PREFACE

This work is the study of the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-34, launched by the Indian National Congress in a non-violent manner under the guidance, advice and supervision of Mahatma Gandhi, with the co-operation of Congress leaders of all-India and provincial fame and lakhs of satyagraha volunteers in urban and rural areas. It was the second movement of its kind which spontaneously developed into a mass movement and spread in every nook and corner of the country. The role played by the Congress leaders, volunteers and other public men and women at the cost of their self-sufferings and sacrifices is a remarkable phenomenon.

Starting from salt satyagraha, a symbolic gesture which touched the hearts of millions of people, the participants in the movement resorted to holding of mass meetings, taking out peaceful processions, picketing of foreign cloth shops, wine, opium, ganja and toddy shops, breaking of government forest laws, encouraging peasants and cultivators for the non-payment of land revenue tax, boycotting banks, post offices and other government establishments, hoisting the national flags on government, municipal and private buildings, encouraging students to come out of their institutions to participate in meetings, processions and picketing, hawking of khadi and propagating swadeshi and takli, advising people to celebrate the bonfire of foreign cloth, advising government servants and councillors to resign, and last but not the least, appealing enthusiastically the masses of the country to wage a 'war' against the British Raj in a non-violent way. In spite of suppressive and oppressive measures adopted during the viceroyalties of Lord Irwin
and Lord Willingdon, the enthusiasm and patriotic fervour of satyagrahis did not wane.

The thesis is divided into an introduction and twelve chapters, the periods being 1885-1929 and 1930-34. The introductory chapter deals with the foundation of the Indian National Congress, its organization, aims and objects, resolutions in various sessions, early moderate constitutional demands, partition of Bengal and agitation for its revocation, the Surat split, Minto-Morley reforms, Home Rule Movement and the role of Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on Indian political scene, atrocities in Punjab, Montague-Chelmsford reforms, Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, Non-Co-operation Movement as an all-India non-violent satyagraha movement, emergence of the Swaraj Party, appointment of the Simon Commission and Indian reaction, Nehru Report, and last but not the least, the deadlock on constitutional issues between Lord Irwin and the Indian leaders in December 1929.

Chapter one is on the Lahore Congress, an historic session on the banks of the river Ravi under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. It deals with an analysis of the addresses of Dr. Saifud Din Kitchlew, Chairman of the reception committee and Jawaharlal Nehru and various resolutions passed at Lahore. The foremost emphasis was laid on the resolution on complete independence which became a definitive aim of the Congress during its struggle for independence upto 1947. This session also gave a call to the nation for satyagraha to be launched at all-India level.

Chapter two deals with the preparations for satyagraha. The nation was apprised by the political, economic and social
conditions of the masses in the country. Through the media of their speeches, press, leaflets and circulars, the Congress leadership prepared the people for the forthcoming movement. Gandhi put in efforts to open his dialogue with the Viceroy, who refused to meet him for such a discussion.

Chapter three deals with the Dandi March under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In this historic march along with 78 satyagrahis, 241 miles were traversed in 24 days. On his way, Gandhi apprised the villagers of the importance of salt as an article of daily use and levelled trenchant criticism on the obnoxious salt tax. People listened to the Mahatma's discourses patiently and attentively. Whereas the nationalist press gave a wide coverage to his march and the forthcoming symbolic breach of salt law, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, who were fully seized of the situation, could not decide the line of action to be adopted against Gandhi. The Mahatma broke the salt law at Dandi and this led to the inauguration of the Civil Disobedience Movement in every nook and corner of India.

Chapters four to eight make a survey of the Civil Disobedience Movement in western, northern, central, eastern and southern regions of India. Thousands of men, women and students showed much enthusiasm in the non-violent satyagraha and as a result they were arrested and convicted and bore all kinds of inhuman indignities. The non-violent role of Khudis Khidmatgars of North West Frontier Province is most significant.

Chapter nine deals with the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the suspension of the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
It led to the release of thousands of satyagrahis in various provinces. The agreement, however, did not prove to be a final solution of the political and constitutional problems and they were seriously considered by the Congress leadership after Gandhiji's return from the Second Round Table Conference.

Chapter ten is on the resumption of the movement and British repression during the viceroys of Lord Willingdon. Soon Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Abdul Ghafer Khan and numerous other leaders were put behind the bars. The new ordinances promulgated by the government were used very strictly by the bureaucracy. Even women were insulted and humiliated. Attachment of properties and their auctions on nominal price were the order of the day. The brutal behaviour of police towards non-violent satyagrahis was glaring all over India. But they bore such a treatment without murmur and any kind of fear or resentment in their hearts.

Chapter eleven analyses the reasons for the final suspension of the movement and the last chapter contains some concluding remarks. The views expressed therein are my own.

I have consulted the primary and secondary sources from the National Archives of India, National Library, Calcutta, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Indian Council of World Affairs Library, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library and Delhi University Library. I express my thanks to the authorities of these institutions for their kind co-operation and help during my researches.
I am extremely grateful to Professor H.L. Gupta, Department of History, University of Saugar for suggesting to me this subject and guiding my researches for a few years. His scholarly comments and suggestions were very valuable and I owe a debt of gratitude to him. But for his guidance and help, this work would never have been finished.

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