upon the British and the Congress the idea of creating Pakistan. With this in August, a period of communal holocaust was initiated in the last days of British in India. Further from within the Interim Government, the League sought to obstruct the functioning of the Government. League nominee Liaquat Ali Khan was the
Finance Minister who wrecked havoc by his rejection or modification of demands by other departments. It became apparent that the League was not ready to co-operate with the Congress unless the latter agreed for the partition of the Country. On November 14, Jinnah announced the boycott of the Constituent Assembly by the League.

The Constituent Assembly met in New Delhi on December 9, 1946 and the League abstained. Events hereafter moved at a high speed. In the meanwhile, the attempts by Atlee to bring about an understanding between the Congress and the League failed.

These developments convinced the British that they must quit India by a fixed date. Accordingly an announcement was made on the floor of the House of Commons that British withdraw from India by June, 1948.

In the meantime, the communal riots in Punjab and Bengal became more violent. Atlee realised the danger of continued presence of the British as the law and order situation deteriorated. To expedite the British withdrawal Wavell was replaced by Mountbatten as the Viceroy. He came to India with powers to take decisions independent of the British Government back in London. His attempts to maintain the Indian unity did not succeed. Congress, the League and others opposed the plans by Mountbatten. Subsequently, the British decided to leave India after transferring power to two or more governments of British India.

Subsequently, on June 3, 1947, Atlee announced the proposal for transfer of power, which envisaged the partition of the nation into India and Pakistan. Congress without any other alternative proposal to the League had to accept the plan of partition.

Once the partition scheme was accepted by Indian political leaders the British moved very swiftly. Both the Houses of the Parliament passed the Indian Independence Bill, 1947 and the Bill
became an Act on July 18, after the royal assent. On the midnight of 14-15 August, 1947 two centuries of British rule came to an end. The three-decade long satyagraha struggle led by Gandhi for the political emancipation of Indians practically came to an end. The political emancipation was achieved, but the country was divided on communal basis in direct opposition to the wishes of Gandhi. The British left the country almost bankrupt. On the eve of British departure there was widespread unemployment consequent of the closure of many factories. The supply of coal had reached a low ebb and the treasury was "Virtually empty."156

As a matter of fact the Congress should have continued with greater zeal the constructive part of satyagraha. The tradition of pursuing constructive programme, in the absence of political programme as well as during a satyagraha campaign, had been kept in the background throughout the final phase of the struggle for independence.157 Congress had become more a political organisation working in the direction of assuming political power after the departure of the British. The Congress as a social movement, through constructive activity, was given up in the early 1940's not to be resumed again. Congress members demanded on the floor of the legislatures certain privileges for the Depressed Classes instead of working in that direction outside on their own. One such example was a discussion in the Representative Assembly of Mysore relating to the granting of free land to the Depressed Class peasants.158 Prohibition was also likewise sought to be introduced through legislation in Mysore State in 1941.159 This was in contrast to what Thakkar Baba, Secretary of All India Harijan Sevak Sangh said in Mysore in 1941. He said that through legislation alone untouchability cannot be removed.160

At party level also the same tendency continued. As a routine the A.I.C.C. issued a circular to all P.C.Cs. on January 21, 1942 calling upon to reinvigorate the constructive activities, such as propagation of Khadi, Harijan upliftment, Hindu-Muslim Unity, rural upliftment, etc. by observing special days and weeks to each of these programmes. It also stated that "they should not
be mere show, but should serve to focuss people's attention on the various aspects of our nation building activity." Particular emphsis was laid on rural industries which would ease the difficult econmic situation. Even Mahadeva Desai had insisted upon starting a network of industries in rural areas, to provide jobs for the villagers, without wholly depending upon the State help. But there was little interest for this since all the concentration was on the forthcoming political struggle which consumed all the resources and energy of the Congress organisation.

Events leading to Responsible Government in Mysore:

The British had announced that the Paramountcy would lapse with their departure and advised the Indian States to join either of the two Dominions in their own interests. The British in their urgency to quit did not give sufficient thought to this thorny issue. After August 15, 1947 Indian States became a serious problem not only for the Indian Government but also to the population of Indian States. But one must bear in mind the paramountcy had lapsed not because of the efforts of the princes, but because of the sacrifices of their subjects and subjects of British India. Hence, the right of shaping the destinies of Indian States lay with the subjects and not with the princes. Gandhi was not against the princes, but he wanted them to be the trustees of their subjects enjoying no more privileges than that of the Monarch of England. Congress was for furtherance of mutual interests and welfare, and wanted to arrive at an understanding that would serve the country best. Vallabhai Patel who wanted to toe the hardline policy in this regard also wanted the princes to be given some privileges.

In defiance of all these wishes were the ideas of some Indian princes. While the people were agitating for responsible government in a free India, the princes were aspiring and infact some scheming to become independent, and continue with their
autocratic and dynastic rule. Congress had to act firmly to end this atmosphere of confusion and conspiracy. Congress was hopeful of getting full support from the people of Indian States. Like any other princely state the princely Government of Mysore also made an attempt to retain its identity, though not complete independence from the Indian Union.

Though the Maharaja of Mysore had given some more reforms in 1940 by which the representatives of the people got more rights, they lacked the element of responsible government. The winning of considerable number of seats in 1941 and a large majority in the elections of 1945 made the M.S.C. more determined in their struggle for responsible government. From 1945 onwards the Assembly became a battle ground between the Government and the elected members of the M.S.C. led by K. Hanumanthaiah.

The political developments in British India after the end of the War had its effect on Mysore State. The independence and its results were naturally desired by the people of Mysore State also. Delay in accepting the reality of the situation by the Mysore Government led to discontentment, which in turn led to political campaign, satyagrahas and a state of turmoil which the state called lawlessness. The use of force may check popular urge for change, but it can never succeed in eradicating it altogether.

After the Indian independence the students in Mysore State became more restive. They became active participants in the political drama that was unfolding. Even earlier to Indian independence the Government had sought to keep away the students from political agitations. A few students had been victimised by preventing them from appearing for their examination for their role in political agitations. This apart, the authorities also regularly used the Mysore Restriction and Detention Act against Congress leaders to suppress and silence the demand for responsible government.

The Indian States Peoples' Conference under the leadership of P. Seetharamayya had become very vocal in its demand for
responsible government. Nehru also warned that Indian States hesitating to join the Indian Union will be considered as the enemies of Indian independence. It is interesting to note that K.C. Reddy demanded that elected members from the Indian States must be included in the Interim Government to be formed by the British.\(^{172}\)

These developments had indeed compelled the Maharaja of Mysore to come forward with the offer of more reforms. In August 1946, Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar\(^{173}\) assumed the office of the Dewan. He was a shrewd administrator and a diplomat who sought to pacify the leaders of the M.S.C. and divert their attention from the demand for responsible government. However, his attempt was like swimming against the current. The signs of the day were very clear and he was bound to fail. He had not realised that the I.N.C. when assumed power in British India would not tolerate autocracy in Indian States. Infact, the M.S.C. knowing him well had objected to his appointment and had staged a walkout in 1946 at the opening session of the Assembly. The M.S.C. had characterised the Dewan's Government as "irresponsible and unresponsive."\(^{174}\) During this period many of the Government Bills were defeated in the Assembly at frequent intervals.

The year 1946 also witnessed a severe famine in four districts of the State. In some areas there were no crops at all. In 1945 the food production came down by 40 per cent. Over lakh of population was affected by this famine. Government had to supply food for about twelve lakh population throughout the year.\(^{175}\) Hence the economic situation in the subsequent two years was one of crisis. This economic crisis had is bearing on the political movement in the State. The M.S.C. penetrated even the remotest corner of the State during this period. This was the period of consolidation for the M.S.C. for the forthcoming Palace Satyagraha.

The Working Committee of the M.S.C. on March 10, 1947 passed a resolution which said that "the immediate establishment
of Responsible Government" was imperative once the Paramountcy lapsed. There was no definite sign from the Dewan as to concede this demand. Hence the M.S.C. which met at Bowringpet on March 29, 1947 called upon its leaders to resort to the means of satyagraha until the goal was realised. The call was "fight to the finish." The campaign was to be inaugurated on May 1, 1947 in the whole of the State.

In January, the Maharaja had directed the Dewan to submit proposals for constitutional reforms taking into considerations the developments in British India. Subsequently, the Dewan invited the leaders of the M.S.C. to discuss about the future reforms and the kind of responsible government that was suitable to the people of Mysore and agreeable to the M.S.C. The deliberations were not conducted briskly. He pursued a policy of wait and watch the developments in British India. By his talks and tactics it became clear for the M.S.C. leaders that giving full responsible government was not in the minds of the Government. Since the talks were inclusive, the satyagraha scheduled for May 1, 1947 was withdrawn by the M.S.C. But even after a prolonged talks nothing was achieved.

In the meanwhile on June 3, 1947 Mountbatten announced that the British would quit on August 15, 1947 and on that date the paramountcy would lapse. He also declared that the Indian States were free to join either Pakistan or the Indian Union. By this it became apparent that the British would not protect the interests of the Indian princes. In response to this announcement the Dewan declared that the State would join the process of making the Indian Constitution. It also meant that the State had decided upon joining the Indian Union. The quick response to the issue of joining the Indian Union was welcomed by all. But still the Dewan was reluctant to transfer the power to the people's representatives and to an extent succeeded in neutralising the demands of the M.S.C. by announcing the decision to join the Union. The Congress demand for forming an interim government on the lines of the Interim
Government for India was not taken seriously by the Dewan.

At this juncture the M.S.C. had to divert its attention from responsible government to the issue of electing members to the Indian Constituent Assembly. The Dewan wanted two members each from the Assembly and the Council to be elected among themselves and the remaining three members to be nominated by the Maharaja one among whom would be the Dewan himself. This was opposed by the M.S.C. who insisted upon electing all the seven members, \(^{181}\) and demanded that both the Assembly and the Council should be made a single electoral college for this purpose. The Dewan succeeded once again by defeating the demands of the M.S.C. by his divide and rule policy. He struck to his plan of election as well as nomination of the members to the Constituent Assembly. \(^{182}\) Now for the first time, the people of Mysore State had an opportunity to associate themselves in evolving a new constitution to the Indian Union. The transition of allegiance of Mysore State from the British to the Indian Union went off smoothly without causing any hitch. \(^{183}\) The relationship of the State and the Union was subsequently defined by the Instrument of Accession and later on incorporated in the Indian Constitution.

Even at this stage the Dewan was reluctant to give responsible government, though responsible government was imminent and was the logical outcome of joining the Union. The working committee of the M.S.C. which met in the middle of July recorded its opinion about the Dewan in the following words, "The Dewan is marking time and meanwhile assiduously endeavouring to encourage reactionary forces and communalism to the detriment of the people." \(^{184}\)

The Working Committee also resolved to discontinue its policy of holding talks with the Dewan and go ahead with a programme of satyagraha campaign. It also called upon people to violate arbitrary and unjust prohibitory orders of the Government seeking to suppress the popular movement. At once M.S.C. started organising its strength and mobilising its resources.
The Independence Day was celebrated all over the State with great enthusiasm. In the same mood the Working Committee met on August 21, 1947 and took the momentous decision of resorting to Palace Satyagraha. This was going to be the "fight to the finish."

The Palace Satyagraha was a non-violent campaign to bring moral coercion on the Maharaja of Mysore to fulfill the popular demand for responsible government. At the outset, it was made clear that the purpose of the satyagraha campaign was not to dishonour the personality of the Maharaja. In this campaign the people all over the State were requested to observe hartal, conduct Prabhat Pheris and processions, hoist the national flag and hold public meetings on September 1, 1947 and on subsequent days until the demand for responsible government was met by the Dewan. K.C. Reddy, the President of the M.S.C. was appointed as the first dictator. It was also announced that a batch of satyagrahis led by prominent leaders would undertake a march from Bangalore to Mysore on September 4. The march was planned to reach Mysore on September 11. On the way it was to camp in several places and address the people. On arrival at Mysore, the satyagrahis were to offer satyagraha in the form of picketing in front of the palace. On the same line batches of satyagrahis were to come to Mysore from different places on the stipulated date.

Once the campaign was announced the M.S.C. leaders undertook to organise the volunteers all over the State. Three groups were formed each under the leadership of K.C. Reddy, K.T. Bashyam and T. Siddalingaiah to tour the State to prepare the ground for the Palace Satyagraha. Students, mill-hands, factory workers, political parties including the communists declared their support for this campaign. K. Kamaraj, President of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and S.K. Patil, President of Bombay Congress Committee pledged their full support. Several batches of satyagrahis arrived from Kerala. The greatest support came from the people of British-Karnataka. At that time S. Nijalingappa, a Mysorean was the President of the K.P.C.C.
The Dewan who had tried earlier to introduce the element of communalism in State politics now sought to associate himself with bureaucratic repression in the hope of suppressing the campaign. On the one hand, he appealed to the M.S.C. to give him more time to consider the demands and on the other made all bureaucratic arrangements to suppress the campaign. He promulgated what is known as Emergency Press Act on August 28. This gave wide ranging powers to the authorities to create an atmosphere of terror among the people. This Act was particularly aimed at gagging the nationalist press by introducing precensorship of news items and all newspapers in the State were ordered not to publish any news connected with the Palac Satyagraha.

By this it became apparent that the Government was reluctant to face the reality. The disappearance of the armed protection of the British to the Indian Princes gave a blow to the resistance of the princes to the demand of responsible government. The Indian princes were not allowed by the British to maintain a strong armed force under treaty obligations. This was the weakest point of the princes because of which they could not resist Indian Government, which was equipped with a strong armed force.

The satyagraha campaign began as announced on September 1, 1947. A mass rally largest of its kind was addressed by K.C. Reddy in Bangalore. On the same day one of the biggest procession was also arranged in Bangalore. "Mysore Chalo" (March on to Mysore) and "Arcot boycott" were the slogans which made the atmosphere electrifying. On the mid-night of 3-4, K.C. Reddy, T.Siddalingaiah, K.T.Bashyam, S.Nijalingappa, S.Channaiah and host of others were arrested. The intention of the Government was to render the campaign leaderless. But these arrests made the people more determined.

During the eleven days between 4 and 14 of September the movement reached every corner of the State. Police, to break up the movement, made lathi charges and on occasion opened fire on satyagrahis and on volunteers. Prisons were full. Bangalore
city alone sent 1093 satyagrahis to prison. All over the State more than 4000 satyagrahis were put behind the bars. Curfew was imposed in Bangalore and firing caused deaths in Mysore, Bangalore, Tumkur and Madhugiri, within fifteen days it seemed that the government was fighting a losing battle against satyagrahis, whose only weapon was their moral force. The Dewan for the last time tried to divide the leaders on communal factor, but in vain. By September 17, it became evident that the Government had lost control over the situation in the State. The shortage of food grains because of the famine in previous years aggravated the situation further more. Feeding four thousand satyagrahis in prisons became an unbearable burden on the State exchequer. Many villages bordering Madras province declared their independence from Mysore State and owed allegiance to the independent and popular government formed by the M.S.C. under the Chief Ministership of K.C. Reddy.

By September 14, more than 1500 satyagrahis had gathered in Mysore and were offering satyagraha in front of the palace. This gathering from different places was in spite of the fact that the borders of Mysore had been sealed and entry of satyagrahis had been prevented by the State Police and military force.

The journalists of the State also gave an ultimatum to the Government of initiating a statewide satyagraha by all journalists unless the censorship was withdrawn at once. To violate the Emergency Press Act a newspaper called Dhikkara (Protest) was collectively published by leading journalists. Pouravani (Citizens' voice) a daily started exclusively to further the cause of responsible government was banned. But the whole press was shifted to Hindupur, outside Mysore, where the newspaper was printed and published and subsequently brought into Mysore State. Consequent of this entry of outside newspaper into Mysore State was banned, which included Indian Express, a leading national newspaper. But this ban could not be effectively implemented by the authorities.

By the third week of September it became evident that the
authority of Dewan was gradually sinking. External pressure also was on the increase, mainly from the people of India. In border areas the authority of the Government had practically collapsed with the formation of an independent Government of Mysore. So, on September 24, the Maharaja issued a proclamation granting all the demands of the M.S.C. The Dewan outlined the main features of the new reforms at a press conference on the same day. Censorship was withdrawn, ban on national newspapers was revoked and the intention of releasing all the political prisoners was announced. With this the 'Palace Satyagraha' came to an end successfully.

The political leaders were released on October 7. By October 11, the Dewan and the M.S.C. arrived at an understanding regarding the establishment of a responsible government. According to this understanding an interim cabinet of ministers responsible to the legislature was formed. Subsequently on October 24, the first responsible government consisting of both Congress and non-Congress members was formed under the Chief Ministership of K.C. Reddy. However, the work of the Constituent Assembly, which had been formed after an election, was discontinued since the Indian Constituent Assembly was framing a Constitution that was applicable not only to the Indian Union and the Indian Provinces, but also to the integrated princely states.

With this event the struggle for responsible government in Mysore State came to an end. The last vestige of the princely order, that is the post of Dewan was abolished in August 1949. With the acceptance of the Indian Constitution in January 1950, the old Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were abolished. The Constituent Assembly became the Interim Legislative Assembly of Mysore State. The old interim ministry resigned and a new Ministry with powers of a full responsible government came into being. K.C. Reddy became the first Chief Minister.

Events Leading to Police Action in Hyderabad-Karnataka:

As Indian freedom movement was coming to an end, the situation
in Hyderabad-Karnataka was getting worse. The Razakar menace, oppression of the peasants by bureaucracy, aspiration of the Nizam to become independent, the activities of Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha and the satyagraha campaign by Congress volunteers had made the political situation very tense.

The Hyderabad State Congress (H.S.C) which was banned before its birth in 1938 had led to the emergence of Nizam Karnataka Parishat in Hyderabad-Karnataka. This parishat acted as the organ of Congress and held annual meets until the ban on H.S.C. was withdrawn in 1946 by the intervention of Gandhi. With the reorganisation of H.S.C. political movement once again gained in strength and in stature. It was this H.S.C. which fought against the oppressive state and the Razakars in the three districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar, and in rest of Hyderabad to integrate the state into the Indian Union.

As the withdrawal of British came closer the Nizam made all attempts to declare his independence in collaboration with the Razakars and help from certain foreign powers including Pakistan. On the one hand at first he refused to join the Indian Union. But by August he entered into an agreement with the Indian Union whereby both the Governments agreed to maintain status quo. On the other, the Razakars let loose a reign of terror in rural areas with the tacit consent of the Nizam's Government. And also present were a large number of Congress volunteers armed themselves for self-defence and attack the Razakars. These Congress Volunteers were organised to work as a parallel government in rural areas.

The Satyagraha campaign in Hyderabad-Karnataka started with processions and meetings on August 7, 1947 as per the directions of H.S.C. It was also proposed to start Flag Satyagraha from August 15. Hoisting National Flag meant violation of the ban order on such activity. Flag Satyagraha was successfully held in almost all the towns of Hyderabad-Karnataka. Hundreds of volunteers were arrested. Flags were hoisted on several Government buildings.
in Raichur. The most important act of this nature was hoisting the tri-colour on the Collector's Office at Raichur by a few adventurous volunteers.

Within a short time the untrained satyagrahis proved ineffective against the oppressive state machinery and the Razakars. The life in prison was unbearable and consequently many tendered apologies and came out. Police on several occasions used their lathis freely against the inmates and on one occasion a volunteer died of lathi injuries. So, the H.S.C. had to deviate from its accepted path of non-violent satyagraha and take up arms to defend itself. Subsequently, the H.S.C. decided to carry on a campaign on the lines of Quit India Movement.

At this juncture, the Communist Party also turned away from the H.S.C. It had been banned by the State Government in December 1946 and the Communists had joined hands with H.S.C. in organising the Flag Satyagraha. They declared "The flag of the Indian Union is also the flag of the Hyderabad people." However when the ban was lifted by the Nizam's Government under the influence of Razakars, the Communists instantly changed their allegiance in favour of independent Hyderabad.

After this development the H.S.C. organised its headquarters in Gadag for Hyderabad-Karnataka. From here several armed volunteers' camps were established in Hyderabad-Karnataka in towns like Mundaragi, Gajendragadh, Koppal, Tungabhadra, Edaginahal, Challe Kadher, Baradur, Kushtagi, Shanagowdara and other places as well as in neighbouring districts of Karnataka. With the support of H.S.C. volunteers from these camps, clusters of villages in Raichur, Bidar and Gulbarga declared their independence from the Nizam's Government. This apart police stations and outposts were attacked and fire arms were looted, Government offices and records were set to fire and in some places bridges were destroyed and railway stations were burnt. In several skirmishes that occurred between H.S.C. volunteers and police, and H.S.C. volunteers and
Razakars several volunteers died of wounds and bullet injuries. These violent activities were against the tenets of Satyagraha. But considering the situation the H.S.C. had to adopt this. The Razakars and the police of Hyderabad were more cruel and mean than the British and an untrained satyagrahi could not have been a match. One should also consider the fact that the Nizam and his government were arrogant and never realised that their days were numbered. Hence, the Government of India had to use military force against Hyderabad to bring about the merge of the State with the Indian Union. In a way the military action was the culmination of the underground activities and deployment of self-defence forces by the H.S.C. After the military action in September 1948, the Nizam agreed to join the Union without any conditions. Thus by the end of 1948 the most stubborn of the Indian States was merged with the Union.

**Formation of Karnataka, 1956:**

The Congress which had all through supported the formation of provinces on the basis of the language spoken in a particular area, opposed this principle after independence. After much controversy the State Re-organisation Commission was appointed to alter the boundaries of the existing provinces and old Indian States. The outcome of this commission is the formation of Mysore State, which recently has come to be renamed as Karnataka.
NOTES

2 See Harijan, January 20, 1940.
3 Gandhi's speech at Bombay A.I.C.C., September 16, 1940; see IAR., 1940, Vol.II, pp.214-16.
5 A.R.Desai, Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism, p.27.
6 Mohammad Noaman, Muslim India, p.304.
7 A.R.Desai, p.27.
9 In October 1941 M.R.Jayakar, a Moderate, toured Bombay-Karnataka addressing public meetings in support of India joining the War efforts, but in vain. See IAR, Vol.II, 1941, p.26.
10 Of the 111 delegates from Karnataka only 19 voted in favour of M.N.Roy, See IAR, 1940, Vol.I, p.220.
11 Defence of India Bill became an Act in the Central Assembly with the support of Muslim League Members and in the absence of Congress Members who were boycotting the Session. See Manoranjan Jha - Role of Central Legislature In the Freedom Struggle, p.249.
13 A.R.Desai, p.35.
14 IAR, 1941, Vol.II, p.194 and also see Harijan, November 4, 1939.
19 See the Conversation between the representative from K.P.C.C. and Gandhi at Wardha on the eve of I.C.D.M., Kasturi, June 1965, pp.28-29.
203

20 Gandhi laid down certain conditions, including regular spinning for satyagrahis participating in this campaign. See Harijan, March 30, 1940. Also see Circular of the General Secretary, A.I.C.C. dated March 29, 1940 reproduced in I.A.R, 1940, Vol.1, p.240.


27 Kasturi, June 1965, p.27.


34 The Hindu, June 7, 1941.


36 M.S.C. was of the opinion that Mirza Ismail was responsible for all such rejection and in this regard complaint was taken to M.K.Gandhi by the leaders of the M.S.C. See Sudha, September 22, 1974, p.47.

37 The Hindu, April 11, 1941.

38 The Hindu, May 27, 1940.


40 IAR, 1941, Vol.I, p.27.


42 Gandhi was not impressed by these release of Satyagrahis from prisons. But Congress welcomed it. See P.Sitaramayya, Congress History, Vol.II, pp.288-89.

45 Manoranjan Jha, p.267.
47 Harijan, April 19, 1942.
48 See The Hindu, April 16, 1942.
50 Harijan, May 10, 1942.
51 However Gandhi was willing to have allied armed forces in India to defend against the Japanese invasion. See D.G.Tendulkar, Mahatma, Vol.VI, p.117.
53 For full text of the C.W.C. resolution of July 14, 1942, see Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government 1942-44, pp. 278-80.
54 For the A.I.C.C. Resolution see Ibid., pp.274-77.
55 Ibid., p.277 and also Philips (Ed.), The Evolution of India and Pakistan, p.342.
58 Later in 1945, Gandhi in a letter to his follower said that the Congressman should have followed the Fourteen Point Programme and desisted from underground activities. See Correspondence between Gandhi and Shripad Joshi in Shripad Joshi, Mahatma my Bapu, p.60.
60 Gandhi expressed this idea in a letter to Alexander Harrison in April 1942. See D.G.Tendulkar, Mahatma, Vol.VI, p.92.
62 Many took this to mean "Kill to be killed". But for Gandhi it meant that a satyagrahi "lays down his life, but never gives up." See Harijan, July 21, 1946.
Gandhi had said what the people should do if he was arrested in a speech on August 7, 1942, but much attention was not given to this subsequently.


See Sudha, January 25, 1976, p.16.

The Government made all attempts to tarnish the image of Congress. It held the view that the Congress had 'planned' sabotage activities to hinder British War efforts. See Legislative Assembly debates. Vol.III, 1942, pp.141-51. Quoted in Manoranjan Jha, pp.269-70.

See *Harijan*, April 13, 1940 and February 10, 1946 for the views of Gandhi on this issue.

Gandhi even as early as 1940 had spoken against Congress workers resorting to sabotage activities. See *Harijan*, April 13, 1940.

Gandhi was of the view that he alone was authorised to initiate the campaign. Since he could not do so people should have followed his Fourteen Point Programme. See, Shripad Joshi, pp.58-60.

For British view-point of the 1942-Movement, see "Report of the Government of Indian or Civil Disturbances 1942-43", reproduced in IAR, 1942, Vol.II, p.188.

The Hindu, July 30, 1944.


84 The earliest case of a punitive tax was on Nippani levied in August 1942 when volunteers destroyed the local post office. The tax amount was more than one lakh rupees. See, K.P.C.C Report on 1942 movement, reproduced in G.S. Halappa, Vol.II, p.284.
85 To bring the conditions of lawlessness under control through the use of military was decided upon at the Governor's Conference held at the Secretariat, Bombay, on March 9, 1943. Consequently, a company of soldiers was sent to Belgaum district to assist the police. See file No.5/INC/43 CID., Bombay, pp.189-204; reproduced in G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.299-304.
86 See, P.D. Kaushik, p.249.
87 Ibid., p.249.
93 File No.5/INC/43, CID., pp.77-83; See G.S.Halappa, Vol.II pp. 293-94.
94 For a detailed account of this tragedy see, G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.320-22.
To bring the general situation under control military camps were established at Dharwar, Haveri, Alnavar and Gadag to assist the police. See CID File No.5/INC/43, CID, Bombay; reproduced in G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.299-302.


This resulted in a loss of Rs.12,000/- to the Government. See Home Department Special Branch File No.41 in G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.295-96.

Kasturi, January 1965, p.45.


The Hindu, August 9, 1942.


The Hindu, September 11, 1942.


The Hindu, August 13, 1942.


The Hindu, August 9, 1942.

The Hindu, August 14 and 15, 1942.

The Hindu, August 17, 1942.

M.N.Jois, Biography on Tagadur, p.42.
As in Mysore State, the students and labourers took a leading part in the Quit India Movement everywhere which the Government had not expected. See Ambaprasad, _The Indian Revolt of 1942_, pp. 74-76.

For extracts of news relating to this movement reported in Tainadu, See G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.453-56.


For a detailed account of this tragedy see, G.S.Halappa, Vol.II, pp.329-333.


See James Manor, _Political Change in an Indian State_, p.144.

Ramananda Thirtha, p.136.


Ramananda Thirtha, p.121.

Ramananda Thirtha, p.127.

The Government also realised the losses by imposing collective fines and collecting it forcibly. See Shripad Joshi, p.59.


The Hindu, July 30, 1944 and Harijan, March 3, 1946.

Gandhi disowned the movement since according to him it was not a Congress Movement, as it did not adhere to his directions, though it was led by Congressmen. See Shripad Joshi, pp. 56-58.
Gandhi held British administrators responsible for the communal differences, but yet he wanted to solve them amicably. See Manoranjan Jha, p.253.

See Urmila Phadnis, Towards the Integration of Indian States, pp. 153-154.
The Hindu, April 2, 1946.
The Hindu, April 10, 1946.
V.P.Menon, Transfer of Power in India, p.268.
The Hindustan Times, November 15, 1968.
The Hindu, June 18, 1947.
See Mosley, pp.12-13, f.n.8.
See IAR, 1941, Vol.II, p.3.
162a The British propounded the doctrine of lapse of paramountcy to conserve the authority and prestige of the princes and thereby reversing the history; See Rajaji’s speech at Cochin on August 21, 1948 in Rajaji’s Speeches, Government of India, New Delhi, 1948.
163 See Vallabhai Patel's Speech at Junagadh on November 13, 1947, in For a United India, p.10.
164 Harijan, January 13, 1940.
166 See the Statement of Vallabhai Patel from New Delhi on Dec.16, 1947 in For a United India, pp.18-19.
167 K.M.Munshi, The End of An Era, p.XII.
168 R.Coupland, India : A Re-statement, p.177.
169 See the statement of Vallabhai Patel from New Delhi on Dec.16, 1947, in For a United India, pp.18-19.
170 The Hindu, December 11, 1945.
171 The Hindu, August 19, 1945.
172 Mudaliar was a member of the Wartime Executive Council, Government of India and resigned when the Interim Government was formed.
173 The Hindu, October 2, 1946.
174 The Hindu, December 12, 1946.
175 The Hindu, May 31, 1946.
176 The Hindu, January 10, 1947.
177 P.R.Ramaiya, p.77.
178 The Hindu, June 18, 1947 and P.R.Ramaiya, p.77.
179 The Hindu, June 18, 1947.
180 The Hindu, June 20, 1947.
181 The Hindu, June 20, 1947.
182 The Hindu, July 9, 1947.

P.R. Ramaiya, p.81.


*The Hindu*, September 1, 1947.


P.R. Ramaiya, p.65.

*The Hindu*, September 1, 1947.


*The Hindu*, September 6 and 8, 1947.


H.S. Doraiswamy, p.145.


The Strength of the Congress members was six including the Chief Minister and that of Non-Congress was fixed at three.


Razakar was a member of a Muslim Voluntary Organisation under Qasim Razvi. Razvi vainly fought for the independence of Hyderabad against the Indian Union during 1947-48.
In about a month the Razakars looted 357 villages causing heavy losses to Hindu-held properties and committed 187 murders and 112 rapes in Hyderabad-Karnataka. For details Swatantrandolana: Raichur Jille, Annexure III, no page number.

214 Ramananda Thirtha, p.155.
216 The Hindu, March 27, 1946.
219 Ibid., p.8.

221 See Ibid., Annexure XIV, no page number.
222 See Ibid., pp.82-89.
223 See Ibid., Annexure XII and pp.88-89.
224 H.S.C. had shifted its Head Quarters to Madras to escape Government action in 1947.
225 Ramananda Thirtha, p.200.
227 Mukherji et al., Re-organisation of Indian States, p.4.