INTRODUCTION

The contribution of Gandhi to India's politico-socio-economic change in the present century has been without a parallel. Gandhi's weapon of satyagraha not only sought to free India from British colonialism, but also to deliver her from social backwardness and economic poverty. Hence his satyagraha had a wider scope and a higher goal than mere political independence. Further, this weapon was also effectively used to gain responsible governments in Indian States, where Indian princes were ruling under the protection of the British colonialists.

After two decades of experiments with satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhi came to India in 1915. His intention was to return to South Africa after sometime to continue his fight against racialism. While he was in India he keenly observed the political conditions prevailing here. The political chaos, appalling poverty and social injustices moved him. Now, he was determined to stay back in India. He realised that unless these problems were solved first, there is no meaning in returning to Africa. Congress though was broad based by this time, it was still a party of the educated and hence was ineffective in bringing about any change in the Indian scene.

Before the arrival of Gandhi on the Indian scene, there were leaders guiding different movements. Some were fighting for political emancipation, others for economic betterment and few for socio-religious changes. None of them thought to integrate all these movements into one single stream. In this respect Gandhi was a leader of different calibre. He brought about the assimilation of these movements into one stream, which we can call as the satyagraha movement.

Between 1915 and 1919, Gandhi stayed away from organising any large scale satyagraha campaigns. First in 1917, he experimented his weapon on a limited scale against a few European planters of Champaran in Bihar State, who were exploiting the Indian
plantation labourers. This was soon followed by a campaign in Khaira to lower the land tax and a campaign in Ahmedabad to rise the wages of the industrial workers. These experiments proved successful and Gandhi was satisfied that he could experiment his weapon on a wider scale. The opportunity came in the year 1919.

In the early stage of his experiments in India he sought to remedy certain economic injustices. When he inaugurated non-cooperation movement he promised 'swaraj' within a year without defining the term. But subsequently, he emphasised more on other aspects of Indian life. In this direction he started a series of programmes, which we call as the positive aspect of the satyagraha movement or constructive programme of Gandhi. This embraced khadi production and propagation, prohibition, encouragement to home made articles and Harijan movement. He wanted this constructive programme to reach even the smallest of the Indian villages.

The political emancipation of India and the constructive aspect of satyagraha seems to be two different aspects. And they have been treated so by many scholars. But for Gandhi they were corollary to each other. For him, economic independence and providing equal social rights to all was as important as political freedom. Realisation of these objects was the ultimate goal for Gandhi throughout his thirty years of struggle in the Indian sub-continent.

Karnataka had tailor made conditions for practicing satyagraha in all its forms. This state had been subjected to different administrations (see Map-1) and varieties of degrees of alround exploitation by the British as well as by the local princes. Hence, satyagraha movement was natural movement here and enjoyed unstinted support from all stratas of the society. Before the re-organisation of Indian States in 1956, Karnataka was divided among twenty different administrations. Before 1956, Mysore State had only nine districts, namely, Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Chickmagalur, Shimoga, Chitradurga, Tumkur, Bangalore and Kolar. Kollegal taluk in Mysore District was a part of Madras Presidency. Kodagu district was under Commissioner's rule (The Resident of Mysore State was also the Commissioner
of Coorg. The Northern districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara (Karwar) were a part of Bombay Presidency. South Kanara and Bellary were administered by the Governor of Madras Presidency, though South Kanara was geographically separated from this Presidency. Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur were a part of Princely Hyderabad. These apart, there were almost fifteen principalities ruled by petty royal dynasties under the protection of the British arms.

The politico-socio-economic conditions of these districts, under various administrations, were different. Mysore State ruled by the princes of the Wodeyar family was fortunate in having the services of many intelligent and liberal minded Dewans who provided a strong base for around development in the State. Material progress had been achieved by utilising available natural resources. Representative institutions were in vogue in the State consequent of which there was political awakening among common people. Better politico-economic conditions had provided stimulus for the growth of a healthy social life in the State. These conditions helped the emergence and growth of a political movement in the twentieth century demanding responsible government.

The districts coming under Bombay Presidency were to a great extent influenced by the politico-social currents of Maharashtra. The influence of language, social habits, customs and traditions, and of politics of Maharashtra on this part of Karnataka was somewhat predominant. During the early years of the national movement, this part came under the direct influence of Maharashtra. It took almost quarter of a century after the founding of the Congress to come out of this influence. Once independent of this influence the Bombay-Karnataka districts led other parts of Karnataka in the national movement. In the salt satyagraha campaigns and the Quit India movement, this part of Karnataka provided a lead to other districts to follow. The constructive activities, another aspect of satyagraha campaign were very strong here. The important leaders
of the national movement in Karnataka were from this part who were mostly trained in Maharashtra.

Though South Kanara and Bellary were a part of Madras Presidency, the political influence of Tamil politics on South Kanara was minimal. This district was not at all contiguous with Tamil country in any way. It was the administrative convenience and strategic considerations which made the British to join South Kanara with Madras Presidency. The influence of Andhra was more on Bellary than that of Madras. Because of this peculiarity the national struggle in Bellary could not blossom into a major movement as it developed in either Belgaum or Dharwar or North Kanara. South Kanara because of its proximity to Belgaum and Dharwar and its commercial links with Bombay, was always under the influence of Bombay-Karnataka.

Coorg district was administered by a Commissioner under the control of the Governor of Madras Presidency. But the influence of Madras was negligible. In the early part of the satyagraha movement this district was rather isolated from the main stream of national life, to a great extent because of geographical isolation and lack of intercourse with other parts of Karnataka. In early 1930's and in subsequent years leaders from Bombay-Karnataka visited Coorg regularly to awaken the people here politically.

The three districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur were ceded to Hyderabad in 1799, as part of the agreement relating to the partition of Mysore. This area was called as Hyderabad-Karnataka. In the whole of Hyderabad State these three districts were most neglected. Hence, they remained most backward in all spheres of life. Economically, this part was poorest in the whole of Karnataka. The political aspirations of the people were suppressed by the autocratic administration. Further, the people here had lost their cultural and social identity. Consequent of this there was no social and political movement until these districts were unified with other Kannada speaking districts. Here, the
national awakening could not prosper. The national movement was confined to a couple of urban centres and it never percolated down to rural areas as it happened in Mysore State during the 1942 Quit India Movement.

These apart there were a few principalities like Ramdurga, Savanur, Mudhol, etc. in the northern part of Karnataka ruled by petty princes. In these principalities the princes made every effort to suppress popular movements for political liberalisation. But the all pervading influence of Bombay-Karnataka could not be escaped. Still, the policy of the Congress not to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States to a great extent helped the princes. The contribution of the peoples of these principalities to the satyagraha movement in Karnataka is not considerable.

The above discussion shows that there were both native rule and British rule side by side in Karnataka. Hence, the people of Karnataka had to fight on two planes. One movement was against the British colonialism and the other against the autocratic rule of the native princes. In the former it was for freedom and in the latter it was for responsible government. The people of the Indian states had to fight on their own since the Indian National Congress restrained from intervening in the politics of the Indian States. In the case of Hyderabad-Karnataka, the people had to fight even for the integration of Hyderabad state with the Indian Union.

The aim of this thesis is to present the freedom struggle in Karnataka in proper perspective. The influence of Gandhi and the usage of satyagraha in the province of Karnataka has been brought out in relation to both the aspects of the movement, as conceived by Gandhi, to achieve political independence through political campaigns and to carry on character and nation building activity, called as constructive programme, to prepare the Indians to enjoy the fruits of freedom from British colonialism. So far a comprehensive and analytical study on this topic has not been
undertaken by any scholar. The works published so far fail to provide a complete and correct picture of the satyagraha movement in Karnataka. Karnataka was in the forefront of the political campaigns as well as in the field of constructive activity. This thesis is an attempt to present the freedom struggle in British-Karnataka and the struggle in princely Mysore State for responsible government through the satyagraha method, which as said earlier embraced both political campaigns and constructive activities.

The freedom movement in Karnataka to a great extent followed the All India pattern in which Gandhi was the central figure. The non-cooperation movement, the salt satyagraha movement and the Quit India movement initiated by Gandhi received wide support from the people of Karnataka. The influences of the period prior to Gandhi's arrival had definitely prepared the ground for satyagraha campaigns in Karnataka. The extremists particularly had a large following in Karnataka. But the switch over to Gandhian method was smooth. The political movement in Bombay-Karnataka had already become a mass movement under the Extremists. With the coming of Gandhi the scope of the freedom movement became even wider. The movement became a mass movement in a true sense, since it embraced the whole mass irrespective of caste, creed and sex. Satyagraha, the weapon Gandhi used against not only the British, but also against his own countrymen had electrifying effect.

The freedom struggle during Gandhian period in Karnataka has three distinct phases. The first phase was from 1919 to 1929, the second phase was from 1929 to 1939 and the final phase from 1939 to 1948. Each phase of the struggle started with a mass political campaign with the aim to achieve far reaching political reforms. These political campaigns usually lasted for two to four years and subsequently gave place to constructive programme which included several activities. Constructive programme was always a part of the political campaigns, but received more attention after the suspension of the political campaigns. In this way this programme was a link between the political campaigns under the three phases.
The suspension of the non-cooperation movement did not mean the end of the satyagraha, but its continuation until 1929 in the form of constructive programme. In that year, a new political campaign was initiated, which marked the opening of a new phase. Under the second phase the suspension of the no-tax campaign led to vigorous constructive activities and continued until the commencement of the Second World War which led to the initiation of the final phase of the struggle. Keeping in view the satyagraha campaign in Karnataka has been divided into three phases as explained above.

The body of the thesis contains five chapters, apart from the Introduction and the Conclusion. The first chapter entitled: 'Early Influences,' traces the development of the political movement in Karnataka since the foundation of the Indian National Congress. The influence of Extremists, the partition movement and the Home Rule Movement to a great extent shaped the subsequent satyagraha movement in Karnataka. These early developments had prepared the ground in Karnataka for Gandhi. Satyagraha itself forms the subject matter of the second chapter. The meaning, scope and purpose of satyagraha are discussed in this chapter. Various methods of satyagraha as practiced in Karnataka are discussed in this chapter entitled 'Analysis of Satyagraha and its methods in Karnataka.' The third chapter entitled: 'First Phase, 1919-1929' deals with the satyagraha movement between the years 1919 to 1929. The most important political campaign of this period was the Non-cooperation movement. This campaign in Karnataka has been dealt areawise, first in British-Karnataka and next in Mysore State. The political developments after the suspension of the non-cooperation are also analysed. The constructive programme during this period are discussed in detail which provided a link between the non-cooperation and the civil disobedience movement of 1930-34. The fourth chapter: 'Second Phase, 1930-1939' deals with the political campaigns and constructive activities between the years 1930 and 1939. Salt satyagraha and no-tax campaigns were the important
political campaigns of this period. In the constructive programme, among others, Harijan uplift movement received greater attention of Gandhi and hence in Karnataka this became a powerful social movement which continued until the outbreak of Quit India Movement. The fifth chapter entitled, 'Final Phase, 1940-1949,' deals with the political campaign and constructive programme of the period between the commencement of the Second World War and attainment of freedom and integration of Indian States into the Indian Union. The most important political campaigns were the individual civil disobedience movement, Quit India Movement, Palace Satyagraha in Mysore State and the campaign demanding the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union. The constructive programme which was gradually losing its charm as India came nearer to achieve freedom is also discussed. In the concluding chapter, the results of the study are presented.

The source material for this study are scattered and are not organised in one place. Further, both official source material and Congress records sometimes give diametrically opposing views and at times they are lopsided in their projection of events. Hence a careful study is called for and a balance must be struck wherever contradictions arise. The experiences as told by a number of actual participants in several of the satyagraha campaigns starting from salt satyagraha to palace satyagraha are to a great extent reliable, though they suffer from the malady of exaggeration. Dr. Suryanath Kamath has done a commendable work in interviewing and collecting the experiences of hundreds of freedom fighters in all the districts of Karnataka. His editing is also accurate. His works are of great value to the students of the history of freedom movement in Karnataka. The State Archives at Bangalore has a large number of records, particularly police files and newspaper extracts. But a vast number of records pertaining to the movement in Mysore has been destroyed on the eve of conceding responsible government. The Hindu files preserved in the University Library, Madras University are of immense value for the study of the movement.
in Mysore State and Madras-Karnataka. The documents preserved in the Mysore Palace are not yet available for study. When opened for study the records may throw fresh insight into the drama of struggle for responsible government in Mysore State. As far as Hyderabad-Karnataka districts are concerned, the source material at our disposal are very much limited. One has to a great extent depend on the experiences recorded by the actual participants and contemporary newspapers of British-Karnataka. The KPCC and official records are voluminous and help one to undertake a detailed study of the movement in British-Karnataka in general and the districts of Bombay-Karnataka in particular.

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