CONCLUSION

This thesis makes it clear that satyagraha was the foremost concept in the political arena of India between the years 1919 to 1948. Its influence was all embracing and Karnataka and her people were not an exception to this. Gandhi through this concept controlled and guided the destinies of the Indian masses, both under the British administration and Indian princes. For Gandhi and his concept the ground had been laid earlier by leaders who had organised political campaign and had broadened the Congress base. However, now these leaders had become a spent force. Some of them even had passed away. Hence, Congress suffered from the absence of forceful leadership. Further, it lacked a radical programme to attract the masses. Simultaneously in their euphoria at the victory in the war British had become complacent. The insufficient Reforms of 1919, the Rowlatt Bill and the Punjab atrocities were the issues which were agitating the minds of the Indians. Gandhi made brilliant use of this situation to rally the Indian masses around his new concept, satyagraha. To them he gave many choices of programme under satyagraha to follow. On this satyagraha concept was developed the political campaigns as well as constructive activities in the next three decades.

The satyagraha campaign, which was a continuous process as said earlier attracted millions of Indians into its fold. This satyagraha concept touched all walks of life of Indian masses. Its target was many maladies like economic distress, social injustice, political backwardness, religious intolerance all essential factors to evolve various campaigns. This was perhaps the greatest virtue of satyagraha. It is universally applicable irrespective of the elements of space and time. It is applicable to every kind of injustice, irrespective of the opponent being a friend or a foe. Because of this flexibility satyagraha was so successfully practiced by Gandhi in India. Like in other parts of India, in Karnataka also it was practiced against the colonial British, and against the
liberal prince of Mysore and against the reactionary Hyderabad Nizam.

The satyagraha movements in Karnataka followed the all India pattern. But sometimes they were spontaneous and there was no initiative from men of politics. The no-tax campaign in the taluks of Sirsi and Siddapura in North Kanara and Hirekerur of Dharwar district was initiated by the peasants themselves in 1930-31. This particular no-tax campaign was against grave economic injustices perpetrated by the British authorities against the land tillers. Until the campaign was organised, the Congress was not in the picture. While no-tax campaign was officially suspended by the Congress elsewhere, it could not be done so in these three taluks. Here it went on until some land revenue concession was given by the provincial government. Though such campaigns were far and few in the history of satyagraha movement in India, it proves the adoptability of the concept of satyagraha by all.

Yet another case of spontaneous outburst on an altogether different ground was the Quit India Movement in Mysore State. The Quit India movement had no relevance in Mysore State. As late as in 1940 Mysore State Congress had made it clear that it had no idea of organising a political campaign to demand responsible government considering the extraordinary situation created by the War. During this campaign the Mysore State Congress had never thought the prospects of students taking a leading part in the movement. The students who were not under the control of the Congress had taken a very active role in this movement. Here the motivating factor was the spirit of nationalism which had become very conspicuous during this period in British India. Further, Gandhi's call to all men to participate in this movement had a great influence on the student community in the State. This spontaneous outburst took the State Congress leaders by surprise. Only after a lapse of sometime the Congress could organise the students and lead the movement.

In the subsequent Palace satyagraha Congress leaders were ready to make use of the student force throughout the State. In
this palace satyagraha the students played a decisive role by organi-
sing marches and political meetings in practically almost all the
towns of Mysore State.

To a great extent the initiation and conduct of satyagraha
campaigns in Karnataka were motivated by the provincial leaders' urge to earn a name at all India level. This can be inferred by
the fact that all the satyagraha campaigns announced by Gandhi were
followed without question and the leaders strove hard to maintain
the campaign at a higher level. Some times, leaders themselves
planned and initiated certain satyagraha campaigns to keep themselves
and the province in the lime light. The localised satyagraha
campaigns like hulabami refusal in North Kanara and forest satyagraha
in North Kanara are the examples of this kind of satyagraha. The
participants in these campaigns had been trained in the art of satya-
graha and this was made use by the provincial leaders to achieve
the purpose as said above. However, satyagraha campaign organised
without trained volunteers was bound to fail. In Mysore State in
1938-39 satyagraha campaigns were organised to show off the strength
of the newly formed Mysore State Congress. These satyagraha
campaigns were not properly conducted, lacked trained volunteers
and hence it ended in a failure. Gandhi did not approve of such
campaigns.

Organising and conducting of satyagraha generally used to be
political decisions. Even suspension of the campaign too used to
be political decisions. As far as the motivating force for the masses
are concerned, either it was the faith and reverence they reposed
in Gandhi or at times it was their trust in the provincial and local
leaders. The salt satyagraha, no-tax campaigns and the Quit India
movement became mass movements because of this factor. The poor
economic situation proceeding each political campaign was also to
a great extent responsible in making the masses participate in these
political campaigns.

It is also conspicuous that satyagraha movement in Karnataka,
as far as political campaigns were concerned, was in vogue on two different planes. In the first place it was against the British who derived their power basically from an efficient police system and iron clad administrative machine. As long as the morale of these two institutions were high the British perpetuated their rule over India. But once these bases weakened because of a non-violent national movement, the British lost their hold over Indian colony. The satyagraha campaigns of 1930-34 and 1942-44 in British-Karnataka precisely did this when a large number of government officials resigned from their jobs. This shook the very foundation of the British Indian empire.

In the second place in Mysore State the satyagraha campaigns were directed against the autocratic administration under the aegis of the benevolent prince who drew his strength from his subjects. Hence it took a couple of decades for the Congress to establish itself in the State. It could not rally the people around its idea of responsible government until 1936. Only after this date the Congress could attract people to its fold. Even at this juncture the campaigns were against the administrators and not against the prince. Moreover, the political developments and political campaigns in British-Karnataka definitely influenced the events in Mysore State, which was amply proved during the 1942-44 Quit India movement. After the attainment of Indian independence even the hands of the prince were weakened because of external factors. He could not withstand the pressure brought on him to bear from external forces during the palace satyagraha in 1947. The wait and watch policy of the Dewan ultimately did not succeed because of this factor. Probably without external moral support the State Congress could not have gained responsible government on their own for some more years.

Right from the inception of the Indian National Congress, British-Karnataka had drawn direct inspiration from this organisation. Hence it was a part of the all India movement for freedom as well as a part of all India constructive programme activity. But until 1936, the leaders from Mysore were isolated from the national mainstream.
The Congress reluctance did not allow the local leaders to initiate any movement on their own against the authorities to demand responsible government. Only when the local leaders realised that they could hope to get national support did they put forth the idea of a political struggle unitedly under the banner of Mysore State Congress. While the constructive programme in Karnataka was an activity of various all India organisations, in Mysore State it was the endeavour of individuals and sometimes the half-hearted attempt on the part of the government, particularly in the case of Khadi production. Satyagraha movement blossomed in Mysore State only after the founding of the Mysore State Congress which had the blessings of many national leaders.

Within British-Karnataka, the satyagraha campaigns differed in its intensity. This was due to various factors like enterprising leadership, proximity to educational and political centres and the degree of economic exploitation by the ruling class. In Bombay-Karnataka in the districts of Belgaum and Dharwar all the satyagraha campaigns, both political as well as constructive aspects were always in the forefront because of the enterprising leadership these districts had. Further, they were much closer to Poona and Bombay which influenced the movement in the earlier phase, and subsequently continued with the formation of K.P.C.C. In Bijapur district, though non-cooperation movement was considerably intensive, the subsequent campaigns did not reach a high mark since it lacked enterprising leadership. North Kanara because of its geographical location and economic hardships was in the forefront of the salt satyagraha campaigns. Bellary and South Kanara though a part of Madras Presidency, the influences of Madras was not deep, particularly in the later stages of the movement. This was because Bellary was much closer to Andhra influence and South Kanara to Bombay influence.

Within the princely states of Karnataka we find two tendencies diametrically opposing each other, and represented in Mysore State and Hyderabad-Karnataka. In the former, the prince made all attempts to keep away national influences penetrating the local politics by
adopting a policy which sought to bring about economic betterment of the people. By this policy alone Mysore State came to be called as a model state among princely states. This policy kept the Congress forces away almost for fifty years from 1885 to 1935. This progressive policy kept the rural masses away from national politics which was what the authorities wanted.

On the other hand, Hyderabad-Karnataka under the repressive policy of the Nizam had no room to develop any political institution on its own. Further, it was a part of the larger Hyderabad State where also because of the Nizam's anti-Congress stance, no political organisation of importance came into being. The emergence of Razakars in the 1940's was to check the Congress influence penetrating the Hyderabad politics. As a consequence of this situation, Hyderabad-Karnataka could not take an active part in the satyagraha campaigns of Gandhi. And all the activity occurred here was confined to district headquarters like Raichur and Gulbarga. Early political activities here were confined to communal organisations. Only after the attainment of independence did Congress establish itself in this area.

These two diametrically opposing factors had the blessings of the British. Seldom did they intervene in the day-to-day administration of the Indian States unless seriously called for. This British position led to the emergence of a strong and broad-based political party adopting satyagraha methods in Mysore State after 1925, where as in Hyderabad-Karnataka, this development never took root.

On the whole, we can definitely say the satyagraha movement provided to Indians the realisation of self-respect which was lacking previously. They also realised the strength they can derive from united action. During Non-cooperation movement, Gandhi had promised swaraj within a year. Though he failed to bring it, he was successful though for a short while to bring about a coalition of Hindu and Muslim leaders to work on a common platform. This at the moment proved a strong threat to the British colonialism. Lastly the strength of Congress as an all-India political body grew immensely.
The non-cooperation movement, the salt satyagraha campaigns, the no-tax campaigns of 1931-34, the individual civil disobedience movement did not basically deviate from the satyagraha principles of Gandhi as the above study shows. The salt satyagraha and no-tax campaigns were in fact the perfect satyagrahas though it involved the masses. These campaigns in fact earned the name of "Gandhi province" for Karnataka. In all the above campaigns the programmes to be followed by satyagrahis and Congress volunteers were before hand announced and it was expected that under no circumstance they should deviate from the original plan. Gandhi was very particular about this. At the instance of Chaurichaura he suspended the non-cooperation movement disappointing millions of Indians. But however, by the time we come to the study of Quit India movement one can notice definite change of attitude in the provincial leaders and second line leaders at the national level. It is well known that Gandhi was against any movement that would have embarrassed the British when they were facing a great threat in the form of Second World War. Ultimately Gandhi succumbed to the pressure of his followers to initiate the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement. When this failed to deliver the desired goods Gandhi was further pressurised to start the Quit India Movement. This particular movement had no definite programme for the masses to follow. Gandhi's fervent appeal for the Indian masses to participate in this final campaign was responded with tremendous enthusiasm. Students and industrial workers particularly were greatly attracted by the patriotic appeal of Gandhi. This section of the masses was not a part of the Congress and they were not trained in the art of satyagraha. They understood very little of the contents of satyagraha. This factor to a great extent was responsible for the movement to deviate from the Gandhian path.

In Karnataka, however this movement did deviate from the Gandhian path to a very great extent. But it was limited only to the aspect of secrecy in the campaign. It was non-violent throughout. This deviation was once again because of the absence of any programme for the masses to follow. The confusion that was evident
in Karnataka soon after the arrest of Gandhi and national and provincial leaders was because of the absence of any programme. To keep the movement alive and to channelise the enthusiasm of the masses some kind of a programme was absolutely essential. At this juncture the idea of attacking the public property to hurt the government morally was mooted. In Karnataka already a few leaders had gone underground to escape the police arrest. They welcomed this idea. They wanted to carry on this programme without getting arrested. This is how the Quit India movement came to have the element of secrecy. This apart, this movement in Karnataka did not basically deviate from Gandhian path.

The constructive programme which had received a lot of attention in the first twenty years of the Gandhian period definitely lost its popularity among Congress workers. Though Karnataka opposed the Council entry programme by Swarajists and continued with constructive programme, in the early 1940's there was little interest left in this aspect of satyagraha. In the first place, the leaders who had guided the earlier satyagraha campaigns and who knew the principles well had become old or were superceded by younger generation of leaders who emerged during the Quit India movement or a little earlier. These leaders had no practical experience of constructive programme and they were more attracted by political campaigns of the satyagraha weapon. Further, as told earlier, the participants of the Quit India movement were largely students and industrial workers over whom the control of Congress was nominal. Hence, they could not be coerced into accepting constructive programme. With Quit India movement the struggle penetrated to rural areas. This broadening of the base of the Congress was somewhat unexpected. The rural masses had very little knowledge of satyagraha principles, particularly of constructive programme. This was true of Mysore State where Congress officially came into being towards the end of 1930's and had no infrastructure or resources to organise constructive activities in rural areas, from where it drew its strength during the Quit India movement and
palace satyagraha. With the conclusion of the War, the political events moved very fast. Congress workers were now anticipating transfer of power and they were not in a mood to pursue the constructive programme which bestowed upon them no special privilege or brought them power. So, it was natural that constructive programme was to recede to the background. And it has remained so since then. It is so conspicuous that these days we do frequently hear of satyagraha campaigns, but all of them without constructive activity which is so very essential for the moral success of a campaign.

One can also see that apart from patriotism and national spirit, the economic factor also to an extent was responsible for the satyagraha movement in Karnataka. Infact the constructive programme was initiated basically to improve the economic position of Indians. But at times, even the political campaigns were motivated by economic factors. In pre-Gandhian period the swadeshi movement became popular because of this factor. Even Gandhi started his career in India with localised satyagraha campaigns which were motivated by economic factors. In Karnataka during the early 1930's the no-tax campaign initiated in a few taluks of North Kanara were purely because of the economic distress. In the early phase of this particular campaign Congress was not at all in the picture. This satyagraha campaign motivated by the economic distress could not be suspended by the Congress as it did in the case of the no-tax campaign elsewhere in the same district. This clearly shows that satyagraha campaigns were initiated at times to redress the economic grievances. But such movements were always absorbed by larger political campaigns and were seldom observed by outsiders.

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