



Sushil Kumar Dhara in the Civil Disobedience Movement

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Abstract:

On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji set out on his historic march to challenge the Salt Law, and on 6 April, he formally violated it by producing salt. This act inspired a nationwide movement, as people across India began manufacturing salt in open defiance of colonial regulations. In the Midnapore district, significant efforts to break the Salt Laws were organised at the Narghat Salt Centre in the Tamluk subdivision and the Pichaboni Salt Centre in the Contai subdivision. However, the violation of the Salt Act at the Nortghat Salt Centre notably reflected the astute leadership and strategic thinking of Sushil Kumar Dhara, a Prominent Congress activist from the Mahishadal Police Station area of the Tamluk Sub-division. Consequently, numerous volunteers from outside the district, including 24 Parganas, Kolkata, Dhaka, Chittagong, Faridpur, Barisal, and Mymensingh, joined this salt centre. It was through their collective efforts that the Norghat Salt Centre emerged as the 'Dandi of the Tamluk Sub-division'. During this period, despite the arrest of leaders and widespread police brutality, the movement to defy the



Salt Laws did not come to a halt. On the other hand, the entire district of Midnapore, including Tamluk, began to join the Civil Disobedience Movement. Notably, after arresting Sushil Kumar Dhara, the British government initially detained him in the Tamluk Sub-Jail and subsequently in the Midnapore Central Jail. Afterwards, he was taken to Rajshahi Central Jail. Yet, despite this, it was not possible to suppress Sushil Kumar Dhara. He was not merely a political prisoner while in jail. During this period, various facets of his humanitarian service came to the fore. Along with that, he also received an erudite education. All these lessons proved particularly useful during the Quit India Movement of 1942. He even became the Sarbadhinayak (Commander-in-Chief) of the National Army of the Tamralipta Jatiya Sarkar. Notably, during the Civil Disobedience Movement, leaders from the Tamluk and Contai Sub-divisions, including Sushil Kumar Dhara, remained unwavering in their commitment to the ideals of non-violent Satyagraha. Nevertheless, the British government continued to carry out repressive measures during this period, including the imprisonment of countless men and women, the confiscation of their property and the imposition of fines on a Wholesale scale. Notably, even after employing every conceivable weapon of severe repression and torture, the British government failed to subdue the residents of Tamluk and indeed of Midnapore. Ultimately, in May 1934, the Congress Working Committee unconditionally withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement. On the other hand, a firm resolve to carry on the movement against the mighty British government became deeply ingrained in every fibre of Sushil Kuamr Dhara. This is reflected in the Quit India Movement and in the conduct of the Tamralipta National Government's national army. For this reason, based on local information, a comprehensive discussion and portrayal of Sushil Kuma



Dhara is essential. The paper highlights the role of Sushil Kumar Dhara in the civil disobedience movement and the salt satyagraha, which was successful only in the Tamruk region of Midnapore.

Keywords: Swaraj, Picketing, Gandhian, Satyagrahi, Distillation, Bandemataram, Sarbadhinayak, Revolutionary.

On December 31, 1929, the Lahore session of the National Congress adopted a resolution to achieve 'Purna swaraj' as the goal of the national movement. In his presidential address at the session, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed to start a civil disobedience movement and all the responsibility of conducting the movement was entrusted to Gandhiji (Das, 1984, p. 7). When Gandhiji was entrusted with the responsibility of leading the civil disobedience movement, he first decided to disobey the salt law. Because he thought that people of all social classes should fall under this law. In other words, salt is a thing that is essential for both the rich and the poor (Young India. (1930)). It should be noted that, in the first decision to break this law, he sought to make the movement mass-oriented from the beginning. In other words, he wanted to make people from all walks of life a part of the movement. His foresight is particularly reflected in the decision-making process.

At the beginning of the civil disobedience movement, Gandhiji announced that the movement would not be withdrawn until the Abhishta is fulfilled. The movement will continue



as long as a lawbreaker is out of jail or alive. Before starting the Salt Act movement, Gandhiji informed Lord Irwin of Barlat through a letter about the Salt Satyagraha (2nd March, 1930). On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji with his 78 followers of the Sabarmati Ashram went to the Dandi Sea Coast in Gujarat to break the salt law without receiving any sign of cooperation from Lord Irwin (Chatterjee, 1987, p. 310). On April 6, 1930, Gandhiji officially broke the Salt Law. Along with that, salt production began in violation of salt laws across India. In areas where salt production was not possible, large-scale meetings were held to break the law prohibiting the sale of political books. Picketing began in every town, market, and even village to protest the non-purchase of goods, including clothes. At that time, a large number of women disobeyed family and social restrictions and joined the civil disobedience movement.

After the launch of Gandhiji's Dandi March, Congress workers devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the constructive programmes and activities he had advocated. It was also seen that a meeting was organized in Tamluk town of Midnapore district on 10th March 1930. Senior Congress leader and Tamluk Sub-divisional Congress president Mahendra Nath Maiti presided over the meeting. In this meeting, Raja Devendralal Khan of Narajol and Congress leader Shyamsunder Singh of Garhbeta called upon the local people to follow in the footsteps of Gandhiji (Tamralipta Jatiya Sarkar Smarak Committee et al., 2009, p. 145). On March 19, 1930, a meeting of Congress workers in the district was held in Midnapore town. Nibaran Chandra Dasgupta, a well-known Gandhian leader of Purulia, presided over this workshop (Das, 1984, p. 7). According to the decision of this conference, District Ain Amany Samiti was formed. This association was formed at sub-divisional and even police station levels, so that law-disobedience



programs, especially the Salt Satyagraha movement, became successful. Devendralal Khan, a patriotic zamindar of Midnapore, arranged food and accommodation for the party of Congress workers who came to this meeting. A group of 50 selected workers from the Tamluk Sub-division decided to walk from Tamluk to Midnapore city to attend this meeting. Ajay Kumar Mukherjee was elected as the party's leader. One of the young members of this activist group was Sushil Kumar Dhara. He wrote in volume 1 of his autobiography *Prabaha* - 'A party of 50 men from Tamluk, including leaders and workers, marched fifty miles through the village under the leadership of Ajay. Every morning there was a 7- to 8-mile walk, and in the afternoon a public meeting was held near the resting place. The villagers used to arrange our food. Ajaydar's own reputation and family identity meant that in many places, our food and rest camp was set up in noble, rich men's houses. The purpose of our walk (padayatra) was to stir up some response in the villages before the salt satyagraha started, and the aim was to attend the Midnapore District Worker Conference at Narajol Rajbari in Midnapore town. Among the leaders in this group of ours were Satishda, Hansdhvajda, Nalinida, Jiveshda, etc. They also used to give speeches in every meeting. Ajayada used to give them. At the beginning of almost every meeting of this 7/8 day padayatra Sushil Kumar Dhara recited the poem '*Bidrohi*' written by Kazi Nazrul Islam (Dhara, 1389 B.S., pp. 25–26). Therefore, he was given permission to recite the poem at a conference of about 3000 Congress workers held in Midnapore, and he recited it fluently, earning praise from everyone.

After returning from Midnapore Congress, workers like Sushil Kumar Dhara, Satish Chandra Samanta, and Ajay Kumar Mukherjee toured almost every region of Tamluk Sub-



division and extensively campaigned to join the salt satyagraha movement. At the same time, the work of collecting satyagrahis and volunteers was going on. Therefore, the young and youth groups, especially student groups studying in schools and colleges, came forward and enrolled in the volunteer group. On the other hand, a committee was formed to conduct the civil disobedience movement and the Salt Satyagraha in the Tamluk Sub-division. Mahendra Nath Maiti, president of the Sub-division Congress and a respected senior public leader, was elected as the president of this committee. Veteran Congress leader Satish Chandra Chakraborty was elected as the editor. The office of the Sub-division Congress was one of the meeting rooms of Chandicharan Dutt, a veteran Congress leader. The office of the Satyagraha Management Committee was set up in this office (Bari, 2015, p. 115).

On April 6, 1930, the civil disobedience movement, the Salt Satyagraha, began when Gandhiji and his followers made salt at Dandi on the Gujarat coast. On the same day, the salt law was violated at salt production centres all along the sea coast of India (Das, 2016, p. 25). At this time, the salt satyagraha movement gained special popularity in the Tamluk and Contai Sub-divisions of Midnapore district. Because these two subdivisions have greater access to seawater, many salt production centres have been established here. However, due to a lack of access to saltwater in the Midnapore Sadar and Jhargram Sub-divisions, no salt manufacturing centre was established in either of these Sub-divisions. However, these two Sub-division activists went to the Pichhabani Salt Centre under Contai and participated in the Salt Satyagraha movement. Only one big salt satyagraha centre was opened in Shyamganj under the Daspur police station of Ghatal Sub-division. It is to be noted that apart from Daspur Thana Congress Committee



members, about 25 volunteers from the Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee also joined this centre. Later some leaders of Moymonsingh district also specially helped this centre (Maity, 2001, p. 108). Note that the salinity of the seawater enters the river during the tides and inundates the riverbank area with salt. By collecting this saline soil and soaking it in water, saline water is produced by distillation. Then that water is boiled to make salt (Das, 1984, p. 16).

TamlukSub-division started a struggle to make salt by defying the salt law at a place called 'Narghat' (Nihar, 1930, April 8). The leaders and cadres of TamlukSub-divisionorganised meetings, processions, worker conferences, volunteer gatherings, etc., across the entire Sub-division for several days before the Salt Satyagraha began. At this time the workers of the Bengal Civil Disobedience Council came to Tamluk and helped in the propaganda of the Satyagraha struggle. Satish Chandra Chakraborty and JiveshchandraPattanayak raised volunteers, money, and logistics for the Satyagraha struggle. Note that 75-year-old Chowkidar Tihul Raul resigned and became a salt satyagrahi (Nihar, 1930, April 1). On the eve of Salt Satyagraha (5th April 1930) a huge public meeting was held in the 'Narikel Bagan' near Bargabhima Temple in Tamluk for final preparations (Nihar, 1930, April 15). Matriculation exam candidate Sushil Kumar Dhara recited Nazrul's 'Bidrohi' poem in this meeting and won everyone's appreciation (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 17). Dr. Pratap Chandra Guharay was the keynote speaker at this public meeting. He enthralled everyone with his moving speech. Hence, people in droves were encouraged to register themselves as volunteers. It is to be noted that the men and women who submitted applications for the collection of materials for the salt satyagraha struggle



donated in cash or by removing their body ornaments to the struggle fund *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 1930).

To make the salt satyagraha movement a success, the Tamluk Sub-division Ain Amany Samiti held meetings throughout the Sub-division from March 30, 1930, to recruit volunteers and collect materials. It is noted that during registration as a volunteer, young Sushil Kumar Dhara also came forward and signed up to work alongside the seniors. Ajay Kumar Mukherjee was very happy to see that (Maity & Chakraborty, 1995, p. 101). Note that this is Sushil Kumar Dhara's first recognised step as a member of the National Movement.

A camp was set up for the accommodation of the satyagrahis in a part of his palace with the favour of Surendranarayan Ray, king of Tamluk. Here, people from many places in undivided Bengal, including Dhaka, Chittagong, Faridpur, Barisal, and Mymensingh, came to volunteer. There were even people from Calcutta, 24 Parganas. Satish Chandra Samanta was appointed Acharya to conduct this camp and Sushil Kumar Dhara, a fresh out of the school, was appointed Upacharya (Dhara, 1389 B.S., pp. 26–27). It may be noted that not only volunteers from different areas of the Tamluk Sub-division, but also many leaders and activists from outside the Sub-division, reached this camp in Tamluk to participate in the Salt Satyagraha. About 1500 men and women enrolled here before 6th April 1930 to become Satyagrahis (Das, 1984, p. 75). A total of 15,000 youths registered themselves to work as volunteers after enlisting multiple times (Goswami, 1973, p. 20). It was their joint efforts that the Narghat Salt Centre became 'Tamluk Mahakumar Dandi'.



On the morning of 6th April 1930, 6 Satyagrahi group (Hansdhvaj Maiti - leader, Indrajit Singh, Khudiram Dakuya, Rakhal Chandra Nayak, Avinash Chandra Das, Kunjbihari Bhaktadas) left for Narghat from Tamluk Rajbari volunteer camp (Bari, 2015, p. 118). Mrs Indumati Bhattacharya, the aunt of all the cadres of Panskura police station of Tamluk Sub-division, wrote in her memoirs that they followed the satyagrahis till Narayanpur, a distance of about three miles (Bhattacharya, 1998, p. 10). Ananda Bazar newspaper published about this matter “Enthusiasm in Tamluk Satyagraha, procession of 30 thousand people; Joining of five hundred women” (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 1930).

On the third day (April 8, 1930) of the Salt Satyagraha, Acharya Satish Chandra Samanta of the Tamluk Rajbari Satyagraha camp led the satyagrahi party at Narghat. For this, he had to suffer unspeakable torture at the hands of the District Magistrate James Paddy and the police. In the end, he was jailed for two and a half years (Tamralipta Swadhinata Sangram Itihas Committee, 1982, pp. 29–30). Disturbed by this torture, a Nimki policeman named Bhushan Chandra Samanta of Sarberia village under the Mahishadal police station returned his *hooda* dress, resigned from the job and joined the Satyagrahi party (*Nihar*, 1930, April 22). In this context, Sushil Kumar Dhara wrote - Satishda used to return night after night after doing satyagraha for the first 3/4 days. But then I heard that one day he was beaten and arrested from that Satyagraha center by the District Magistrate Paddy himself (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 26). He was eventually sentenced to 2.5 years in prison. At that time, due to the brutal suppression of District Magistrate Paddy, Tamluk, Contai and Ghatal Subdivisions were labelled as 'The Reign of Terror' in the contemporary Amrita Bazar newspaper (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 1930, June 18).



It is to be noted that Gandhiji was particularly distressed to know the incidents of indiscriminate repression, firing, killing, looting, arson, etc. in the coastal areas of Midnapore district and even remote areas. In the context of extreme police brutality in Midnapore district, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Nehru, "The actions at Midnapore have shocked me. The measures seem worse than the Punjab massacre of 1919 (West Bengal State Archives, 1930, File No. 50/30/34)."

After Acharya Satish Chandra Samanta of the Satyagraha camp in Tamluk Rajbari was arrested, the responsibility for running the camp fell on Sushil Kumar Dhara. In this context, Sushil Kumar Dhara, in his autobiography *Prabaha* Volume-I, wrote: "Satishda told me before his arrest that if he was caught, I would work as an Acharya." *So it happened*. This great responsibility fell on an inexperienced teenager of nineteen years (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 28). It is to be noted that Sushil Kumar Dhara's personality and characteristic sweetness were such that the elders also obeyed the discipline of the camp. It is a testament to his skill as an organizer. After one and a half months, Sushil Kumar Dhara was also arrested along with 50 Satyagrahis and he was jailed for nine months (Senapati, 2010, p. 11).

It was also experienced that the volunteers were arrested for salt satyagraha at different salt centres every day. Police batons, kicks, slaps, punches, and all-out kicks rained down on them in countless streams. As a result, the movement became more intense. A statistical source makes this clear: 12,256 Satyagrahis were imprisoned all over India during the Salt Satyagraha. As a result, 1,426 people were imprisoned in Midnapore district. Again, in the first fortnight of January 1931, 147 persons involved in civil disobedience were convicted in Bengal. Among them, 63 people were from Midnapore (West Bengal State Archives, 1931, File No. 648/31).



Therefore, the then temporary governor of Bengal identified this movement as 'practically a rising' in Midnapore (Chakrabarty, 1997, p. 104).

On June 16, 1930, seeing the expansion of the law disobedience movement in the Midnapore district, Mr. H. W. Emerson wrote in a report sent to the Governor, "From the number of villages which participated in the Congress movement in Midnapore district, it is clear that the base of the movement in this district is deeply rooted. The result is that all the inhabitants of the village are violators of the salt law and every house has become a satyagraha camp (West Bengal State Archives, 1930, File No. 248/30)."

After Sushil Kumar Dhara's arrest, the British government first kept him in Tamluk Sub Jail and later in Midnapore Central Jail. His companion in these two fishermen was Satish Chandra Samanta. While Sushil Kumar Dhara was in Midnapore Central Jail, he had the opportunity to come into contact with senior leaders, including volunteers from different districts, such as Jhadeshwar Majhi. From them, he learned disciplined life and character building. After spending two months in this jail, the British government transferred him to Rajshahi Jail. Sushil Kumar Dhara wrote in his autobiography *Prabaha* Volume-I, 'My time in Midnapore Jail has come to an end. After only two months, I heard whispers that a group of about 50 people will be taken to Rajshahi Jail. Within a few hours the name came in the list. ... As far as I can remember, it was the name and date in brief. Those who stayed bid us farewell. All the jails erupted with chants of 'Vandemataram', and 'Swadin Bharat ki Jai'. Midnapore Railway Station is less than 1/2 mile from Central Jail. An armed police force (at least 20/25 men), headed by a habildar (Constable) or subedar, was marching. It was a great joy that the



leading among them was Mr. Satish Chandra Samanta, a young man of 30 years (Dhara, 1389 B.S., pp. 33–34).

On the first day after being transferred from Midnapore Central Jail to Rajshahi Central Jail, Sushil Kumar Dhara met the local Satyagrahi in the prison. On the other hand, Satish Chandra Samanta was contacted by Maharaj Trailokya Chakraborty and Pratulapati Ganguly of Detinue Ward of Rajshahi Central Jail. They were the leaders of the revolutionary party called 'Anusilan'. The British government imprisoned them under the (Regulation-III) Act. Sushil Kumar Dhara, Satish Chandra Samanta, in the ward of Rajshahi Central Jail, despite the presence of elderly people, was entrusted with various responsibilities in that ward. In this context, Sushil Kumar Dhara wrote in his autobiography *Prabaha* Volume-I, *'I continued to practice it with joy - my good fortune was that everyone accepted me with love and affection. At the beginning of my political life, the burden of management in the Rajbari camp was pressed on my shoulders by the divine man. In one way or another, in one form or another, the burden of management has to be borne during the long 46 years of political life. The situation is the same wherever I have been inside and outside the jail. Most of the time, everyone, young and old, accepted my leadership by putting me in the lead. Later I came to know that this responsibility of Rajshahi Jail was imposed on me as per Satishda's wish. He may have wanted to build me up through work* (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 37).'

At Rajshahi Central Jail, the ward where Sushil Kumar Dhara and Satish Chandra Samanta were lodged had some Class I and II prisoners in separate wards in front of it. Sushil Kumar Dhara and Satish Chandra Samanta talked to them. 3/4 of the Mechhobazar bomb case



was also among them. They are - Satish Pakrashi, Niranjana Sen and Ramen Biswas etc (Roy, 1955, pp. 296–297). Pratulapati Ganguly introduced Sushil Kumar Dhara to them. Earlier, they were introduced to Satish Chandra Samanta. Many, including Sushil Kumar Dhara and Satish Chandra Samanta, visited the Detinue ward several times a day. There they used to eat good food and read books. He even used to read revolutionary books. Note that here, Sushil Kumar Dhara acquired the revolutionary idea of meditation. In this context, he wrote in his autobiography *Prabaha* Volume-I, in whose presence I got a taste of the revolutionary life of Maharaja Trailokya Chakraborty and Pratulapati Ganguly. The greatness of these two revolutionaries can be seen in a little bit about the revolutionary movement in Bengal. In the historical writings like '*Namami*', '*Jele Trish Bachhar*', and '*BanglarBiplabbad*' can prove their truth (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 37). After spending some time in Rajshahi Central Jail, Satish Chandra Samanta and later Maharaj Trailokya Chakraborty told Sushil Kumar Dhara that he should organize a revolution after his release from jail. Therefore, among the youths in the jail cells, characterful and bright boys should be drawn to this path, Sushil Kumar Dhara wrote in his autobiography *Prabaha* Volume-I, *I don't know why Maharaj chose me for this job - it seems on Satishda's recommendation* (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 38).'

But at such a time, along with Sushil Kumar Dhara and other political prisoners of the new district, there was a commotion over the deprivation of rights. It was not resolved in any way. As a result, they were trapped on the east side of the wall between the prisons. Separated from Detinue prisoners. Finally, Satish Chandra Samanta transferred 5/7 people including to Dumdum Special Jail (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 41). Within a few days, 5/6 people, including Sushil



Kumar Dhara, were ordered to be transferred to Dumdum Special Jail. In this context, Sushil Kumar Dhara wrote in his autobiography Prabaha, volume I, entered the gate of Dum Dum Special Jail and saw Satishda - Vyasa, all conflicts were removed, I merged in this imprisoned sea with a calm mind. Satishda made me sit next to him. Living side by side like this for about 3/4 months until liberation, I was fortunate enough to get an enlightening education. Not so much a prison, but a training camp (Dhara, 1389 B.S., pp. 47-48). Inspired by Satish Chandra Samanta, Sushil Kumar Dhara received instruction in stick-and-dagger games while in prison. He also vowed to sign the illiterate inmates of the jail. In this context, it can be said that Sushil Kumar Dhara's teaching was very useful in the Quit India movement of 1942. Because he formed '*Bidyut Bahini*' and '*Bhagini Sena Bahini*'. Later, when the *Tamralipta Jatiya Sarkar* was established, these two forces were declared as the 'National Army' of the National Government. Even Sushil Kumar Dhara became the Commander-in-Chief of this 'National Army'.

Note that the Simon Commission's report was published during the civil disobedience movement. Based on this report, the first round table meeting was held in London from November 1930 to January 1931. However, the Indian National Congress did not attend this meeting. At this time, the British Government realised that India's political problems could not be solved by excluding the National Congress. Therefore, the British government started negotiations with the Congress leaders. On this basis, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed (March 5, 1931). In this situation, the Congress Working Committee temporarily suspended the civil disobedience movement. On the other hand, the British government also refrained from implementing repressive policies and admitted to releasing political prisoners. According to this



formula, if all the salt satyagrahis are released, the prisoners like Sushil Kumar Dhara, Satish Chandra Samanta etc (Das, 1956, pp. 260–261). will be released from jail. After that, Sushil Kumar Dhara got involved in the organisation of Congress. At first, he led the field in the Congress organisation in some places in Mahishadal Thana No. 1 Union. At the same time, he attracted the youth of Khenkuta village of Mahishadal in the freedom struggle. Then his field of work became - the responsibility of 12 unions belonging to the entire Mahishadal police station (Biplabi Sushil Kumar Dhara 80th Birthday Celebration Committee, 1991, p. 240). But this did not last long. As per the Gandhi-Irwin agreement, Gandhiji attended the second round table meeting as the sole representative of Congress. But the meeting did not find any solution to the political problem. Therefore, the second round table meeting failed. The new Viceroy Wellington then launched a massive crackdown to quell the mass movement. Despite the protests of the Indian National Congress, the level of government repression continued to increase. Hence, the National Congress again started the Civil Disobedience movement. The British government re-imprisoned prominent national leaders, including Gandhiji. At that time, Tamluk Sub-division, on the orders of the Congress, Sushil Kumar Dhara led the *Chowkidari Tax Bandh* movement across the entire Mahishadal thana, keeping his head covered so that the Britishers could not arrest him (Maity & Chakraborty, 1995, p. 103). But to suppress the Chowkidari Tax abolition movement, the British government continued to inflict unspeakable torture on the villagers. However, they became mentally prepared to endure this torture as a result of the propaganda and management of the leaders of the Tamluk Sub-division, including Sushil Kumar Dhara. It is to be noted that the then Sub-divisional leaders commented about the leadership of Sushil Kumar



Dhara - "Sushil is brave, fearless, overcomes adversity, knows how to manage. He is able to work effectively with people from all walks of life, communicates eloquently, and possesses a strong ability to accomplish tasks efficiently. (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 62)."

The British government again sentenced Sushil Kumar Dhara to 14 months in prison for leading the movement to end the chowkidari tax for about 23 months. First, he was lodged in Midnapore Central Jail and later in Hijli Special Jail. He learned how to parade from Balaidas Mahapatra a revolutionizer of Contai while in Midnapore Central Jail (Biplabi Sushil Kumar Dhara 80th Birthday Celebration Committee, 1991, p. 240). When some revolutionaries escaped from Midnapore Central Jail, the British government transferred Sushil Kumar Dhara and some satyagrahis to Hijli Special Jail (Senapati, 2010, p. 52). The lessons he got while in jail helped Sushil Kumar Dhara during the Quit India Movement.

In the meantime, the police brutality on the people of Midnapore, including the Tamluk Sub-division, made the revolutionary elements of Midnapore active again. In his autobiography, Sushil Kumar Dhara has admitted to an attraction to revolutionism at that time. He said - *"If I get a chance, I would follow the path of that revolution. I always tried to keep awake that desire of my mind."* Every time after the killing of the three district magistrates of Midnapore, I was very excited, but I did not open my mouth or mind about it on the instructions of Ajaydar. Besides, the bravery of Beena Das, Shanti Ghosh, and Suniti Chowdhury, and their daring and incomparable achievements deeply attracted my mind to revolutionism. Because at that time he thought that revolution was also needed to bring about overall transformation in the spiritual, social, state, and human spheres. So he was attracted to revolutionism (Dhara, 1389 B.S., p. 71).



At this time, torture laws came into force in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and the North-West Frontier Province. Congress offices were forcibly closed by the military. Millions of Congress volunteers and supporters were arrested and held without trial. Strict controls were imposed on newspapers. In this situation, to weaken the national movement, the British government implemented a new policy of separatism. British Prime Minister Macdonald announced the policy of communal partition to create a divide between the Indian upper castes and the lower castes. The government's separatist efforts were gradually countered by the Poona Pact between Gandhiji and B.R. Ambedkar (Chandra et al., 1994, pp. 226–228). Meanwhile, Gandhiji was released from prison and moved away from civil disobedience to focus on the Harijan movement. Since then, the civil disobedience movement has left the realm of mass movements and become prominent as an individual movement.

From the beginning of 1934, the civil disobedience movement began to wane. On April 7 this year, a proclamation was issued suspending civil disobedience. At that time, the British government ordered Sushil Kumar Dhara to remain under house arrest for 7 days. Besides, he had to travel ten miles once a week to appear at the Mahishadal police station (Dhara, 1389 B.S., pp. 71–72). It should be noted that at this time, repressive government activities such as imprisoning numerous men and women, confiscating their property, and levying fines at wholesale rates continued. Because of this, the Congress Working Committee unconditionally withdrew the civil disobedience movement in May 1934.

Rameshchandra Majumdar writes that, despite the unprecedented bravery and heroism of the Satyagrahis, the civil disobedience movement was completely stigmatised as an 'ignoble end'



(Majumder, 2000, p. 340). In this context, it can be said that on the eve of Salt Satyagraha, Gandhiji said - 'As long as there is even one Satyagrahi alive, civil disobedience will continue. But it turned out that, despite the Satyagrahi soldiers' determination to carry on the movement, the general ordered a ceasefire. Even so, it is undeniable that the civil disobedience movement is a historical achievement in the freedom movement. It should be noted that British imperialism could not crush the Tamluk and Midnapore people despite using all kinds of weapons of heavy repression and torture. On the other hand, Sushil Kumar Dhara became determined to continue the movement against the British government. This is reflected in the Quit India Movement and in the conduct of the National Army by the TamraliptaJatiya Sarkar.



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