



सत्यमेव जयते

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

October 1930—December 1941

Vol. XII



GAZETTEER DEPARTMENT
Cultural Affairs Department, Government of Maharashtra

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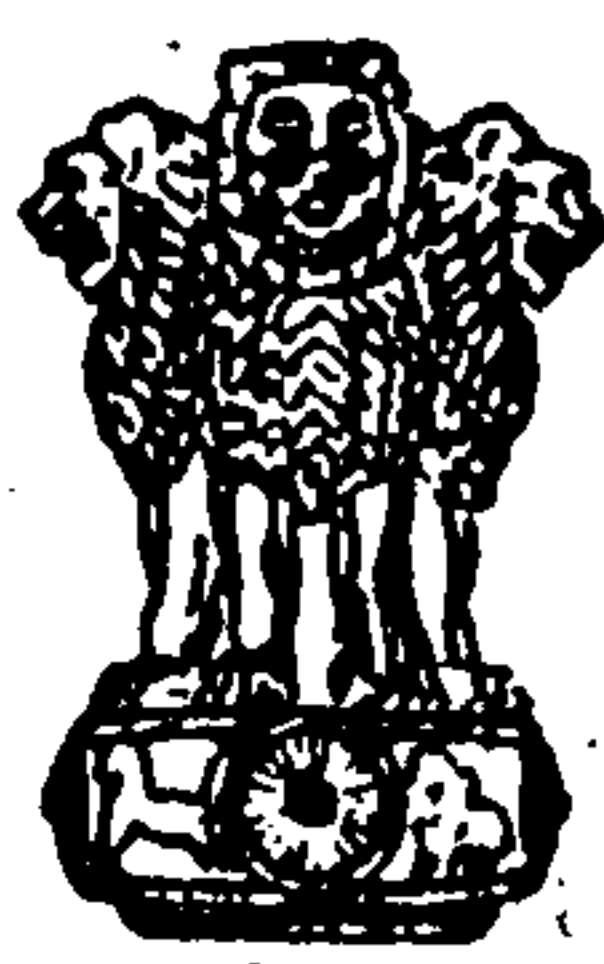
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Edited by

Dr. K. K. CHAUDHARI

GAZETTEERS DEPARTMENT

Cultural Affairs Department, Government of Maharashtra

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**SOURCE MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF
FREEDOM MOVEMENT**

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

October 1930—December 1941

Vol. XII

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FOREWORD

I am extremely happy to publish this volume on CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT : OCTOBER 1930 -- DECEMBER 1941 in the series "Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India" with special reference to Maharashtra. I am sure students as well as historians of the Indian Freedom Movement, and particularly of the Civil Disobedience Movement and Individual Satyagraha in the three regions of Maharashtra, will find this volume highly useful for comprehending the depth and width of the movement. I may be justified in cherishing such a belief because the documents contained in the volume were hitherto unpublished and inaccessible to historians due to the official restrictions of secrecy of papers. Even after the 'closed period' for Government records was reduced from fifty to thirty years in the second half of 1960s, the documents are still not available to historians either by way of archival material in the Maharashtra Government Archives or direct access to the records of the Police Commissioner of Bombay or Maharashtra's Director-General of Police, except under a very special permission of the Government. The hitherto unpublished documents included in this volume are selected from the hoards of the Home Department of the Government of Maharashtra, Police Commissioner of Bombay, the Director-General of Police, Maharashtra Government Archives, National Archives of India in New Delhi, Hyderabad Archives, Bombay Native Newspaper Reports and the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. These documents are culled from thousands of files of the Home Special Departments of the Bombay Government and the Governments of the Central Provinces and Berar and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

In the extensive Editor's Note on the Movement with which the volume starts, I have presented the scenario of Civil Disobedience as well as Freedom Struggle in Marathwada in a historical setting. The first part of the Editor's Note throws searching light on Mahatma Gandhi's conception of Civil Disobedience, the popular support it elicited, the stiffening trend in official thinking, Gandhi-Irwin settlement and the resumption of civil disobedience on 4 January 1932. The second part of the Note depicts the dilemma of the subjects against the feudalistic regime of the Nizam which denied them even the ordinary civil rights. The people of Hyderabad State had to fight a battle not merely against the paramount British power but also against a ruler who arrogated to himself the Divine Right to Rule and against "The Muslim Oligarchy" as Swami Ramanand Tirtha put it. The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Akbar Hydari, and Jamnalal Bajaj and Sir Akbar Hydari throws a searching light on the obduracy of the Hyderabad regime.

Now a few words about the selection of the documents and their arrangement in this volume. In the very nature of things, the publication of documents pertaining to a history of freedom struggle can be the outcome only of proper selection. There are thousands of documents and reports pertaining to this period in historians. Hence only those documents which are relevant for a study of political struggle have been selected. Even in the selected documents it seemed desirable either to omit certain paragraphs or to select only extracts relevant to the theme. In many cases where a portion has been omitted, a line of asterisks has been inserted to indicate where the excisions occur.

In several cases the contents of the documents are briefly indicated in the editorial notes printed in italics for the convenience of the reader. I believe that these notes might enable the reader to understand the context of the documents and the importance of the event. The principal categories of the selected documents are, (i) Daily Reports of Police Commissioner of Bombay submitted to the Home Secretary of Government of Bombay, (ii) extracts from Congress Bulletins, propaganda literature, newspapers and periodicals, (iii) Fortnightly Reports of the Bombay Government and C. P. and Berar Government, (iv) correspondence between the Nizam's administration and other Governments, (v) Police Abstracts of Intelligence, (vi) correspondence between eminent freedom fighters and officials, and (vii) extracts from native newspaper reports.

While I was initially predisposed towards a topical arrangement of the documents, I came subsequently to a different conclusion. It occurred to me that topical arrangement had inherent disadvantages. Even a strictly chronological arrangement of all sorts of documents was not thought plausible. Hence the arrangement of documents has been made in six parts as under :—

Part I -- Daily Reports and Bombay Congress Bulletin.

Part II -- Police Abstracts of Intelligence.

Part III -- Forest Satyagraha at Chirner.

Part IV -- Report on Indian Native Newspapers.

Part V -- Freedom Struggle in Marathwada.

Part VI -- From Civil Disobedience to End of Individual Satyagraha.

Each of the Parts begins with the Editor's introductory note printed in italics. The documents in each part, along with their enclosures, are arranged in a chronological order. In determination of the chronological order the date of dispatch has been taken as a basis, while in the case of newsletters the date of their being forwarded to Government by the Police authorities has been taken as the basis of *i.e* classification, irrespective of the date of their issue.

Footnotes have been added appropriately to enable the user of this volume to appreciate the role of concerned person or the event in question. The user, it is believed, would find them informative and helpful in further research.

I am thankful to the Director-General of Police, Maharashtra State ; Police Commissioner of Bombay ; Director of Maharashtra State Archives ; Director of the National Archives of India, New Delhi ; and Commissioner of Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, for allowing to take copies of the necessary documents, but for which this volume would not have seen the light of the day.

I am thankful to Shri P. N. Narkhede, Shri N. R. Patil, Shri R. R. Hanwatkar, Mrs. M. S. Modikhane, Sarvashri S. S. Gaikwad, R. S. Kumbhar, K. Z. Raut, D. J. Nawadkar, V. B. Sangrulkar, A. R. Pawar, G. N. Parab, S. K. Margaj, P. R. Gavali and other members of the staff for their assistance to me.

Shri P. S. More, Director, Government Printing and Stationery, Shri P. L. Purkar, Deputy Director, and Shri P. J. Gosavi, Manager, Government Press and Book Depot, Nagpur and other staff of the Press also deserve many thanks for good printing of this Volume.

Bombay
16 January 1995.

DR. K. K. CHAUDHARI
Executive Editor and Secretary

ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. C. C	All-India Congress Committee
B. P. C. C.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
C. I. D.	Criminal Investigation Department
C. P.	Commissioner of Police
C. P. & B.	Central Provinces and Berar
C. P. C.	Criminal Procedure Code
C. W. C.	Congress Working Committee
D. C. P.	Deputy Commissioner of Police
D. I. G.	Deputy Inspector General of Police
I. P. C.	Indian Penal Code
M. P. C. C.	Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee
P. C.	Police Constable
R. I.	Rigorous Imprisonment
R. T. C.	Round Table Conference
S. I.	Simple Imprisonment

LIST OF PRINCIPAL HOLDERS OF OFFICE

Secretary of State for India	:	1. Sir Wedgwood Benn (1929-1931) 2. Sir Samuel Hoare (1931-1935) 3. Lord L. S. Amery
Viceroy of India	:	1. Lord Irwin 2. Lord Willingdon (1931-1936) 3. Lord Linlithgow (1936-1943)
Governor of Bombay Presidency	:	1. Sir Frederick Sykes (1928-1933) 2. Lord Brabourne (1933-1937) 3. Sir Roger Lumley (1937-1943)
Governor of Central Provinces and Berar	:	1. Sir Montagu Butler (1925-1933) 2. Sir Henry Twynam
Secretary to the Government of India	:	H. W. Emerson (1930-1932)
Home Member, Government of India	:	H. G. Ilaig (1932-1934)
Home Secretary, Government of Bombay	:	1. G. F. S. Collins (Upto December 1931) 2. R. M. Maxwell (11 December 1931 to May 1932) 3. Mr. Clee
Commissioner of Police	:	1. D. Healy 2. G. S. Wilson 3. A. P. Kelly 4. W. R. G. Smith
Home Secretary, Government of C. P. & Berar	:	H. C. Gowan
Prime Minister of Bombay Presidency	:	B. G. Kher
Prime Minister of C. P. & Berar	:	Ravi Shankar Shukla

EDITOR'S NOTE ON THE MOVEMENT

I. Civil Disobedience Movement

Civil Disobedience Movement was a sequel to the Lahore resolution of Purna Swaraj drafted by Mahatma Gandhi. Since the Raj was loathe to concede the demand for Purna Swaraj it was for Gandhiji to answer the niggardliness of the Raj by calling upon Indians to declare their own independence and to disobey the unjust laws of the alien rule. Civil disobedience as a campaign of opposition to the imperial structure was the best tactic to exert pressure on the British and at the same time to hide the division of ranks among Indians of various shades of opinion. The strategy of satyagraha solved many of the dilemmas and conflicts among Indians *vis-a-vis* their relations with their rulers and co-nationals. It was a method of direct action which enabled Indians to oppose the alien rule, while avoiding the methods of violent resistance, which they were not equipped to organise. The parties and political groups on the periphery of the Congress or outside had no answer to Britain's blunt refusal to grant Swaraj and they concurrently refused to co-operate with Mahatma Gandhi. In the midst of such a situation it was Gandhiji's answer to call his countrymen to disobey the Raj and follow his lead. Veritably civil disobedience provided an umbrella for many individual and corporate protest movements, as did it coincide with the Great Economic Depression. It enabled them to build up local followings, to secure support from businessmen, and to exert influence on the more moderate Hindu politicians, who were isolated and their efforts at constitutional development were threatened by the great popular support to civil disobedience. The movement attracted foreign sympathy too. It was, therefore, inevitable that Gandhian civil disobedience exerted unprecedented pressure on the Raj.

It is true that civil disobedience posed a very serious problem to the Raj in some areas only. In fact the movement aroused little enthusiasm in Hyderabad, Punjab, Delhi, Assam and Orissa. In Central Provinces and Berar the movement was somewhat sedentary except in Nagpur and Wardha districts. Yet Gandhiji's civil

disobedience did embarrass the Raj and the Viceroy did hesitate to suppress the movement despite belligerent proposals of his Provincial Governors.

The movement elicited the deepest popular support in Bombay City, Gujarat and parts of Western Maharashtra. The Congress House in Bombay openly directed the movement of revolt against Government. Gandhi caps filled the streets, volunteers in khadi uniforms were posted for picketing, saffron-clad Desh Sevikas marched in formations in the streets of Bombay. Congress volunteers worked with the same regularity and orderliness as police constables. Earnest young men and women in khaddar marched along spreading the gospel of Purna Swaraj. All this intense feeling with its open and apparently successful defiance of Government did produce a profound impression on all sections of the people. The congregation, the discipline, the well-knit organisation and repudiation of the usual functions of the police, all these elements combined to produce a vivid impression of the power and success of the Congress movement.

The Mahatma's name and teaching exerted an extraordinary appeal, particularly to the Gujaratis. Gandhiji and Sardar Patel's preachings worked them up to a condition of fanatical excitement, in as much that they withstood police violence without retaliating with violence. Educated Maharashtrians and millhands too threw themselves in the movement. An atmosphere was created wherein the entire educated class was swept into a powerful anti-government movement. Contemporary evidence abounds to show that Bombay had never before known so high and so intense anti-government sentiments. A wave of enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice possessed the people. Parsis, Christians, women, students, traders, bullion merchants, shop-keepers, all actively participated or at least did not dare to stand against the Congress. When the movement was at its height, the English and Jew businessmen and industrialists had to revert their earlier opposition and to urge Government to enter into negotiations with the Congress for achieving an honourable solution.

Even those influential persons who stood on the fences such as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had to agree:— "The Congress has undoubtedly acquired a great hold on popular imaginations. On road side stations where until a few months ago I could hardly have suspected that people

had any politics, I have seen with my own eyes demonstrations and heard with my ears the usual Congress slogans. The popular feeling is one of intense excitement..... There is no doubt whatever in my mind that there is the most intense distrust of the Government and its professions."

While the youths provided the essential manpower for civil disobedience propaganda, the mercantile community provided the money power. A Bombay businessman and liberal politician Sir Phiroze Sethna commented that civil disobedience movement was leading to financial ruin of the country, yet the mercantile class, which suffered most under the existing conditions, very strongly supported Gandhiji's campaign. Businessmen argued that any country in a period of war must suffer, and they were prepared to suffer to any extent necessary. The present troubles were something like a war between England and India. It might be that some of them supported the movement by the force of circumstances and pressure from their employees. It might also be that some others looked upon Gandhiji as a safeguard against revolutionary violence. But the main reason for mercantile support to Gandhiji's movement lay in the hope of gaining Indian control over financial policy. It was this logic which prompted the Indian Merchant's Chamber in Bombay to urge the Government for rapid constitutional reforms in order to contain the conflict.

Meanwhile there was a stiffening trend in official thinking. Lord Irwin was now yielding, although slowly, to pressure from the Provincial Governors to allow them more repressive powers. In September 1930 Irwin's Council decided to go ahead with the ordinance to deal with unlawful associations. Irwin's ire was that while the Governors were impatient for more repressive measures he had to keep his options open. Although he sanctioned stiff measures, he was attempting to prepare the ground for peace with Gandhiji. Bombay Governor, Sir Frederick Sykes' demand for powers for the forfeiture of property was rejected because Irwin thought that this would make a final settlement with Congress more difficult. Indeed Irwin had his eye on the Round Table Conference which opened in London on 12th November 1930. Notwithstanding all pressures from all sides he tried his best not to embarrass the Secretary of State for India, Wedgwood Benn. Irwin assured the latter that he was "Constantly thinking whether there is anything to be done

to assist the Conference in the way of conciliation towards the civil disobedience movement at this end." He impressed upon the Governors that it was necessary to prevent hostile public opinion in and out of India on the ground that Government had more emergency powers than the situation demanded. He argued that he had a special responsibility to the Secretary of State when the Round Table Conference was in session.

The opening of October 1930, on the side of the Congress, coincided with the celebration of Gandhi Jayanti and the accompanying spurt of activity on the part of the Desh Sevika Sangh and the Hindustani Seva Dal, particularly in Bombay City. October was also a time for condemnation of those leaders of vested interests who had gone to London for the Round Table Conference. While Lord Irwin was reluctant to make a clear pronouncement in regard to India's demand for Purna Swaraj, it was futile for the Congress to go to London. Congress organs compared the position in India with that in Ireland before the negotiations that led to the foundation of the Irish Free State (*Bombay Congress Bulletin* of 3rd October 1930). A leader like K. M. Munshi argued that the delegates to the Conference should better stay in Britain as India was no place for them. Munshi's argument was broadly representative of his compatriots. This was also a time for protesting against the death sentence passed on Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Thousands of men and women in Bombay and almost all towns opposed the sentences on those who made greatest sacrifice for India's freedom.

While the Great Depression gave a spurt to civil disobedience in the early stages, it meant untold hardships both to businessmen and industrialists. It was, therefore, expected that businessmen and industrialists would some day alienate their support to the Congress. The traders, who had not merely contributed to the Congress funds but also actively participated in picketing, hartals and jail-going, now became restive and eager to open their business houses. Bombay Native Piece-Goods Association which had stood so far by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, resolved to open the market for the sale of their piled up stocks of foreign cloth. Industrialists like Sir Victor Sassoon and Mr. Raymond were rushing to the Press for gaining public sympathy. Due to the closure

of mills on account of hartals millhands were deprived of wages and employment. As a matter of fact the economic ills and pangs of unemployment were particularly due to the depression. However, industrialists and Government conspired to throw the blame on the Congress. They tried their best to divide the ranks in the working class and alienate support from the sections concerned. This meant an uphill task for the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

The economic distress heightened businessmen's anxiety to press the more amenable Congress leaders into some co-operation with the British to retrieve the economic situation. After the Round Table Conference ended in futility, as it was destined, the bureaucracy became more hostile to Congressmen. One of Irwin's concern was to prevent further strain on I.C.S. Officers and the police which the Governors had kept reporting. Hence he justified his reluctant renewal of the Ordinance powers in December 1930. In Bombay City a change of police officers synchronised with enforcement of Ordinance IX. The Police Commissioner, who was found to be a little mild and ineffective to suppress the Congress movement, was replaced by a more ruthless Commissioner who "followed up the action at Congress House by constant attacks on every form of Congress activity with the result that by the end of the month the evil had almost disappeared from the streets of the City" (Collins' letter to Emerson, 19th November 1930).

By and by the decline and staleness of the movement became obvious. An evidence of growing disarray among campaigners started coming forward. A sense of weariness among the rank and file propagandists pushed the Congress leaders, who were out of jail, towards a truce. Sardar Patel was advised by friends to remain out of jail at least for sometime in order to lead the movement. However, the stalemate continued both within the Congress and Government circles till December was advancing.

While the Round Table Conference was in session, Secretary of State Wedgwood Benn wrote to Irwin suggesting a change in the political prospect since the Indian Princes offered to come into the Federation. Also Irwin was told secretly of the scheme through a cable from Sir Wedgwood (29th December 1930). The pressure of the mass civil disobedience and government's inability to crush the

movement too prompted the Labour Government in London to concede a substantial constitutional advance and a grant of some political power to Indians. Tories and Liberals too agreed to support a proposal for constitutional advance. The result was Ramsay MacDonald's (Prime Minister) statement on 19th January 1931.

The Prime Minister's statement pronounced, "with a Legislature constituted on a federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature". During the period of transition statutory safeguards would operate, giving the Viceroy reserve powers on such subjects as defence, finance and the protection of minorities. In the provinces the Governors would have the minimum special powers necessary to maintain peace and protect the rights of the services and minorities. In substance, the grandiose statement amounted to no more than an offer of Dominion Status, and fell much short of the Congress demand for Purna Swaraj. It, however, enabled Lord Irwin to take the initiative in resuming contact with Gandhiji and Congress Working Committee. The proposal was to release Congress leaders and give them an opportunity to consider Ramsay MacDonald's statement. On 24th January Irwin issued a separate statement that the Working Committee Members would be released unconditionally to evolve the possibilities of implementation of MacDonald's declaration. Congress leaders met in Allahabad to consider the peace formula. But the formula by its very nature was destined to be futile. It could lead India nowhere to Purna Swaraj. Hence the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution refusing to recognise the proceedings of the Round Table Conference, and stating that MacDonald's statement was too vague and too general to justify any change in Congress policy. Civil disobedience was to be continued with vigour and firmness till the goal of Purna Swaraj was reached.

Meanwhile Government unilaterally released Mahatmaji and the Congress Working Committee on 26th January 1931. However, this did not mean general amnesty or a mass release of political prisoners. Hence Gandhiji argued that MacDonald's statement was "wholly inadequate" and that withdrawal of Ordinances, general amnesty to political prisoners and restoration of confiscated property were essential for a truce with Government. Gandhiji was also keen to obtain the concurrence of the people who had loyally followed him to the extent of being jailed or losing their possessions. Nehru and many

others were opposed to suspension of civil disobedience lest it should have a disastrous effect on the rank and file morale. The upshot of the discussions within Congress leadership was merely a letter from Gandhiji to Irwin requesting for an interview. Irwin agreed immediately as the dire necessity was to win Gandhi's sympathy and convince him of Britain's sincerity. Certainly Irwin was sympathetic towards the political aspirations of Indians and was keenly aware that the British Empire would survive only if it was founded on a broad span of co-operation of the natives.

Meanwhile Motilal Nehru's illness and death upset Gandhi's apple cart. And civil disobedience became innocuous, but not so in Bombay.

The first round of negotiations between Gandhi and Irwin lasted for a week, beginning with two long interviews on 17th and 18th February 1931. The dialogue was cordial, although many difficulties confronted both. The second and really tough round of Gandhi-Irwin talks began on 27th February 1931. The real problems arose over the practical aspects of truce, particularly police actions and not over the scope of constitutional discussions which had been cleared by the Secretary of State.

Under the Gandhi-Irwin pact, announced on 5th March 1931, Congress was to discontinue civil disobedience, while Government announced that they would do away with the ordinances and notifications declaring Congress bodies unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Government would also release Freedom Fighters from prisons, remove punitive police, restore forfeited property which had not yet been sold to third parties and would liberally reinstate village officials who had resigned as a part of civil disobedience, provided that their posts had not been substantively filled. There was to be no enquiry into allegations about police conduct. Boycott of British goods as a political weapon was to end, but peaceful picketing could continue. Government refused to condone breaches of the salt laws or to modify them, but they agreed to permit people to collect and make salt for domestic use.

Federation was an essential part of the pact, so also were Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interest of India, for such matters as defence, external affairs, position of minorities, financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations.

However, as Gandhiji stated in a Press release of 5th March 1931, the settlement or pact was provincial, while the Congress goal was Purna Swaraj. The proposed Scheme might prove the framework for the attainment of this goal, though this was uncertain. He admitted that Congress did not secure the Victor's terms, but neither did the Government. Next day Gandhiji assured journalists that the settlement was consistent with Lahore Congress Resolution of Purna Swaraj and that Congress could take up that stand at the Round Table Conference, if Congress decided to attend. In a speech of 16th March Gandhiji insisted that he firmly stood by his eleven points of 1930 as the substance of independence, and said that, if Congress succeeded at the Round Table Conference, the points would be secured (*Young India*, 5th, 12th and 26th March 1931).

Although Civil Disobedience of 1930 was not the sole factor which contributed to the emergence of a real possibility of responsible government, yet it was the most important factor in the changing political scene. It convinced the British, the moderate politicians, mercantile men and even some Princes that it was essential to seek Congress participation in any kind of parleys of nationalist politics.

Moreover the Gandhi-Irwin pact marked the peak of the Mahatma's political influence and prestige in India. The pact was the Mahatma's handiwork as far as Congress was concerned, and his judgement was soon put to the test. Most Congressmen were willing to observe the terms of the pact, and their general reaction was that of relief. Most Congressmen and commercial circles heartily approved of the truce, but a feeling of dissatisfaction was noticeable in the younger generation and the extremists among Congress. Communist Youths felt soar that the Meerut Conspiracy Prisoners were not to be released under the truce. A few supporters of the Peasants and Workers' Party said that the agreement did nothing for the workers and peasants. Some radical Congressmen were aggrieved that the truce fell short of the Lahore Congress demand of Purna Swaraj.

Even from top Congressmen there were indications that difficulties would arise in implementing the pact. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in Lucknow and Allahabad within a week of the settlement that he disliked the terms and regarded the peace as a truce during which Congress could recoup its strength. Further he said that if peasants and

zamindars could not pay their rents or land revenue due to economic difficulties they should not try to pay, although Congress had suspended the no-tax movement. He urged Provincial Congress Committees through a circular that they should consolidate their position which they had gained in 1930, and prepare the people for any contingency. "The provisional settlement at Delhi means a truce only and no final peace" (circular of 10th March 1931, Home Poll. File No 33/11, 1931).

In Bombay City Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel argued in favour of the settlement and defended Gandhiji against labour's criticism that he neglected the cause of workers and non-satyagrahi political prisoners. But when he went to Gujarat, Patel assured the peasants that they would not lose the lands which had been forfeited and sold by Government as a result of civil disobedience; their lands would be returned to them. The Sardar made it plain that the peasants who had money should pay land revenue, but those who had no money need not pay it for several years. All these symptoms showed that the truce was fragile and the peace was uneasy.

Although the political movement ceased, the rising economic distress posed a serious threat both to Government as well as Congress. The depression and slump in prices were squeezing the peasantry which upheld the "no rent and no land revenue" doctrine. Sardar Bhagat Singh's execution, which was scheduled for 24th March 1931, was another factor complicating the situation. Different interest groups, who looked to Gandhiji for leadership, felt that he was unable to influence the Viceroy towards clemency and commutation of the death sentence. The Nav Jawan Bharat Sabha paraded with black flags. Indeed Gandhiji did press Irwin on 19th March for the clemency. Irwin, however, refused to agree on political and administrative grounds. Throughout this period Gandhiji followed up the various problems with Irwin and H. W. Emerson (Home Secretary to Govt. of India) till he started for Karachi. Their correspondence shows the conflicting pressures on Gandhiji as he continued his mediatory role between Government and Congressmen.

The Congress session was held at Karachi in the last week of March 1931 in the midst of tension and curiosity. Gandhiji's first duty at Karachi was to condemn the execution of Bhagat Singh in order to

satisfy the radical youths. He himself drafted a resolution which condemned the execution of Bhagat Singh as "an act of wanton vengeance", and extolled his bravery and patriotism, though it maintained Congress disapproval of political violence. This resolution was moved by Nehru and unanimously passed by the Congress on 29th March 1931.

The main resolution on the Gandhi-Irwin settlement was an ingenious formula, sticking to the goal of Purna Swaraj resolved at Lahore, yet endorsing the settlement; opening the door to Round Table Conference discussions, yet providing a great deal of latitude to the Congress; agreeing to necessary adjustments or standing by the demand for control over defence and finance and an impartial tribunal on the obligations of India and the U. K. The resolution was tabled before the open Congress on 30th March and was carried by a large majority. Another very important resolution, for which the Karachi Congress is distinguished over many others, pertained to the charter of fundamental rights. It was this statement of fundamental rights that was little more clearly spelt in the Constitution of India of January 1950. This resolution was drafted by Nehru and modified by Mahatma Gandhi, and it was passed in the open Congress on 31st March. This declared the rights of all citizens under a Swaraj Government and also listed the economic and social provisions which a Swaraj Government would make to ensure an egalitarian society in India.

Gandhiji departed for the Round Table Conference on 29th August 1931 to be the sole representative of the Congress with very many apprehensions about the outcome. He announced in an interview in Suez, "My expectations of the Conference are zero if I am to base them on a survey of the horizon. But being an optimist I am hoping that something will turn up to make the conference a success from the national Indian standpoint." He complained to the British Prime Minister, "that the conference was futile because the other delegates were only the nominees of Government and he was the sole genuine representative of the people He and the British Government could settle the whole question if he was treated as representing everybody."¹

¹Official Note on interview between Gandhi and MacDonald, 30 September 1931, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XI.VIII, p. 96.

The *Manchester Guardian* reported on 13th November 1931 that the Conference had failed irretrievably and blamed MacDonald for not giving a strong lead. A week later Gandhiji admitted that he could see no tangible result coming from the Conference. The communal impasse was largely responsible for this position.

It should, however, not be misconceived that Gandhiji's mission was wholly futile. His major concern at London was the moulding of British opinion, which he did fairly successfully. He also tried to appeal to a wider world audience, partly because he felt he had a universal message to spread the doctrine of peaceful resistance against an imperialistic power, but more directly because the pressure of foreign opinion might be a good weapon in the Congress cause in the possible renewed conflict. He contemplated a visit to America and an extensive continental tour on route to India. However, news from India, Bengal in particular, disturbed him, and at end of October he asked Sardar Patel whether it was advisable for him to be away from India until mid-January. Patel wired back, in reply, that he personally hoped Gandhiji should return as soon as possible because tension was increasing in India and failure of the Conference was certain. And left London for home and landed at Bombay port on 28 December 1931.

Meanwhile Congress had started a campaign to withhold rent and land revenue, particularly in the U. P., while the Red Shirts were growing radical and recalcitrant. Government responded to the challenges to their authority in U. P., Bengal and NWFP with great speed and severity. Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, abandoned Irwin's approach to civil disobedience. Bureaucracy tightened the sinews for giving a knock-out blow at any new civil disobedience campaign. Willingdon impressed on Sir Samuel Hoare (S of S) to allow him to hit hard and swiftly. He argued for a "grand display" of Government's power. There should be no truce or pact. Government must win "quickly, decisively and completely, whereas moderate action may lead them into a desperate situation like that reached in Bombay 1930."¹ Lord Sykes was one of the most vocal exponents of this point of view. He urged the Viceroy that they should be ready with a clear policy and the weapons to implement it, emphasising the need for an omnibus Ordinance. While Willingdon suggested that

¹ Home Poll. File No. 5/53, 1931.

the August 1931 plans might be enough, Sykes countered that they must crush Congress as swiftly as possible and shatter the Congress body itself.

Gandhiji was not to be allowed an interview with Willingdon or discussions with the Government of India on any matter, while the No Rent Movement continued in U. P. The Home Government did not want to go to such an extent. But Willingdon's Government was meanwhile in consultation with Bombay Government on the place of Gandhiji's detention. A provisional booking had been made for Gandhiji in Yeravda despite Bombay Government's unwillingness to have him in their custody. Bombay argued that Gandhi be deported to Aden or the Andamans.

In the midst of such tensions the break between Gandhiji and Willingdon was inevitable. There was no question of withdrawing the Ordinances or changing the line of action against the Congress. Gandhiji was caught between an obdurate Government and Congress leaders who were not unwilling to wait. Reluctantly he launched the satyagraha movement. In a message to America on the eve of the movement Gandhiji gave his own interpretation of the Satyagraha: "The Indian struggle is more than national. It has international value and importance. I am convinced that if my countrymen and women retain up to the last the spirit of non-violence, they will have inaugurated a new era upon earth."

On the first manifestation of resumption of Civil Disobedience by Congress, the Government brought into force all the measures they had kept ready to smash the movement and neutralise Congress organisations and individuals. This was in stark contrast to the 1930 policy of using just enough force to control the situation. Government promulgated the four Ordinances they had in readiness on 4th January 1932. The All India Congress Committee and Congress Working Committee and local Congress bodies were neutralised, their premises and funds seized and leading Congressmen were swooped upon.

"In fact the truce period was a period of preparation on the part of Government for renewed hostilities, the outbreak of which was imminent any time. While the Government began where they had left, the Congress had to begin it all over again. Repressive measures

were rampant. Several persons in Bombay were subjected to inhuman torture. New occasions called for new Ordinances, and a series of them were promulgated. Besides the five Ordinances of December 1931, four new ones were promulgated by the Government of India on 4th January 1932 known as, (1) Emergency Powers Ordinance, (2) Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, (3) Unlawful Association Ordinance, and (4) Prevention of Molestation and Boycott Ordinance. The bureaucracy was conferred with unlimited powers, Special Courts, Summary Courts, Special procedures and Special punishments were provided. The bureaucratic leviathan arrogated plenipotentiary powers to itself. They covered almost every activity of Indian Life. They were drawn up in that comprehensive form because the Government sincerely believed that they were threatened with an attack on the whole basis of Government. All the Ordinances and repressive measures were, in fact, under contemplation even in the year of truce (1931). The fact is that the Bombay Branch of the European Association and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce were pressing the Government to take firm and immediate action in the event of a recrudescence of the Civil Disobedience Movement. They made specific suggestions that the Congress flag should be forbidden and likewise all parading of volunteers, and that all former civil disobedience men should, forthwith, be brought under restraint, be treated as enemy subjects in war and interned. They demanded that Congress funds should be stopped at the source and unearthed by a Special Ordinance. The mills favourable to the Congress should be denied railway transit of goods, and no one should be permitted to benefit financially from political agitation and boycott.”¹

“The expected did happen. Gandhiji was arrested in his tent on the terrace of Mani Bhavan in the small hours of the morning of January 4th, 1932, when the nation was sleeping. The arrest was effected personally by the Police Commissioner of Bombay, Mr. Wilson, at 3 a.m. when the Mani Bhavan was fast asleep. As Devdas Gandhi woke his father and broke the news to him, Gandhiji smiled. It was Monday, his day of silence. He listened to the prayer, wrote out farewell messages and instructions to his associates, and quietly took his seat in the police car within 35 minutes. He was cheered by the crowd which by then had collected outside Mani Bhavan. He was taken by car to Yeravada prison to be placed under restraint “during the pleasure of Government.”

¹ K. K. Chaudhari, *History of Bombay : Modern Period* (Government of Maharashtra, 1987), pp. 207-08.

“Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the President of the Congress, too was arrested the same morning, and detained with Gandhiji.

“The events of 1932-33 ran on much the same lines as those of 1930-31. Only the fight was more intensive and more determined. The repression was ever so much more ruthless and the suffering was ever so much more deep. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the District Congress Committees in the city, National Schools and many other institutions were declared unlawful, and their houses, furniture and funds and other moveables seized. Most of the leading Congressmen in the city were suddenly clamped into jails.

“The Congress organisation was thus apparently left without leaders, without funds, and even without any local habitation. The Congressmen who had been left behind were not, inspite of this sudden and determined swoop, without resources. Everyone took up the work wherever he happened to be.

“Leaderless, the people burst out into strikes, hartals and defiance of prohibitory orders, boycotts and picketing, leading to mass arrests. Following the promulgation of the Ordinances, wholesale arrests of Congress leaders of Bombay were made by the Police. The arrests were carried out mostly before day-break when people were still in bed. Thus, any public demonstrations were rendered impossible during the arrest and the transport of the arrested persons to police vans and cars to the different police stations for detection. Leaders in the suburbs were also arrested. The Congress Working Committee had been declared illegal by an Ordinance. By another Ordinance, the launching of civil disobedience campaigns, picketing and boycott of foreign goods were declared illegal. The Congress House was taken possession of by the police and a Union Jack was hoisted on the flag post.

“Bombay City observed a complete hartal on Gandhiji's arrest. An imposing procession in which thousands of men and women participated, started from the Congress House in the afternoon, and after wending its way through important thoroughfares in the city, terminated in a mass meeting at the Azad Maidan. K. F. Nariman, who presided, exhorted the citizens of Bombay to carry on the non-violent struggle till freedom was won. Meetings were held by the different ward committees condemning Gandhiji's arrest.”¹

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 210-11.

“In January, 2,273 persons in the Bombay Presidency were convicted, 2,892 in February, 1,185 in March and 1,482 in April. Between January 1932 and April 1933 as many as 14,101 persons including 939 women were convicted in the Presidency. The convicts formed 0.064 per cent of the 1931 population in the Presidency. This percentage was many times higher than that in other provinces.

“The share of Bombay was very high in this series of measures as the campaign was most intense in the city. The vigorous offensive against the Congress on all fronts, combined with the authoritative control exercised over the press, seemingly enabled the Government to restore peace. As per Government reports the Ordinances were promulgated to enable the authorities to discharge their duty towards the people and to save them from the consequences of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Even by the steady pressure maintained on all forms of Congress activity, the movement was not under control in Bombay city.

“The Government utilised the powers under the Ordinances to enable it to collect its revenue in the city. The political ferment made a definite impact on college students, and much less students passed the Matriculation examination. Almost every revenue producing department of Government was affected by the Civil Disobedience Movement, which, on the other hand, necessitated an increased expenditure on the police and jails. The principal cause, however, of the disastrous deterioration in the finances of Government was the tremendous slump in agricultural prices, combined with the continued trade depression. The economic landslide was continuing in full force, throughout 1931-32, though the depression eased slightly in 1932-33. The severity of its impact may be gauged from one example. Exports of raw cotton, Bombay's chief export commodity, slumped down to Rs. 16 crores in 1931-32 as against Rs. 48 crores in 1928-29. As cotton comprised about 50 per cent of the total exports, it can easily be realised to what depths the export trade had dwindled.

“In 1931-32, Bombay's imports were down by nearly 13 per cent on the previous year, most commodities falling in quantity and value. In 1932-33 there was an improvement of 9 per cent in value. Exports fell by nearly 41 per cent in value in 1931-32; in the subsequent year exports dwindled again by 26 per cent in value. The fall in exports was despite the large shipment of distress

gold which was in consequence to the economic plight of the people, the British suspension of the gold standard and the rise in the sterling price of gold. The entrepot trade declined in both the years. Yet another indicator of the plight of Bombay's premier industry was the collection of income-tax and super tax from the textile millowners. In 1931-32, only Rs. 13 lakhs were collected, compared with Rs. 15 lakhs the previous year, inspite of an increase of almost 50 per cent in the rate. As many as 27 mills in the city were incurring operational losses during the year, while in the next year many mills had closed due to non-disposal of their stocks in the adverse market conditions."¹

The pattern of conflict in 1932 was different from that in 1930. The circumstances of the Congress decision to resume the conflict and the sudden swoop on the Congress by Government had conspicuous repercussions on the organisation and planning for the renewed satyagraha movement. Congress leadership had presumed that provinces and districts would have to take their own decisions more than in 1930. Individual Congressmen would have to take the initiative on their own when all-India direction would become impossible. Hence there could not be a planned escalation of the conflict with Government as in 1930. Congress Working Committee merely recommended boycott of foreign cloth and all British goods, picketing of cloth and liquor shops, illegal manufacture of salt, non-payment of taxes and disobedience to unjust laws and orders under the Ordinances. Gandhiji had urged that the people should participate in the satyagraha only if they could remain non-violent; there were not to be hired volunteers; social boycott against Government servants should not mean to injure them since such things were not consistent with the spirit of the movement. Gandhiji also advised that, if he was arrested the movement should start with a hartal and fast, and then each village or town should begin Civil Disobedience in the form it was possible to them. The Working Committee resolution was kept purposely open and flexible to meet the situation when all leaders were arrested. He said, "After experience of nearly 12 years satyagraha in more or less acute form, individuals are expected to know what the change in circumstances will require." There were to be no injunctions in the matter of strategy, except the criteria of non-violence and efficacy.

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 212-13.

Beyond Bombay City the Congress fell short of funds. The Government of India, remembering their failure to confiscate Congress funds in 1930, stressed to provincial Governments the necessity to starve the Congress of funds this time. In the initial week itself Home Delhi suggested how the provinces might obtain information about Congress funds and prevent funding by donors. They suggested not merely seizure of money belonging to Congress bodies. They also directed the provinces to obtain weekly statements of donations by suspected donors. Substantial amounts were seized through such measures. The following figures of Congress funds seized in Bombay Presidency during January—April 1932¹ speak for themselves :—

Month	Description	Amount (Rs.)
January	Gandhiji's Tilak Swaraj Fund ..	40,000
	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee ..	246
February	Bank balance in Karachi ..	2,054
	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee ..	215
	Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee ..	3,797
	Surat ..	10,800
March	Swadeshi Sabha, Ahmedabad ..	35,706
	Chiplun Taluka Congress Committee ..	340
April	Gujarat Sabha fixed deposits at Ahmedabad in name of G. V. Mavlankar and Sardar Patel.	34,018

As civil disobedience coincided with the Great Depression the boycott campaign aggravated the economic glut, particularly in Bombay. There developed a vicious circle --- depression creating support of the mercantile class to Congress and its tactics, and those tactics contributing to the dislocation of the city's economic life. Protracted hartals in the Mulji Jetha market, and the Stock, Bullion and Cotton Exchanges disrupted the city's economy. Mulji Jetha market was closed for over three months, and even when transactions in Swadeshi cloth started in April 1932, the fear of picketing did not allow the merchants to start transactions in foreign cloth. Cotton trade was the hardest hit not merely in Bombay but in all the cotton producing tracts of the presidency. East India Cotton

¹Fortnightly Reports of Bombay Presidency, January—April 1932, Home Poll. File Nos. 18/1, 18/4, 18/5 and 18/7.

Association did not dare to remove the boycott till October 1932. All kinds of incentives to cotton traders offered by Government and the managing agencies failed to bring the results. British cotton trading companies were put under severe pressure. The black sheeps among them were black-listed for boycott in a Congress leaflet. Japanese companies were afraid to enter into transactions with British companies. Some British firms signed a declaration stating that they shared national sympathies of their Indian colleagues in cotton trade, and agreed to close business on Mondays which were observed as Gandhi Days. In doing so they hoodwinked the advice of Bombay Government.

The prominent supporters of the Congress boycott movement were Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association, Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association, Bombay Shroffs' Association and Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association. The support of these groups to Congress was a direct threat to Government and Government finances. While Bombay Government were partially successful in persuading a section of members in the East India Cotton Association, the management of the Association was unable to control the cotton market. Governor Sykes, therefore, got enacted the Bombay Cotton Contracts Act, 1932, which enabled Government to supersede the Association's Board of Directors to secure free trading. This was an extraordinary measure to regulate cotton market transactions.

The support of the mercantile community was crucial for continuance of civil disobedience, not only for collection of Congress funds but also for hartals, boycotting British firms and articles.

In Bombay, where civil disobedience was most intense, the Congress did neither disrupt traffic nor enact noisy scenes to a great extent. But the Congress adopted its tactics to meet the constraints of new situation and concentrated on the disruption of trade. Congress was able to show its power in the cloth market and in picketing. It also continued publication of *Congress Bulletin* and other leaflets inspite of police attacks on their production and distribution network.

Civil disobedience demonstrations on a mass scale stopped by mid-March, but large crowds came to watch individual demonstrations as a mark of their hostility to Government. Public sympathy, particularly in the Gujarati quarters in Bombay, for Gandhiji and the

movement remained unabated. Propaganda flourished unchecked, but the response of mill workers was short-lived. As one commentator had rightly observed Bombay City's mill areas were barely affected by civil disobedience.

In Central Provinces and Berar civil disobedience was confined to a few urban areas and there was no parallel to the enthusiastic wave of forest Satyagrahis in 1930. The movement was confined to the areas of influence of Jamnalal Bajaj, Veer Wamanrao Joshi, M. S. Aney and Dr. N. B. Khare. Civil disobedience campaign gathered momentum after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on 4th January 1932, continued to be intense upto May and then became languid. By the beginning of March 1933 the movement became almost moribund. Wamanrao Joshi made himself bold to announce on 9th March that civil disobedience had failed and should be stopped as early as possible. He said it was foolish to deny defeat, when such a defeat was apparent to all sensible people.

Eventually news filtered of private Congress meetings expressing frustration at the protracted conflict and a desire to call off civil disobedience. M. S. Aney, the acting Congress President in 1933 was in favour of such a change.¹ The Berar Congress President Wamanrao Joshi, came out in support of it. Some civil resisters like Jamnadas Dwarkadas and a fiery student leader, Rohit Mehta too felt so strongly that they wrote urging Mahatmaji to call off civil disobedience. It appeared that civil disobedience had lost momentum by March 1933. Hence Gandhiji advised Aney the Congress President to suspend the movement for up to six weeks since satyagrahis were in a state of terrible suspense. Aney immediately seized the opportunity to do what he had not dared to do on his own authority, and declared the movement suspended for six weeks (9th May 1933). However, civil disobedience was not totally abandoned. The consequence was an extreme uncertainty and 'demoralisation' as Nehru put it. Many Congressmen were anxious for a formal end of the campaign, but complete withdrawal could not be unilateral and must follow negotiations with Government. On the contrary the obdurate Viceroy, Lord Willingdon was opposed to an honourable settlement with the Congress. Hence civil disobedience was not withdrawn but took the form of individual civil disobedience. Satyagraha must go on as the only route to independence.

¹ An element in Aney's attitude to Gandhiji's current political stand was his anger at the Mahatma's willingness for legislation dealing with Hindu Customs. His bitterness on this score was shared by M. M. Malaviya too.

II. Freedom Struggle in Marathwada

The Nizam of Hyderabad arrogated to himself the Divine Right to rule and built a strong foundation of his self-interest through creation of a Muslim hierarchy based on loyalty to his own person and a common religious faith. He was the symbol of a semi-feudal Lord patronising communal forces and thereby depriving the majority of the Hindu subjects of even the elementary civic rights. His government treated every expression of political opinion, and even social activity as seditious. Every Public activity, including private enterprise in education and celebration of religious festivals, was virtually forbidden except under oppressive constraints. As Swami Ramanand Tirtha put it, "All nerves of the life of the people were controlled by the Muslim oligarchy". To make the matters worse the Hyderabad Dominion, the largest among the Princely States, was a stronghold of British imperialism, and the Nizam was a servile protege of the paramount power.

When Congress agreed to participate in the third Round Table Conference (1931), the Congress hoped that the Princely States would join the All-India Federation under the new proposed constitutional scheme. But the Congress set the minimum conditions for entry : (1) that they should guarantee the fundamental rights of their subjects, (2) that a Supreme Court should protect the fundamental rights, and (3) that the Princely States' subjects should be represented in the Central Legislature on an elective basis. The intention was pure and simple. The Congress was determined not to be swamped by the feudalistic block of the Princes at the Centre who ruled their subjects in an autocratic manner. The Congress was also firm that the representatives of the States' subjects should be elected by the people, and were not to be mere nominees servile to the Princes concerned.

The Nizam was loathe to any such condition as it meant a violation of his 'Divine Right' to rule which he arrogated for himself. He was opposed to any measure which would even challenge the perpetual right of the Asafjahi dynasty to rule in the manner it chose.

In the midst of such an autocratic regime the oppressed subjects of Marathwada organised the Maharashtra Parishad in 1936 on the lines of the Andhra Mahasabha and the Karnataka Parishad. The ostensible purpose of these three linguistic organisations was educational advancement, but the hidden objective was political awakening of the

hitherto unenlightened masses. The leaders of the Maharashtra Parishad were Advocates and educated youths such as Wamanrao Naik, Govindrao Nanal, Kashinathrao Vaidya, Shrinivasrao Sharma, Shrinivasrao Borikar, Swami Ramanand Tirtha, Digambar Bindu, Govinddas Shroff, Anand Krishna Waghmare, Anant Kulkarni and Shridhar Waman Naik. After Wamanrao Naik's demise on 9th November 1936, Ramanand Tirtha became the principal leader of the movement. The Maharashtra Parishad gradually changed its emphasis and initiated a movement for civil liberties from 1938. Eventually the Parishad became a training ground for the future leadership of the mass struggle in Hyderabad State.

The Arya Samaj was indeed a religious and social reforms movement, but it became the precursor and progenitor of political agitation in Hyderabad State. The historical reasons for the new form or the rôle that it assumed could be traced in the religious intolerance and the policy of communal segregation pursued by the Asafjahi rulers. The magnitude that its work assumed in Hyderabad State had no parallel to its own work in other parts of India. The Arya Samaj agitation in this territory started ostensibly, and to a great extent genuinely, as a movement to secure redress of restrictions on the free practice of their religion by Hindus. The Hyderabad agitation, as it could be called, was, therefore, dominated by the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha at least in the beginning. The International Arya League of Delhi was the centre of the organisation, but its local activities in early 1939 were under of a "war council" functioning from Sholapur.

It may be recalled that the Arya Samaj had made its impact felt in Hyderabad even before the dawn of the 20th century. Keshavrao Koratkar, a great patriot who was raised to the Bench of the Hyderabad High Court was elected president of the Arya Samaj in Hyderabad and continued to be at the helm of Arya affairs till 1932. The Samaj improved its organisation in 1930 under the guidance of Narayanswamy. The Pratinidhi Sabha was founded as a central body in Hyderabad and all district branches were placed under its control. Keshavrao Koratkar was elected president of the Pratinidhi Sabha, while its secretary and treasurer were Chandu Lal and Vinayakrao, respectively. Keshavrao's sad demise on 21st May 1932 was a terrible blow to the movement in this territory.

The Arya Samajists were labouring under various sorts of restrictions imposed by Nizam regime. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Nizam Rajya and the Sarvadeshik Sabha (the International Aryan League) adopted a policy of petitions and prayers to get redress of their grievances. But all their efforts turned futile. Hence the All-India Aryan Congress was held at Sholapur during the Christmas of 1938, with the objective to work out a *modus operandi*. Indeed the Aryan Congress confined its demands to purely religious and cultural matters, while other matters were scrupulously avoided. The important demands the Aryan Congress were published by "Hindustan Times" of 10th June 1939, which are reproduced in this Volume.

The Hyderabad State Political Conference in its sessions at Kakinada, Bombay, Poona and Akola demanded Responsible Government under the aegis of the Nizam. But the Hyderabad regime did not evince even the slightest interest in this. During the momentous days of Civil Disobedience movement under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and the Round Table Conferences, political awakening took roots in Hyderabad State, although they did not penetrate through the rural areas or small towns. It was after Mahatma Gandhi's brief tour of Hyderabad in March 1934 that a favourable ground was created.

Yet the formation of a well-knit nationalist and non-communal organisation was not realised till the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress of 1938. Five hundred persons from Hyderabad State attended the Haripura Congress. The modalities at the Haripura Congress inspired self-reliance on the part of the young Hyderabadis who were compelled to organise some political body in Hyderabad. Now it was the time that all efforts should be directed towards the pursuit of nationalist goals lest the agitation should degenerate into misdirected communalism. Soon the leaders in the Marathi, Telugu and Kānnad speaking areas in the State formed a Provisional Committee in mid-July 1938. The Committee took up a drive to propagate the message of Haripura and to enlist public support. It decided to hold a general body meeting for the elections of office-bearers and adoption of a constitution for the proposed Hyderabad State Congress. The ideals of the body were indeed loftier than the

objects of the other parties working in the field. It aimed at achievement of a Responsible Government and prevention of the movement from mutual distrust and disharmony. The August 1938 appeal of the Provisional Committee concluded with this para :—

“ We reiterate in conclusion that the ultimate goal of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment of Responsible Government built on a strong foundation of our basic loyalty to the Ruler and the Asafjahi Dynasty and the creation of sincere unity and harmony among all the communities to join the Hyderabad State Congress and strengthen the efforts for the attainment of Responsible Government by their conduct and participation, diverting thus the present consciousness in the country from the communal trend to the progressive and national path of patriotism. ”

The appeal was self-explanatory and there should have been no misgivings in the mind of the Government. However, the Nizam regime declared the Provisional Committee itself as an unlawful body and prohibited the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress by means of notification in a “ Gazette Extraordinary ” of 8th September 1938. All negotiations between leaders and Nizam Government to lift the ban on the State Congress failed, and the Government objected even to the word ‘ Congress ’

Gandhiji condemned the ban on the State Congress in an article in the “ Harijan ” of 17th September 1938. There was no option for the Hyderabadis but to launch a satyagraha. A Working Committee of the illegal State Congress was appointed to carry on the activities and adopt measures to face the situation created by the Government ban. Govindrao Nanal was elected president, and Ramkrishna Dhoot, Ravi Narayan Reddy, Shrinivas Borikar and Janardan Desai were elected members of the Committee. They launched a non-violent satyagraha on 24th October 1938, but were arrested soon for defying the ban placed on the foundation of the State Congress.

At this stage there came into prominence Swami Ramanand Tirtha, a young Marathi leader of remarkable ability and transparent honesty and integrity. Before leading the second batch of Satyagrahis on 27th October he wrote to the Police Commissioner of Hyderabad as under :—“ I have been nominated by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress as the first Dictator with all the powers of

the Working Committee vested in me. Intend to begin the work of the State Congress today after 3 p.m. near Putli Bowli Police Station with my four Organising Secretaries. I request you to please take notice of this and take necessary steps”.

Swami Ramanand's uprightness and devotion to the cause he undertook was remarkable. But not many senior leaders of the province came forward, as Swami Ramanand himself wrote, to lead the Satyagraha. Many were reluctant to undergo the hardships of a Satyagraha, while many did not believe in the efficacy of Satyagraha. But Swamiji and Ravi Narayan Reddy took up the lead to fight against an oppressive regime through a civil disobedience movement on Gandhian lines. The State Congress and Arya Samaj, which worked together, started another satyagraha in Aurangabad in November under the name of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union.

A seasoned Congress leader such as Jamnalal Bajaj tried to convince Sir Akbar Hydari that the ban on the State Congress was an unjust step. In a signed report of the interview between Bajaj and Hydari (a copy of which is included in this Volume), Sir Akbar reiterated his stand that the ban was imposed due to the communal character of the State Congress and the objection of the Nizam to the name 'Congress'. He wrote : — “My advise, therefore, was that, if the Indian National Congress was really a national organisation and did not want to help communal ill-feeling, it should keep out of Hyderabad and see what developments took place there in the next few months..... There was absolutely no ground and no live issue for any agitation or for the breaking of laws at the present moment.....”

Jamnalal Bajaj followed up his efforts with Hydari, sometimes in conciliatory terms and sometimes in emphatic words. “Prudence requires that the ban should be lifted without further delay” (18th October 1938). Hydari, however, did not yield, and harped on one string that the State Congress was a communal body. On the contrary, when Bajaj expressed a desire to come down to Hyderabad for mediation, Hydari retorted Bajaj in rather unbecoming words. “We believe that, apart from the Mulki sentiment and ‘pride’ which is hurt by any suggestion of mediation or interference in the internal affairs of the State by persons or bodies owing no allegiance

to the State, there is still a more fundamental objection, namely, that it is inconsistent with the basic idea of the sovereignty of the State that such persons or bodies should come between the Ruler and his subjects. It is inconceivable for us to think of our interceding or allowing our people to intercede in such a manner as to permit similar intercession by others in our affairs Interference of this nature would be alien to the traditions of the State and be resented by our people" (16th November 1938).

From the end of October 1938, civil disobedience movement against the State was carried on by three organisations simultaneously, namely, Hyderabad State Congress ostensibly operating from within the boundaries of the State, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha operating from British India. By 15th April 1939 a total number of 2,358 Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha Samaj agitators were arrested. On 22nd April 1939 the Hyderabad Day was celebrated which resulted into the arrest of 882 persons. Eventually the arrests continued, and about 75 per cent of those who courted arrests were from British India.

The State Congress movement from its inception maintained some pretence of dissociation from the influence of the Indian National Congress in British India. This was due partly to reasons of strategy and partly to the Hinduistic nature of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha. However, the State Congress leaders paid very frequent visits to Congress headquarters in British India to seek inspiration, guidance and propaganda literature. Virtually the entire contraband literature of the State Congress was prepared and printed at centres in British India under guidance of the Indian National Congress. Outside Congress leaders organised meetings in their respective provinces for collection of volunteers and freedom fighters. Bands of volunteers from Sholapur, Bombay, Poona and many parts of Bombay Presidency and Central Provinces and Berar entered Hyderabad State to participate in the agitation. British Government were quite aware that the inspiration and guidance to the movement came directly from Congress headquarters in British India. But they could not stop it because the Congress Ministries were functioning under Provincial Autonomy.

September 1938 session of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi had fully supported the agitation of the Hyderabad State Congress. But the atrocities committed by the Nizam regime and the

fear of the civil disobedience movement getting mixed up with the Hinduistic movement of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha, were the principal reasons for which the Congress advised State Congress to suspend civil disobedience. The State Congress dictator Kashinathrao Vaidya suspended civil disobedience mainly on the advice of Gandhiji on 24th December 1938. Probably the main consideration was the communal colour of the other parties practising it. Gandhiji instructed the delegation of State workers that they must make all efforts to gain contact with the masses so that they would be able to restart the movement with a great strength in future. The interval of suspension of the movement was a period for building up the organisation and political awakening.

Although the Congress withdrew from the agitation, yet its sympathies were fully with Hyderabad agitators. Individual Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Deshbandhu Gupta, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. N. B. Khare openly supported the agitation and helped in collection of funds for it. Congress leaders and Ministers in the Congress Ministries of Bombay Presidency as well as the Central Provinces and Berar extended some help to the Hyderabad State Congress. The Nizam regime requested the Governments in Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras for their help against fomentation of communal agitation and recruitment of agitators from these provinces. This request of the Nizam was self-defeating. The fact that his Government followed a rigorously repressive policy from the beginning could not be neglected. There was tremendous difficulty for the Nizam in obtaining any support from the neighbouring Governments in Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras Provinces. In fact the attitude of the Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar Governments was favourable to the Hindu agitators against the Nizam rule. The refusal of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar Governments to take action against violent speakers was an indirect incentive to the Hyderabad agitation. When the Nizam Government represented both to the Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar Government to restrain the propaganda in their territory and to prevent jathas of agitators going from across their borders, both Bombay and Nagpur refused to oblige. Bombay Government explained their policy that they would allow the Press in their Province the same liberty of criticising the

administration of Hyderabad State which the Press enjoyed regarding the Bombay Government administration. They agreed to deal with incitement to violence and to give such an information as a State Government was bound to give. But they refused to stop the agitators from proceeding to Hyderabad territory with the intention to violate Hyderabad State laws. The Central Provinces and Berar Government went a step further. They refused even to keep the Nizam's Government informed of development of the agitation in Central Provinces or the possibility of despatch of jathas to the State. Their attitude amounted to total non-co-operation with the Nizam regime. The Madras Government, however, extended co-operation to the Nizam regime. But the trouble from that side was comparatively slight, and the co-operation from Madras did not mean much of a relief to the authorities in Hyderabad.

Since the agitators were prevented from entering the State, they formed camps on the borders of the State wherefrom inspiration could be sent to the people within the State and their consciousness aroused. They opened camps at Ahmadnagar and Sholapur on the West, at Bezwada on the south-east, at Pusad on the north and at Manmad on the north-west, for reception of volunteers and for organising anti-Nizam propaganda. As per Gandhiji's advice volunteers were deputed to carry on secret propaganda for seduction of administration in the villages because there was no better alternative then. Another problem was that the actual number of demonstrators who came forward on their own initiative from within the State was very small. Hence it was essential to cultivate local public opinion.

A peculiar aspect of the situation was that the Hindus were clamouring for essential civil liberties, while the Muslims in Hyderabad State demanded that Muslim rule in the State should not be jeopardised. An Intelligence Bureau Report of 10th June 1939 says: "An aspect of the situation to which perhaps sufficient importance has not been given either in reports prepared by this Bureau or other official reports, is the attitude of Muslims in Hyderabad State. They have made it clear to their Government that if the latter shows any signs of complacency and weakness towards Hindu demands, they (the Muslims) will rise against their Government; for they are determined that Muslim rule in the State shall not be jeopardised. I have it on very good authority, including

that of the Resident and the Home Minister, Hyderabad, that particularly about last November, it was this aspect of the situation which was causing the Hyderabad authorities far more apprehension than the Arya Samaj — Mahasabha agitation itself”.

The Vande Mataram agitation was a glaring example of the discriminatory treatment to the majority community by the ruling class. Hindu students in the Osmania University hostels were prohibited from singing the “Vande Mataram” song on the ground that it was of a political and controversial nature. It ‘hurt the feelings’ of non-Hindu students even though sung in a close prayer hall. The Osmania University issued an order prohibiting the recital of the song. The prohibitory order was violated by students. Consequently the students were thrown out of the hostel and hundreds were suspended from attending the college classes, and scholarships and freeships granted to them were cancelled. About 1,200 Hindu students were struck off the rolls of the respective institutions in the State. There were demonstrations and sympathetic strikes. Several political organisations in India protested. Even Mahatma Gandhi threw his weight in favour of the demand of the students. But the Government of Ala Hazarat Mir Usman Ali Khan dashed all hopes to the ground.

Gandhiji endeavoured hard and used his good offices for lifting the ban on the State Congress and for securing elementary civil liberties for the subjects of the Nizam. He wrote a series of letters to Prime Minister Sir Akbar Hydari to that end. On 26th December 1938 Gandhiji wrote to Hydari that he himself had been instrumental in making the State Congress decision to suspend the satyagraha and that the Government should respond by lifting the ban on the State Congress. In reply Hydari complained about the “Vande Mataram” agitation at Osmania University and accused Kashinathrao Vaidya of issuing a statement containing a concealed threat. On 9th January 1938 Gandhiji defended Vaidya’s statement as mild and subdued without any threat, and reminded Hydari that satyagrahis of the State Congress should have been released by then. He also clarified that the Aryan League members should not be confused with the adherents of the State Congress.

On the issue of “Vande Mataram” Gandhiji argued that it was not a religious prayer, and the students had the right to recite it in their rooms or their prayer halls. They should get their grievances

redressed and till then stop their studies or go elsewhere. The explanations given by the Osmania University were unsatisfactory in the light of other facts. Gandhiji also urged that all State Congress prisoners should be released and the Congress be allowed to pursue all activities which were constitutional. Sir Akbar continued asserting that many of the prisoners were Arya Samajists who created communal hostility under the guise of nationalism ; that the conditions in jails were satisfactory ; and that jathas, communal literature and bombs were brought into the State from outside.

On 10th April 1939 Gandhiji wrote to Hydari that the policy of Hyderabad Government towards the Arya Samaj was inconsistent. Later on 15th May 1939 he urged Hydari to concede the two demands of the Samaj :— (1) absolute freedom for the practice and preaching of the Vedic religion and culture with due regard to the feelings of other religionists, and (2) full freedom for starting new Arya Samaj units and building of Mandirs, Yagnashala and Havankund and repairing of old ones without obtaining the permission from the Ecclesiastical Department of the State. Gandhiji later wrote some more letters, but the reply from Hydari was that the greatest problem in Hyderabad was communal tension and unless that was removed nothing could be achieved. It was with great agony that Gandhiji wrote a letter to Hydari on 14th April 1940, which opened with the memorable sentence : “ You have been giving me stone when I had asked for bread ”. Gandhiji’s last letter of 7th June 1940 was very strong : “ I have slept all these nights over your unkind letter of the 26th ultimo. I see, I have lost caste with you But I must not plead for myself. Only I feel sorry that you can think so unkindly as to write that last sentence in your letter ”

Despite the best efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the ban on the State Congress was not lifted and the stalemate continued in Hyderabad.

It was in stark contrast that, while the Congress Ministries in the neighbouring Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras Provinces set themselves to the excellent job of implementation of the socio-economic programme of the Congress under Provincial Autonomy, the Nizam regime refused to grant even elementary civil liberties to the subjects. It was again an irony that notwithstanding the total opposition of the Indian National Congress to Britain’s war

efforts, the Nizam fully supported it without caring for public opinion. The Nizam personally assured the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow that he would "accelerate the pace of war effort thinking that what has been done so far or will be done in future has been acknowledged or appreciated by His Majesty's Government" (Letter to Marquess of Linlithgow, 12th March 1942 incorporated in this Volume). That the relationship between the Nizam and the British was that of a *quid pro quo* is beyond doubt. In the same letter the Nizam pledged support of the Muslims to the British in return of favours from Linlithgow. He wrote, "This acknowledgement of the position of the Muslims in India by British Government, and that too just in time, will no doubt bind them all the more in their historical loyalty to the British Crown and they will also feel highly honoured by this gracious act a fact I am quite convinced of".

The Nizam was loathe to any idea of partying with power. Neither had he any intention to join the Indian Union after the incumbent transfer of power. He spared no effort to guard "his status as a Sovereign or his position as Faithful Ally" of the British. The Nawab of Chhatari wrote to Sir Stafford Cripps that the Nizam "desires to express his satisfaction of the assurance that it is not intended to transfer his treaty or other relations with the Crown in the United Kingdom to any other authority without His Exalted Highness' consent or affect in any way his status as a Sovereign or his position as Faithful Ally. Since, as you explained, the proposals are intended to leave His Exalted Highness free to adhere or not adhere to any one of the Unions that may be set up, or, in the event of not adhering, to maintain or cease to maintain the relations at present subsisting with the Crown in the United Kingdom. His Exalted Highness, as at present advised, considers the proposals to be very fair" (Chhatari's letter to Stafford Cripps, 3rd April 1942 incorporated in this Volume).

Undoubtedly the Nizam was trying to guard his Sovereignty and to advocate, what was then called, the Three Nation Theory on the Indian Sub-Continent.

Dr. K. K. Chaudhari

Executive Editor and Secretary

PART-I

DAILY REPORTS
AND
BOMBAY CONGRESS BULLETIN

PART-I

Intelligence Reports of Police and Home Department

This part of the Volume furnishes the Daily Reports of the Police Commissioner of Bombay submitted to the Secretary to Government of Bombay Presidency, Home Department as well as the Fortnightly Reports of Intelligence submitted by the Home Secretary of the Government of Bombay to the Home Secretary of the Government of India. These reports are in the nature of police intelligence and situation reports about the Congress movement of Civil Disobedience. They are by far the most important source of first-hand information about the activities of nationalists. It was on the basis of these reports that the Government used to frame its policies regarding the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of Civil Disobedience.

These Reports being top secret were inaccessible to research scholars, and hence their importance for writing a succinct history of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It is true that the Reports were written from the point of view of the alien Government's bureaucracy. But this lacuna has been sought to be removed by this Editor by furnishing his own Editorial Notes and footnotes wherever necessary. Besides these Notes, relevant extracts from the Bombay Congress Bulletins issued by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the extracts from the issues of the Bombay Chronicle, the Revolt, the Dynamite, the Times of India, the Free Press Journal and various other periodicals, have also been furnished chronologically along with the Daily Reports. While the Reports give a narration of events from the bureaucratic angle, the Bombay Congress Bulletins and other news sheets furnish the commentary on the events and an authentic information from the Congress point of view. It is, therefore, necessary that all the Reports should be read along with the bulletins for writing the authentic history of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

HCP—352-A-4

The Daily Reports and the Bulletins mention the names and activities of innumerable local leaders and activists, who guided the course of the freedom struggle. The Editor has furnished Editorial Notes and Footnotes wherever deemed essential. The users of this Volume will certainly find them very useful and informative.

Although these Reports pertain to activities in Bombay City, Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces and Berar, the Bombay Congress Bulletins indeed furnish very valuable information about the political movement in other parts of India as well. A perusal of the Bulletins reveals that the information given is very authentic. Many of the enclosures with the Daily Reports have not been reproduced due either to their irrelevance or to paucity of space. In certain cases the unimportant portions in the Bombay Congress Bulletins and other periodicals have been deleted for the above reasons.

—Editor.

1.

CONFIDENTIAL**HEAD POLICE OFFICE**

No. 5255/H/3717

Bombay, 1st October, 1930.

My dear Collins,

The foreign cloth shops in almost all the wards of the city were picketed on the 30th. The shops in the Fort were picketed yesterday by 14 female volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal.

The two Congress volunteers arrested on the 29th at Old Hanuman Lane for molesting a Parsi were convicted and sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment each yesterday by the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

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Under the auspices of the Navratra Boycott Committee, a public meeting was held at Shastri Hall, Grant Road, on the night of the 30th. About 200 persons were present. Dr. M. M. Suratkar presided. The president, Dr. A. P. Kothare, Ganapat Laxman Page, Shivaji Madhawalla and D. S. Babrekar made speeches exhorting the people to boycott all articles of British manufacture and use only Indian goods for their everyday needs as well as on festive occasions like Diwali.

The Savta Mali Pracharak Sangh held a meeting of about 300 Marathas at Shivaji Hall, Haines Road, last night, at which Nijanand Atmanand presided. The President B. V. Varerkar¹ and Ratilal Patel made speeches exhorting the people to boycott foreign cloth and become members of the Congress. B. V. Varerkar said that while Gandhi wanted a lakh of volunteers from Bombay city, they had not yet got even twenty thousand. He advised the people not to boycott the police or abuse them as the Congress fight was against the system of government and not against persons.

This morning there was a flag salutation ceremony at Chinchbunder Road. The flag was hoisted by Miss Laxmibai Surji Vallabhdas in presence of about 200 persons.

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The second instalment of the Patel Enquiry Committee's Report in cyclostyled form appeared yesterday. It was published by one D. B. Thacker.

The Council of the Liberal Association at its meeting on the 29th passed a resolution expressing regret at the unfortunate incident at Chirner² in Panvel taluka and calling upon the Government to institute a thorough and public enquiry.

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¹ B. V. *alias* Manu Varerkar was an illustrious play-writer, novelist and a social worker of progressive views.

² Documents pertaining to Chirner Forest Satyagraha are furnished separately in this Volume.

The Congress leaders have been talking of late of setting up a more efficient organisation for the conduct of Congress activities in Bombay city. Virchand Pannachand Shah, president of the War Council, when asked by a friend what form of organisation was contemplated, stated that it was his intention to divide the city into divisions, sub-divisions and blocks. In each block a *panchayat* will be set up which will be empowered to hear all disputes of a civil and criminal nature. It will also do constructive work in support of Congress propaganda. It will be authorised to collect funds to defray the cost of carrying on its own activities.

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It is said that a telegram has been received from Mussourie that Pandit Motilal Nehru has refused to allow the merchants to sell their stocks of foreign cloth¹. K. F. Nariman² and party are due back from Mussourie on Friday.

150 out of the 200 additional Police sanctioned have been raised so far.

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G. F. S. Collins,
Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

D. Healy,
Commissioner of Police.

2

Healy to Collins

No. 5303/H/3717

3rd October, 1930.

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A meeting of the Bombay Cotton Merchants, Brokers and Muccadams was held in the Cotton Exchange Hall in the afternoon of the 1st. Haridas Madhavdas, vice-president of the East India Cotton Association, presided. About 500 people were present. The president, Lalji Naranji, Mohomedali Habibhoy, Gurudutt Swalka and Bhulabhai J. Desai³ made speeches in support of the following resolution.

¹ Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association closed its Mulji Jetha Market from and on July 1930, and this boycott was maintained without need of picketing. But in October 1930 it attempted to reopen and merchants became eager to sell their stock of foreign cloth. This attracted severe picketing by Congress in Bombay as a result of which the Association caved in and some merchants shifted their business from Bombay to other markets. There were signs of revolt among cloth merchants in Bombay, Delhi, Amritsar and Kanpur. Motilal Nehru, as Congress president was opposed to it. However, by November - December Congress minded merchants urged him to seek some compromise with Government as they could not hold out much longer.

² K. F. *alias* Veer Nariman was then president of BPCC and later the Mayor of Bombay. He was a nationalist leader, but attained greater fame when he exposed the scandal of Back Bay Reclamation in Bombay in 1925-1927.

³ Eminent lawyer who defended the Sholapur Martyr's case.

"This meeting of the cotton trade in Bombay declares that the British Indian invitees of the Government of India to the Round Table Conference do not represent any section of the Indian Commercial Community or the Indian people and the Indian Commercial Community in general and the cotton trade in particular have no faith in the present Round Table Conference."

To popularise their socialistic manifesto, the Bombay Youth League held a meeting of about 100 workers on the 1st at Agripada Chawls Street. Dr. R. M. Shetty¹ presided. The president, Syed Nur Ali, Dr. G. Y. Chitnis, A. A. Shaikh, G. M. Lad, Shivsharma B. Sharma and one Chavan made speeches in support of the manifesto. They also condemned the delegates to the Round Table Conference and said that they represented only the capitalists.

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Morarji M. Kamdar presided over a meeting of about 200 persons held under the auspices of the Young Men's Hindu Association at Girgaum Back Road yesterday. The president Kanhyalal M. Munshi², Mrs. Lilavati Munshi³, Prof. D. R. Gharpure⁴ and others made speeches exhorting the people to be prepared to court jail for the sake of their country.

3

Healy to Collins

No. 5327/H/3717

4th October, 1930.

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The Desh Sevika Sangh celebrated Gandhi Jayanti yesterday by taking out a procession of about 2,000 women in the afternoon from Sukhanand's Dharmashala, C. P. Tank. It was led by Mrs. Perin Captain, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Mrs. Lukhmani and Mrs. Ratanben Mehta and was accompanied by several women of the prabhat pheris. After the procession reached the maidan a meeting attended by about 8,000 persons was held at which Mrs. Janakidevi Bajaj presided. The president Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Miss Slade, Lady Jagmohandas and Mrs. Ratanben Mehta made speeches eulogising Gandhi's services in the cause of the

¹Royist leader who founded the Dock Worker's Union.

²K. M. Munshi was an eminent Advocate, Congress leader, Home Minister in the first Congress Ministry of 1937, a great scholar and founder of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

³Lilavati Munshi was a Congress leader, social worker and a fighter for the emancipation of women in India.

⁴Prof. Gharpure was an Office bearer of the B.P.C.C. and a close colleague of S. K. Patil in freedom struggle.

country and appealing to the people to use Swadeshi articles¹. The president said that the meeting was held to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti and also to congratulate their released sisters. She said that thanks to the British Government, congratulating released satyagrahis had become a daily affair. She deplored the fact that some Indians were going to the Round Table Conference in defiance of the country's wishes and said that they were committing a national sin and were betraying their country. Miss Slade said that the Government were deceiving themselves and the world by saying that the Civil Disobedience Movement was on the wane. Narrating the experiences of her recent tour in the South, she said that every where she saw Indians wearing Khaddar. She wanted them to take a vow on Gandhi Day that they would use nothing but Khaddar in order to help the poor villagers. She condemned the repressive policy of Government and said that the Congress movement had driven the British mad and just as a mad dog does not survive for long so also the government would meet with an early death.

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In connection with the Congress decision to observe a hartal today, Dharmanand Kosambi issued leaflets asking the workers not to go to work on the 4th. The workers were asked not to observe hartal on the 5th although it was Gandhi Day. As a result of the above leaflets 46 mills remained closed as only a small percentage of workers went to the mills this morning. Out of these mills, the Simplex Mill, which had started working in the morning, had to be closed at 9 a.m. as some stones were thrown. Seventeen mills are working.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

3rd October, 1930.

(Extract)

On the eve of the departure of the so-called delegates to the Round Table Conference, it must be a disturbing thought to every self-respecting Indian why these persons should have shouldered a task which is a nothingness. Since the 23rd of December when the famous interview between Mahatmaji and the Viceroy took place events have moved with lightening rapidity. Having failed to get an assurance from the Viceroy that the British Govt. would support the grant of immediate Dominion Status to India, the Congress at its Lahore Session decided that the immediate goal of the country is Complete Independence. In order to achieve the emancipation of the country from foreign yoke the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatmaji launched on a programme of civil disobedience.

¹Desh Sevika Sangh was virtually the creation of Gandhiji. These Women motivated others to participate in freedom struggle. Perin Captain was granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji. Janakidevi was Jammalal Bajaj's wife. Avantika Gokhale was one of Bombay Congress leaders in movements of 1930-1933 and 1942-1945. Miss Slade, better known as Mira Ben was daughter of a British Admiral. She became Gandhiji's devotee and a trusted disciple. Mahatmaji sent her as a special emissary on a fact-finding mission to Orissa in April-May 1942 before making up his mind on "Quit India".

The history of the last few months has revealed how greatly the country has accepted the mandate of the Congress. The people of the country have by their will, daring and sacrifice expressed their determination to achieve the freedom they have been longing for. On the other hand the British Government in India stands revealed in its naked reality. It has become the essence of brutality, a standing denial of humanity, an insult to civilization.

And now when thousands of the flowers of the land are rotting in jail, when unheard of tortures are being inflicted on a defenceless people, when the women of the land are being insulted and attacked, when children are being shot, when there is a virtual reign of terrorism, a few handful of men are proceeding to England to sit in a Conference with the acknowledged enemies of Indian aspirations. The personnel of the delegation and the narrow sectional and communal interests they represent stands discredited and disowned by the Nation. By their own mouths they stand condemned as most of them have made it clear that it is the Congress alone that can deliver the goods. And yet why are these persons some of whom are men of unquestionable sincerity, patriotism and devotion, persisting in their fruitless endeavour.

For the last many days various attempts have been made to convince the Moderates and others in the country of the falsity of the Congress position. While the Government have been employing methods unequalled in their barbarity to torture and terrorise poor defenceless villagers, they are at the same time, untiring in their efforts to saddle the Congress with the evil that the Government is sowing. We shall be insulting the intelligence of the Indians who have agreed to go to the R.T.C. to believe that they could ever accept this siren voice.

Ever since the Viceregal announcement of the 31st October last, Indians of all shades of opinion have been asking as to what that announcement in terms of full responsible Government for India was, as the basis of settlement of the constitutional issue at the Round Table Conference and all that the Viceroy and the Government have done to reply to this very important query is to wedge round the crux of the issue and indulge in a series of deceitful utterances. And when in consideration of the peculiar minority position of the Labour Government, the Congress leaders asked for a private assurance, the Viceroy with ill grace has turned round and made a statement unbecoming of a gentleman and certainly despicable as coming from a man of his position. For, Lord Irwin cannot deny that the secrecy of the assurance was asked not in the interests of the Congress. And no amount of vicious lies can convince anyone that Mahatmaji and the Congress can have any love of diplomacy. And however much you may try to ignore it, if one thing is more clear than another, it is the persistent reluctance of Lord Irwin to make a clear pronouncement on the position of the Govt. of India and of His Majesty's Government in regard to India's National demand. Yet without clearing these fundamental issues the Liberals and others are attending the Round Table Conference. That their action constitutes a shameful betrayal of the Nation will become convincingly evident by an examination of the Irish parallel.

The position in Ireland before the negotiations that led to the founding of the Irish Free State is not far different from the position in this country except that we have employed non-violent methods to break the authority of the British Government. In Ireland too there were various parties owning various allegiances and advocating various programmes. But when Mr. Lloyd George proposed to appoint a Convention of all Irish Parties, the Sinn Feiners pointed out that a nominated Convention would be useless. Having made the British Cabinet concede to their right of self-determination they said "Nor could the Government be said to admit the principle of self-determination if the Convention were debarred from discussing National Independence".

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Healy to Collins

No. 5350/H/3717

6th October, 1930.

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In the afternoon of the 4th a procession in honour of the released leaders was taken out from Congress House. It consisted of about 5,000 persons and was led by V. P. Shah, K. M. Munshi, Mrs. Munshi, D. R. Gharpure, Mrs. Perin Captain and Kanji Karamsey Master. A number of Congress flags and photos of All-India leaders were carried in the procession which went along Girgaum Back Road, Sandhurst Road, Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi, Cruickshank Road to the Esplanade Maidan. The people shouted the usual slogans.

When the procession reached the maidan a meeting attended by about 20,000 persons was held under the presidentship of Virchand Pannachand Shah. The president K. M. Munshi, D. R. Gharpure, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Kanji Master, Abdul Rahman Miha, Shrinivas Venkatesh Kowjalgi, J. N. Panthaki and Babasaheb Mavlankar made speeches condemning the Indian personnel of the Round Table Conference¹. The president paid a tribute to the discipline of the Bombay public and the volunteers and said that it was a lie to say that the movement was dying out in Bombay. He further suggested that the holding of the Round Table Conference was a plot to disorganise the campaign and to distract the attention of the people from the real issue before the country. K. M. Munshi criticised the delegates to the Round Table Conference and said that they had better stay in Britain as India was no place for them. Referring to the repressive policy of government, he said that the Indian nation was being created in the jails, "Lathi Chowks" and "Azad Maidan" where people of all castes and creeds worked like brothers. D. R. Gharpure said that Jayakar and Sapru had done a very great disservice to the country by their peace negotiations. The released leaders also thanked the people for the honour done to them.

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¹ Fifty eight representatives of the Liberals, Muslims, Hindu Responsivists and minorities such as Jinnah, Mohammed Ali, Aga Khan, M. M. Shafi, Fazal-i-Hussain and Fazlul Haq, A. H. Ghaznavi, Dr. Munje, M. R. Jaykar, S. B. Tambe, T. B. Sapru, Srinivasa Sastri and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar went to London.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5414/H/3717

8th October, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Girni Kamgar Union a meeting of about 2,000 millhands was held on the 7th at Lalbaug to protest against the sentences passed on Bhagat Singh and the other accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case¹. G. L. Kandalkar² presided. The president, Dr. R. K. Gavande and Ramchandra Babaji Neherkar spoke in support of a resolution protesting against what were alleged to be brutal sentences passed on the Lahore case accused. It was alleged that false evidence was led in the case and that the real murderer had not been traced. They further said that while on the one hand a number of Indians were being sentenced to death for the murder of a single Englishman, on the other no action was taken by Government when Indians were killed by the Police.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5436/H/3717

9th October, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee a meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan on the evening of the 8th to protest against the conviction of Bhagat Singh and the other accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. About 25,000 persons, including about a thousand women, were present. Nagindas T. Master presided. The president said that they were observing the hartal and holding the meeting on the advice of Pandit Motilal Nehru who had specially instructed them to emphasize the need to remain non-violent in their struggle. The Congress has not given up the creed of non-violence but it sympathised with the accused because the Government had refused them facilities for defending themselves. K. F. Nariman said that it was the first time that they had met to congratulate Indians who had made the greatest sacrifice for the freedom of their country, but it did not mean that the Congress sympathised with their acts of violence. They should boycott British bombs and bullets in the same way as they boycotted all other British articles. The Congress would continue its non-violent

¹Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were sentenced to death for the murder of Mr. Saunders, on 13th September 1928 and hanged in Lahore Central Jail on 23rd March 1931.

²Labour leader, President of the Girni Kamgar Union.

struggle in order to teach a new gospel to the whole world. He was sorry that patriots like Bhagat Singh were not the disciples of Gandhi. J. M. Sen-Gupta¹ said that while they condemned acts of violence, they certainly protested against the refusal of Government to give the accused the usual facilities for defence which are given to ordinary criminals. He emphatically declared that all the recent acts of violence in Calcutta had nothing to do with the Congress movement of civil disobedience. He was sure that if the Congress movement had been started three years ago, men like Bhagat Singh would have been with them. He, however, appreciated the deep sense of patriotism which prompted people like Bhagat Singh to commit acts of violence. He then criticised the recent speech of H. E. the Viceroy at Lahore and said that while the Viceroy was always talking of the principles of justice and liberty, the officers of his government were acting in a manner which gave the lie to his utterances. He said that although at the present time the Viceroy was anxious to safeguard the interests of parties other than the Congress, a time would soon come when the Congress would be recognised as the only party which could speak in the name of India. Referring to the present situation he said that instead of getting weaker the movement was becoming stronger day by day and was bound to be successful in the end.

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Bombay Chronicle

9th October, 1930.

(Extract)

SEN-GUPTA EXPLAINS CONGRESS ATTITUDE:—One of the most impressive and gigantic meetings Bombay witnessed during recent times was held on Wednesday evening at the Azad Maidan. Over a hundred thousand persons including thousands of women thronged at the Maidan.

The meeting was convened to protest against the convictions of the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and the attitude of the Government in not supplying necessary facilities for the defence of the accused.

Mr. Nagindas T. Master, the president of the War Council presided and Sjt. Khursed Nariman who made his first public appearance after his release from the Nasik Jail and Sjt. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Bengal leader addressed the gathering.

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Sjt. Sen-Gupta was given a great ovation when he rose to address. He regretted that he could not address the gathering which was perhaps the largest he had seen in his life in the vernacular. He asked what had the Government of India and the Viceroy to say to the fact that such a gigantic gathering of men and women was condemning the sentences passed on Bhagat Singh and his comrades under the so-called law of the British Government.

¹Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta (1885-1933) was for many years a leading figure in the Congress. A non-co-operator at first he joined Swarajya Party and became its leader in Bengal. The momentous session of the Congress in Calcutta (1928) owed its success largely to him.

Continuing Sjt. Sen-Gupta said that the British people were past masters in diplomacy in making things appear what they were not in fact. He knew that it would be said that while the Congress, on the one hand, declared that it stood for non-violence the same supporters of the Congress had assembled in their hundreds of thousands to honour those who were condemned for alleged acts of violence. He also knew that the news would be flashed across the seas and much capital would be made out of that. He thought that it needed an explanation.

Explaining the Congress attitude the speaker said that firstly the acts for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades were sentenced were committed before the present movement was started and secondly the protest was against the sentences and the procedure followed. The Congress would protest against those who resorted to violence because the Congress did not want that the present movement should fail because of some persons' acts of violence. The speaker added that he knew persons who stayed their hands intending to give a fair chance to the non-violent movement in the country.

"While thus we adhere to the principle of non-violence we do honour Bhagat Singh and his comrades who are condemned to death for the alleged acts of violence with which the Government had charged them and we sympathise with them in the sense that they represent the same love of country that has induced us to be the followers of the Indian National Congress. I feel sure that if he were not clapped in jail Bhagat Singh would have joined the present struggle." Referring to certain acts of violence in Bengal Sjt. Sen-Gupta said that they were distinctly apart from the Civil Disobedience Movement started by the Congress.

Referring to the Viceroy's recent after dinner speech the speaker observed that the Viceroy was telling the world that he was ruling according to principles of justice and liberty. But what the Viceroy thought or said was in complete contrast what the District Magistrate, the Police Superintendents and other officers of Lord Irwins' Government did. Continuing Sjt. Sen-Gupta said "the Viceroy speaks of the principles of liberty and justice but I will tell you what it means when it is translated into action. This evening I was taken to two local hospitals specially started to treat the people who are injured as a result of lathi charges made by and bullets fired by the police. There are volunteers whose limbs have been amputated and, this maimed humanity speaks more for "liberty and justice than the Viceroy's statement".

Proceeding Sjt. Sen-Gupta said that to the hypocritical statement of the Viceroy he preferred the blunt truth stated by a District Magistrate in Bengal that he was unable to fight the Civil Disobedience Movement strictly adhering to the law and so he had decided to break the laws.

"The Viceroy thinks", proceeded Sjt. Sen-Gupta, "that by issuing statements from time to time he can do some propaganda but he should know that it was no more possible and his statements were not at all taken seriously".

Continuing he said that the Viceroy had asked them why they were not going to the R.T.C. and urge out their case. But India wanted to know first from the Viceroy if the British people were prepared to part with their power. That was the only condition on which Indians were prepared to meet the British people and so long as that claim was not accepted the present struggle would continue unabated.

Indians knew that the British people were not prepared for it. All they talked of granting Dominion Status with certain reservations and lately even the Viceroy had given up the use of that term. In such circumstances, how was it possible that Indians would co-operate. He asked who would believe that those persons who had gone to London were India's representatives.

Drawing an analogy between India and Ireland Sjt. Sen-Gupta said that the history of Ireland would be repeated in India. The Viceroy was not prepared to admit that the Congress was even the strongest party in the country, but the time would come in a few months hence when the Viceroy would have to admit that what he had said was wrong and the Congress was not only the strongest party but the only party that could speak in India's name. He knew that some Muslim friends and some Hindu friends were not with them, but in Ireland also the people in the North were not with Sinn Fein Party. Still in the end it was that party with whom Britain had to make peace.

Sjt. Sen-Gupta then compared the N.C.O. Movement of 1921 with the present movement and said that while that movement was only a slap in the face of Britain the present movement was a final attempt to wrest power from Britain's hands.

Proceeding he referred to the complaints of the cloth dealers. He admitted that they were suffering a loss, but he asked them to compare that loss to the sufferings of Gandhiji and other leaders. This was a nation-wide movement and all must equally suffer in it. He hoped the patriotic merchants would stand by the Congress till the end of this fight.

Finally he refuted in most emphatic terms that the movement was slackening or was dying out. He said there was absolutely no fear of that. On the contrary it was gaining strength every day. "India is fighting her battle with a unique weapon. I want to tell the British people that with all their physical force, their guns and bombs, their battleships and aeroplanes they will have to lose in this struggle because God is on India's side. I assure you my brethren and sisters that, if you carry on the struggle with the same vigour for a few months more, victory would be yours because Almighty is on your side and yours is the righteous cause."

Patel Report

No. 3 (Extract)

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It now remains for us to record our findings on the main issues involved in the inquiry. We have already given our reasons on which these findings have been based and we do not therefore propose to repeat them. Our findings are:—

(1) In the situation that had arisen at Peshawar on the 23rd April firing by armoured cars and the military was wholly unjustifiable.

(2) Provisions of law and procedure were not only not complied with but were deliberately set at naught before orders for fire were given.

(3) The Deputy Commissioner without any warning and without any justification rushed the armoured cars through the unarmed, unresisting and peaceful crowd (which had already commenced to disperse) after the two leaders were admitted into the *thana* and thereby killed and wounded twelve to fourteen persons. Had he not done so subsequent tragic events of the day would not have happened. The responsibility for all this is entirely on the Deputy Commissioner. He created a situation by his action. Enraged at the sight of their dead and wounded brethren some irresponsible persons in the crowd picked up stray stones and threw them to the armoured cars. One of the stones hit the Deputy Commissioner and this gave him a handle for ordering the armoured cars to open fire. If the object of the Deputy Commissioner was merely to disperse the crowd he could have easily done so by other method. But there was no desire on his part nor indeed did he make any attempt to deal with the situation in any other way. On the contrary there was a determination to use this military force with a view to strike terror and this was done.

Similarly with regard to the second firing Mr. Isemonger had decided to use military force. Refusal by the people to disperse unless they were allowed to remove the dead and the wounded and unless the armoured cars and the military were withdrawn gave him a handle to order firing. If his object was merely to disperse the crowd, whether it was necessary to do so or not, he could have easily done so by other methods but he had no desire and indeed he made no attempts to try other methods. He resorted to firing straight off.

(4) The object of firing was not so much to disperse the crowd as to use as much force as the authorities considered necessary to strike terror. Firing was therefore resorted to recklessly, indiscriminately and for inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the bazar but was extended to side streets, bye-lanes, balconies and other places round about.

(5) The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 125 but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this larger number of killed and wounded it is impossible to secure in the conditions X X X X X in the province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after the 29th April was seized by the military on the 4th May since when further inquiries have become impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5507/H/3717

13th October, 1930.

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A meeting of about 100 Indian Christians was held at Blavatsky Hall, French Bridge, on the eleventh under the auspices of the Nationalist Christian Party. Nagindas T. Master presided. Speeches were made by the president, K. M. Munshi, Rev. Bhaskar, Mrs. Fernandes, Rev. Samuel Maleloo, Mohamed Ismail Surti and others in support of resolutions, (1) mourning the death of Joseph Baptista,

(2) offering greetings to M. K. Gandhi on his sixty-second birthday, (3) welcoming the released satyagrahis, (4) repudiating the Round Table Conference, the invitees to it and the Christian invitees in particular, and (5) condemning those who stood for election to the Legislatures in opposition to country's mandate. The president said that he was glad that one more community had declared its sympathy with the Congress. One Aranha referred to the Lamington Road Shooting tragedy and said that government had unnecessarily arrested members of the Youth League who were pledged to non-violence.

On the 12th there was a partial hartal in the city as a protest against the arrest of Maulana Kifayatullah.

On the morning of the 12th there was a volunteers' rally on the Gowalia Tank Maidan¹. About 450 volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal, National Militia and Desh Sevika Sangh attended. The rally was inspected by Mr. Brailsford². Yesterday the various prabhat pheris went about the different localities singing songs. Flag salutation ceremonies were performed at Barbhai Moholla by N. T. Master, at Shingane Building by K. F. Nariman, at Wadala by Mrs. Munshi and at Tilak Bridge by T. R. Naravane. Speaking at Barbhai Moholla N. T. Master asked the people not to observe Divali until Gandhi was released. He also asked the people not to deposit any money in foreign banks or in the post office.

Under the auspices of the Kapor Community a meeting of about 200 persons was held at Rambaug, C. P. Tank, under the presidentship of Jannadas Sanghavi at which speeches were made by the president, K. K. Chitalia and others congratulating Babubhai Ratilal Parekh, Editor of the *Congress Bulletin* and B. M. Bhuta, Secretary of the (Congress) war Council.

Barrister V. S. Dongre presided over a meeting of about 400 non-Brahmins held at Chaupatty yesterday. The president, K. G. Kubal, Swami Nityanand and others spoke in support of resolutions condemning the non-Brahmins who had gone to the Round Table Conference as their leaders; protesting against the alleged severe sentences of the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners; disapproving the Police action at Panvel,

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Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee a meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan the evening of the 12th to congratulate Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah and Professor Dharmanand Kosambi and his colleagues on their arrest. About 4,000 persons were present, N. T. Master presided. Speeches were made by the president, Maulavi Muhammad Ismail Surti, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Munshi, G. B. Trivedi, Aziz Hajeebhoy Lalji, Abdul Jalil of Peshawar and Mrs. Gangaben Patel declaring that no amount of repression and passing of Ordinances by government would crush the present movement and appealing to the people to redouble their efforts to win the freedom of the country. Aziz Hajeebhoy Lalji denounced the Round Table Conference and its delegates. Jinnah, he said, represented his office peons.

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¹ Present August Kranti Maidan.

² H. N. Brailsford was a radical British journalist and a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. He was supporter of civil disobedience movement.

Since the Ville Parle Camp was declared illegal on Saturday, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee have been busy removing their things from the Congress House. The owners of the building in which some of the offices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee are situated have given notices to them to vacate. It is understood that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee will authorise the Satyagraha Committee alone to function in case it is declared illegal. It is however believed that the volunteer camp at Keshav Baug and Morar Baug will not close down. Some merchants are said to have offered their houses to accommodate the office of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

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Congress Bulletin

12th October, 1930 (Extract).

FOREIGN CLOTH PICKETING.—The foreign cloth picketing has begun from 28th July. It is being continued and will be carried on with the same vigour and alertness till any foreign cloth remains in India or the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee directs to stop it. There is no indication of the change in policy on the part of Government as yet. Congress is determined, inspite of ordinances, the police and the lathi, abuses and kicks of merchants and arrests and convictions of volunteers to stop the sale and importation of foreign cloth in our country. All the cloth markets of Bombay are honey-combed with volunteers and sevikas. Remaining places will soon be covered up.

Market area is the most important area where the whole cloth trade is centred. Mulji Jetha, Mangaldas, Morarji Gokuldas and Laxmidas Markets are included in this section. All the markets, gates, godowns, cross roads and street corners are carefully guarded. No goods are allowed to go out of this area without a permit either from the Boycott Committee or the Inspection and Sealing Committee. The work is satisfactory, but it was a bit slack recently and it was reported that some goods have been removed and that some volunteers are amenable to be bribed and flattered by the self-seeking-merchants. Now reorganisation has been effected and it is hoped that the new system on which the work will begin will give better result.

Picketing has been going on well in Mandvi area. It is reported that merchants in the Chakla Street and Memon Mohalla are treating the volunteers and sevikas very badly ; both beating and insults are hurled upon them. The Carnac Bunder and Wadi Bunder picketing has been suspended because the Muccadams of these places have resolved not to handle foreign cloth and boycott mills' cloth. It is hoped that within a short time picketing at Memon Mohalla and Chakla Street will be stiffened and started at Japanese and European firms' godowns. Most likely warehouse picketing might also be started if the merchants persist in removing goods as they are at present.

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It is gratifying to note that the merchants are wonderfully taking to picketing very calmly. There are very few cases of insults and assaults. We request them to feel for their brothers and sisters, who are daily imprisoned, beaten or fined for sticking to their convictions and fighting for the country. Let them feel for the starving millions of Indians who shall benefit by the stoppage of this annual drain through cloth.

This fight is of everyone, together we stand or fall. Let every Indian put his shoulder to the wheel and fight whether he be merchant or not.

European Managed Mills and Congress Boycott :— One member after another of the Sassoon's Firm is rushing to the press to try again public sympathy, but it not see to help them against the Congress boycott. First Mr. Raymond wrote and now Sir Victor Sassoon writes. They always choose to abstain from giving full facts and present only one side of the picture. It has already been pointed out by the Boycott Committee that it is not because of the boycott that the mills have been closed but because of over production all over the world. The Sassoons now seem to be very anxious for their employees but how anxious they were during the period of the strike to reduce the number of workers by giving more spinning frames and looms to each labourer is a well known fact, and they were the first to take up an attitude which brought about the prolonged textile strikes in 1928 and 1929 and which ruined the textile industry of Bombay to a substantial degree. It was during this period that they imported foreign cloth and yarn, not only from Great Britain but also from Hongkong. Sir Victor Sassoon talks of quality. The Indian public is determined not to have any qualities unless they are manufactured in this country. Sir Victor is not concerned about the Indian Textile Industry, but will also have substitutes ready so that he can trade though the mills may remain closed. Sassoons talk of their group of mills as Indian because they are located in India and because they choose to exploit cheap Indian labour. But it is easy to understand that it is for their own profit and not out of philanthropy for the Indian labour or Indian consumer. Of course the Indian investor now does not count with the Sassoons. They capitalised these mills of the value Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores in 1920 and sold it to a new company under their own management for the price of Rs. 6 crores *plus* the profits of the going period till date or transfer. In the Indian Company they kept for themselves preference shares of the value of Rs. 2 crores and got Rs. 4 crores from the investing public of Bombay. In this deal they made a profit themselves by legalised dishonesty of Rs. 4 crores subscribed by the public of Bombay as ordinary shares *plus* the old profit of the boom years of about Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores *plus* manipulation of their shares in the Bombay Stock Exchange. After eight years of working they had nominal value of Rs. Two crores into ordinary shares, and the ordinary shares of Rupees four crores into Deferred shares of Rs. 40 lacs only. Substantially they have again become the owners of these mills and the investing public has been exploited though Mr. Raymond complains that it looks as if the Congress Boycott Committee was going to expropriate the Sassoons. But this state of things will go on while the Foreigner is given a free entrance to exploit its raw materials and cheap labour under a bountiful providence. Foreigners may produce on account of the capital employed by them, and the profits made out during all these years. There will be plenty of capital in this country only if the foreign drain is absent. No matter whether it is on Government account or on account of the money lending Bankers of Lombard Street who will not rest content with their capital and interest but must have their pound of flesh from the toiling millions of this unfortunate country.

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Healy to collins

No. 5539/H/3717

14th October, 1930.

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The Bombay Native Piece-Goods Merchant's Association at its adjourned meeting held yesterday resolved after a good deal of discussion to open the market today for the sale of their present stocks of foreign cloth. The following resolutions were passed at the meeting.—

“ In spite of the long hartal and protest made by the Association against the repressive policy of the Government, no change in that policy has been made, and a grave situation has now arisen which the commercial community views with anxiety ”

“ The Divali is fast coming and this meeting therefore permits its members to open their shops for the disposal of stocks of foreign cloth on hand ”

“ This meeting fully sympathises with the demands of the Indian National Congress and re-affirms its resolution of May 21, not to place orders for fresh stocks. The meeting also lays down that the members according to the resolution, should not buy foreign cloth and if any member is found placing orders he will be fined Rs. 101 per case. Out of the fine recovered 50% will go to the informant ”.

The decision of the cloth merchants came as a shock to the Congress people who considered it to be a betrayal of the promises given to the Satyagraha Committee by the merchants. The Satyagraha committee, therefore, decided to enforce strong picketing at the Mulji Jetha Market today. This morning when the doors of the market were opened a number of people belonging to the *prabhat pheris* rushed into the market and created a demonstration. Congress volunteers were soon on the scene and were busy managing the crowds. K. F. Nariman and K. M. Munshi visited the market and addressed the crowd declaring that the merchants who had decided to open their shops were traitors to the country and they had let the Congress down at a very critical time.

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Healy to collins

No. 5563/H/3713

15th October, 1930.

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Early this morning the Congress House and the other buildings in the compound were taken charge of by the Police. None of the leaders were present, but about 68 volunteers who were inside the compound were arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Simultaneously searches were also carried on at the various

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District Congress Committees' offices and the volunteers' camps. The office of the Desh Sevika Sangh at Sukhanand Dharmashala, C. P. Tank, was also searched as also the office of the Youth League and the Swatantra Bharat Sabha. . . . In all 189 persons were arrested in Bombay. Nagindas T. Master, Surji Vallabhdas and K. F. Nariman have been arrested and will be tried today. The other leaders have not been found up to the time of writing.

The city is observing a hartal and many schools are closed. The hartal is to last for three days. The mills are working.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5596/H/3717

16th October, 1930.

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There was no picketing of foreign cloth shops yesterday as most of the shops in the Hindu localities were closed owing to the hartal.

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At a meeting of about 1,000 millhands held yesterday under the auspices of the Girni Kamgar Union at Lalbaug under the presidentship of G. L. Kandalkar, speeches were made by the president, Sadashiv C. Mhapankar and G. L. Salvi protesting against the action of government in declaring the Congress Committees in Bombay illegal and criticising the action of the police in dispersing meetings of workers held at DeLisle Road and assaulting their leaders.

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K. F. Nariman and Nagindas T. Master were convicted yesterday under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV of 1908 and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment each. The case against Surji Vallabhdas has been postponed. Mrs. Amrit Kaur¹, Jamiat and Aziz Hajeebhoy Lalji were arrested this morning and are being put up for trial. S. B. Mahadeshwar and R. K. Acharekar, secretaries of the F & E Ward District Congress Committees, respectively, were arrested yesterday. Dr. M. B. Udgaonkar, the president of the Matunga Taluka Congress Committee, was arrested this morning.

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The opening ceremony of the New Congress House situated in Ratansey Kanji Building, Daryasthan Lane, Mandvi, was performed by Usman Sobhani by hoisting the Congress flag this morning. About 2,000 persons were present including the following :—Muhammad Ismail Surti, Mohinuddin Kasuri, R. J. Bhungara, Miss Krishna Sardesai, Haji Nur Muhammad Ahmed, Dhirajlal K. Bhatt, Dr. J. V. Vora, Shiraz Vasi and Mrs. Vasi. Usman Sobhani and Dhirajlal Bhatt made speeches saying that the government could not suppress the movement by taking charge of the Congress House because every man was a Congressman and every house was a Congress House.

¹Amrit Kaur was a famous Gandhian who did exemplary work in the freedom struggle.

A partial hartal is being observed today. 15 mills only are closed. The Toyo Podar Textile, Indian Bleaching and the Atlas were working partially as many of their hands had not turned up for work. Toyo Podar closed after 12 noon. A few stones were thrown at the New Kaiser-I-Hind Mill but the mill is working.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5621/H/3717

17 October, 1930.

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In the evening of the 16th a meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Youth League was held at the Esplanade Maidan to condemn the action of Government against the Bombay Youth League and kindred associations. About 25,000 persons including 1500 women, attended.... Mulraj Karsondas, Y. J. Meherally (Meherali)¹, B. M. Bhuta, Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and Babubhai Ratilal Parekh, editor of the **Congress Bulletin** were arrested today. Usman Sobhani and B. N. Maheshvari were arrested this morning and are being tried today.

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Today is the third day of the hartal but, with the exception of the cloth markets and principal Hindu business centres, most of the shops are open. The mills are working.

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12

Healy to Collins

No. 5843/H/3717

27th October, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Kapole Yuvak Mandal, a meeting of about 200 Kapole Banias was held at Kharak Bazaar, Mandvi, on the night of the 25th under the presidentship of Premji Velji. The president and some members of the community made speeches exhorting the audience to boycott British goods and use only swadeshi articles to help Indian industries.

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¹Yusuf Meherali was a reputed youth leader and an organiser of the Youth League, an eminent Congress Socialist and one of the great leaders of the Quit India Movement. He represented the cause of the youth and socialism in international forums during his short life-time.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5866/H/3717

28th October, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, Jannadas Dwarkadas addressed a meeting of about 250 persons yesterday at the Blavatsky Hall. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya¹ presided. Jannadas Dwarkadas referred to the present agitation and appealed to the students to come out of their colleges in order to take their due share in the movement for independence. He declared that the people of India had no quarrel with the British people but what the Congress was fighting against was British imperialism which was responsible for the exploitation of the poor masses in the country.

Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, the president of the War Council, was arrested yesterday at the Municipal Office. She was charged today under Section 17 (1) and (2) and sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment on the first charge and 6 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 400 or in default 3 months' simple imprisonment on the second charge, sentences to run concurrently.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5920/H/3717

30th October, 1930.

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The news about the conviction of Jawaharlal Nehru reached here yesterday evening and a partial hartal has been observed today in the Hindu localities. Most of the schools are still observing Diwali holidays but some students of the Municipal schools which are open have come out. The Textile Mill, the Crown Mill and the Standard Mill have been closed today as a protest against conviction of Jawaharlal.

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The committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber has written to Government protesting against the lathi charges on Sunday and the treatment of women by the Police². A similar protest has been embodied in a resolution passed by the Coal Merchants' Association on the 28th. The managing committee of the Medical Union held last night also passed a resolution expressing horror and indignation at the high percentage of head injuries inflicted by the Police on the public on the 26th and looking upon, with growing concern, the increasing percentage of head injuries inflicted by the Police during the last 6 months.

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¹Famous Poet, brother of Sarojini Naidu and husband of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

²Details of this incidence have been given in the fortnightly Report of 19th November 1930.

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Healy to Collins

No. 5956/H/3717

31st October, 1930.

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H. D. Rajah¹ was arrested yesterday evening near the office of the Peoples' Battalion, Charni Road, under a warrant from the Chief Presidency Magistrate under Section 124-A I.P.C. in connection with his speeches at the meetings on the Esplanade Maidan on the 20th and the 22nd October. The office of the Battalion was searched and some papers and files were seized

In the evening a meeting under the auspices of the newly started Marwari Youth League was held at the Esplanade Maidan to congratulate Jawaharlal Nehru on his conviction. About 15,000 people including 2,000 women, were present. Krishnagopal Tapadia presided. Speeches were made congratulating Jawaharlal and condemning the alleged Police excesses on the Esplanade Maidan on the 26th. Pandit Chaturbhuj Sharma said that the incidents of the last few months clearly showed that they could not expect anything from the Government. They should continue the fight started by Gandhi. He repudiated the allegation that the Marwaris were not with the movement and cited the instance of Madanlal, son of Govindlal Shivilal, who suffered at the hands of the Police on the 26th and refused to furnish bail when it was offered. Jannadas Dwarkadas said that the only way to congratulate Jawaharlal, the idol of the youths and the uncrowned king of India, was to follow in his footsteps. He did not understand why the youths were still hesitating to come out of their colleges and join the movement. He cited the instance of the youths of Britain who left aside their studies and fought in the Great War. Referring to the incidents of the 26th he congratulated the people of Bombay on their sacrifice and declared that Bombay would be the Boston of their war of independence. He appealed to the merchants of Bombay not to forsake the movement at a critical time and warned them that they would be worse than prostitutes if they lagged behind. Mrs. Lilavati Munshi said that as true satyagrahis they should not protest against the lathi charges by the police but to bear them patiently. She however congratulated Jawaharlal and the people of Bombay on their sacrifices and declared that Government might rule over their bodies but their hearts were with the Congress. Referring to the alleged insult to the women on the 26th, she said that had a British woman been insulted in like manner, the British

¹Harihara Dharma Rajah (1904-59) took active part in nationalist movement. He organised Peoples' Battalion for non-violently taking over Government institutions. He founded youth league one of the earliest organisations in the Indian Freedom Struggle.

men-of-war would have gone to her assistance. Finally she asked the men to stand aside and let the women fight for their country. Babasaheb Mavlankar said that John Bull was afraid not of the red rag but of orange coloured saris. Mrs. Gangaben Patel compared Indian women with Sita and Draupadi of the Hindu mythology, and said that in spite of oppression they would come out triumphant in the end The association under which the meeting was held is a mushroom growth and has no real existence. I think the holding of the meeting has heartened the Congress supporters somewhat.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation adjourned yesterday without transacting any business as a protest against the conviction of Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, one of its members.

Gangadas Khushaldas Parekh has been nominated in place of Aziz Hajeebhoy Laljee, as President, Bombay Youth League. Pratap Singh has been appointed President of the Akali Dal in place of Ishwar Singh.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6028/H/3717

4th November, 1930.

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It has been reported that the War Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has passed a resolution calling upon the citizens of Bombay to withdraw their deposits from the postal savings banks and not to make any fresh deposits, to get their post office certificates cashed, to abstain from buying Government Treasury Bills and to invest all their savings in gold only. This is done with a view to embarrass the Government. The general belief is that there was no real backing from the public who have little money to deposit or withdraw. This decision is not an innovation on the part of the War Council because Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Congress leaders had long ago harped upon this theme.

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Bombay Chronicle

4th November, 1930 (Extract).

Lady Jagmohandas on Britain's sense of Chivalry.—Women of Bombay representing all classes, castes, creeds and communities in the city thronged in their thousands at the Madhav Baug on Monday evening to express their feelings of indignation and resentment against the treatment accorded to their sisters by the Bombay Police at the Azad Maidan on Sunday, October 26.

More than an hour before the proceedings commenced, women clad in their picturesque saris and mostly wearing the orange coloured uniform of the *Desh Sevikas* began to pour in the spacious compound of the Baug and their number continued to swell while the proceedings were in progress.

Prominent among those present were Lady Jagmohandas, Lady Setalvad, Lady Purshottandas Thakurdas, Dr. Mrs. Dossibai Dadabhai, Srimati Kshama Rao, Mrs. Lukmani, Mrs. Sayani, Mrs. Walechand Hirachand, Mrs. Deshmukh, Mrs. Hirabai Gilder, Mrs. Harilal Kania, Mrs. Lilavati Banker, Mrs. Dharamsey Thakkar, Mrs. Khadija Vasi, Miss Maniben Kara, Mrs. Shirin Muscati, Mrs. T. M. Kajiji, Mrs. Tehmina Joshi, Mrs. Motiben Madhavi, Dr. Maltibai Sukhtankar and others.

Lady Jagmohandas in her opening speech thanked the Bombay women on the honour they had done her by inviting her to preside at a meeting which was convened to give expression to their feelings of indignation and resentment at the indecent and unbecoming behaviour of the Bombay Police on "Black Sunday".

In her opinion the situation was aggravated as the Government had not so far taken any steps to make amends for the strange and indefensible behaviour of the police. She added that the Government perhaps thought that by such acts they would suppress the movement in the country, but in fact that policy was having quite the opposite result and even those persons who had some faith left in the justice and fairplay of the Government were losing it.

Continuing she observed that if the Government had stuck to strictly lawful measures the discontent in the country would not have risen so high and they would not have lost the world sympathy as they had done now. Britain was so far boasting of her chivalry and respect for womanhood, but all those claims could no more be maintained in view of the treatment that was being given to Indian women by the agents of British rule in this country. She did not think that any parallel could be found to the atrocities perpetrated in India and the very fact that Indians tolerated such things in this age was a proof of the degradation they had reached under the British regime.

Proceeding she warned the Government that such treatment of women would only add to the discontent among the people. No system of Government that insulted the womanhood of the country had ever succeeded and no people, however, weak and down-trodden would tolerate for a long time.

Indian History was full of instances of honour done to women and with such history at her back India would be the last country to tolerate such insults for a long time.

Concluding she said that Government was always trying to hoodwink the people by saying that the police used the "minimum force" required, but nobody who had seen the incidents in Bombay would believe it. Finally she asked the Government to see that such incidents were not repeated and the culprits responsible for "Black

Sunday's "incidents were brought to book. The president then proposed the following resolution :—

" This public meeting of the women of Bombay condemns the unjustifiable and improper conduct of the police towards women on Sunday 26th October. This meeting calls upon the Government of Bombay to take necessary steps against the officers concerned "

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Repression Defeats its Purpose :—As a specific instance of how repression gave a new life to the movement, Mrs. Sayani said that when the Desh Sevika Sangh was declared unlawful there were only 800 sevikas on the roll, but only a week after that declaration when they invited their sisters to join in a procession several thousand of them clad in the orange coloured saris, responded to their call.

She added that the insulting treatment accorded to women in Bombay has roused the women throughout the country and when not only the five lakh women of Bombay, but the 160 millions women of India would stand against the British Empire and see that they get their rights and that they would not put up with any more insults.

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Healy to Collins

No.6103/H/3717

7th November, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkeeya Sabha a meeting of Parsis was held yesterday at the Blavatsky Lodge, French Bridge, to protest against the police ill-treatment of people on the Esplanade Maidan on the 26th ultimo. Mrs. Goshap Captain presided over an audience of about 500 Parsis.

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Yesterday the Bombay Municipal Corporation passed a resolution condemning the unbecoming and unlawful conduct of certain Police Officers in their behaviour towards women on the 26th and calling upon Government to hold immediate enquiry into their conduct and take strong disciplinary action against the defaulters.

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Vallabhbhai J. Patel met all the Congress leaders and some merchants secretly at Narbheram Popat's place, Benham Hall Lane, last night before his departure. Umashankar Dixit, K. K. Menon, Meheralli, Dost Mohammad, Ekambaram Iyer and Dr. N. S. Hardikar¹ were among those present.

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¹Narayan Subrao Hardikar's greatest contribution to Indian Freedom Movement was Hindustani Seva Dal which he organised in 1923.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6125/H/3717

8th November, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkeeya Sabha a meeting was held at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall yesterday evening to celebrate Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Jayanti. About 600 persons were present, the majority being Parsis. K. M. Munshi presided. The president, B. F. Bharucha, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and Dr. Shankarlal K. Vaidya made speeches eulogising the qualities of the deceased leader and appealing to the people to follow his example.

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Bombay Chronicle

10th November, 1930 (Extract).

JOURNALISTS CONDEMN POLICE COMMISSIONER'S WARNING.—
A meeting of journalists in Bombay was held on Sunday in the office of *Bombay Chronicle*, Messrs. K. Natarajan, K. P. Khadilkar, S. Sadanand, S. A. Brelvi, N. H. Belgaumwala, S. P. Kapadia and U. Subramaniam were present. Mrs. Natarajan presided. The letter of the Commissioner of Police to newspapers was discussed and the followig resolution was passed :—

"This meeting of journalists in Bombay, enters its emphatic protest against the amazing warning addressed by the Commissioner of Police to newspapers in Bombay against publishing " statements, resolutions, and other news of the activities and programme " of bodies declared unlawful by the Government. Journalism is as much an honourable and responsible profession as law and medicine, and the Commissioner's warning is on the same footing as a warning to lawyers and doctors not to defend or treat persons connected with bodies declared unlawful inasmuch as that would also be tantamount to helping their activities. It may be recalled that His Excellency the Viceroy explicitly stated that the Press Ordinance did not apply to publication of news relating to matters covered by it. The Commissioner's warning, therefore, goes much beyond the Viceroy's Ordinance and is a serious encroachment on the liberty of the Press which in the public interest is bound in duty to put the public in possession of all facts necessary to form a correct judgment on the trend of events in the country. The warning of the Commissioner is hasty, ill considered and uncalled for and an affront to journalism and this meeting trusts that it will be promptly withdrawn and that in all matters connected with the Press the long standing practice of Government themselves dealing with the Press will, on no account, be departed from".

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Healy to Collins

No. 6408/H/3717

19th November, 1930.

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Under the auspices of the Nationalist Christian Party a public meeting was held at the Blavatsky Lodge yesterday evening when Jannadas Dwarkadas presided and about 200 persons attended. The president criticised Lord Irwin's policy and said that it was far from being consistent with the religion to which he belonged. Referring to the attitude of the Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, towards India he said, that from his own knowledge of British politicians of all parties he had come to the conclusion that they believed in exploiting India. He further said that the Indians were having a repetition in India of the war of American independence but their weapons were truth and non-violence. Continuing he asked the people to fill up all the jails in reply to the soul-killing Ordinances and repression. In appealing to the people to join the present movement, he said, that no sacrifice was too great for the independence they were going to achieve. B. F. Bharucha said that he did not approve of the idea of the members of the War Councils going to jail one after the other when the country needed them most to check the growing feeling of violence, which was against their creed. (This is pure camoufflage; present members of the War Council are mere dummies. The leaders remain untouched). A. T. Shaikh said that the British Labour Party which professed to stand by India's freedom had been fully exposed of its hypocrisy. He further said that they will not stop the movement unless Complete Independence is achieved for the toiling masses namely the workers and the peasants.

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Bhuleshwar District Khadi Pracharak Mandal held a public meeting at Keshao Baug, Princess Street, last night. Narayan Balwant Deshpande presided and about 300 persons including 50 ladies attended the meeting. Speeches were made by the president, Mrs. Lilaben Hansotti, Mrs. Kantaben Khandwala, Miss Kapila Master, N. J. Panthaki, L. B. Niphadkar, Y. K. Parulkar and Harihar Diwan appealing the people to join the present movement and carry on the Congress programme. Lilaben Hansotti referred to the alleged pledge of the Police Commissioner to crush the present movement in Bombay in forty days and said that more than half of the days had already passed and it was impossible for the Police Commissioner or any other power on earth to crush the present movement which had taken deep root in the hearts of the masses.

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Collins to Emerson¹

No. S. D. -5243

Bombay, 19th November, 1930.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of October 1930.

Political.—There was a distinct improvement in the political situation as a result of the action taken under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Ordinance IX in the Gujarat Districts, in Bombay City and the Suburban District. The first step taken by the Congress in reply to the action of Government was the ostensible dissolution of their chief committees in Bombay and in some of the districts and the appointment in their place of dictators with full powers, with the object of conserving manpower and of defeating if possible the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The latter stratagem has so far been for the most part unsuccessful and the Act has been effectively applied in several unexpected ways.

In Bombay City a change of personnel synchronised with the enforcement of Ordinance IX. The new Commissioner of Police has followed up the action at Congress House by constant attacks on every form of Congress activity. Meetings organised by or for the War Council, another early step of the Congress was to announce that the numerous other affiliated associations had been dissolved and their functions merged in this Council, were immediately stopped or dispersed. Prabhat Feris were dealt with under the powers given in the City Police Act to regulate undesirable possessions and prevent obstructions, with the result that by the end of the month the evil had almost disappeared from the streets of the City. A more systematic campaign to check picketing in every form and in every part of the City was originated and there were many convictions with heavy sentences. Picketing however still remains a serious evil, although the new method of dealing with it as part of the activities of the War Council has to some extent nullified the difficulty created by the High Court's ruling that peaceful picketing is not punishable under Ordinance V. Women took the places of male picketers more frequently than formerly, and new departures were the systematic picketing of the cloth godowns of Messrs. Spinner and E. D. Sassoon and the formation of a People's Battalion to picket Government offices and seduce the clerical staffs from their allegiance. The Congress also made persistent attempts to give effect to the boast of "every house a Congress House" in order to counteract the effect of the seizure of their original home. The first flush of enthusiasm had already begun to wane by the end of the month as was shown by the half-hearted manner in which hartals declared, on account of the arrest and conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, respectively, were observed. On the other hand it is clear that it is only a section of the saner element which has withdrawn from the agitation and that the struggle with the extremists will still be long and severe.

¹Mr. Collins, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and Mr. Emerson, Secretary to Government of India,

Details of the chief events were as follows:—

A meeting held on the evening of the 20th October at Chaupatty to congratulate Jawaharlal Nehru and the President of the local War Council on their arrests, at which the attendance was about 10,000, was invaded by the police and ordered to disperse. Fourteen persons were arrested and the meeting was dispersed by force, about 15 persons receiving injuries. The next evening the War Council organised a similar meeting at Lalbaug which was presided over by the President, Miss Sofia Somji. After arresting Miss Somji (she was subsequently convicted and sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment) and other prominent persons present, the police ordered the meeting to disperse and on refusal immediately dispersed it by force. A section of the crowd thereupon began to stone the police, and a Sergeant, who was hemmed in with four policemen, was forced to fire four shots from his revolver. No one was injured by the firing, but four persons were injured by lathis.

The most important incident of the fortnight and one which has since provided the Congress and its sympathisers with a fruitful theme for propaganda took place on the 26th October when the War Council attempted to hold a flag salutation ceremony on the Esplanade Maidan. The Commissioner of Police had issued an order under Section 23 (3) of the City Police Act prohibiting any meeting, assembly or procession in connection with the ceremony on the ground that it was organised by an unlawful association. At about 8 a.m. a few batches of Hindustani Seva Dal volunteers approached the Maidan from different directions with Congress flags and were immediately arrested and their flags seized. They were followed by about 50 female volunteers of the Seva Dal and Desh Sevika Sangh who stoutly resisted the attempts of the Police to seize their flags. They were then ordered to disperse and on their refusal to do so 22 of them were arrested, and the remainder were taken in a police van and released on the main road beyond Ghatkopar about 15 miles from Bombay. The crowds, estimated at several thousands, which had collected around the Maidan, incited the volunteers and shouted revolutionary slogans and continually jeered at the police who were compelled eventually to disperse them by repeated lathi charges. In the evening there was another attempt to hold a meeting to protest against the lathi charges in the morning. Stones were thrown at the police when the order to disperse was given and three lathi charges were necessary before the Maidan was cleared. The figures issued by the two Congress hospitals showed 264 persons as injured, of whom 118 were detained in hospitals and 38 were said to be seriously injured. There is no doubt that the injuries were grossly exaggerated. The removal of the women outside the city a procedure which, it must be admitted, was not strictly legal, caused considerable irritation among the public, due rather to the skilful repetition of the misleading catchwords "left in the jungle" than to any real harm done to the women.

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G. F. S. Collins to H. W. Emerson

No. S. D. - 5526

Bombay, 4th December, 1930.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of November 1930.

Political.—The improvement referred to in my last report has continued. In Bombay City some of the same among the Congress sympathisers are now taking a less open part in the defiance of law and order. Smaller crowds turn up at the organised attempts to provoke clashes with the police which for the moment constitute the main programme of the extremists, and there has been a marked diminution in their enthusiasm. There have been several such clashes during the fortnight, every possible opportunity being taken by unlawful associations to organise meetings and demonstrations. On the other hand there has been a greater tendency for the hooligan element to jeer and throw stones at the police. The manoeuvre of holding demonstrations under the auspices of mushroom associations believed to be organised by unlawful bodies continues. In consequence eleven branches of the Youth League, including the People's Battalion in Bombay City and the Suburban District, were notified under the Criminal Law Amendment Act on the 11th November.

I referred in my last report to the increasing part taken in picketing by women. From the 4th November steps were taken to arrest some of them. The effect was immediately noticed in diminution in the number of picketers, and by a tendency to limit themselves to "peaceful" picketing which according to the latest High Court ruling is not an offence under the Ordinance. On the other hand the Mangaldas Cloth Market was temporarily closed, partly as a protest on the grounds of sentiment, and partly in order to obviate the possibility of arrests, and at some places the picketers, both male and females, are now allowed to sit in the shops of the merchants. Generally speaking, there is now more secret picketing than there was.

In mercantile circles the opinion is held that there has been perhaps a slight improvement. The boycott has been less completely effective. A few open sales of piecegoods have been effected, and secret deliveries have been given both in Bombay and up-country. On the other hand the general trade depression has become more marked because of the fall in prices of agricultural produce, some of which are now only one-half to one-third of last year's figures.

A resolution has been passed by the War Council calling upon the citizens of Bombay to withdraw their deposits from the postal savings banks and not to make any fresh deposits, to get their post-office certificates cashed, to obtain from buying Government Treasury Bills and to invest all their savings in gold only. This decision is not an innovation as Congress leaders had long ago harped on this theme, and it is not believed that it will be taken seriously, though picketing of the post offices by congress volunteers has been attempted and some arrests have been made.

Vallabhbhai Patel was released in Bombay City on the morning of the 5th November, and, after a secret meeting with the local congress leaders and some merchants, left the following night for Allahabad to see Pandit Motilal Nehru. He returned to Bombay on the 12th. In performing the opening ceremony of a Khadi Bhandar on the 14th November, Vallabhbhai made his first public utterance since his release. He referred to his experiences in jail and said that after his release he had been advised by friends to remain out of jail at least for some time in order to lead the movement. He declared that he knew when to go to jail and when to come out and that if it were not possible for him to remain outside the jail, his message had already been conveyed to the people and his heart would always be with them. He admitted that he had accepted the presidentship of the War Council of the All-India Congress Committee.

Details of the chief events are as follows :—

Bombay City : The 5th of November was celebrated as Gandhi Day and a partial hartal was observed. Shops in the Hindu localities closed and 21 mills were affected. A rally of Prabhat Feris was announced for the morning, but was cancelled at the last minute as a result of the Commissioner of Police's order prohibiting it. In the evening a meeting organised by the War Council on the Chaupatty Sands was forcibly dispersed after arresting the President Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, one of the notorious Chattopadhyaya family, who recently returned from America. A crowd of some 8,000 persons which indulged in shouting revolutionary slogans and jeering and stoning of the police was dispersed with canes. While the police were returning to their Police Stations, a Sergeant accompanying a police party was cut off by about 200 people, who snatched away his cane and assaulted him, and he had to fire a shot from his revolver before he could extricate himself. At about 8-30 p.m. the same day a large crowd of people returning from Chaupatty demonstrated in front of the Maharbouri Police Station. The police charged the crowd and dispersed it, but the people took shelter in the adjoining building from which they hurled stones and soda-water bottles at the police. After repeated lathi charges, quiet was restored at about 11 p.m. Ten police officers and fourteen constables were injured. The casualties to the mobs during the day were reckoned at 195 of which 71 were sustained at Chaupatty and 124 at the Maharbouri Police Station. Although a number of these cases were "detained" in the two Congress hospitals, there were few serious injuries except at Maharbouri where the demonstrations were made by the hooligan element, which included some servants of Gujarati agitators, and the police were deliberately attacked. The Commissioner of Police and the Police Surgeon who examined some of the persons being carried away on stretchers after the cane charges at Chaupatty found many of them unhurt while others had only slight bruises.

On the 7th November, a party of police, which arrived to disperse a meeting held under the auspices of the Marwari Youth League, was surrounded by a crowd of over 8,000 people who started jeering and throwing stones and a lathi charge had to be made. As the police were proceeding to the Princess Street Police Station, they were surrounded by the crowds which stoned them from the bylanes and floues injuring a Sub-Inspector, and necessitating eventually the use of firearms. Six revolver shots were fired wounding one person and they had the effect of keeping the crowds at a distance.

Protest demonstrations on a large-scale were planned by the War Council for the 12th November, the opening day of the Round Table Conference, but most of these were abandoned as a result of the police arrangements. In the evening, a small procession, which attracted fairly large crowds but aroused little excitement was stopped at the entrance to the Secretariat and dispersed. Another procession headed by the president and three other members of the War Council was stopped on Waudby Road and on the leaders being arrested dispersed. Thereupon the crowds proceeded to the Esplanade Maidan where they created a demonstration and had to be dispersed with the help of the Mounted Police. Stone-throwing followed in which five sowars were injured. The crowds then collected in front of the Esplanade Police Station but were easily dispersed by a mild lathi charge. 31 persons were injured during the day of whom 21 were detained in the Congress hospitals. The Commissioner of Police paid a visit to the main Congress Hospital on the 14th and found that most of those admitted on the 12th had trivial injuries for which no other hospital would have detained them.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6814/H/3717

8th December, 1930.

My dear Collins,

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Under the auspices of the Bombay Citizens' Association, a meeting, attended by about 2,500 persons, was held on the Esplanade Maidan on the evening of the 7th, under the presidency of Mrs. Kantaben Khandwala. Speeches were made by the president, S. K. Patil, Mulraj Karsondas, Mrs. Ratanben Damania, Narandas Purshottandas, Mrs. Lilavati Hansotti, Mohamed Yusuf, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, G. N. Desai and Pratap Singh congratulating Vallabhbhai Patel and appealing to the people to use Swadeshi goods and khaddar. S. K. Patil said that the movement would not be killed by any effort of Government as it had taken deep root in the hearts of the people. Government could declare their houses as unlawful but they could not control their hearts. He paid a tribute to the sacrifice of the women of Bombay. Mulraj Karsondas spoke on the boycott of foreign cloth. Mohamad Yusuf said that the Mohamedans were with the movement. He exhorted Muslim youths to plunge headlong into the movement if they wanted to liberate India. Jamnadas Dwarkadas said that there could be no settlement with the Government unless they granted the demands of the people. He appealed for Hindu-Muslim unity out of which, he said, would spring up a New India.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

6th December, 1930 (Extract).

Consequent on the arrest of Bombay's 18th War Council the following new War Council has been constituted :—

Mrs. Snehalata Hazrat	..	President
Mr. R. M. Choksey	..	Vice-President
Mr. Kevalram B. Joshi	..	Secretary
Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Assur	..	Secretary
Mr. Hussanally Karimbhai Zaveri	..	Editor, Congress Bulletin

WAR COUNCIL BAN LIFTED.—The War Council has issued the following statement for information of the public :

“On the War Council being satisfied that Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co. and Messrs. Killick Nixon & Co. having given undertaking to work their mills on terms which substantially comply with the terms required by the Congress the ban imposed on the following mills is hereby lifted :—

The Alexandra Mills, E. D. Sassoon Mills, Rachel Mills, Jacob Sassoon Mill, Manchester Mills, E. D. Sassoon Turkey Red Dye Works, Edward Sassoon Mill, Meyer Sassoon Mill, Apollo Mill, Elphistone Spg. & Weaving Mill, David Mill, Raymond Woollen Mill and Kohinoor Mills.

These companies have, however, reserved to themselves the liberty to withdraw from their agreements on giving three months' notice in certain events. DEALERS ARE HEREBY WARNED AGAINST ENTERING INTO ANY FORWARD CONTRACTS WITH THE SAID COMPANIES FOR ANY PERIOD EXCEEDING THREE MONTHS, BECAUSE IN THE EVENT OF ANY OF THESE COMPANIES WITHDRAWING FROM THEIR AGREEMENTS UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES PROVIDED FOR, THE WAR COUNCIL WILL NOT RECOGNISE ANY CONTRACTS EXCEEDING SUCH PERIOD”.

War Council Ban to be Tightened.—The following mills managed by Messrs. Finlay & Co., continue to be in the banned list as the activities of the agents are such as are gravely prejudicial to the interests of India. We feel confident that the patriotic citizens of Bombay will so rigidly enforce the ban as to see that not a yard of cloth produced by these mills will be sold in India.

The banned mills situated in Bombay are :—Gold Mohar Mills Ltd.; Satya Mills Ltd.; Finlay Mills Ltd.; and Swan Mills Ltd.

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From an American Comrade :—Mr. E. H. James, an American Journalist who recently arrived in this country, was one of those who witnessed the scenes of police terrorism and brutality at Azad Maidan yesterday. He later visited the two Congress Hospitals and entered the following remarks in the visitor's book of the Free Emergency Hospital :—"The policy of foolish and petty persecution or the more highhanded methods of beating people, and shooting them down right and left cannot possibly break the determination of the Indian people, to obtain their freedom. As an American myself I am glad to record my sympathy with the Indian people in this struggle. My own country went through the same struggle, as it happened against the same tyrannical power which is today seeking to crush out the life of India. I can say with all my heart and millions of Americans will say the same thing. Gandhiji-ki-jai"—E. H. James.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6920/H/3717

12th December, 1930.

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This morning one George Fraser came to the Princess Street Police Station and said that he was a representative of a Manchester firm and had purchased some foreign cloth lying in a godown in Old Hanuman Lane, whence he wanted to remove it to the Port Trust Warehouse in Frere Road. As he anticipated trouble from Congress Volunteers he asked for Police protection. The Inspector I/C Princess Street Police Station with two Sergeants and a posse of constables went to Old Hanuman Lane. When the first lorry was ready to start with the foreign stuff about a dozen people were seen hanging about in the vicinity. One of them stopped the lorry and was immediately arrested. The lorry then proceeded without any further interference. The second lorry went without any hitch. When the first lorry returned and was ready to start on its second trip two volunteers prostrated themselves in front of it. These two were also arrested. By this time a crowd of about 300 people had collected and were cheering the volunteers. When the third lorry load started there was only jeering and shouting but no volunteer interfered with it. When the lorry reached Bhangwadi on Kalbadevi Road people began to throw stones at the driver who was hit on the nose. He got frightened and slowed the lorry down but in the meantime people climbed on to the lorry and assaulted him and rendered him unconscious. The lorry continued to move on slowly out of control. While this had been going on some volunteers had been walking backwards in front of the lorry holding up their hands to try and make the driver stop. Apparently when the lorry was out of control it knocked over one of these Babu Genoo¹, who

¹ Babu Genoo courted martyrdom in foreign cloth picketing in Bombay on 12 December 1930. Several Congress Volunteers endeavoured to persuade a lorry driver not to remove foreign cloth bales from Old Hanuman Lane. When appeals proved unavailing Babu Genoo stretched himself in front of the lorry. He was knocked by lorry, one of the wheels actually passing over his body. While Government said that it was a pure accident, Congress circles felt it was an atrocity.

sustained fracture of the skull and was removed by someone in the crowd to the G. T. Hospital where he died during the afternoon. The first two lorry loads were escorted separately by two Sergeants and constables on foot. The Sergeants, however, were not in foot with the third lorry load owing to the fact that a head constable had his foot run over by the lorry because of a push he received from the crowd just as the lorry passed the corner of Old Hanuman Lane. The Sergeants were, therefore, following the third lorry load in a victoria in which they were taking the head constable to hospital. One of the Sergeants seeing the lorry out of control got out of the victoria, took the wheel and stopped the engine. The driver who was lying unconscious in his seat was removed to the hospital where he has been detained. The police then dispersed the crowd and escorted the lorry to the Police Station. As three tyres of the lorry were punctured by the crowd its contents were transferred to another lorry and removed to the Fort. The three volunteers have been charged under Section 17 (1). Several rumours of different kinds were immediately spread, one of which was that a Police Sergeant had driven over a picketer who had laid down in front of the lorry. Hence in the Fort, Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi and Mandvi localities some shops are closing down as a protest. This is the worst incident which has occurred in connection with the removal of foreign cloth. It amounts practically to a dacoity on one of the main streets of Bombay in the middle of the day. It is impossible to catch the offenders on such occasions : not only are the majority of them dressed alike but the whole population of the locality is on their side-in fact the whole street is attacking the lorry or encouraging the attack. It is impossible to allow such outrages to occur in the main streets of Bombay. Every such incident in which effective and immediate retribution is not exacted emboldens the lawless elements of the population and it is time that some really severe action were taken in this locality. It is the only way to enforce law and order when matters have reached this stage. I would request that Government will consider the whole situation immediately with a view to the restoration of law and order in this city.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6947/H/3717

13th December, 1930.

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This morning cyclostyled leaflets in vernacular issued by the satyagraha committee, were distributed in the city inviting the people to join the funeral procession of Babu Genoo. A partial hartal has been observed in the Hindu localities and the New Kaiser-i-Hind, Sassoon Spinning and Weaving and the Sassoon Alliance Silk Mills stopped work as some of the workers did not turn up. The workers of these mills went to the Atlas Mill on Reay Road and threw some stones but on the arrival of the police they dispersed without being successful in getting the hands out.

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HCP—352-B-6

When the procession went towards Sandhurst Road instead of to the Sonapur Lane it was reported that the dead body was being taken to the Chaupatty sands to be cremated there and that the necessary arrangements about fuel were already made. Government is aware of the steps then taken. Military support was called for and I proceeded at once to the junction of Girgaum Road and Lamington Road having called up all the police available in the locality. I and the police arrived at the same time just as the procession reached the tram terminus. A bayonet charge by a few armed police created a good impression and no serious damage. The arrival of the military had a still more sobering effect. I had already told the processionists that they could not proceed further and should go back to Sonapur and eventually K. M. Munshi and Jamnadas Dwarkadas came forward to explain that the dead body was not being taken to be cremated at Chaupatty (as wood had already been brought to Chaupatty by Mr. Kandhar's orders). But that it would be brought back to Sonapur after going along Walkeshwar Road, Hughes Road and back to Queen's Road. An alternative was proposed that the body should be cremated at Walkeshwar Temple. I refused to agree to either proposal and gave Munshi 10 minutes in which to start taking the procession back to Sonapur. Munshi then discussed with Menon, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mrs. Snehalata Hazrat and wanted to take the procession along Queen's Road but I did not agree. Time was then getting short. A small concession was then asked that the procession should be allowed to go *Via* Bhatwadi, Sandhurst Road and back on to Girgaum Road in order that the body should not have to return over exactly the same route. This was granted and the procession began to move within the time allotted at 1-25 p. m. By about 1-45 p. m. the procession had made good progress towards Sonapur and the police and the military were withdrawn. One of the C. I. D. officers who was on duty with the procession was specially marked out by some mischief mongers and stoned. He received minor injuries on his legs. The body was cremated in the Sonapur burning *ghat*. The spot where the volunteer was knocked down is still being visited by people, some of whom offer flowers. A small country lamp is kept burning on the spot. During these operations the troops occupied the compound of the Royal Opera House as a base. After the troops and the police had been withdrawn a crowd of roughs attacked the Opera House and broke the glass of the doors.

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The events which have occurred since my last letter strengthen the opinion there expressed that more drastic action is necessary if a portion of this city is to be saved from mob rule, the breaking open of the godown and burning of a valuable store of foreign cloth and also the breaking of the glass doors of the Opera House are acts of sabotage which cannot be tolerated. There must be a limit to the comparatively passive role adopted up to the present. It is out of the question to permit the mob to think it can do what it likes. Individual arrests if at all possible and prosecutions can effect little when the temper of crowds is at its present height inflamed by false reports and * * * pseudo-sentimental speeches. Strong action with the mobs, the breaking up of meetings and the confinement by some means or other of the brains behind this pernicious movement appear to be the only means by which decent order can be restored to Bombay. The time has passed for the exaction of individual

responsibility for disorderly behaviour. It is impossible for the police to cope with such incidents as the two, now reported and also other cases of recent occurrence. If however law-abiding merchants and citizens of Bombay are to suffer these iniquities at the hands of a clique of irreconcilables in order that the Round Table Conference may carry on its deliberations in an atmosphere of peace, I consider that the public should be told that they must suffer for the eventual good of India.

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Healy to Collins

No. 6956/H/3717

15th December, 1930.

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It has been noticed that the house numbers recently put on the houses for the purposes of Census have been obliterated, though unsuccessfully because they are still legible, in the Fort area. Enquiries show that a couple of Congress volunteers went round China Street and Bazaar Gate Street last night and obliterated the numbers with red paint.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

22nd December, 1930 (Extract).

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Support the Bombay Coal Merchants :- The Coal Merchant's Association of Bombay have resolved not to import any foreign coal. Their patriotic action deserves the active support of mills and other agencies whose business requires the consumption of a large quantity of fuel in some form or other. We understand that the local mill purchase a large quantity of crude oil from the Anglo Persian Oil Co. and the Burma Shell Petroleum Co. These companies are concerns in which the Government have interest and it is necessary that they should be boycotted. It is possible to replace their products by Indian coal products without impairing efficiency or enhancing cost. We appeal to the millowners of Bombay who have shown such great sympathy with Indian National aspiration to terminate their contracts with these British Oil firms.

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Report of meeting of the Nationalist Christian Party, 26th December 1930.

Joachim Alwa who proposed Mr. K. M. Munshi to the chair said, probably the police were kind enough to spare him yesterday. Lord Irwin, the Christian Viceroy who has come to India is holding at his pleasure Mahatma Gandhi at Yeravda in an

un-Christian manner. The other day he spoke in a most platitudinous manner and next day he sent Emerson with Ordinances. They are confiscating our property and arresting our men. Yesterday 25 men were arrested in Bombay. We make no request to His Excellency but say that the 25 men would rather prefer 25 year's jail than see the four men at Sholapur hanged.

Mr. K. M. Munshi then said : My attention has just been drawn to a fantastic lie in the enemy's press. I do not know what are the sources which the enemy's press have for the purpose of doping out gossips in the shape of news. I have no knowledge of Congress split among men and women of Bombay. I know of no faction among the Congressmen of Bombay and I know certain that whatever fracas that may have taken place yesterday, is neither a street battle nor that is the result of any split. For the past few days, the citizens of Bombay are fed on fantastic lies emanating from a diseased imagination. The Congressmen and women in Bombay today stand shoulder to shoulder as they have been standing during the last eight months and the struggle that the Congressmen are carrying on will continue with the same vigour and with the same unabated force as before till victory is won.

Ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a great honour to the satyagraha movement that on this occasion the Christian community should have called upon an humble follower of the movement like me to preside. But I confess that I am not equal to the task of doing justice to the occasion. To few indeed is given the ability and the vision to translate into words the message for which Jesus lived and died. But as I see before me this clean, open non-violent national struggle now going on in India, as I see the supreme sacrifice of men like Babu Genu in the cause of non-violence I can verily say that the spirit of Jesus, transformed into a vast national struggle by Mahatma Gandhi, is in our midst.

For ages, the weary world is waiting for a method by which righteousness may prevail and the Kingdom of Heaven may be established on earth. But the wicked spring as the grass, the workers of iniquity do flourish and the world waits in vain. And in the meantime lust of power overshadows the world. New methods of destruction are devised daily. The spirit of Machiavelli invests intrigues with religious sanctity. And the men and women of the world groan under the burden laid upon them by those who cannot and will not accept truth and non-violence as the creed of life. To such men, a challenge has again and again been delivered by the prophets of the world. And now what the Prophet of Nazareth taught his disciples, Mahatma Gandhi has preached to a whole nation and through that nation to the whole world, the secret by which the spirit may triumph the brute in men. Let us not, ladies and gentlemen, misunderstand or misdescribe the satyagraha movement. It was not so much a political as a spiritual movement. Mahatma Gandhi has made no secret of it. He has aimed at a complete transformation of human outlook as did Jesus of old. "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven". And yet against the teachings of both the prophets is the same. Have they not said the identical thing "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul".

The secret of this movement, as was the secret of the life and the teachings of Jesus, is the indomitable courage to invite and suffer all persecutions so that the truth may prevail. India is out today to suffer everything in order to proclaim its unity, its strength and its freedom. People whose hearts are weak and whose faith unstable, can see neither this secret nor the beauty which underlies it. But Babu Genus, of this fight have understood this secret and seen the beauty. For they have realised that he that looseth his life for India's sake, shall alone find it. There is no place in this movement for the coward. Not for those who are not prepared to brave the risks of the battle. Not again, for the vacillating, the weak or the calculating. Not even for those who aspire a monopoly of power. For such men the route to Round Table Conference has been open and clear. Ours has been the privilege of going to jail together, of mingling our blood with the martyr's in the cause of the country. Ours is the glory of suffering side by side so that out of suffering may spring the bond which will make the India of future, indivisible and invincible. As suffering is essential to this movement so is non-violence. The spirit cannot triumph in the atmosphere wherein violence meets violence. Our duty must be to suffer and die. It must be the other side which must hit, abuse and destroy.

There is lurking temptation in some minds to break out into violence, in words and deeds. There are some who long for the day when the non-violent movement may end, so that violence may flourish. Such men have absolutely no place in the movement. Of late I have seen in Bombay crowds a feeling of restlessness, a weakening of self restraint. Nothing would be more dangerous to the success of this movement than the exhibition of such temper. If my voice reaches outside this hall I will beseech every man and women in Bombay of whom I am justly proud, to refrain from any word or act which would militate against the noble ideal of non-violence. To suffer, to die is our privilege. A hundred thousand men have to submit themselves to willing death, five hundred thousand men have to submit to being maimed and a million have to suffer utter ruination at least before a nation can win its liberty. He that looseth his life for the sake of this ideal shall surely find it, but he that taketh not his cross and followeth after the ideal is not worthy of it. In this spirit and spirit alone have Mahatma Gandhi and his followers been working and in this spirit alone will they win. They err who say that the Satyagraha stands for the domination of colour or creed. They err who say that the Satyagraha stands for capital against labour or labour against capital. In my humble view the man who believes in truth and non-violence cannot stand for the exploitation of the weak by the strong in any form whatsoever. He must stand for every man's right to exist. To live, to develop, to work out the destiny for which he may be equipped. And so must he live for the right of every nation to exist, to develop and flourish according to the laws of its being. A nation in bondage is an impediment to human progress. A free nation is the only guarantee to the progress of humanity and in this faith alone must we labour. Let us drop all shackles. On our sacrifice let us rear fabric of a world which knows no violence and knows no exploitation. And this and no other can be the message of Christmas.

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Healy to Clee¹

No. 89/H/3717.

6th January, 1931.

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A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay of all classes and creeds, numbering about 30,000, was held on the Esplanade Maidan to express grief at the death of Mohammed Ali². Sardar Sulaiman Cassum Mitha presided. Among those present were Husseinbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalji, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Nagindas Master, I. S. Haji, Mohammed Irfan, Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, A. H. S. Khatri, L. R. Tairsee, J. C. Maitra (President of the War Council), Dr. Mazrul Haq Gour, K. M. Munshi, Dr. A. S. Erulkar, Haji Ali Mohammed Jallalluddin, Jamnadas M. Mehta, Maulavi Nazir Mohammed Khujandi, Mohammed Ali Kasuri, Haji Yusuf Sobhani, Salebhoy K. Barodawalla, Munshi Fateh Khan, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Abidalli Jafferbhai.

The chairman Maulvi Mohammed Irfan, Husseinbhoy A. Lalji, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, K. M. Munshi, Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, Abdul Kadar Kasuri, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Munshi Fateh Khan, J. C. Maitra, Mrs. Ratanben Damania, Miss Save, Haji Yusuf Sobhani, L. R. Tairsee, I. S. Haji, Salebhoy K. Barodawalla, Jamnadas M. Mehta and Abidalli Jafferbhai made speeches paying tribute to the services rendered by Mohamed Ali to Islam and to the cause of the country and emphasising that his death was mourned by all classes of people as he was a true Indian patriot. It was pointed out that he was a true martyr who preferred to die in the service of the motherland in England than return to India without freedom. The following resolution was unanimously passed :—

“ This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Maulana Mohamed Ali which, it regards, as an irreparable loss not only to the Muslim community but to the whole of India. This meeting further offers its heart felt condolence to the deceased's family ”.

Abdul Kadar Kasuri, in supporting the resolution, said that he had worked with the deceased since 1920 and knew Mohamed Ali and his views very well. He added that he should not however, hide the fact that he had serious differences of opinion with the deceased regarding the political situation in India. Upon this the chairman stopped him from speaking further. Abidalli Jafferbhai appealed to those who were present to take a vow that evening that they would not rest content until India was free and the British rule of this country was destroyed. The chairman rebuked him for expressing the last sentiment which he uttered in a hurry and managed to get it out before he could be stopped, resuming his seat at once.

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¹Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department.

²Mohamed Ali died in London on 4th January 1931.

Bombay Congress Bulletin

5th January 1931(Extract).

PASSING AWAY OF MAULANA MOHOMED ALI.—The great Mohomed Ali has passed away. Death drowns all differences, so whatever be the differences in our respective outlooks, we cannot help looking upon Mohomed Ali's death at this juncture as anything short of a National calamity. He was great, one of the best brains in India and served his Motherland well, went through all kinds of sufferings and self-sacrifices so that the Motherland may break her fetters. A few of the last years of his life were spent in incarceration, in imprisonment and all kinds of humiliations that are poured in this country, on anyone, ever great he or she may be, that dares to raise his voice to demand freedom for the people of India. Mohomed Ali dared, and great as he was, respected as he would have been in any other country in the world as one of the finest and ablest of statesmen and patriots. British Imperialists have tasted the blood of Indians and it is immaterial to know whether it is Hindu or Muslim blood, they revel in drinking it, and create differences and quarrels amongst ourselves to perpetuate that ugly operation. The greatest tribute we can pay to the services and sacrifices of Maulana Mohmed Ali, is to unite, to sink our petty differences and to free our Motherland from the clutches of a satanic yoke.

TO OUR MUSSULMAN BROTHERS.—A dominating figure, in whom you had faith and trust has passed away, fighting for you. There is but one way in which you can have eternal peace to his soul. Fulfill his vision of India "A nation of united states and united faiths." Remember his last words spoken at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference.

"I HAVE NOT COME HERE TO 'ASK' FOR DOMINION STATUS. I DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE ATTAINMENT OF DOMINION STATUS. THE ONE THING TO WHICH I AM COMMITTED IS COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE. BUT WHERE INDIA IS CONCERNED, WHERE INDIA'S FREEDOM IS CONCERNED, WHERE THE WELFARE OF INDIA IS CONCERNED, I AM AN INDIAN FIRST, AN INDIAN SECOND, AND INDIAN LAST AND NOTHING BUT AN INDIAN".

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CENSUS BOYCOTT.—The Congress has decided to boycott the Census that takes place this year. The 11th of January has been declared as the Census Boycott Day in Bombay and a detailed programme of the activities will be published in due course. The Congress decision to boycott the Census is only the most logical outcome of our policy. So long as the British rule continues in present form, the Census can only be of slaves and chattels and not of men and women. We refuse to either recognise the British Government or to go through the humiliation of being reckoned among slaves. We shall therefore refrain from giving any co-operation to the bureaucracy in this matter. The following are a few suggestions to the citizens.

1. No one should give assistance to any person taking the Census.
2. No one should answer any question put by a Census Officer.

3. No one should give access to the Census Officer in any house enclosure with a view to affix any letter, marks or numbers.

4. No one should fill up or cause to be filled up any schedule supplied by the Census Officer.

5. All letters, marks or numbers painted or affixed for the purpose of the Census should be obliterated.

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Healy to Clee

No. 205/H/3717

12th January, 1931.

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Sholapur Executions.—The news about the execution of 4 Sholapur prisoners¹ began to spread in the city at about 10 a.m. Volunteers wrote out the information on the ground at Bhuleshwar and other places asking the shopkeepers to observe hartal. Immediately the riff-raff element indulged in their usual tactics of stopping the tram cars and stoning wherever it was feasible for them. Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi, Girgaum, Thakurdwar and Dhobi Talao are the places so far disturbed by the hooligans. Every effort is being made by the police to stop hooliganism. Kalbadevi Road was the thoroughfare chiefly affected. I drove along there to observe the situation and my car was stoned. Soon after this the tram traffic was suspended between Dhobi Talao and Pydhonie as it was useless to run them. This however was the only place at which suspension took place. Attempts were made in the C division to stop the trams but were unsuccessful. In the evening the situation was quiet at Kalbadevi with no trams running.

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Under the auspices of the Marwari Praja Parishad a public meeting was held last evening on the Esplanade Maidan to mourn the death of the Sholapur prisoners and to express resentment at the action of Government executing the death sentences. Ram Gopal Dhoot, a Marwari, presided. About 5,000 persons were present. The President, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mrs. Lilavati Hansotti, Mrs. Ratanben Damania, Mrs. Kantaben Khandwalla, Mohomed Yusuf, Sardar Pratap Singh and Kanhyalal Kalantri made speeches condemning British justice and asked the people to carry on the fight for freedom.

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FUTURE EVENTS.—On the 16th there will be a hartal in connection with the Sholapur executions. There will be processions from different wards terminating on the Esplanade Maidan where a public meeting will be held. The War Council has not yet fixed up any programme in this connection but it is certain that the date is fixed four days ahead in order that plans may be well made. I anticipate this hartal

¹ Mallappa Dhanshetti, Jagannath Jadhav, Shrikisan Sarda and Kurban Husain were hanged at Yervada on 12th January 1931.

will give a good deal of trouble and it is fairly certain that the mills will come out. Hence there will be disturbances all over Bombay and the complete stoppage of trams will be one of the principal items seeing that such successful experiments have already been made. After this we have to look forward to demonstrations organised for the 24th, 25th and 26th. This interminable lawlessness must be stopped. The police have tried their best but the mere arrest of a few or even many disturbers of the peace has no effect. The *mawalis* of Bombay whose activities are called into requisition by the Congress on all these occasions by means of road writing and whistling have lost all fear of authority and the City Police are not strong enough to deal with the game of hide and seek which has been a feature of these disturbances for months past. If the military are called out there will be no disturbance and the Congress will sneer at what they will call an oppressive demonstration of force to overawe the citizens of Bombay in their peaceful demonstrations.

I can see no end to the present defiance of authority. The underworld of Bombay has now been educated up to thinking that it can do whatever it likes and there will always be agitations whose existence depends on agitators who will be able to call up mobs to disturb the city at any time. The hooligan element must be brought again under control and I can see no way of doing this without some drastic action which will inspire them with fear. Our present methods inspire nothing but derision.

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Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

RESOLUTION OF REMEMBRANCE

We, the citizens of Bombay, record our proud and grateful appreciation of the sons and daughters of India who have taken part in the great struggle for independence and have suffered and sacrificed so that the motherland may be free; of our great and beloved leader Mahatma Gandhi who has been a constant inspiration for us, ever pointing the path of high purpose and noble endeavour; of the hundreds of our brave youths who have laid down their lives at the altar of freedom, of the martyrs of Peshawar and the whole Frontier Province, Sholapur, Midnapur district, Chirner and Bombay; of the scores of thousands who have faced and suffered barbarous lathi attacks from the forces of the enemy; of the men of the Garhwal regiment, and all other Indians in the military and police ranks of the Government who have refused, at the peril of their own lives, to fire or take other action against their own countrymen; of the indomitable peasantry of Gujarat, which has faced without flinching and turning back all manner of acts of terrorism, and the brave and long suffering peasantry of the other parts of India which has taken full part in the struggle despite every effort to suppress it; of the merchants and other members of the commercial community, who have helped, at great loss to themselves, in the national struggle, and specially in the boycotts of foreign cloth and British goods; of the one hundred thousand men

and women who have gone to the prisons and suffered all manner of privations, and sometimes assaults and beatings even inside the jail walls; and specially of the ordinary volunteer who, like a true soldier of India without care of fame or reward, thinking only of the great cause he served, has laboured unceasingly and peacefully through suffering and hardship.

And we record our homage and deep admiration of the womanhood of India, who, in the hour of peril for the motherland forsaked the shelter of their homes and with unfailing courage and endurance, stood shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk in the front line of India's national army, to share with them the sacrifices and triumphs of the struggle and our pride at the youth of the country and the *Vanar Sena* whom even their tender age could not prevent from participating in the struggle, and offering martyrs for the cause.

And, further, we record our grateful appreciation of the fact that all the major and minor communities and classes in India have joined together in the great struggle and given of their best to the cause; of particularly, the minority communities the Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and others who by their valour and loyal devotion to the cause of common motherland have helped in building up a united and indissoluble nation, certain of victory and resolved to achieve and maintain the independence of India, and to use this new freedom to raise the shackles from, and to remove the inequalities among all classes of the people of India, and thus also serve the larger cause of humanity.

And with this splendid and inspiring example of sacrifice and suffering in India's cause before us, we repeat our pledge of independence, and resolve to carry on the fight till India is completely free.

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it, or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or Complete Independence.

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Bombay Chronicle

23rd January, 1931 (Extract).

BOMBAY MERCHANTS NOT SATISFIED.—The managing committee of the Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations has issued the following statement regarding the declaration of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald¹ before the Round Table Conference—

¹Ramsay MacDonald was British Prime Minister, 1924, 1929-1935, and a Labour Party leader.

The executive committee of the Mahamandal cannot build any hope on the concluding speech of Mr. MacDonald at the Round Table Conference and on the statement of his Government made therein. The committee feels that this declaration is vague and discouraging. On the other hand the reservations and safeguards proposed therein are numerous and consequently, the hope of those individuals who had expectations of R. T. C. will be shattered. The committee believes that this statement will be considered neither satisfactory nor advantageous by any section of the mercantile community. A few instances noted below will clearly show that nothing could be counted upon the constitution suggested in his utterance.

As long as the appointment of the executive and the ministers remain with the Viceroy (instead with Legislature responsible to people) the principle of responsibility to the Indian nation cannot be considered as having materialized.

PRIVILEGES FOR EUROPEANS—A constitution which would admit of special rights or privileges to the Britishers can never be acceptable to the Indian nation. The Britishers and white population of the Empire cannot claim equal rights with Indians in India so long as Indians do not enjoy similar rights and privileges all through the Empire.

The constitution which would allow the right of interference of British Government under the plea of protecting minorities cannot permit the free growth and expansion of nationalism. So long as the army and the services are not under the control of elected legislatures, the farmer and the tax-payer will not get any relief. So long as finance and commerce are not under the complete control of the Indian nation, economic regeneration of India will be impossible. The constitution that provides for the separation of Burma against the wishes of the people cannot be acceptable.

Besides the above, there are many objectionable points in the declaration and the speech of the premier.

The executive committee of the Mahamandal further believe that in order to establish the peace and quiet necessary to trade and commerce, it is necessary to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and other trusted leaders of the nation ; and in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the purpose, it is necessary to release all political prisoners and to repeal all Ordinances and to withdraw all repressive measures and orders now in force.

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The Congress Bulletin

25th January, 1931 (Extract).

THE MILLOWNERS.—The Bombay millowner is traditionally so slothful and blind that one feels almost hopeless of awakening him from his torpor. The agency system and nepotism are its two sins and so long as these persist no protective tariff either in the shape of import duties or boycott movement is going to do Bombay any good, for the agents care for the commission alone and the relations for their undeserved salaries. Between the two the industry about one

hears so much can (x x x). What little policy the millowners are capable of devising is dictated by men who delight in looking like parodic Englishmen and also by one or two underlings who happen to be Englishmen. We think it is time when the millowners made up their minds to turn Swadeshi in outlook as well as in production, which they want the nation to consume. The nation has done by them splendidly by whole heartedly supporting the Swadeshi movement, which benefits millowners more than anyone else. Are the millowners going to stand by the nation? Against the desire of the nation they have sent their tailor made presidents to the R. T. C. *tamasha*, and (Sassoon) when Sir Victor withdrew his candidature from the Assembly they selected the same ornament to adorn the Toadies Gallery at Delhi. If they persist in keeping him there the nation will have seriously to consider whether it should support an industry which in practice is meant to benefit only the reactionary individuals. We call upon the millowners to seriously consider whether they are going to placate the foreign or they want to rely on the good will and support of the nation? If they want the nation to support them, then they must once and for all give up dallying with the enemy government by withdrawing the support which they have been giving it in the shape of sending their representatives to take part in the deliberations of their mock assemblies and conferences. They have to choose between the Government which upto now has done its utmost to cripple their industry or the nation which is prepared to support to its utmost ability. They cannot worship at two shrines at the same time and one of these besides is not a shrine but the abode of Satan.

PURPOSE OF BOYCOTT—After nearly eight months of intensive boycott and picketing it might at first sight seem unnecessary to remind our readers to their *raison d'etze*. But in the clash of arms, principles and reasons are not to be forgotten and therefore we consider it necessary to restate our position in this connection especially as attempts are likely to be made to lead the nation into a false sense of security as a result of the R. T. C., *tamasha*. Attempts have already begun in certain quarters to suggest that at the R. T. C., practically everything we are fighting for has been conceded that we shall have the liberty to levy taxes. We also know that so far as 80 % of the revenue is concerned, the Viceroy will have the liberty to spend it as he likes. We also know that our Currency and Exchange policy will still be at the mercy of the juggling of the Viceroy and if transferred to an extremely suspicious body known as the Reserve Bank which will be controlled by the Government through overpaid aliens who will decide our future policy in this respect. We also know that so far as the balance of the revenue is concerned viz. 20 % the reactionary princes who will have a black mailing-influence in the spending.

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report on the political situation for the first half of January, 1931.

Political.—Two important meetings of agriculturists have been held during the past fortnight, one at Buldhana and the other at Akola. The Buldhana meeting, which was held on December the 31st and January the 1st, was presided over by Jamnadas Mehta of Bombay. A number of mischievous resolutions were passed, one

of which congratulated the Bardoli and Barsod farmers upon their successful campaign for the non-payment of land revenue, and another appointed a committee of 13 persons to devise means so as to render the recovery of land revenue by Government impossible, in the event of a refusal by Government to remit the land revenue this year. The Akola meeting, which was held on January the 3rd was presided over by Mr. Laxmi Narayan, retired District and Sessions Judge. It passed resolutions on the suspension and remission of land revenue and of *taccavi* instalments, the reduction of the salaries of all Government servants, and the appointment of a committee to wait on Government to press the grievances of cultivators. Both these meetings were largely attended.

The only other events of importance were the release of Mr. Ane, Ex-member of Legislative Assembly, and the Sholapur procession at Nagpur. Mr. Ane was released from the Seoni Jail on the 9th instant. He lost no time before making a speech, but said nothing in it to indicate the channels into which he intended to direct agitation in Berar. He will probably not do this until the Prime Minister's announcement has been made. In the meantime he has been making the round of the important towns of Berar to be lionized. — The Sholapur demonstration at Nagpur was uneventful. It did not take place till the 15th and would probably not have taken place then but for the excitement which followed on the procession in Bombay. There was a fairly complete hartal in the city, but the procession never exceeded 1,500 persons and was quite orderly. The only point of interest in the speeches which were made at the subsequent meeting was that they contained practically no reference to the executions.

The first working session of the new Council was held from the 12th to the 17th. With very few exceptions the speeches were marked throughout by an absence of bitterness and a spirit of friendliness, but, if the resolutions passed by the Council be taken at their face value, a complete disregard was shown for considerations of practical finance. The proceedings opened with a victory for Government over the appointment of a committee to enquire into the Buldhana outbreak, Government assuring the House that all necessary action was being taken. Subsequently resolutions were passed asking Government to remit half the land revenue for the current year and to suspend the rest, to reduce the nazul receipts by half, to sacrifice a large share of the revenue from grazing, to remit the balance of fines imposed on civil disobedience prisoners amounting to 3/4 lakh, and finally to advance 2 crores of rupees as *taccavi* to cultivators. The resolutions with regard to land revenue and *taccavi* were presumably not intended to be taken literally, their object being to bring home to Government the present plight of the agriculturists.

No-tax Campaign. — Definite signs of a no-tax campaign are still confined to the Nagpur, Akola and Buldana districts, and the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance is now being applied to these districts. Elsewhere the situation is being watched. Throughout the Province an agitation is being organized in order to obtain concessions for the agriculturists, but so far it is being conducted constitutionally except possibly in the Bilaspur District.

Picketing —Picketing has not been active anywhere, but an unfortunate incident occurred in Buldana, where a Kalar threw a brick at the head of the young pleader who was helping to picket his shop, and killed him. In Nagpur the Katchi foreign cloth shops have now agreed not to sell foreign cloth for sometime on condition that the seals of the Congress should not be placed on the bundles of cloth. Merchants apparently intimated to the Congress that they would be willing to have the seal of the Merchant's Association on their bundles, but no such seal has been affixed so far, and there is little doubt that sales of foreign cloth are going on secretly. The Congress has saved its face and the merchants have secured their objects.

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Press.—The execution of the Sholapur convicts has evoked strong and bitter criticism in the *Maharashtra*. It is characterised as revengeful and inhuman, ignoring public appeals throughout the country. (If the lack of enthusiasm shown at the Sholapur demonstration is a guide, the views of the paper do not seem to represent those of the public.) Locally, the question of the remission of land revenue and the treatment of C class civil disobedience prisoners continue to be discussed. Mr. Gore's death in connection with the picketing of a liquor shop at Buldana is resented, and the authorities are asked to put a check on the irresponsible and wicked actions of the liquor contractors. The disturbances in the Buldana district are largely attributed to the malicious activities of the *Satyashodhakas*, and the local authorities are blamed for not having taken prompt action in nipping the mischief in the bud and adverting its wide development.

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H. C. GOWAN

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Independence Day Celebration

After the Lahore Congress declaration of *Purna Swaraj*, Congress Working Committee decided to celebrate 26th January as Independence Day. Gandhiji and Jawaharlal worked out the text of the declaration. This was primarily a demonstrative and publicity tactic, and not the first step in a confrontation with the British. It was not intended as a day to start civil disobedience or proclaim independence, "but to declare that we will be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence as opposed to Dominion Status so-called". The first Independence Day was celebrated on 26th January 1930. Gandhiji's intention was to assess the response of the people to the civil disobedience movement which he was contemplating. The second Independence Day was celebrated on 26th January 1931, the very day on which Gandhiji and the Working Committee were released.

Editor

Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the second half of January 1931.

Political.—There has been a lull in general political activities during the fortnight, and even the so-called "Independence week" which was down for celebration from the 20th to the 26th failed to arouse any real enthusiasm. On the morning of the 26th there was a flag salutation ceremony at Nagpur attended by about 2,000, and in the afternoon there was the usual procession, which attracted about 8,000, including 1,500 women. At the subsequent meeting the manifesto of the Working Committee of the Congress regarding independence was read out, but there was nothing noteworthy in the speeches. In contrast to what has been the case in the past the procession is reported to have been badly organised and somewhat disorderly, and at the subsequent meeting there was some confusion and interruption of speakers. It is noteworthy that at the meeting about the Sholapur murders Tikekar, ex-dictator of the War Council, deplored the absence of that discipline and enthusiasm which were in existence in Nagpur when he left in July last for the forest satyagraha, and added that everywhere in Nagpur he found apathy towards the Congress. Elsewhere the Independence celebrations were on insignificant scale, and nowhere did any clash occur with the authorities. A remission of a month was given recently to certain categories of short term prisoners, who had behaved well in jail, and it has yet to be seen whether those released will join the agitation again. At a meeting held in Nagpur to congratulate those released Dr. Khare referred to a speech made in the Council by an ex-Minister, Mr. Kedar, advocating an amnesty on the ground that those released would not join the agitation again, and advised the volunteers to falsify the speaker's anticipation. These releases and the release of the Congress Working Committee by the Government of India are regarded by educated opinion as a wise step, but, as usual, the masses consider them as a victory for Congress. In elections to local bodies held during the last quarter of last year, out of 222 members elected 80 are said to be Swarajists, 11 Liberals, 51 Responsivists and 80 Independents.

It cannot be said that the Prime Minister's declaration at the close of the Round Table Conference has made any marked impression as yet. The only leader who has made a definite pronouncement is Mr. M. S. Ane, who considers that the limitations imposed on the proposed constitution will still confine India to the status of a Vassal State. It is probable that the Berar nationalists will adopt this view, but they and the commercial sections in Berar may take the opportunity of receding from Civil Disobedience Movement.

No-tax Campaign.—There has been no open preaching in pursuance of this campaign during the fortnight, and the application of the Unlawful Instigation Ordinances to the Nagpur, Akola and Buldana districts appears to have had the desired effect. At the same time the proceedings in Council, in which a resolution was passed for the suspension or remission of the whole of the land revenue, has had the inevitable effect of stimulating the pressure which is being put upon Government not to collect its dues.

Picketing .—There has been little activity, and there are no fresh developments to report.

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Press .—The execution of the Sholapur murderers, the Premier's Declaration of British policy and the release of Mr. Gandhi and others have been the main topics of comment. The execution of the Sholapur murderers continued to be severely criticised. Opinion are divided over the value of the Premier's Declaration. While some papers regard it as a welcome gesture and ask the Congress leaders to make it a basis for further negotiations for the improvement of the Federal Scheme, others regard it as unsubstantial in that India is not to have control over the army, the services, the currency and tariff policy, etc. The Press is pleased with the utterances of the Premier and the Secretary of State in the Commons with regard to the diagnosis of the Indian political malady, but it now demands from Government the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of ordinances for the creation of a friendly atmosphere for further negotiations. Locally, the remission of land revenue and liberal grants of *taccavi* are advocated by way of relief to the agriculturists. His Excellency the Governor's address to the local Council is criticised on account of the tribute which it paid to the police and for holding the Civil Disobedience Movement responsible for the financial crisis.

Economic .—The position is being watched carefully. In the Nagpur division there has been a slight rise in the prices of cotton and wheat. In Berar the fall in prices is reported to be producing a good deal of distress. Up to the 17th January the number of cotton carts that had come to the market represented less than half of the normal crop.

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Civil Disobedience Suspended

The provincial bureaucracy both in Bombay and C. P. and Berar was in a bellicose mood to crush the Congress agitation, while the Viceroy Lord Irwin was more in favour of conciliation. It was hence, only the Home Government in London which could break the stalemate. The thrust of a mass civil disobedience movement, the strain on the police and a radical change in British willingness for a substantial constitutional advance, all put together forced the Prime Minister to publish a statement which contemplated a grant of considerable power to Indians (19th January 1931). The statement pronounced, " With a Legislature constituted on a federal basis His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature ".

The Prime Minister's statement was followed by the Viceroy's parleys for allowing the Congress Working Committee to meet in Allahabad. On 24th January Lord Irwin made a public statement that all members of the Working Committee would be released unconditionally as an indication of Government's wish to create the conditions in which they could implement the Prime Minister's offer.

In pursuance to this policy Government unilaterally released Gandhiji and all members of the CWC on 26th January 1931. This, however, did not mean a general amnesty or the release of all civil disobedience prisoners from jails. Gandhiji argued that since civil disobedience was a mass movement the leaders could not dictate a course of action, and the release of all satyagraha prisoners must coincide with peace parleys. Within the Congress opinions were divided on the continuance of civil disobedience. Motilal Nehru, who was of crucial importance at this juncture, died on the day the R.T.C. delegates landed at Bombay.

Notwithstanding a partial peace in parts of India, there was an intensification of civil disobedience activity in Bombay, Gujarat towns and Karachi. Picketing in all forms increased in these areas and it was renewed in some places where it had disappeared.

The Reports of Intelligence furnished below throw a light on the situation as it existed then.

Editor

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—817

Bombay, 12th February, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of January 1931.

Political.—Although the publication of the statements of the Prime Minister on the 19th January, and of His Excellency the Viceroy on the 25th, and the release on the 26th of the members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress were on the whole received in a manner which augured well for the future, there has since been an intensification of civil disobedience activity. Picketing in all forms has increased in Bombay, Karachi and the large towns and had been renewed in some parts where it had disappeared; the salt laws (to anticipate my next report) have been broken in a few places, notably at Dandi on February 1st; and in Gujarat the no-tax campaign has continued unabated and there have, if anything, been a larger number of demonstrations and greater licence in the Press. While these symptoms can be explained by the similar developments in other parts of India, and can be attributed to Mr. Gandhi's insistence on the continuation of picketing and salt-making during the progress of negotiations, and the probability that instructions have been issued by the Congress to this effect, they can also to some extent be ascribed, at any rate in such places as Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi, to a desire on the part of the extremists among the followers of Congress to prevent the development of an "atmosphere" favourable for negotiations and to throw every possible obstacle in the way of a settlement which does not amount to a complete surrender on the side of Government on terms imposed by the congress.

Ten persons in the Presidency were released on the evening of the 26th January, and, except in the case of Mr. Gandhi, their release caused much less excitement than might have been expected. Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Naidu and Piarelal (Pyarelal), who had been Mr. Gandhi's companion in Yeravada jail, was taken by motor to Chinchwad on the night of the 26th, and there entrained for Bombay. There was some mild excitement in Poona in anticipation of his release and a number of people who wished to go to Yeravada had to be turned back by the police at the Bund Bridge but no trouble ensued. On arrival in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi was met by a crowd of two or three thousand people which had collected in the early hours of the morning, and taken in procession to Dhobi Talao, where he managed to throw off the crowd and to drive to Gamdevi to the house of a friend with whom he usually stays in Bombay. Large crowds besieged the building throughout the day to receive his "darshan" and after he had repeatedly appeared in response to the clamour, the leaders decided to hold a meeting on the Esplanade Maidan in the evening at which everybody would have an opportunity of seeing him. A very large crowd assembled at the Maidan including a considerable number of women and children. In spite of the appeals of the leaders and the attempts of the volunteers to maintain order, scenes of wild confusion took place and soon after Mr. Gandhi had arrived and had been garlanded the excitement became so great that Mr. Gandhi

asked the President to tell the people to disperse. Thirty-three people were injured and one of them, a woman of 60, died during the night. Mr. Gandhi and the other members of the Working Committee left for Allahabad on the night of the 27th, Mr. Gandhi taking the precaution of entraining from Dadar in order to avoid demonstrations. His statement to the Press before his departure has already been given wide publicity. He was also interviewed by a large number of merchants during the day.

The celebration of Independence day on the 26th January was by previous arrangement not interfered with by the police, and passed off quietly almost everywhere, the prior announcement by the Viceroy of an unconditional amnesty to members of the Working Committee being chiefly responsible for the lack of enthusiasm. In Bombay City, the largest gathering held in connection with the flag salutation ceremony in the morning attracted only about 300. The demeanour of the people was noticeably cheerful and orderly. The public meeting held under the auspices of the War Council on the Esplanade Maidan in the evening was attended by about 20,000 persons who quietly dispersed after the Independence resolution had been read out by the President and passed by the meeting.

Picketing : In Bombay City picketing of cloth shops has again been accompanied by the scenes of violence to which I have referred in my recent reports. The Muhammadan foreign cloth merchants, however, have shown more unmistakeable signs of resistance to Congress tyranny (?) and this has been noticeable also at Karachi. Assaults by Muhammadans on Congress pickets attempting to prevent the removal of cloth are becoming more frequent, and communal trouble is not out of the question. On their side the Congress have started more intensive propaganda for sealing foreign cloth, and anonymous leaflets have been pasted up warning cloth-dealers and the landlords of buildings in which foreign cloth shops are located that their shops and buildings will be burned down. On the 29th two Parsi ladies, who had purchased foreign cloth, were molested (?) and subjected to a trying ordeal before they could get away.

On the 30th a police officer was roughly handled by volunteers. On the 31st several packages which had been handed over by timid merchants to be sealed with the Congress seal were left lying in a side lane and were seized by the police as a unclaimed property. It has recently become not uncommon for such packages to be seized from handcarts or coolies in circumstances which virtually amount to robbery (?). The so-called Jamiat-ul-Ulema volunteer Corps ceased the picketing of liquor shops on the 17th January, and diverted its attention to the picketing of clothshops. Probably the chief reason for this was the action of the local branch of the real Jamiat-ul-Ulema in declaring that the volunteers, who were mostly Hindus with a leavening of riff-raff from the Muhammadan population, had no connection whatever with the Jamiat. Since the end of the month, however, for reasons which I have already given, liquor shop picketing has been renewed with greater force and there are now daily 150-250 volunteers engaged in that form of activity.

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The Government of India have already been supplied with the facts relating to the dispersal of a number of processions of women which were organised at Borsad in the Kaira district on the 21st January to protest against the alleged ill-treatment of two women by the Borsad police—an incident which has been used for propaganda against Government both in India and abroad.

Action under Ordinance X of 1930 :— Security was demanded from the keepers of three presses and the publisher of one newspaper, and four persons were prosecuted under Section 18 of the Ordinance for publishing unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers.

Prosecutions.—Sanction was accorded to the prosecution under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, of (1) Jamnadas Dwarkadas in connection with a speech delivered on the 12th January at a public meeting held at Bombay to express sympathy with the Sholapur convicts. He was sentenced on the 23rd January to nine months' rigorous imprisonment, (2) Professor D. R. Gharpure in respect of two speeches delivered by him at Bombay on the 1st and 10th January. He was sentenced on the 31st to nine months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300 in default of three months' rigorous imprisonment on each charge, the substantive sentences to run concurrently, (3) S. K. Patil in connection with a speech delivered by him at Bombay on the 10th January. He was sentenced on the 29th to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 in default of three months' rigorous imprisonment, (4) Gopal Govind of Mahad and Wasudeo Keshav Khale of Nizampur in the Kolaba district for having read out the substance of the speech of Jawaharlal Nehru, (5) The editor, printer and publisher of the *Hilal* newspaper of Bombay in respect of the articles headed "Flames of Destruction" and "The end of Patience" published in the issues of the paper dated the 19th and 20th December 1930. Sanction was also accorded to his prosecution under Section 153-A.

Press.—The Moderate section of the Press received the Premier's statement with enthusiasm. There was a general consensus of opinion that the proposed constitution, even with its limitation, marked a very definite advance and most responsible papers made an earnest appeal to the Congress Party not to withhold its co-operation from the task of filling in the details of the new constitution. At the same time, Government were strongly urged to grant an unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the consideration of the grave issues before the country. *The Servant of India* expressed satisfaction that the drafting of the constitution was not to be entrusted to the bureaucracy but to the politicians of India and England, while the *Indian Daily Mail* wrote "The Conference may not have fulfilled the highest hopes of the ardent nationalists, but it has made it possible for those hopes to be attained by their own efforts". The Extremist Press, on the other hand, made no attempt to explain the full implications of the statement and has continued to maintain that the British Government had hoodwinked the Indian delegates to the Conference and won their assent to a scheme which did not contain even the semblance of responsible government, much less dominion status. Its general trend of opinion may be summed up in the words of the *Mahratta* which wrote:— "For true Nationalists, however, there is little in the long winded statement of the Premier that can give

even feeble satisfaction His declaration of full Responsible Government for India is surrounded by so many and so powerful safeguards that the declaration itself is entirely nullified. All the talk of Responsible Government at the centre and autonomy in the Provinces becomes only a tinkling cymbal when it is realised that there will be practically no financial and fiscal autonomy for India ". Nevertheless, a small section of the Extremist Press has refused to take a too exaggerated view of the possible evils of the safeguards and has voted in favour of working the new constitution.

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—1068

Bombay, 28 February, 1931.

I am directed to refer to your express letter No. 312-S-Poll, dated the 7th February 1931, and to forward the attached statements giving the material asked for under paragraph 2(i) and (ii). The statements give the chief instances of the use of force or violence and of the destruction of property in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement and picketing and boycott, but I am to say that many other instances, of which it has not been thought necessary to give details, of toddy tree cutting and of raids upon Government forests in which damage has been done to forest plantations and tree growth have occurred during the past year.

In regard to paragraph 2 (iii), I am to say that the development of the various picketing and boycott methods has been traced in this Government's fortnightly reports, but a brief account of the more objectionable methods is given below :—

In the beginning the picketing of liquor and non-Indian made cloth shops followed more or less peaceful and persuasive lines but it soon became apparent that this standard would not be maintained and of late a very serious deterioration has set in. Cases where customers have been more or less forcibly prevented from buying have been fairly general but in Bombay City and to a lesser extent in the other large towns in this Presidency, customers have been obstructed and have been forced to return goods to the sellers, vehicles conveying foreign goods to their destination have been stopped and in some cases goods have been seized and taken away in circumstances which amount to nothing less than highway robbery.

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—1455

Bombay, 25 March, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of March 1931.

Political .—The announcement by the Government of India on the 5th March of the terms of settlement with the Congress consequent on the conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi was on the whole well

received. The Government of India have been kept informed of the situation day by day since that event by means of copies of the reports of local officers.

The Commissioner of Police wrote as follows on the 6th March on the situation in Bombay City.

"The general attitude towards the truce is very satisfactory in the city. Many Congressmen and commercial circles heartily approve of the truce but a feeling of dissatisfaction is to be noticed in the younger generation and among the extremists of the Congress. Youths of Communist views have been carrying on propaganda against the truce on the ground that the truce does not improve in any way the condition of the workers and peasants whose leaders are "rotting in jail". There is also a general feeling for the commutation of the death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh and it is thought that His Excellency the Viceroy may commute the sentence. This belief is created by the postponement of the execution. A few supporters of the Workers and Peasants' Party met last night and condemned the agreement made by Gandhi. They said that the agreement did nothing for the workers and peasants and that nothing short of independence would satisfy the workers and their supporters".

This attitude on the part of the Youth League and the Communist-cum-Labour party was to be expected. There has also been in Bombay City a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among some of the discharged volunteers, mainly the Muhammadan riff-raff which has been causing trouble almost daily by organised rowdyism in the hope of extracting some monetary compensation from the Congress for the termination of their services.

There was some jubilation on the release of the prisoners from the jails and in the districts there was at first a tendency to represent the settlement as a victory for the Congress. This too was to be expected, but it did not last long. Speaking generally, it may be said that, except in Gujarat, where the speeches of Vallabhbhai Patel, the realisation that those forfeited lands and those posts of resigned village officers which have passed into the possession of third parties will not be returned and attempts to prevent the payment of land revenue in the most disaffected areas on the plea of economic distress, are causing unrest, the situation is not unsatisfactory. Nor is there likely to be any great change before the Congress meets at Karachi.

The speeches of the chief Congress leaders have on the whole shown a genuine willingness to abide by the terms of the agreement, although they have laid great stress on the fact that the settlement is only a truce and must be used for active preparation for the probable continuance of the struggle.

The speech of Vallabhbhai Patel at a public meeting of about 30,000 persons at the Esplanade Maidan on the evening of the 8 March, in contrast to the objectionable speeches which he afterwards delivered in Gujarat, was typical of these which have been delivered by the Congress leaders. In replying to the various criticisms levelled against the working Committee he said that there was nothing wrong in laying down their arms while the questions concerning the future constitution of India were being discussed at the second Round Table Conference. The fact that the truce overtures were made by Government showed that they had realised the force behind the Congress

movement. If they could carry on the discussions without loss of dignity, it would not be right to make the people suffer unnecessarily. The Congress had accepted the idea of a Federation as it would tend to unite British India and the Indian States. As regards the safeguards, he said they would be formulated in the interests of India and there was, therefore, no harm in accepting them. Alluding to the criticism by the labour leaders, he said that the Congress had always been fighting for the welfare of the workers and peasants but they could not demand the release of the Meerut prisoners as they had been involved long before the Civil Disobedience Movement was started. The leaders would, however, continue their efforts to get the Meerut prisoners out of jail. He reminded the audience that if the Congress failed to get what they wanted at the Round Table Conference, they were free to launch their movement again with redoubled vigour. Addressing himself to the so-called Communists, he said that they could not fight on two fronts at the same time. When they had succeeded in doing away with Imperialism it would be time enough to fight the Indian capitalists. He, however, warned them that the Indian fight was a non-violent one and that he would prefer to continue a slave rather than get his freedom by violence.

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In the course of correspondence with the District Magistrate, Kaira, on this subject Mr. Gandhi wrote on the 13th March :—

“ I shall be unable to ask those who have been deprived of their lands to be content with deprivation. It was no part of the plan of sacrifice to part with ancestral lands even as it was no part of sacrifice to part with liberty or honour. Consistently therefore with the spirit of the settlement, no stone will be left unturned by the people or me to have the lands restored to the rightful owners and I would like to feel that I had your hearty co-operation in the endeavour ”.

“ The most objectionable of the speeches of Vallabhbhai Patel to which I have referred in paragraph 4 were those delivered at Ras in Kaira District on the 12 March and at Bardoli on the 15th March. At Ras he said : “ The Dharalas who have purchased land of Patidars must return it. The Barias who have robbed your produce will not be happy. They have done a very shameful deed. The movement will be continued in the district if Barias do not return the lands ”.

The following are extracts from the speech at Bardoli.—

“ We had to postpone our fight of 1921, but it was no fault of yours. There may have been people who thought you were not prepared for suffering at that time, but in 1929 you proved that you were. This time we also know that we have not done all we are capable of doing, by way of passing through the supreme test, because all the cultivators are still alive. We have not even lost 5 per cent of the cultivators. We have only lost some cotton and jawari, this is of no consequence and we should consider that we have not suffered any loss. We may have suffered even as much by way of losses of crops by an act of God or failure of rain, therefore, I do not think a single cultivator grieves for this loss.

“ The cultivators, however, will certainly feel aggrieved if they lose even an inch of their land and they would die for it. Therefore, I have come here to give you an assurance. Those whose lands have been sold may go home and rest content. The

land will again come to your feet, it will again come looking for you. This fight was not for 5 or even 2,000 acres of land ; only 2,000 acres of land have been sold in Gujarat. Last time in Bardoli fight, which was only a small one, 6,000 acres were sold and every inch was returned. This time our fight is not for 2,000 acres but for 17,000 miles in length and 15,000 miles in breadth of land and our struggle will only end when India is free and the power comes into our hands. At that time the land will not only come to you, but those people will come to you to return it together with money to compensate you. You should not have any anxiety about your land and should not worry as to how it should come back to you.

“ Government knows our strength. The Union Jack was flying over your houses and institutions ; they are now restored and your flags are flying there instead. Up till now Government considered that we had no arms, but now they have appealed to us to lay aside our arms, so we know that Government is convinced that we have our arms which are more powerful than those of Government, and the world at large also knows that we possess such a weapon that no other country possesses. However, when the white flag is shown, it is the duty of the warrior to sheath his sword, but keep his hand on the hilt, and see that the sword does not become rusty, for if it becomes rusty, we shall suffer defeat.

“ The first thing you are to do towards Swaraj is to fulfil the conditions of the truce. You should read the Navjivan wherein the conditions will be explained. This is the proper paper for you to read. We cannot carry Gandhiji all over Gujarat, but you will get his message and instructions from that paper. The Government will carry out what they consider their part of the truce and you are expected to carry out fully your part.

“ Now after your return those who have got money and are not to incur debt must pay up land revenue. Those who have no money and those who are ruined need not pay, the Government will give them time for one or two years according to circumstances. If we are to get powers within six months or twelve months, then if necessary it may be considered, but at the present the Government revenue must be paid. You had taken a vow that when we ordered you, you would pay and that vow must be fulfilled.

“ The second thing is an intricate one, viz., reinstatement of Patels who had resigned. Those who want to be reinstated should apply to the Government. It rests with you whether you apply or not. If these posts have been permanently filled in then there will be difficulty, this will depend upon the District Officers. My personal opinion on this matter is that a Patel should have the support of the whole village in which he serves behind him, and for this there should be unity in the village. It is for this reason I have been telling Patels throughout Gujarat that they were not doing the work of village Patel, but slavery of Government. You also know that when the Patels resigned, the Government was paralysed. In Kaira District men with three or four convictions were appointed of Patels. It is a great success to the resigned Patels to see that Government could get Patels only from thieves and robbers. When the work of Patels is being carried on by such people it is evident that the four legs of Government are shaky. I advise the new Patels to be patient and realise that they cannot stay in

office against the wish of the people ; you have got that strength in you. If I were in your place I would not apply to be reinstated. However, I do not wish to influence you, if you wish to apply you may. Those who have stepped into the vacant offices are sure to leave it. He cannot stay in opposition to the whole of Gujarat. So far all the Patels question is a trivial one. Regarding Patelships you may consult the people in the Ashram and do what you like.

“Some of our people have made great blunders, they have purchased forfeited property for trivial amounts and you should see that they repent for it. So long as they do not repent, we should not have any connection with them, but such action should clean them. They should not be harassed (at this stage Gandhi arrived in the meeting). There may be some people who were weak and paid up their revenues, they should not be harassed or made to fear yet you should try to win them over and point out that although you have been to jail, you are not any worse in health, *etc.*, for it. They have already lost their honour. If the occasion should arise again they will have the opportunity to regain their honour. Those zulumis made by the officers in this taluka or district should be forgotten and they should be forgiven. Do not think that they do these things of their own accord. When a man has authority and when there is encouragement it is but natural that his powers will be misused. We must swallow any abuses or illtreatment which you may have experienced at the hands of the officers, and understand by this that it is he who had lost his honour and not you, and I am sure they will repent for their actions. The way to change such people's hearts is to forgive them”.

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Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, and boycott of British goods.—In Bombay City, since the 6th March, there has been a distinct change in the character of the picketing. There has been no physical obstruction of any kind, the picketers confining themselves to standing with folded hands before the shops and requesting customers not to purchase foreign cloth or drink liquor. Since the 10th, the picketing of cloth shops in the Mulji Jetha and Mangaldas Markets has been carried on by women on a much smaller scale, while there is every indication that the picketing of liquor shops is fast petering out. On the 13th March, 37 liquor shops were picketed by 65 volunteers as compared with 214 shops and 395 volunteers on the 1st March. (In the Surat District, however, while the destruction of toddy trees have ceased, social boycott has been in some cases resorted to, as for example in the case of a Parsi licensee in the Pardi Taluka against whom a resolution of ex-communication was passed because he had purchased a country liquor shop in defiance of the orders of the local Mahajan).

Elsewhere in the Presidency excluding Sind there has been little picketing except in the other districts of the Northern Division and in the Bombay Suburban District, and there no coercion has been noticed hitherto. In the Central and Southern Divisions there has been no picketing except at a few liquor shops.

In accordance with the terms of the Delhi Agreement, all notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act were withdrawn on the 6th March, and the release of prisoners convicted or undertrial for offences arising out of the Civil Disobedience

Movement was commenced on the 7th March. During the first three days no fewer than 2,548 prisoners out of a total of 3,273 were released. There are now only a few doubtful cases on which orders have to be passed. As far as is known, all buildings seized under Ordinance IX have been restored. Congress House, Bombay, and the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram were restored on the 9th and 12th March, respectively. The reopening ceremony of Congress House was marked by very disorderly scenes, in which a number of Muhammadan ex-volunteers practised satyagraha and the two parties came to blows.

Inter communal disturbances :—

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On the 15th March the depressed classes renewed the satyagraha by which last year they attempted to assert their right of entry into the famous Kalaram Temple at Nasik and organised a huge procession past the temple gates to the river bank. There was much excitement, but everything passed off peacefully until the satyagrahis had begun to disperse in the evening and were on their way down the river bank to their camp. Stones were then thrown at them, and a free fight began, in which several persons on both sides were injured. The police were called in and escorted the satyagrahis back to their camp. As a result the District Magistrate issued orders under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting for a period of one month the assembly of more than three persons within 100 yards of the temple. The temple authorities have closed the gates of the temple and a force of police has been posted near it to enforce the District Magistrate's orders. Since the 15th the untouchables have remained in their camp being perfectly satisfied as long as the touchables are also prevented from entering the temple. The festival itself which begins on the 20th instant will inevitably suffer.

Press.—The papers have given expression to a sense of relief on the signing of the agreement between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi¹. The *Indian Social Reformer* called the agreement "simple and sensible" and wondered that "it should have needed all the painful incidents of the last twelve months to be reached." The *Servant of India* expressed the hope that "hereafter the mighty influence of the Mahatma will be harnessed for a different and more useful and constructive work so badly needed in the country." The *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* contended that "the agreement did not give the people all that they had a right to expect on account of their sufferings during the last year, but they maintained that the people ought loyally to observe the terms of the agreement to which the leader of the movement had affixed his signature." The *Bombay Chronicle* recognised that the settlement was "an honourable compromise," but complained that "the language of the statement is, in some places, unhappy and even supercilious." The paper nevertheless gave sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy "who has for once triumphed over petty notions of prestige and who made honourable amends for his past grievous errors".

¹ After consultations between the eminent leaders and the CWC, the CWC passed a resolution investing Gandhiji with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate a settlement with Viceroy. The demands of Congress were not readily acceptable to Viceroy. After vexatious suspense and consternations, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was announced on 5th March 1931. According to the truce the Congress agreed to discontinue civil disobedience and Government withdrew all its repressive ordinances. The Congress endorsed this provisional settlement at its annual session at Karachi in March 1931.

Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—1611

Bombay, 8 April, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of March 1931.

Political.—There was little change in the general situation reported in my last letter. Congress circles were absorbed in the annual session of the All-India National Congress which was held at Karachi from the 27th to the 31st March and the numerous other Conferences and meetings organised during Congress Week. The Government of India have received day by day from Karachi an account of the proceedings of the session and they have been fully reported in the press. The main features were the hostile reception of Mr. Gandhi by the Red Shirts when he arrived at Malir station on the first day; his increasing ascendancy on each subsequent day ending in his final triumph when the peace settlement was endorsed practically with unanimity and he was appointed Dictator to represent the Congress at the next stage of the Round Table Conference; and a corresponding loss of influence of the Youth League and other parties which stand for violence ending in their failure to accomplish anything except the passing of a few resolutions.

The execution of Bhagat Singh and his fellow conspirators on the evening of the 23rd March was followed during the next few days by hartals, meetings and processions in all parts of the presidency. On the whole, there was less excitement than was expected, and the occasion passed off without any disturbances. District Magistrates were given full discretion to pass prohibitory orders if a breach of the peace was threatened, but except in one or two places in Ratnagiri District they were in no case considered to be necessary.

In Bombay City there was a fairly general hartal on the first day, and some schools were closed. Some mills amounting to less than half the total were closed for the first two or three days. In Ahmedabad all the mills and most of the shops were closed on the 24th and at Poona there was a meeting at which the police shorthand reporters were abused. As was natural, the largest celebrations took place at Karachi, the chief of which were a silent procession of 8,000 persons and a public meeting of about 15,000 persons. The incident at Mr. Gandhi's arrival at Malir on the 24th has been alluded to. Subsequently Bhagat Singh's father arrived with what were alleged to be the charred bones and flesh of his son. It is reported that the (similarly) alleged ashes of Bhagat Singh are to be brought to Bombay on the 5th April.

Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops and boycott of British goods.—There has been no appreciable increase in the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, and in such areas as it has been carried on, it has continued peaceful. In Bombay City, the picketing of liquor shops was discontinued from the 20th March, while the number of picketers of foreign cloth shops, who are now all women, has been steadily decreasing, the average being between 35 and 50 daily. Cloth is being removed

without hindrance and hawkers are reported to be doing good business. The Congress leaders have evidently been too engrossed in the affairs of the Congress session at Karachi to pay much attention to this part of their programme, but it is probably that there will be a general intensification of the campaign in the near future.

The Government of India have been informed separately of the conference between Messrs. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Mulraj Karsondas, and a representative gathering of the millowners of Bombay and Ahmedabad which was held in the offices of the Bombay Millowner's Association on the afternoon of the 17th March to discuss the terms of the fresh agreement which all mills have been called upon to sign by the Congress Boycott Committee.

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Collins to Wilson

No. S. D. —1987

Mahabaleshwar, 20th May, 1931.

Will you please refer to your daily report No. 2459-H-3717, of the 16th May in which, as regards picketing of liquor shops by the Azad Party, you say that liquor shop keepers will be informed that their complaints will receive every attention. I am to say that Government think it should be possible to go further and to encourage some of them to come forward to make complaints.

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Wilson to Collins

No. 3052/H/3717

26th June, 1931.

Vallabhbhai Patel.—Vallabhbhai Patel addressed a public meeting last evening under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the Esplanade Maidan. About 2,000 persons, including 250 women, were present. K. F. Nariman presided. K. F. Nariman said that resolutions passed by the working committee had created some misunderstanding among the public but he hoped that Vallabhbhai Patel would remove the misunderstanding. There were complaints that the boycott of foreign cloth was not effective and the sale had been going on surreptitiously in Bombay after the truce. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was taking steps to intensify picketing to such an extent that not a foreign thread would enter the shores of India in the near future. He also announced that picketing of liquor shops would be started in Bombay from Monday the 29th June and he hoped their sisters in Bombay would respond to the call. Vallabhbhai Patel said that if there was to be any

misunderstanding over the resolutions of the Working Committee it should be in Manchester and not in Bombay. The youths in Bombay wanted the Congress to begin the Civil Disobedience Movement on the ground that Government was not abiding by the peace terms. He advised the youths to be patient as the Congress wanted to show to the world how the Indians kept their word. He referred to the methods of Provincial Governments regarding the truce terms and pointed out that Gandhi's going to London would become problematical if Government did not take note of the ways in which the officials were implementing the truce terms. He challenged anybody to prove that the people of Gujarat were not abiding by the terms. Responsibility for breaches of the terms rested on Government. He criticised the election disputes and said that they should now cease and the Congressmen should do constructive work. Those who took part in the election disputes were the enemies of the country and the Congress and he did not want any more criticism in the matter. He then laid stress on the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor and remarked that whether they achieved Swaraj or not, they were determined not to give any support to the dealers in foreign cloth. They had no quarrel with the unemployed workers of Lancashire and Manchester but at the same time they had to look to the conditions and needs of their own countrymen. In regard to the menace from Japanese competition it was for Government to see to their own interest by stopping Japanese cloth. The Indians would have nothing to do with it as they were determined to buy nothing foreign. He admitted that the Congress was making common cause with the Princes, zamindars, millowners and capitalists because it wanted to achieve its common object, namely the expulsion of foreign masters. If the foreign masters wanted to remain, they could remain as friends or servants, but if they wanted to be masters they had better take the first opportunity of engaging a steamer to return to England. A full report of his speech will be forwarded as soon as it is ready. Jairamdas Daulatram said that they were accused of keeping up a war mentality but he would ask Government whether they had done away with the Kitchner Police and the C.I.D. who stood at the doors of Vallabhbhai Patel and whether they had ceased censoring the correspondence of Jawaharlal and other Congress leaders.

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Wilson to Collins

No. 3303/H/3717

11 July, 1931.

Nau Javan Bharat Sabha.—It may be remembered that there has been no regular organisation like the Nau Javan Bharat Sabha in Bombay after Dr. V. P. Jani and his friends were sent to jail during the last Civil Disobedience Movement. Swami Kumaranand, after his release from jail and after the truce, became the self-styled president of an organisation which he termed Nau Javan Bharat Sabha. Dr. V. P. Jani is reported to have severed his connection with the Sabha. Swami Kumaranand has

gone to Jhansi. One Shivsharma B. Sharma, working in the Nav Javan Commercial Company on Girgaum Back Road, intends to convene a meeting to organise the Nau Javan Bharat Sabha in Bombay and to censure the inactivity of the Sabha under the presidency of Swami Kumaranand. He intends to make Jamiat Singh the dictator of the Sabha.

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M. K. Gandhi to Viceroy

Bombay, 14 August, 1931.

Events have moved so fast that I have not had the time to acknowledge your very kind personal letter of 31st July. I recognise the sincerity running through that communication but the latest developments have made that letter past history, and as I have said in my wire of 13th instant, the sum total of all the circumstances betrays a fundamental difference of outlook between us. I can only give you my assurance that it was not without the greatest and most anxious deliberation that I came to the conclusion that in view of your decision I could not, consistently with my obligations here, attend the Round Table Conference. But I was grieved when I heard that your decision was affected by the opinion ascribed to you that I had insisted upon a board of arbitration and that I was trying to set up as the head of a parallel government. As for the board of arbitration it is true that I have claimed it as a matter of right but if you recall our conversation I never insisted upon it. On the contrary, I told you that so long as I got the justice to which I was entitled I would be quite satisfied. You will agree that this is wholly different from insisting on a board of arbitration. As to the alleged parallel government, I thought I had dispelled the illusion when, in reply to a jocular remark by you, I had told you that I did not claim to be a district officer but that my co-workers and I had acted as voluntary Patel or village headmen and that too with the consent and knowledge of district officials. I should therefore be sorry if these two opinions which I submit were erroneous had affected your decision.

The purpose however of writing this letter is to inquire whether you regard the settlement as now at an end or whether it is to be still continued in spite of the abstention of the Congress from participation in the Round Table conference. The Working Committee arrived at the following decision this morning :—

“ In view of the resolution relating to the Congress non-participation in the Round Table Conference passed by the Working Committee on the August 13th the Committee desires to make it clear that this resolution should not be construed as ending the Delhi Settlement. The Committee therefore advised Congress Organisations and all Congressmen to continue to comply until further instructions with the terms of the Settlement in so far as they are applicable to the Congress.”

From this you will observe that the Working Committee of the Congress has no desire to embarrass the Government at the present juncture and that therefore it is prepared to continue honourably to work the Settlement. But such working must depend upon a reciprocal attitude on the part of Provincial Governments, as I have told you so often through correspondence and our conversations. This reciprocity has been found to be progressively missing. Information continues to be received at the office of the Working Committee of government activity which can only be interpreted to be taken of a design to crush the Congress workers and the normal Congress activities. If therefore the settlement is to abide, I venture to think that an early relief in the matter of complaints already filed is necessary. More, as I have already said, are coming and co-workers are insistent that if relief is not had in time they should at least get the permission to adopt defensive measures. May I request an early reply ?

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Viceroy to M. K. Gandhi

Calcutta, 19th August, 1931.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 14th, with regard to the first paragraph of which I desire to assure you that my replies to you were based entirely upon the direct communications which passed between him and you or between you and the Governor of Bombay.

With regard to the rest of your letter, it appears to me to be necessary to make clear the position of Government in order to avoid any possible cause of future misunderstanding. Your letter proceeds on the assumption, which Government cannot possibly accept, that while they have been guilty, not only of breaches of specific provisions of the Settlement, but also of a general policy of oppression against Congress, the latter have observed both the letter and spirit of the Settlement. As you are aware, the position consistently taken by Government during the past 5 months and, in particular, in the conversations that have taken place between yourself and Mr. Emerson, has been that the activities of Congress in many directions have been contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Settlement, and that they have involved a constant menace not only to the continuance of the Settlement, but to the maintenance of peace. I would refer particularly to activities in the United Provinces and the North West Frontier Province. In dealing with particular situations so created, local Governments, with the approval of the Government of India, have endeavoured to restrict their action to the clear necessity of the specific situation, and they have avoided resort to special measures. In so far as they have taken action in such circumstances under the ordinary law, this has been forced upon them by the activities of Congress, and it appears to me to be a complete misreading of the situation to suggest that there has been either any absence of good will on the part of local Governments in working

the Settlement or any "design to crush the Congress workers and the normal Congress activities." On the contrary, as I believe you will recognise, many matters not specifically covered by the Settlement have come under discussion and solutions proposed, in the hope of creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding, which it has been the constant endeavour of Government to secure. In fact, many of the matters raised in our recent correspondence are of this character.

In regard to the situation created by the refusal of Congress to be represented at the Round Table Conference, I would observe that, as you will no doubt recognise, this refusal involves the failure of one of the main objects which the Settlement was intended to secure.

So far as the attitude of Government towards the Settlement is concerned, it appears relevant to consider the obligations imposed on them by its terms. These are stated in paragraphs 10-20 of the Statement of March 5th, 1931, and, with the exception of the provisions of paragraph 20, relate to matters of which the cause of remedial action, if any, has already arisen.

With regard to action under paragraphs 10-19, the government of India will, in consultation with local Governments, secure observance of the Settlement in any cases where it is established that remedial action was due under the Settlement and has not been taken. They have no intention of revoking the salt concession for which provision was made in paragraph 20. For the rest the Settlement involved no suspension or abrogation of the ordinary law and left complete discretion to the Government of India and local Governments to take what measures might be necessary to deal with particular situations. It is the intention of the Government of India to pursue the policy they have hitherto followed to restrict action to the requirements of the specific situation, and, in particular, to avoid resort to special measures so far as this is possible. But so far as this action may relate to the activities of the Congress, its nature and extent must depend primarily on the nature of those activities, and the Government of India are unable to fetter their discretion or that of local Governments in this respect.

As you have released to Press your letter to me of August 14th, I propose to similarly release this reply.

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Government Communique

28 August, 1931.

The following is published for the information of the Public :—

As a result of conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi the Congress will now be represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

The Settlement of March 5, 1931, remains operative. The Government of India and local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

HCP—352-A-8

In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluka and Valod Mahal which were visited by revenue officials, accompanied by a party of police, during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue payers and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India, in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay, have decided that an enquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference :—

“ To enquire into the allegations that *Khatedars*, in the villages in question, were compelled by means of coercion, exercised through the police, to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka, where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid. Within the terms of reference evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute. ”

The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, to held the enquiry.

In regard to other matters hitherto raised by Congress the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.

In regard to any further matters of complaint by the Congress not coming within specific provisions of the Settlement, such complaints will be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure and practice and, if any question of an enquiry arises, the decision as to whether an enquiry shall be held and, if so, the form it shall take, will be made by the local Government concerned in accordance with such procedure and practice.

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.-3292

Poona, 24 September, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of September 1931.

Political.—The Working Committee of the All-India National Congress met in camera at the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad, from the 8th to the 11th September. In addition to Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu, notable absentees were Dr. Muhammad Alam and Messrs. Abul Kalam Azad and J. M. Sen-Gupta. It has since transpired that Sen-Gupta was kept away by his election campaign for re-entry into the Calcutta Corporation. This move on his part has displeased the Congress leaders who regard it as contrary to the interests of the Congress. Doctors Pattabhi Sitaramayya and N. S. Hardikar and Messrs. Manilal Kothari and Abbas Tyabji were present as guests. The Government of India are already aware of the confidential discussions which took place on the first two days in connection with the minimum demands of the Congress to be placed before the Round Table Conference which were embodied in the

HCPC—352-B-8

form of a confidential note communicated to Mr. Gandhi. These demands are mainly a reiteration of those contained in the Independence resolutions adopted at the Congress sessions at Lahore and Karachi, and conclude with the opinion that the official name in describing Federal India should be "Hindustan." The other chief feature of the proceedings was the insistent demand of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, backed by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Nariman, for permission to adopt defensive direct action in the United Provinces, Madras and Berar, in connection with the breaches of the Delhi Settlement by Government in those provinces, and the equally stout opposition of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who, it seems, cares little what happens elsewhere as long as the situation in Gujarat is to his liking. He pointed out the necessity of preserving a peaceful atmosphere while the Round Table Conference was in progress and suggested that serious allegations which could be supported by facts should be brought to the notice of the local Government in the first instance. Eventually a resolution embodying Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's point of view was adopted and it was agreed that pending Mr. Gandhi's advice a rejoinder to the Government of India's reply to Mr. Gandhi's "charge sheet" should be published. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram was entrusted with the work of drafting the rejoinder and it is expected to be issued very shortly. Among the more important resolutions passed at the meeting were those (1) accepting the scheme prepared by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Hardikar for the formation of a Seva Dal for women and the appointment of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya as the organiser pending the appointment of a Central Women's Council, (2) defining the communal and political organisations of which membership should be barred to volunteers of the Seva Dal, and (3) condemning the Press Bill introduced in the current session of the Legislative Assembly as 'a wholly unwarranted measure and a distinct breach of the Delhi Settlement.

The Ahmedabad Municipality entertained the members of the Working Committee at a garden party on the 10th, and several meetings, including a meeting of the labouring classes, were organised, the chief of which was that held on the 9th September and attended by about 10,000 persons.

Elsewhere there has been little change in the general situation. The effect which is being given to the decision to increase the number of volunteers everywhere and to centralise their training on a really efficient basis is however a matter of some importance.

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Wilson to Collins

No. 4699/H/3717

26 September, 1931.

Protest meeting regarding Financial Crisis.—Under the auspices of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, a public meeting, presided over by Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, was held on the Esplanade Maidan last evening in connection with the financial crisis. About 1,500 persons, including 100 women, attended. Walchand Hirachand, A. D. Shroff,

Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta, Lalji Naranji, Fakirbhai Sajjan, Vallabhbhai Patel, S. K. Patil, G. N. Desai, Y. J. Meherali, Manilal Kothari, Jairamdas Daulatram, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umashankar Dixit, Nagindas T. Master and Miss Maniben Patel were among the prominent persons present. A resolution protesting against the announcement of the Secretary of State for India to link the Rupee to Sterling, the value of which was always fluctuating, was passed. Sir C. V. Mehta pointed out that the people of India did not want their gold to be dissipated any more and that they did not wish to rely upon any promises as to assistance that might be made by England. Vallabhbhai Patel said that Government would be called upon to give account for every penny worth of gold taken away to England.

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—3588

Poona, 26 October, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of October 1931.

Political.—Gandhi Week was celebrated from the 2nd to the 8th October in most of the big towns of the Presidency and Sind. In Bombay City Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel himself took charge and a new feature was the organisation of musical concerts and the exhibition of national cinema films the proceeds of which were used to meet the expenses of the Week. On the 8th the Municipal Schools were closed and a public meeting was held. Sir Chunilal Mehta and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Junior) attended the meeting and the former on behalf of the commercial community of Bombay assured Mr. Gandhi that the whole commercial community was behind him and that the whole country would obey him, whether he returned from the Round Table Conference successful or unsuccessful. In Ahmedabad the majority of the mills were closed on the 2nd October, and the President of the Municipality was authorised to purchase khaddar worth Rs. 5,000 for the Municipal staff. The practical result of the Week's celebrations so far as is at present known is that Rs. 1,41,091 were collected or promised in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District towards the Khaddar Fund, Sir Purshottanadas Thakurdas contributing Rs. 5,000 and according to an estimate of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in Gujarat.

Hindustani Seva Dal :—It seems pretty clear from intercepted letters that the Congress and Dr. Hardikar are not fully satisfied with the progress of the scheme to reorganise and develop the volunteer organisation under the Hindustani Seva Dal. It will be remembered that the various Provincial Congress Committees in the Presidency appointed Provincial Seva Dal Boards and these were directed by a resolution passed by the Central Board of the Seva Dal to make immediate arrangements to have a minimum number of trained and certified "Sainiks" ready by the end of December. This minimum has been fixed as low as 6,000 for all India of which Bombay is required to contribute 500, the Karnatak 500, Maharashtra 300 and Sind 100. The following seem to be the concrete results as far as this Presidency is

concerned. Several volunteer camps have been opened in various parts of the Presidency. In Bombay City there are eight centres but they have so far collected only 35 volunteers. In the Bijapur district 16 volunteers are under training at Bijapur, 35 at Bagalkot and 25 at Galgali camps. In the Belgaum district, a lathi class of 12 students was opened at Bail-Hongal, the training including the use of the lathi in defence against police lathi charges. In Ahmedabad 62 volunteers are under training. Elsewhere the details are not yet forthcoming. As regards the women's branch of the Dal, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya has been given a free hand by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Hardikar. She is trying to organise a Central Women's Camp at Hubli to train 10-15 women instructors from all provinces for a period of 4 months at a cost of Rs. 1,000. These instructors would then be expected to open similar camps in other provinces. Mrs. Chattopadhyaya has made a brief tour of the Karnatak and is shortly to make an all-India one. Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, wife of Mr. K. M. Munshi of Bombay, has been touring in the Maharashtra to open branches of the Seva Dal there, and Miss Sofia Somji is trying to open a training centre in the Bombay Suburban District. Dr. Hardikar's monthly magazine, the *Volunteer*, is shortly to resume publication at Bombay under the editorship of one Mukund Shriniwas Pai.

The picketing of liquor and toddy shops in Bombay City by Congress volunteers continued. On the 12th the number of picketers fell to 81, but on the 15th is again rose to 240. Two volunteers were arrested for trespass on the 16th October on the complaint of the owner of a country liquor shop. In the Kanara district, in the absence of sufficient funds to pay the volunteers, the blackmailing of dealers in foreign goods by picketers has become a common feature.

The Bardoli Enquiry commenced on the 5th October, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, the Bombay Advocate, appearing on behalf of the Congress while Diwan Bahadur Thakorram Mehta, the Public Prosecutor of Surat, appeared on behalf of Government. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel arrived in Bardoli on the 4th October and has played a strenuous part in presenting the Congress case, in some cases visiting the villages affected after dark to prepare the witnesses and induce further complaints. Already some of these witnesses have given away their case in the most flagrant manner. At Khoj the villagers complained to the police about the threats given to them by the Ashram workers. More recently the District Magistrate reports that the persistent campaign of intimidation has been having its natural effect and the village Officers are hanging back or resiling from their former attitude. This however can hardly retrieve such a weak case as the Congress one has so far proved to be. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel went to Bombay on the 17th October to meet Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta on his way to Europe.

Inter-communal disturbances.—A good deal of interest is being worked up on the question of the right of temple-entry by the untouchables which will again be put to the test during the Sinhast festival at Nasik early next month. On September 23rd at Mukhed in the Yeola taluka of that district the Maratha villagers severely hammered a procession of untouchables which attempted to pass through the village contrary to their wishes. This had its sequel on the 11th October when the Satyagraha Committee of the Nasik Kalaram Temple marched a procession of 1,500 untouchables through the village to vindicate their right. A special police escort to the procession

was provided by the District Magistrate, and, but for this and for his personal presence, it is certain that a clash would have occurred, as the Marathas had assembled in large numbers from the neighbourhood to prevent the procession from entering the village. In Bombay City certain members of the Congress party have been flirting with the support of the untouchables by organising meetings to protest against untouchability. This rivalry has been illustrated by a large number of telegrams from organisations of untouchables sent to Mr. Gandhi in England, some stating that they have complete faith in him, and the majority that they recognise only Dr. Ambedkar's authority to speak for them.

Press.—The new Finance Bill was condemned by all sections of the press. Even the moderate *Jam-e-Jamshed* was dissatisfied with the retrenchment proposals for the higher officials and observed: "Most certainly this is a mere eyewash and the reduction will be in practice nominal. The entire retrenchment savings do not even come to three per cent of the total national expenditure".

The failure of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference to reach an agreement on the communal problem was generally deplored. The *Mahratta* expressed the opinion that the failure was due to the peculiar constitution of the Sub-Committee.

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Wilson to Collins

No. 6141/H/3717

8 December, 1931.

Protest against the Bengal Ordinance.—Under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Nationalist Muslim Party, Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Desh Sevika Sangh, Rashtriya Mahila Mandal, Hindu Maha Sabha, Bombay Sikh Association, All India Journalists' Association, Nau Javan Bharat Sabha, Bombay Youth League, Bombay Students' League and Christian Nationalist Party, a public meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan on the evening of December 7th when Nagindas T. Master presided over an audience of 1,000 persons, including about 100 ladies. In addition to the speakers the following were present :—S. K. Patil, G. N. Desai, J. C. Maitra, Soorji Vallabhdas, Y. J. Meherali, Miss Laxmi Soorji Vallabhdas, Mrs. Kshama Rao, Miss Leela Rao and Mohamed Ebrahim. Bhulabhai J. Desai, S. A. Brelvi, K. M. Munshi, M. C. Chhagla, K. K. Suntoke, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Umanath G. Puthli, Mrs. Goshap Captain, Jannadas Dwarkadas and the President made speeches condemning the Bengal Ordinance and appealing to the people of Bengal to preserve non-violence in spite of provocation. The following resolution was adopted :—

"This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay strongly condemns the promulgation of the Ordinance No. XI of 1931 in Bengal as a suspension of the operation of ordinary law and introduction of a state of things almost similar to those existing under Martial Law."

"This meeting further earnestly appeals to all men and women of Bengal to preserve non-violence despite the grave provocation offered to them by Government and assures them of the sincere support of this city in their non-violent struggle."

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Collins to Emerson

No. S. D.—4023

Bombay, 12 December, 1931.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of November 1931.

Political.—With the approach of the Land Revenue Collections undoubtedly the most serious aspect of the general situation is the preparations which are being made in almost every district to obtain remissions and suspensions, and the Congress is in this respect finding the ready help of other agitators who are interested in procuring systematic evasion. Thus at a meeting held at Ville Parle in the Bombay Suburban district on the 29th November the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee resolved that Peasants' conferences should be held in every district of the Deccan and Konkan before the end of December for the purpose of considering the low prices of grain and the failure of crops. In Kolaba district an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, had to be served on a member of the Legislative Council and another person who were inciting agrarian revolt.

Apart from this public attention was directed towards the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and the events in Bengal and the United Provinces. It is too early yet to gauge the effect of the result of the second stage of the Round Table Conference. The Congress leaders, while professing to await the return of Mr. Gandhi to India before committing the Congress to a definite line of action, continue to urge the necessity of preparing for an early renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement. For example the Congress President Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, who otherwise is known to have been putting a check on those of his followers who wish to precipitate events, in performing the monthly flag ceremony on his return to Ahmedabad at the end of the month, said:—

“Everyone should be ready to make a great sacrifice within a short time as Mr. Gandhi will be returning from the Round Table Conference. Everyone knew that nothing was to be gained by Mr. Gandhi going to England. Still we have not lost anything. Our primary object is to prepare for the fight. We shall have to sacrifice much more than we did before for the national flag and it is our duty as non-co-operators to give the Government notice that we intend to renew the fight. Our victory will depend mainly on our own strength”.

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Wilson to R. M. Maxwell¹

No. 6516/H/3717

28th December, 1931.

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Arrest of Jawaharlal & Abdul Gaffar Khan—On receipt of the news of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal, T. A. K. Shervani and Abdul Gaffar Khan on the 26th a partial hartal was observed in the city. The cloth markets were closed in the course of the day. Khadi-clad volunteers sat *dharna* near the shops of two merchants named Jamnadas Harjivandas and Dharamsi Amersi at Mangaldas Market and went away after the shops were closed within half an hour.

To congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shervani and Abdul Gaffar Khan, a public meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held on the evening of the 26th on the Esplanade Maidan under the presidentship of K. F. Nariman. About 8,000 persons, including 500 women, attended. The president, Nagindas Master, K. M. Munshi, Dr. M. H. Gour, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Hafiz Ali Bahadur Khan, Sahebzada Abdul Qayem, Mrs. Perin Captain, Jamiat Singh and Purshottamdas Trikamdas made speeches holding Government responsible for precipitating the fight with the object of crushing the Congress and appealing to the people to be in readiness for the fight which might be renewed on Mr. Gandhi's return.

A similar meeting was held at Kharak Bazaar, Mandvi, on the night of the 26th when Virchand Panachand Shah presided over an audience of about 500 persons. The president, Dr. J. V. Vora, Dr. Shukla, Tulsidas Tejpal and Dhirajlal Bhatt made speeches blaming Government for the ill-advised step taken for the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal and others before the return of Mr. Gandhi and pointing out that Government was mistaken if they thought that they would thereby crush the Congress movement.

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¹ Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department.

Civil Disobedience Resumed

The day Gandhiji landed on Bombay shores the writing on the wall was clearly seen. Bombay Provincial Congress Committee arranged a very large welcome meeting on the Esplanade Maidan on 28 December 1931. The U. P. and Frontier Province Ordinances and the arrests of Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and T. A. K. Sherwani were the Christmas presents to Gandhiji by Lord Willingdon. The following afternoon Congress Working Committee assembled at Mani Bhavan and remained in conclave until 9-30 the next morning. Gandhiji, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Daulatram, Ansari, M. S. Aney, Mohamed Alam, Syed Mahmud and Veer Nariman, and the special invitees Subhash Bose, G. B. Pant, G. B. Chaudhuri, Rajagopalachariar, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Konda Venkatppayya were in the conclave.

Gandhiji wired to Willingdon, "I do not know whether I am to regard these (Ordinances and arrests) as indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to (the) course I am to pursue in advising Congress" (Telegram of 29 December 1931). Willingdon was utterly obdurate. His offer of an interview was conditional: Gandhiji should disown the Civil Disobedience campaigns in U. P. and Frontier Province and should not discuss Government measures in those Provinces. Gandhiji was stunned. Gandhiji replied to Sapru: — "The Government here simply do not want to see me unless I approach them with the straw in the mouth" (2 January 1932). Willingdon had no time for a discussion with Gandhiji or the latter's overtures for cooperation. The door was closed for a face-to-face contact. Prospects for mediation were swiftly shattered, and Gandhiji was arrested before the dawn of 4 January 1932 and removed to Yeravda.

Editor

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Minutes of Mr. Gandhi's Address on Esplanade Maidan

On 28 December, 1931.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee a mass meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan on Monday, the 28th December 1931, at 5 p.m. at which Mr. Gandhi delivered his speech under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. There was a very large audience present at the meeting. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressed the meeting in Gujarati as follows :—

Brothers and sisters, today Mahatmaji, who had gone to England as a sole representative of India, has returned and it is our duty to receive him back very heartily. I would receive him back on behalf of the Indian National Congress. We say to him that although he has come back to India with empty hands, we are not in the least sorry for it ; because Mahatmaji has taught us and told us many times that India will have to win Independence on its own soil ; India's Independence will be won by the Indians alone in India. No foreign rule or subjects would give them Independence. That *mantra* which was given to us by him (Mr. Gandhi) we have not forgotten.

Mahatmaji went to England against his will ; but the Working Committee of the Congress requested him to go to England and represent our case and, therefore, he acceded to their request and went to England against his own wish. We were, no doubt, sorry that he had to go to such a long distance but at the same time we are glad that he went there and made the people in England and the world acquainted with the real state of things in India. Mahatmaji has placed before the Parliament India's case very courageously, for which we are all indebted to him. I say to Mahatmaji, now that you have come back to India, we may assure you that your trip to England will remain immortal in the Indian history as well as in the whole world. I may tell Mahatmaji that there is no time at present to let him know what we have done in his absence ; what sufferings we had to undergo during his absence, I would not tell him at this meeting. This much I can say that his absence was felt in India very much, when we had to suffer at the hands of Government. In spite of all this, we may assure him that we are all indebted to him for what he has done for us in England. I would offer him our congratulations on behalf of India and would now request him to address a few words.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the meeting in Gujarati as follows :—

Mr. President, brothers and sisters, I find that some of the members of the audience are falling on each other in this meeting and, therefore, it seems that they would not be able to hear me properly. For this purpose I think that you should not expect a lengthy speech from me today. This morning I saw that you had come to receive me in large numbers and in this meeting also I see that a large number of my brothers and sisters are present. For this I am much indebted to them. What is the real meaning of this? It is not that you are showing your affection towards me but it shows that whatever thing you are trying to secure through the efforts of the Congress, you have taken a pledge to take it and you will not sit quite until you get it. From this point of view I wish to give you blessings today.

Last night I had a great desire that I should tell you some other things than those I am going to tell you now. But as we know God does not allow us or does not wish to allow us to fulfil our desires. We know the old proverb: Man proposes and God disposes. The same thing has happened in my case today. If it was the Will of God, you would have got an opportunity to listen from my lips many more new things. But when I landed here today, I tried to collect the true facts about those things, but I was not able to get correct news about them. Therefore, I could not tell you those things to you today.

I have, however, received a sad news that in India there was firing and many of our brave men are killed. Up to this time I had no news about these incidents at all. I also did not know up to this time that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and brother Sherwani have been sent to jail. In the same way there are many other things which I came to know only after my arrival in Bombay. I had no news about them at all. Further I have come to know that during this Christmas Lord Willingdon has given us a present with great love and affection. I have learnt with great sorrow that in India some of our brothers have been killed by firing. Besides, I am told that Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan has been arrested and along with him his brother has also been arrested. I have no doubt that many more will still be arrested in a short time. We also know that there are many others who have been arrested in different provinces but at the present moment we have no full details about them. That is a present given to us by Lord Willingdon during the Christmas holidays. I say, can there be any other valuable present than this that a satyagrahi can get? I would say that if it was our fault and if the blame was with us, then I would have understood it in a different way. It would have been a shameful act on our part if we had committed any faults. But there is nothing of that sort. We should be proud in our hearts that we have not to be blamed for any breaches at all. As far as Khan (Abdul Gaffar Khan) is concerned, I can safely say that he has understood *Satyagraha* in its true sense. And he would never commit any violence. As for Brother Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal, I should not say anything, because you are all well acquainted with them and you know their views. I, therefore, say what more valuable present can a satyagrahi expect than the one given to us by Lord Willingdon?

We have now to consider what is our *Dharma* at the present moment. Government have been taking steps very hastily and there is now a question before us whether we should revive our struggle at present or not. I may tell you frankly that I am not in a position today to say whether we should restart our struggle or not. But I may assure you that if I am advised by the Sardar and other members of the Working Committee to revive our fight, then I would never lag behind. It is, however, my personal opinion that I would try to find out any other way to solve our problem before we restart *Satyagraha*. I know that there are many people in the country who like that I should revive the struggle immediately. But what is the real duty of a real warrior? He will try patience and perseverance. We should, therefore, take things patiently and I am proud to say after my experience about the people in India that Indians have taken lessons how to practise patience and perseverance.

I also wish at this meeting to express my sorrow at the news I received about the two girls murdering a Magistrate without any fault of his. Even though he was at fault, it was not proper for them to murder him. When I received this news on the steamer, I felt very much for it. It is my desire that no man, women or child in India should commit murders in this way. Our fight is for truth, we should always be ready to die and not to kill others, or abuse others. We should never have ill-feeling against anybody in the country. Ours is a fight of love and affection. We have to show love and affection towards Government also when we fight with them for our rights. If you carry on your struggle with love and affection, I am sure that there will never be a poison in your mind against anybody. When I heard the news that these two girls have committed such an act, I felt so much that it is impossible for me to explain to you in words. I only wish that such an act will not be repeated in India.

What is the meaning of the policy that has been adopted by Government in Bengal? I would understand if Government had used the Ordinances for the sake of safeguards against those persons who have actually committed violence there. But if the culprits are not to be found and for that they should make the whole subjects there suffer for the acts of others, then I would say that it is not an act of a brave person. This Government is very brave and they should take out the Ordinances in this way for Bengal, the U. P. and the Frontier Provinces is a shameful act on their part. Before coming to India, I had great hope that I would be able to find out somehow or other whereby we should still have co-operation with Government. But on my landing here today, I am hopeless and I do not know yet what way I should find out now.

The chief thing I want to impress upon your mind is this. I have every hope that every man, woman and even a child will always remain non-violent and will not commit any acts of violence. Today we find that everybody in India is willingly taking part in our struggle; but they should bear in mind that ours is a struggle in which we have ourselves to suffer and not to give troubles to others. We have ourselves to suffer and must be ready to die and never attempt to kill others. Even today we find that young boys are taking part in this struggle and to them it is my request also. It is my desire that we should not revive our struggle very soon. But if there is at all any necessity for us to do so, then you must be prepared for it. You must know that last time when you were carrying on the struggle, you had to take lathi blows, but

this time, if the struggle is revived ; you will have to receive bullets and I ask you to be ready to do so. You must accumulate so much strength to receive bullets. When I was in England I told the people there that unless ten lakhs of people sacrifice their lives in India, we shall never get Independence. I, therefore, appeal to you to be ready for the next fight, if there is any necessity at all ; you should not have any fear for death. You should remove all frightfulness from your mind. You must understand that death would come to you in the same way as you go to pay and visit to your dear friend.

In the same way death will pay you a visit and you should be ever ready to embrace it. This one condition you should not forget and what is it ? You should never have ill feeling against the British people. Our attitude should be to suffer and not to kill others as these two girls did. When I was in England, I personally visited several parts of Europe and from whatever conversations I had with the people there I found that their devotion towards India has become much more powerful than before. You must know that if you have enough strength to suffer, then you will be able to win over even a man with an adamant heart.

There were many persons in India who thought that when I went to England, my eyes would be opened and I would come to know many more new things. But now that I have returned from Europe, I may say safely that I have not learnt any new things at all. On the other hand I find that whatever things I had in mind before have become stronger than before; they have become firm than ever. Those old thoughts are still there with me.

I also wish to tell you another thing from my experience in England. I find that the Prime Minister in England honestly believes that India is not yet fit for Swaraj. He says that although the Congress preaches the principle of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) it is only to show it outside and not from the heart. They believe that even though a Congressman may say that he is for non-violence, but he is really not so from his heart. That is their honest belief and why is it so ? It is because the officers in India send them reports that the Congress is quite unfit for Swaraj. It is on that account we find today that the Congress committees in some parts of India have been declared unfit and illegal also.

In spite of this fact, what is our *Dharma* ? It is our duty that we should not get angry with the British people for what they say. On the other hand it is our duty to remove all the shortcomings that we have. Our attitude should always be non-violent and truthful ; we have taken a pledge to remain non-violent and we should keep that pledge till the last moment. Those men and women who have taken the Congress pledge must try their best to keep it and if they do so, then they will even be able to win over all the laws in the country. But if they do not believe in the pledge, then they should leave the Congress and go out of it. But if they want to do the work through the Congress, then it is their duty to adopt their non-violent attitude and carry on the Congress work. The Congress principle is that you should be ready to die¹ and offer sacrifices to win Independence for India. I have every hope that our brothers and sisters, who are the members of the Congress and also those who are non-Congressmen will not forget the principle of non-violence. As I told you, if you do not want to observe this principle, it is your religion to leave the Congress and work outside it ; but as long as you are within the Congress fold, you should observe this principle of non-violence. By our remaining non-violent in the struggle, we have got the prestige in the whole world and if we continue that principle, I am sure we shall be able to increase

Gandhiji's preparedness to die was his great strength for fighting for a cause.

our prestige in the world and thereby will win Independence in a short time. But if we do not observe that principle, I may say that we shall never be able to win Swaraj for India. It is my prayer to you ; it is my request to you all that you will always bear in mind this principle of non-violence. You should not discard that principle, because we did not win Swaraj up to now. We have to remain peaceful and non-violent in order to win Swaraj and in doing so, if we have to pass hundreds of years, we should not get tired but continue our efforts towards that end on the principle of non-violence. You must have full faith in you. If you have full faith, then you will win Swaraj in a few days. You should not get despair and should not give up that faith, if you do so, then you should think that the Independence that we want is already into your laps. The only thing will be that we shall not be able to exercise our rights on that Independence. But it will not go on for ever ; time will come when we shall get that right also if we incessantly carry on our struggle on the same principle.

I understand that it is the desire of Government that Congress should not re-start Civil Disobedience Movement. If they (Congress) do not start satyagraha, then Government would again be prepared to make truce with the Congress. But I may tell Government that satyagraha is not such a thing that we shall be prepared to give it up so easily. Congress will continue its satyagraha, the moment it finds that there is disrespect or insult to the country. I may assure that we shall be able to win Independence through the work of the Congress and in the end you will find that Government will be compelled to come to the Congress and make settlement with it. I have already said in England that if Government want to have any hand in the further constitution of India, or if the Congress succeeds in winning Independence, it is certain that Government will have to take the advice of the Congress first.

I am speaking on your behalf and tell the world as well as to the Government that Congress is not made up of only one man ; Congress is not only composed of Hindus alone ; in its fold there are the Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Jews and Sikhs. All these communities are taking part in the Congress work. Congress doors are also open to the British people living in India, if they really have got the interests of India at heart. There is no difference or distinction between any community in the Congress fold. Whatever claim I made in England about the Congress as to its representative character, I make the same claim clear to you here and say that the Congress is representative of the whole of India.

As I have told you, Congress is for all and whether you are a member of the Congress or not, it is your duty to serve the Congress with devotion and try to increase its prestige in the eyes of the whole world. I shall tell now two things more and finish my speech.

As you know we were not able to come to any settlement in the matter of the fight between the Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs, etc. in England (communal question we were not able to solve). I had known it before that it would so happen. Because I know that the communal question must be solved here in India and it will not be settled anywhere outside India. You are aware that the Congress tried their level best to solve this question before and even now it will not remain silent without adopting some means to solve this problem. Congress is ready to serve all in India. It will serve the Hindus, the Mussalmans, the Sikhs and other communities. If Congress is willing to serve them, then where will these brothers of ours go ? They will surely in the end come to the Congress and join their other brothers. When all these communities come to the Congress, then they will take possession of the Congress and at last you will find that this caste distinction will go away from amongst us completely.

Another question is about the untouchables. I may tell you that I am myself untouchable. I have been working for the untouchables not now, but my whole life has been spent in the service of the depressed classes. I have been doing work for them, before I began serving the Congress. Therefore, they should never think that I would do them any injustice in securing for them political rights. This morning I came to learn that some of these untouchable brothers got angry with the Congressmen and injured about 5—25 men. I may tell them that according to the Hindu religion, violence is a greatest sin; there is no greater sin than committing violence. Even though they have committed this act of violence, it is our duty not to get angry with them. On the other hand we must make a request to them to remain always non-violent and fight for their rights. We should try to remove this dirt from the body of the untouchables (dirt of violence). I assure them that we do not mind if you occupy all the seats in the Councils; we shall be glad on that account. But let them remember that if they want full reservation of seats, they must win Independence first and then fight for that reservation. This is not a thing that they would get by a legislation nor by force. The so-called high class of Hindus honestly believe that they would certainly be willing to give full rights to the untouchables. They believe that if they did not bring the untouchables to the high level, then the Independence we shall get will be of no value at all. Independence for India itself means that no man or woman whether he is an untouchable or belongs to any other community would be degraded in the least. If we take away the rights of the untouchables by passing legislations, then there will not be any more shameful thing than this. It is my prayer to God that our depressed class brothers may get better sense to remain non-violent and carry on the struggle for Independence. I may assure my depressed class brothers that I have not forgotten and will never forget the claim for their rights that they have put forth in England before the British people. If I forget their claim, then I will certainly be committing a greatest sin. Whenever I have to discuss such a question, I shall always bear in mind their claims. I simply wish that our untouchable brothers and sisters should come into the Congress fold and make it immortal.

I do not wish to speak anything more on this occasion. I am thankful to my brothers and sisters who have assembled here for hearing me patiently. Now there is no time for me to tell you as to what happened in London. But I shall certainly take another opportunity to tell you the full facts, if fortunately I am free (if I am not arrested in the meantime). Otherwise, during the course of time you will learn what happened in London. At the present moment, I will pray to God to give you strength for making preparations for the next fight, if there is at all any necessity to revive our struggle. I pray to Him that he may give you power and strength for sufferings. It should be always your duty to be ready to suffer but not to give any sort of troubles to others. I am still trying to collect the news in India in full and do not wish to take any hasty steps at the present moment. I shall try my best to see if there is any way left open to us for settlement with Government. Till that time you should always remain quiet and make preparations for sufferings. I have every hope that everybody in the country will get that much strength to control himself. In conclusion I again pray to God to give me power to find out a plan for settlement and also He may give you strength to be always ready to suffer and die for the sake of your country.

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M. K. Gandhi's Interview to Press

Bombay, 28 December, 1931.

In a brief conversation with pressmen, Gandhiji stated that he had closely studied the Premier's statement and the India debate. He would deal with that subject at the public meeting tonight. One thought of the Government's latest action in arresting Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Sherwani and Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a challenge to the Congress, but it was for the Congress President to state that those Government activities amounted to a breach of the Delhi Pact.

Questioned about his attitude towards the sub-committees set up by His Majesty's Government to carry on the Conference work, Gandhiji said that it was too early to state his attitude. All the material was not before him. It was for the Government to consider how the Committees could work if the atmosphere was uncongenial.

Gandhiji considered the Round Table Conference a debating society. It was not representative in the sense it was claimed to be. It was not a 'Round Table' in the right sense.

Asked whether he was convinced now that the signing of the truce was a great blunder, he said, "No", and added that it was an act of statesmanship. He agreed that the recent developments in Bengal, U. P. and the Frontier were a challenge to the Congress, but he reserved action till the decision of the Congress Working Committee. He added the Round Table Conference was a debating society. Asked if he believed that the Delhi Pact was dead he said it was for the Congress President to say.

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47

M. K. Gandhi's Speech At Welfare Of India League, Bombay¹

28 December, 1931.

When I received the cable from Mr. David just before I left England inviting me to attend this meeting, I felt it was impossible for me to avoid this invitation. And so I cabled him in reply asking to arrange the time with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, because naturally he has to his disposal all the time at my disposal. It is a great pleasure to me to be able to address you this evening.

¹ The meeting, held at Majestic Hotel at 10 p. m., was presided over by Sir Stanley Reed. Among those present were Prabhashankar Pattani, Pheroze Sethna, Nassarvanji Choksy, Vallabhbhai Patel and some members of the Congress Working Committee.

My intention when I accepted this invitation was to speak to you this evening on what I saw in England. But, on landing in India, all my plans have been upset by the startling news that I have heard about the situation here. I wished to speak to you and to the Congress about the many things I have seen in England and in Europe. They have got their dark side as also the bright side of the picture. There were things I saw from which I had every reason for hope. But there were also things which held out no hopes at all. I would gladly have spoken to you what I saw in England and in Europe. But now with the situation before me as it is, I shall have to speak to you largely about the events that face me and face you as those who want to promote the welfare of this country.

But I want to assure you that, wherever I went in London, in England or in Europe, I was surrounded with the greatest amount of affection and I felt that there was no truth in Kipling's saying that the East and West would never meet. I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my three months' stay in England and Europe that has made me feel that, after all, East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter in what clime it flourishes, that if you approached people with trust and affection, you would have tenfold and thousandfold affection returned to you.

Though I cannot say I have achieved anything from the R.T.C. in terms of the Congress demand, I do not consider my visit to England has been useless. On the contrary, I feel that it was a good thing that I was able to go through this experience, which has further enabled me to put to test the efficiency of the methods that I have been employing for the last 30 years in connection with public questions. But I must close this part of my speech about my experiences, because instead of finding an echo of this experience in India, I find myself face to face with grim facts.

Whilst I could not say that the Round Table Conference or the Prime Minister's declaration has offered anything that would positively satisfy the Congress, I could say that there was an honest effort on the part of the British Ministers to understand the Indian situation, although they could not appreciate the Indian viewpoint as I conceive it. Instead of finding an atmosphere responsive to the expectations raised by the Prime Minister's declarations, supported by the speech of the Secretary of State for India, I find that there is absolutely no atmosphere to answer the granting of limited responsibility to India, as had been defined in the speech of the Secretary of State for India.

I am here to testify that of all the Ministers I had the privilege of meeting I found the Secretary of State for India to be an honest and frank-hearted Englishman. I had no difficulty in understanding what was at the back of his mind and every interview with him brought me nearer to him and we parted as the best of friends, as I did with all the other Ministers.

But when I come here, I find a different order of things altogether. Here is the Frontier trouble. Side by side with the declaration that the Frontier Province is about to be placed on the same footing as the other Provinces, you find in that Province today an Ordinance for which I cannot find any parallel whatsoever. If you have not studied it thoroughly, I commend it to you. I have not myself studied it carefully. I have gone through the brief Press reports that are available. But I cannot tell myself that this is a human piece of legislation, if at all it can be called legislation.

This Ordinance gives no protection for life or property. The ostensible aim of this Ordinance is to put down the activities of the brave people of the Frontier with a heavy hand. I know Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his band of Khudai Khidmatgars. But I do not know of anything that has been done by these Red Shirts—the Khudai Khidmatgars—which means the servants of God. I know of the greatness of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He is a brave Pathan. He is a simple-hearted, sincere and honest man and he walks in the fear of God. Even some of the officials in the North-West Frontier have testified to his honesty. But now he has been deported with a band of his men.

And what is his crime? His crime is that he wanted independence for his Province and for India, his crime is that he did not attend the Durbar that was held recently to consider the ways and means to give a new form of Government to that Province. Beyond that he had done nothing, neither have any of those thousands of followers of his done anything. Was it their crime that they were wearing red shirts? And on top of this we have received reports that they have been shot down for defying the Ordinance. Civil disobedience should be punished because that is the essence of civil disobedience. A civil resister courts suffering and punishment. But I have not seen or heard anywhere that the penalty for defying law, apart from violence done by the civil resisters, is to meet them with bullets. We have already reports that 14 people have been killed when the troops opened fire on a crowd of Red Shirts and spectators. We have no report of the casualties when the troops fired on a second occasion on a body of 2,000 Red Shirts. The casualties must be severer. More is perhaps to follow.

This is certainly an exceedingly unhappy augury for changing the Frontier Province into an autonomous province. It is a bad augury that one of its bravest men should have been deported at this time and several men killed because they have shown themselves to be brave in defying an Ordinance which is only legalized martial law.

Now I come to the United Provinces. And what do I find there? Here Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Sherwani have been arrested. And what did they do? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to attend a conference that was to be held. But, instead of attending it, what he did was to postpone it to a later date because of some conditions that have been imposed by the Government which he thought were not consistent with self-respect. He postponed it pending the decisions of the Congress Working Committee which is meeting here tomorrow. He wanted to ascertain what steps should be taken after consultation with me and the Working Committee members in the light of my experience at the Round Table Conference. But the Government served an order on him that he should not leave the limits of the Allahabad Municipality without taking permission from the Government authorities. He wrote a letter to the Magistrate intimating his intention to proceed to Bombay to receive me. But he and Mr. Sherwani have been arrested.

But the arrests do not worry me at all. But it is the Ordinance that is now in existence in the U. P. which troubles me very much. It is almost of the same type as the Frontier Ordinance. There are enough Ordinances to the credit of Lord Irwin. But there are already thirteen Ordinances to Lord Willingdon's credit. These thirteen Ordinances outdo all Lord Irwin's Ordinances by their severity.

Now I pass on to Bengal. I might be told in Bengal you cannot possibly complain about the Ordinance because crime has been committed there. Some Bengali youths have run amuck and committed assassination. I have always been shocked by murderous violence. But I am more pained now that I hear that even girls have taken to these deeds of terrorism. But, because a few persons ran amuck, how can the whole Province be emasculated? The effect of it will be to wean away even the sympathizers of the Government as an Ordinance such as prevails there interferes with the everyday life of the people of that Province. I have discussed this Ordinance with many public men in England and there was nothing but condemnation for the same.

This, in brief, is the picture of the situation I find myself face to face with. There does not appear to be any choice for me.

But at the same time I have pledged myself to so many British friends that I would try my level best, in spite of the disappointment at the Round Table Conference so far as the Congress demand is concerned, to continue co-operation with the Government. But, from what I have seen since I landed, I must confess to you that I see very little hope for tendering any co-operation unless I lose all my sense of self-respect.

I would be doing the greatest injustice to myself and to the nation if I advised co-operation now unless I could see some light down on the horizon which just now seems to be in impenetrable darkness.

I do not know how you, the members of the Welfare of India League, view these Ordinances. But I assure you that I shall strain every nerve to see, if I could not tender co-operation on honourable lines, to induce Government to withdraw or revise these Ordinances.

The Congress is charged with trying to run a parallel Government by the Governor of the United Provinces. I do not see what is wrong in running parallel Governments, so long as they are run on non-violent lines and in the interest of the people. What is wrong in a private organization of individuals running hospitals? What even if they run, side by side with Government law courts, arbitration courts where justice could be had at less cost to the people.

The Government should welcome such enterprises and give every encouragement to them. If the Congress is running a peasant organization, as it is running today, for the relief and the welfare of the peasants, what is wrong in that? I would welcome it if I were the Governor.

The Congress does intend to displace this Government at some time. If the Congress is not able to take charge of the Government, then there is no hope of Swaraj coming. The question was put to the Congress: "Are you ready to take over the defence of the country? Are you ready to take over the finance of the country and also take over the obligations of the country?"

I replied: "It is ready. The Congress is undoubtedly ready to take over charge of defence, of finance and also of the obligations you might consider India is liable for. But only in a truly business like way they should get all the obligations examined by an impartial examiner. Unless the Congress tries its hand at these matters, how can it learn and thrive?"

So what is there disloyal or seditious in organizations trying to run parallel Governments, based on the goodwill of the people whom the organization claims to serve.

It was the very foundation of the Congress to be able one day to replace the present Government. It has been laid down by such eminent persons like Dadabhai Naoroji and many other Englishmen and Indians. So after its life of more than half a century, if it is not able to run a parallel Government, I would say we should all be ashamed of it.

The Congress has done nothing immoral, nothing ungentlemanly. It is not a secret organization. It always spreads out its cards on the table. And if still the Government should mistrust it as they seem to, then all I can say is that we will have to make our power felt or allow ourselves to perish in doing so.

I would request you, members of the Welfare of India League, to direct me in this matter. I have placed before you, so to say, my puzzle. If the Congress is not trusted, how can it give co-operation? The welfare of India is a common interest between you and me and the Congress. The Congress does not live for anything else than the welfare of India and I have myself no other aim in living this life. It may be that I and the Congress are going the wrong way about it. I am open to correction and conviction. So I would request you all to study the situation in the light of my speech and I shall be glad to answer any questions that you may put to me based on my speech for better understanding and for my own guidance.

Q.—Will you co-operate with the working of the various R. T. C. Committees, which would commence work in India soon if all the Ordinances are withdrawn?

A.—I have already explained that the Ordinances block the way. Firstly, the Ordinances must go. Secondly, the Congress must be satisfied that its goal can be reached through co-operation with the Committees. I can hold out no hope of the Congress reducing its demands. But if the Congress is satisfied that the door is open for argument and negotiation in regard to its demands, I would advise the Congress to tender its co-operation in the work of the Committees.

Q.—Before condemning these Ordinances as you have done, why don't you please proceed to the Provinces where these Ordinances are in force and study the conditions there personally and see if they are not justified?

A.—I would be most glad to do so if the Government permitted me to do so. I have tried several times to go to the Frontier Province. But on all these occasions the Government have stood in the way, at least the Government have not shown any encouragement for this move of co-operation. I am divulging no official secret to you when I say that when the Delhi Pact was signed, Ghaffar Khan was on the brain of the Executive. I requested Lord Irwin to allow me to go to the

Frontier. But Lord Irwin, after consultation with the Commissioner of the Frontier, came to the conclusion that it was a dangerous thing to send me there. I was told that I would create ferment there and whatever I might say would be misinterpreted to the tribesmen. I tried another time in Simla with Lord Willingdon with no better success. I could have proceeded without taking permission, but I did not want to embarrass the Government. If the Government would permit me to proceed to the Frontier tomorrow, I shall rush to that place. So, if those of you here who have got the ear of the Government can procure for me this permission, I shall directly start for the Frontier, I would love to go there tomorrow itself.

Q.—Will you not agree to go to the Frontier and Bengal on Government's terms ?

A.—No, I cannot, if Government will allow me to serve them, it must be on my own terms. I cannot go to the brave Abdul Ghaffar Khan and tell him that it is wrong to long for independence for the Frontier or for India. If you want a bird to fly, you must not clip its wings and then say : you can fly now. That is what the Government want to do. They clip my wings and then want me to fly. The Government must let me grow in strength, if they will let me serve them.

I can really make things easy. The Government knows that Abdul Ghaffar Khan would pay heed to my words. I have lived with the Pathans and moved with them. I have also been assaulted by them and that has ever been a link between them and me. So long as he (Ghaffar Khan) is satisfied that I have not betrayed the cause, he would certainly abide by my advice. It was on my advice that he went and saw the Commissioner some time ago. But the Government will not accept my services.

I also intend to visit Bengal. The situation is different in regard to Bengal. I need not ask for permission to go to Bengal. But once I go to Bengal, I will write to the Government and place my co-operation at their service as I will at the service of the people of Bengal. It will be for the Government to accept my service or not. But I will not go to Chittagong or Hijli without asking the Bengal Government if I may do so without embarrassment to them. I can go to the Frontier, I can go to Chittagong and to Hijli, whether the Government will it or not; I can practise civil disobedience if the authorities issue prohibitory orders. But I will not go to the Frontier, Chittagong or Hijli, at the cost of practising civil disobedience. If I do so, I will be embarrassing the Government greatly which is what I do not want to do. If I decide to offer civil disobedience, I shall choose, as a satyagrahi, a ground that offers to the Government the minimum embarrassment and puts the Government in the wrong.

Q.—If you are satisfied that there is a seditious organization existing in Bengal, would you ask for the repeal of the Ordinances ?

A.—The word 'sedition' is a very elastic term. But I understand the spirit of the question. If these organizations are trying to subvert law and order and trying to usurp the powers of the Government, it is certainly the duty of the Government to deal with such activities. But all the difference lies in the method of dealing with the same. The same question was put to me in England : "How would you deal with terrorism if the Congress were running the Government ?" I then replied : "Give

me the power and I shall show that." I would deal with an organization of that character in the most sympathetic manner. There is the ordinary law which could alone deal with any kind of crime. Then why have recourse to Ordinances, which only help to estrange the feelings of the people on whom it operates. I yield to none in my condemnation of crimes, but these Ordinances instead of weaning away people from terrorism only accentuate it.

No society would tolerate the taking of innocent lives as was done by the Bengal youths. But why punish 50,000 for the crime of five? If I were the Secretary of State or the Governor-General, I would ask the Bengal Governor to resign his place when he asked for the promulgation of an Ordinance. But I would not rest there. I would dive into the root cause of this discontent and try to cure that first.

The Governor should invite the prominent leaders into his secret chamber and take them into his confidence and discuss the question threadbare and find out the means to check and stop such crime.

Mutual trust is what he wants. The Archbishop of Canterbury told me that he had understood what was at the back of the Indian problem and he had understood it well when he said that it is mutual trust we want.

Bengal has its grievances. The Bengal youths are courageous, emotional and patriotic and so speeches like those delivered in the House of Commons decrying the bravery of Bengal drive them to extremes. As I said before, I yield to none : not even Englishmen, in my condemnation of crime. But it should be dealt within the ordinary course of law.

The Congress creed of non-violence has done a great deal to check terrorism. But the methods of General Dyer would not do. I have no enmity or irritation against General Dyer. I know he was an honest man who believed in what he was doing and who justified his actions in India.

But the Dyer method is wrong. English lives in India must not be saved by Dyer methods.

The atmosphere created by the Ordinances is certainly not conducive to hammering out a Constitution for the country as it is proposed to do. If you think young India will look at any Constitution evolved in the atmosphere of the Ordinances, it is a forlorn hope.

It is no use saying that Indian loyalists say 'Yes' to Government in support of these methods. I tell you even these loyalists when they say 'Yes' to the Government, they say at the back of their minds 'no'. As one who is of the people, who lives amongst them, who lives for them, I claim to know the reaction of the Indian mind to these Ordinances better than the Governor-General who issues these Ordinances living in Simla or Delhi, better than all his advisers put together.

Q.—Would you not try to stamp out the terrorist movement to the exclusion of all your other activities?

A.—The Congress campaign of non-violence, I firmly believe, has done a great deal to check terrorism. I am speaking with evidence. I know of any number of cases in which the Congress message has won to the cause of non-violence ex-revolutionaries. Today, I can vouch for their non-violence as I can vouch for my own. These patriotic young men are engaged in constructive work.

Q.—If you were in power, would you allow another organization to run a parallel Government and usurp your place ?

A.—When I said that I did not see any harm in organizations running parallel Governments, I did not mean usurpation. My friend has put a word into my mouth which I never used. If these organizations run a parallel Government for the good of the people, I would certainly give them all encouragement. See what Dictator Mussolini is doing in Italy. He never interferes with voluntary activities for the betterment of the country.

I am dying for co-operation and shall not rest till I have explored all avenues. I appeal to you, Englishmen and women, to ponder over the facts I have placed before you tonight and do your bit for creating an atmosphere of love and peace in this country.

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M. K. Gandhi to Viceroy

29th December, 1931 (Telegram)

I was unprepared on landing yesterday to find Frontier and U. P. ordinances shootings in Frontier and arrests of valued comrades in both on top of the Bengal Ordinance awaiting me. I do not know whether I am to regard these as indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress. I would esteem a wire in reply.

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M. K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Viceroy

1 January, 1932.

I thank His Excellency for the wire in reply to mine of 29th instant. It grieves me. For His Excellency has rejected in a manner hardly befitting his high position an advance made in the friendliest spirit. I had approached as seeker wanting light on questions in which I desired to understand Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference. Instead of appreciating my advance His Excellency has rejected it by asking me to repudiate my valued colleagues in advance and telling me that even if I became guilty of such dishonourable conduct and sought an interview I could not even discuss these matters of vital importance to the nation.

In my opinion, constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in face of ordinances and acts which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, result in utter demoralization of nation. I hope no self-respecting Indian will run risk of killing national spirit for a doubtful contingency of securing a constitution to work which no nation with stamina may be left. Let me also point out that as to the Frontier Province your telegram contains a narration of facts which, on face of them, furnish no warrant for arrests of popular leaders, passing of extra-legal ordinance, making life and property utterly insecure and shooting unarmed peaceful crowds for daring to demonstrate against arrests of their trusted leaders. If Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar asserted the right of complete independence it was a natural claim and a claim made with impunity by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 and by me with energy put before the British Government in London. Moreover, let me remind the Viceroy that despite the knowledge on Government's part that Congress mandate contained such claim, I was invited to attend London Conference as Congress delegate. Nor am I able to detect in a mere refusal to attend Durbar an offence warranting summary imprisonment. If Khan Saheb was fomenting racial hatred it was undoubtedly regrettable. I have his own declarations to the contrary made to me. But assuming that he did foment racial hatred, he was entitled to open trial, where he could have defended himself against accusation. Regarding the United Provinces, His Excellency is surely misinformed, because there was no no-rent campaign authorised by Congress, but whilst negotiations were proceeding between Government and Congress representatives the time for collection of rents actually arrived and rents began to be demanded. Congressmen were therefore obliged to advise tenants to suspend payment pending the result of negotiations and Mr. Sherwani had offered on behalf of the Congress to withdraw this advice if the authorities suspended collection pending negotiations. I venture to suggest that this is not a matter which can be so summarily dismissed as your wire has done. Controversy in the United Provinces is of a long standing and involves well-being of millions of peasantry known to be economically ground down. Any Government jealous of the welfare of the masses in its charge would welcome voluntary co-operation of a body like the Congress which admittedly exercises great influence over the masses and whose one ambition is to serve them faithfully. And let me add that I regard the withholding of payment of taxes as an inalienable ancient and natural right of a people who have exhausted all other means of seeking freedom from an unbearable economic burden. I must repudiate suggestion that the Congress has slightest desire to promote disorder in any shape or form. As to Bengal, the Congress is at one with the Government in condemning assassinations and should heartily co-operate with the Government in measures that may be found necessary to stamp out such crimes. But whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasured terms the methods of terrorism it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and acts done thereunder, but must resist within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence such measures of legalized Government terrorism. I heartily assent to the proposition laid down in your telegram that co-operation must be mutual but your telegram leads me irresistibly to the conclusion that His Excellency demands co-operation from the Congress without returning any on behalf

of Government. I can read in no other way his peremptory refusal to discuss these matters which, as I have endeavoured to show, have at least two sides. Popular side I have put as I understand it, but before committing myself to definite judgment, I was anxious to understand the other side, that is, the Government side, and then tender my advice to the Congress. With reference to the last paragraph of your telegram I may not repudiate moral liability for the actions of my colleagues, whether in the Frontier Province or in the United Provinces, but I confess that I was ignorant of the detailed actions and activities of my colleagues whilst I was absent from India, and it was because it was necessary for me to advise and guide the Working Committee of the Congress and in order to complete my knowledge, I sought with an open mind and with the best of intentions an interview with His Excellency and deliberately asked for his guidance. I cannot conceal from His Excellency my opinion that the reply he has condescended to send was hardly a return for my friendly and well-meant approach, and if it is not yet too late, I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as a friend without imposing any conditions whatsoever as to the scope or subject of discussion, and I, on my part, can promise that I would study with an open mind all the facts that he might put before me. I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective Provinces and with the aid of the authorities study both sides of the question and if I came to the conclusion after such a study that the people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee including myself were misled as to the correct position, and that the Government was right, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in making that open confession and guiding the Congress accordingly. Along with my desire and willingness to co-operate with Government I must place my limitation before His Excellency. Non-violence is my absolute creed. I believe that civil disobedience is not only the natural right of people especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government. But that it also is an effective substitute for violence or armed rebellion. I can never, therefore, deny my creed. In pursuance thereof and on the strength of uncontradicted reports supported by recent activities of the Government of India to the effect that there may be no other opportunity for me to guide the public, the Working Committee has accepted my advice and passed a resolution tentatively sketching a plan of civil disobedience. I am sending herewith text of resolution. If His Excellency thinks it worth while to see me pending out discussion operation of the resolution will be suspended in hope it may result in the resolution being finally given up. I admit that correspondence between His Excellency and myself is of such grave importance as not to brook delay in publication. I am therefore, sending my telegram, your reply, this rejoinder and the Working Committee's resolution for publication.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 1/H/3717

2 January 1932.

Congress Volunteers.—In anticipation of Government action the president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has given instructions to disband all the old volunteers and to enrol only those volunteers who were ready to participate in the struggle when started.

Congress House.—On account of persistent rumours that ordinances will soon come into force in Bombay, the Congress House cleared of all important documents and furniture yesterday evening. Three lorries were used for the transport of this property. The furniture, including cup-boards, chairs etc., has been deposited in the compound of Kalyanji House on Girgaum Back Road. Important papers etc., have been removed by the volunteers to different places.

Bombay Youth League.—The Executive Committee of the Bombay Youth League has invested Y. J. Meherali, its Vice-president, with all the powers to carry out all the functions of the League and to place its resources at the disposal of the Congress.

Nau Javan Bharat Sabha.—Dr. G. Y. Chitnis, the President of the Nau Javan Bharat Sabha¹, invited Subhas Bose to his residence at Laburnum Road yesterday morning. About half a dozen Nau Javans were present at the interview. It is not known what advice he actually gave to the Nau Javans as to their future line of action but it is learnt that he refused to comply with their request to address a public meeting on their behalf.

Vithalbhair Patel on "The Present Situation".—Under the auspices of the Matunga Taluka Congress Committee, Vithalbhair J. Patel delivered a public lecture on the present situation on the maidan near Napoo Hall, Matunga, on the night of the 31st. About 3,000 persons were present. B.N. Maheshvari, who presided, formally introduced the speaker as his political guru. Patel was garlanded on behalf of several institutions of Matunga. In the course of his speech he said that in the first instance it was necessary for the Puri Congress to decide the exact meaning of the words "Complete Independence". He said that no man, however great, had the right to interpret complete independence as Dominion Status or partnership with Britain. He said that the Working Committee had three courses open. In the first instance it had to see whether the statement contained in the White Paper was a sufficient basis for

¹Nau Javan Bharat Sabha was a radical youth movement founded in March 1926 which had grown markedly since 1928 among students. It aimed at immediate independence of India by radical measures. Its main base was in the Punjab. Sardar Bhagat Singh and Batukesh Dutta were the guiding spirits of the Nau Javan Bharat Sabha. Its relationship with the Congress was ambivalent, while the leftist Congressmen had definitely encouraged the Sabha's radical policy. A parallel organisation to the Sabha was the Kirti-Kisan Conference in the Punjab.

further co-operation in the work of the Round Table Conference. If it was satisfied that it was so then it could whole-heartedly co-operate with Government. If not, the Working Committee could refuse to co-operate and go ahead with the constructive programme of the Congress or call upon the nation to launch the movement once again, including civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. He warned the people that the Government was prepared to crush their movement however non-violent it might be and that therefore they should be prepared to undergo any amount of suffering.

Subhas Chandra Bose on "Swadeshi".—Under the auspices of the Kalbadevi Swadeshi Pracharak Mandal, a public meeting, attended by about 500 persons, was held at Popatwadi on the night of the 31st when Mulraj Karsondas presided, Subhas Chandra Bose said that the idea of Swadeshism started in Bengal in the year 1905 and since then it had gained immense strength throughout India. During the last struggle it was one of the weapons which brought Government to terms as embodied in the Delhi Pact. Personally he was against any settlement with Government and the public could now judge how the Government was behaving during the period of truce. Nothing was done in connection with Hijli and Chittagong outrages beyond whitewashing through the appointment of committees. He maintained that the shooting of unarmed detenus was uncalled for and the perpetrators were moving about with impunity as Government would not punish them. The situation in India had assumed a serious aspect and Government had commenced to rule by Ordinances which showed its weakness. The only remedy for the people was to carry out the boycott of British goods when advised by the Working Committee. He hoped the people would face the Ordinances unflinchingly. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mulraj Karsondas appealed to the people to take to Swadeshi and regard the Congress as the only institution of political influence in India.

Independence Day.—On account of rumours about the impending arrests of leaders consequent upon the unsatisfactory reply to Mr. Gandhi from the Viceroy, there was no demonstration on the Independence Day.

Congress Working Committee.—The Working Committee of the Congress received H. E. the Viceroy's reply on the 31st. After reading it, the members declared that it was unsatisfactory. They, however, continued their deliberations behind closed doors upto 2 a.m. on the morning of the 1st when they issued a statement to the press giving their decision to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement again and placing before the public a clear-cut programme. On the 1st the members of the Working Committee again met and after a whole day's deliberations passed resolutions appealing to all Nations, commercial associations, *zamindars* and the millowners explaining the attitude of the Congress and soliciting their support in furtherance of the programme of civil disobedience laid before the public by the Working Committee that morning.

The Working Committee was dissolved yesterday evening and the members were permitted to return to their provinces. Mr. Gandhi has been staying for a couple of days expecting a reply from H. E. the Viceroy to his telegram and anticipated his arrest. A good number of people have been visiting Mr. Gandhi as it is commonly believed that he would be soon arrested. Dr. Ansari, Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya,

Konda Venkatapayya, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Syed Mahmood and Abul Kalam Azad left yesterday for their homes. Sardul Singh, C. Rajagopalchari and B. Samba Murti left for Madras today. M. S. Aney left for Panvel by motor. Subhas Bose is leaving today for Calcutta.

A deputation of cloth merchants and other commercial associations waited on Mr. Gandhi yesterday. They were asked by Mr. Gandhi to help his movement and many of them are reported to have agreed to help him in the matter of the boycott programme of the Congress.

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Resolution of The Congress Working Committee

Bombay, 1 January 1932.

The Working Committee has heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his visit to the West and considered the situation created by the Extraordinary Ordinances promulgated in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Frontier Province and by the actions of the authorities including the numerous arrests made among those of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and by the shootings in the Frontier Province of innocent men resulting in many deaths and many more being injured. The Working Committee has also seen the telegram from His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the telegrams sent by Mahatma Gandhi to him. The Working Committee is of opinion that these several acts and others of lesser gravity that have taken place in some other Provinces and the telegram from His Excellency seem to make further co-operation with the Government on the part of the Congress utterly impossible unless the Government policy is radically changed. These acts and the telegram betray no intention on the part of bureaucracy to hand power to the people and are calculated to demoralize the Nation. They also betray want of faith in the Congress from which co-operation is expected by the Government. The Working Committee yields to no one in its abhorrence of terrorism on any account whatsoever resorted to by individuals such as was recently witnessed in Bengal, but it condemns with equal force terrorism practised (by the Government) by its recent Acts and Ordinances. The Working Committee marks the deep national humiliation over the assassination committed by two girls in Comilla and is firmly convinced that such crime does great harm to the nation especially when through its greatest political mouthpiece-the Congress-it is pledged to non-violence for achieving swaraj. But the Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the Bengal Ordinance which seeks to punish a whole people for the crime of a few. The real remedy lies in dealing with the known cause that prompts such crime. If Bengal Ordinance has no justification for its existence the Ordinances in the United Provinces and the Frontier Province have still less. The Working Committee is of opinion that the measures taken by the Congress in the United Provinces for obtaining agrarian relief are and can be shown to be justified. The

Working Committee holds that it is the unquestionable right of all people suffering from grave economic distress, as the tenantry of the United Provinces is admittedly suffering, to withhold payment of taxes if they fail, as in the United Provinces they have failed, to obtain redress by other constitutional methods. In the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sherwani, the President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Working General Secretary of the Congress, who were proceeding to Bombay to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the meeting of the Working Committee, the Government have gone even beyond the limits contemplated by their Ordinance, in that there was no question whatsoever of these gentlemen taking part in Bombay in a no-tax campaign in the United Provinces. So far as the Frontier Province is concerned, on the Government's own showing there appears to be no warrant for either the promulgation of the Ordinance or the arrest and imprisonment without trial of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his co-workers. The Working Committee regards the shootings in that Province of innocent and unarmed men to be wanton and inhuman and congratulates the brave men of the Frontier Province upon their courage and endurance, and the Working Committee has no doubt that, if the brave people of the Frontier Province retain their non-violent spirit in spite of the gravest provocations, their blood and their sufferings would advance the cause of India's independence. The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these Ordinances, the necessity of superseding the ordinary courts of law and legislative machinery, and the necessity of several acts committed thereunder. And thereafter, if a proper enquiry is set up and all facilities are given to the Working Committee for the production of evidence, it will be prepared to assist the enquiry by placing evidence before it. The Working Committee has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the Round Table Conference and the debates in the Houses of Parliament and regards the declaration as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing short of Complete Independence, carrying full control over the Defence and External Affairs and Finance with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of the nation, can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory. The Working Committee notes that the British Government was not prepared at the Round Table Conference to regard the Congress as representing and entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of caste, creed or colour. At the same time, the Committee recognizes with sorrow that communal harmony could not be attained at the said Conference. The Working Committee invites the nation, therefore, to make ceaseless effort to demonstrate the capacity of the Congress to represent the nation as a whole and promote an atmosphere that would make a Constitution framed on a purely national basis acceptable to the various communities composing the nation. Meanwhile, the Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government provided His Excellency the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the Ordinances and its recent Acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim for Complete Independence, and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives pending the attainment of such independence. The absence of any satisfactory response from the

Government in terms of the foregoing paragraph the Working Committee will regard as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi Pact. In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming, the Working Committee calls upon the nation to resume civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes under the following conditions and illustrative heads : (1) No Province or district or tahsil or village is bound to take up civil disobedience unless the people thereof understand the non-violent nature of the struggle with all its implications and are ready to undergo sufferings involving loss of life and property. (2) Non-violence must be observed in thought, word and deed in the face of the gravest provocation, it being understood that the campaign is not one of seeking revenge or inflicting injuries on the oppressor, but it is one of converting him through self-suffering and self-purification. (3) Social boycott with the intention of inflicting injury on Government officers, police or anti-nationalists should not be undertaken and is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of non-violence. (4) It should be borne in mind that non-violent campaigns are independent of pecuniary assistance; therefore, there should be no hired volunteers, but their bare maintenance and maintenance of the dependents of poor men and women who might have been imprisoned or killed is permissible wherever it is possible. The Working Committee, however, expects workers in the cause to continue the struggle even though they might have to suffer privations. (5) Boycott of all foreign cloth whether British or of other countries is obligatory under all circumstances. (6) All Congressmen and women are expected to use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of even cloth manufactured in indigenous mills. (7) Picketing of liquor shops and foreign-cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence. (8) Unlicensed manufacture and collection of salt should be resumed. (9) If processions and demonstrations are organized, only those should join them who will stand lathi charges or bullets without moving from their respective places. (10) Even in non-violent war boycott of goods manufactured by the oppressor is perfectly lawful inasmuch as it is never the duty of the victim to promote or retain commercial relations with the oppressor. Therefore, boycott of British goods and concerns should be resumed and vigorously prosecuted. (11) Civil breach of non-moral laws and of laws and orders injurious to the people wherever it is considered possible and advisable may be practised. (12) All unjust orders issued under the Ordinances may be civilly disobeyed.

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Private Secretary to Viceroy to M. K. Gandhi

2nd January 1932 (Telegram).

His Excellency desires me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of 1 January which has been considered by Him and His Government.

They much regret to observe that under your advice the Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution which involves general revival of civil disobedience unless certain conditions are satisfied which are stated in your telegram and the resolution.

They regard this attitude as the more deplorable in view of the declared intentions of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to expedite the policy of constitutional reform contained in the Premier's statement.

No Government, consistent with the discharge of their responsibility, can be subject to conditions sought to be imposed under the menace of unlawful action by any political organisation, nor can the Government of India accept the position implied in your telegram that their policy should be dependent on the judgment of yourself as to necessity of measures which Government have taken after the most careful and thorough consideration of the facts and after all other possible remedies had been exhausted.

His Excellency and His Government can hardly believe that you or the Working Committee contemplate that His Excellency can invite you, with the hope of any advantage, to an interview held under the threat of resumption of civil disobedience.

They must hold you and the Congress responsible for all the consequences which may ensue from action which the Congress have announced their intention of taking and to meet which Government take all necessary measures.

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M. K. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Viceroy

3rd January 1932 (Telegram).

Thanks your wire even date. I cannot help expressing deep regret for decision of His Excellency and His Government. Surely it is wrong to describe honest expression of opinion as threat. May I remind Government that Delhi Negotiations were opened and carried on whilst civil disobedience was on and that when pact was made civil disobedience was not given up but only discontinued. This position was reasserted and accepted by His Excellency and His Government in Simla in September last prior to my departure for London. Although I had made it clear that under certain circumstances Congress might have to resume civil disobedience Government did not break off negotiations. That it was made clear by Government that civil disobedience carried with it penalty for disobedience merely proves what civil resisters bargain for but does not in any way affect my argument. Had Government resented attitude it was open to them not to send me to London. On the contrary my departure had His Excellency's blessings. Nor is it fair or correct to suggest that I have ever advanced the claim that any policy of Government should be dependent on my judgment. But I do submit that any popular and constitutional Government would always welcome and sympathetically consider suggestions made by public bodies and their representatives and assist them with all available information about their acts or ordinances of which public opinion may disapprove. I claim that my messages have no other meaning than what is suggested in last paragraph. Time alone will show whose position was justified. Meanwhile I wish to assure Government that every endeavour will be made on part of Congress to carry on struggle without malice and in strictly non-violent manner. It was hardly necessary to remind me that Congress and I, its humble representative, are responsible for all the consequences of our actions.

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M. K. Gandhi's Interview to Associated Press of India

3rd January 1932.

It is a matter for deep regret to me to have received this telegram from H. E. the Viceroy and the Government. I cannot help saying that it has heaped error upon error, instead of courageously acknowledging the first error, in practically banging the door in my face by imposing for the coveted interview conditions which no self-respecting man can possibly accept and reopen the door. The telegram has added another error by deliberately and finally shutting the door by telling me that he cannot see me under threat of resumption of civil disobedience and introducing in the telegram an argument that is not germane to my repeated request for an interview. The Viceroy and his Government have committed a flagrant breach of the Delhi Pact by using the so-called threat of resumption of civil disobedience as an excuse of refusing to see me.

Surely he must know that the negotiations which resulted in the Settlement were being carried on although civil disobedience was still on, and under the Settlement it was never finally given up, but was only discontinued for the purpose of securing representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference, it being understood that it was likely to be resumed if the Round Table Conference failed to do satisfaction in respect of the national demand. To this I wish to add the Second Settlement that was arrived at in Simla immediately prior to my departure for London. On examining the correspondence that has passed between myself and the Government, it would be seen that notwithstanding the Truce I had reserved to myself the right to take up civil disobedience by way of defensive action in connection with the grievances about which relief might be unattainable through milder methods. Surely if civil disobedience was such a heinous crime, the Government could never have exchanged correspondence on that basis and sent me to London with Viceregal blessing; but I see that with the change of times manners have also changed.

The nation must now respond to the challenge of the Government. It is to be hoped, however, that whilst people belonging to all classes and creeds will courageously and in all humility go through the fiery ordeal considering no price too dear and no sufferings too great, they will observe the strictest non-violence in thought, word and deed, no matter how great the provocation may be. I would also urge them not to be angry with the administrators. It is not easy for them to shed the habit handed down from generation to generation. Our quarrel is not with men but with measures.

We have faith in ourselves and, therefore, in human nature, to feel that, if we suffer long enough and in the proper spirit, our sufferings must result in converting administrators. After all, let us realize that the greater and the longer the sufferings, the greater would be our fitness for Swaraj, for which we are embarking upon a fiery ordeal. I would remind the nation of the pledge I gave to the Prime Minister towards

the end of Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference that there should be no malice in the struggle if it fell to our lot to resume it and that we would be nothing unworthy. I shall trust every Indian to redeem the pledge.

To Englishmen I would say that they must beware of false reports that are often dished up for them from morning to morning and evening to evening as to the doings of the Congress in India. This feeding on false information or starvation due to suppression of correct information is a greater barrier to heart-to-heart co-operation

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M. K. Gandhi to Verrier Elwin

4th January 1932.

I am so glad you have come. I would like you yourself to tell your countrymen that I love them even as I love my own countrymen. I have never done anything towards them in hatred or malice and God willing I shall never do anything in that manner in future. I am acting no differently towards them now from what I have done under similar circumstances towards my own kith and kin.

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Wilson to Maxwell¹

No. 26/H/3717

4th January 1932.

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Arrest of Subhas Bose.—The news of the arrest of Subhas Chandra Bose at Kalyan reached Bombay on the night of the 2nd. The next day a partial hartal was observed in Mandvi and Bhuleshwar localities. In the evening the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held a public meeting at the Esplanade Maidan to congratulate Subhas Bose. About 5,000 persons, including 100 ladies, were present. Nagindas T. Master presided. The president, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, G. V. Kapadia, K. M. Munshi, Jamnadas Choksey, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Y. J. Meherali, Jamiat Singh, Hakim Ikrami and S. K. Vaidya made speeches congratulating Subhas Bose on his arrest and explaining the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in Bombay. They exhorted the audience to join the struggle for freedom and to carry out the behests of the Congress by non-violent methods in spite of grave provocation. Nagindas T. Master said that the European Association was responsible for the insolent reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi. Jamnadas Dwarkadas said that it was not the European

¹ Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

Association but the British Cabinet which was the cause of the insolent reply. Gunvant Kapadia appealed to the women to come out in numbers like last time. He explained the triple programme of the Congress, viz. complete boycott of foreign cloth, boycott of British goods and institutions and stoppage of export of gold. Y. J. Meharali said that the youths were not satisfied with the Truce and the day for fight, for which they were clamouring, had at last come. The Youth League, he said, had pledged fullest support to the Congress and it was necessary that they should raise a non-violent national army to cope with the military and the police of Government. He appealed to the minorities to join the struggle for freedom. Jamiat Singh said that the Sikhs were with the Congress and like ghosts, they would stick to the necks of the Englishmen till they left the shores of India. The Sikhs, he said, did not believe in the boycott and Khaddar but they believed in the sword of Satyagraha. Dr. S. K. Vaidya said that he did not join the Congress until he read the Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi which he considered insulting to the nation.

Nav Javan Bharat Sabha Meeting.—Under the auspices of the Nav Javan Bharat Sabha, a public meeting, attended by about 300 persons, was held at Chaupatty on the evening of the 3rd to discuss the present political situation. Dr. G. Y. Chitnis presided. The President, Muhammad Ibrahim, V. B. Karnik, Mrs. Durga Devi Nigam of Central Provinces, U. G. Puthli, N. S. Chetty, Shivasharma B. Sharma, Ponkshe and Agarwal made speeches. They said that it was good thing that the Congress had decided to restart the struggle for independence, but they should first ascertain from the Congress leaders whether the war was going to be fought to the finish or whether there was going to be a compromise once more. The youths should join the Congress only if the Congress was going to fight to the finish and get complete national independence according to the programme of the Nav Javans. According to them complete independence meant the emancipation of the exploited classes in the country and complete transfer of political power into the hands of the workers and peasants. This object could not be achieved unless the fight was carried on the lines of class-struggle.

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ARREST OF MR. GANDHI AND VALLABHBHAI PATEL.—Since the receipt of His Excellency the Viceroy's reply stating that Government would take all measures necessary to put down subversive activities and refusing to give an interview demanded under threat of revival of Civil Disobedience Movement, rumours were thick in the city that Mr. Gandhi would be arrested any moment. He therefore put before the public the plan of action to be put into effect in the event of his arrest through an interview with the *Chronicle* representatives. I give below the plan of action :—

1. To discard at once all foreign cloth and take to khaddar,
2. To discard every trace of violence and give absolute protection to every Englishman, woman or child whether official or otherwise, no matter how provocative the action of officials may be,
3. To discard all drugs, narcotics and intoxicating drinks,

4. To withdraw from the Government every form of co-operation that is possible for every individual, and

5. To study the resolution of the Working Committee and carry it out to the letter and in the spirit and in that process suffer all hardships that they may be put to, including loss of life and property.

It is difficult to lay down one rule for the whole of India, Gandhiji added. But it seems to me that since the Congress has adopted the method of self-purification through non-violence, I should begin by hartal, that is, voluntary suspension of all work for profit and undergo a prayerful fast and then begin simultaneously civil disobedience, in such manner as may be possible in each locality such as (a) unlicensed manufacture of salt ; (b) picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops ; (c) breach of orders under section 144 and the like when there is no likelihood of breach of peace and where orders have been issued not out of any legal necessity but manifestly for the sake of crushing the spirit of the people or what is the same thing as suppressing the Congress.

As regards to what particular items of programme Bombay should follow be left to Mr. K. F. Nariman and his council.

Questioned if the work of carrying on the behests of the Congress would not prove difficult, as already contemplated, all listed Congress workers were removed from the field of action Gandhiji commented, " The resolution of the Working Committee was framed to cover the difficulty raised. The situation will develop so suddenly that it is not possible to be more definite than the resolution is. After experience of nearly 12 years of satyagraha in a more or less acute form, individuals are expected to know what the change in circumstances will require. Last year's experience shows that inspite of the imprisonment of almost all the leaders, the nation showed marvellous resourcefulness in the emergency as it arose and kept up the spirit of civil defiance "

When his attention was drawn to the possibility of opposition to Congress from certain classes of Indians the Mahatma said that some handicap there naturally must be whenever there is internal opposition but, " all these difficulties will dissolve in the fire of suffering without hatred whether towards the administrators or towards our own people, whether they oppose or are indifferent to the movement "

On the morning of the 3rd two berths in the 2nd class for Vallabhbhai and one 3rd full compartment for Mr. Gandhi and his party were reserved at the Central Station by the Gujerat Mail for Ahmedabad. I had made my own plans in case the party left Bombay as intended. Unfortunately on account of pressure brought on Mr. Gandhi by Vallabhbhai at the instance of Sir Cowasji Jehangir and other liberals who advised Mr. Gandhi not to force the hands of Government to arrest him by leaving Bombay, the reservation was cancelled at about 7 p. m. Under these altered circumstances it was decided to effect the arrests at 3 a. m. on the 4th. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, and myself went to Mr. Gandhi's residence at 3 a. m. and arranged to send him by car to Yeravda Jail with a proper escort. Simultaneously the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Divisions, who led the police party to the residence of Vallabhbhai, arrested him and sent him to the Yeravda Jail in a car with a proper escort.

It is reported that hartal for two days will be observed. So far there has been no complete cessation of business but the Indian business centres have closed their shops. The mills started as usual but as the news spread about 14 mills closed down ; 13 more mills closed in the afternoon. Some stones were thrown by the mill-workers at Pralhad and Crescent Mills before they were closed. Schools are being closed.

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Under the auspices of the B. P. C. C. a public meeting was held on Monday, the 4th January, 1932, at 5 p. m. under the presidency of Mr. K. F. Nariman, in order to protest against the arrests of Mr. Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

There was a large audience. Exactly at 5-15 p. m. the procession led by Mr. Nariman arrived at the meeting place. Prominent among those present were Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Dr. S. K. Vaidya, Mr. K. M. Munshi. Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi was received amidst cheers.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.—Mr. K. F. Nariman addressed the meeting as follows :—

About one week before from today on last Monday we had gathered here in this Azad Maidan to give reception to Mahatma Gandhi. The scene of last Monday is not yet forgotten by the citizens of Bombay. When we came here in a procession, we found that there were still flags and buntings which were put up on the roads to offer grand reception to Mahatmaji. That scene I believe will not only be found in the history of Bombay, but the whole of the country and the world. The reception which was given to Mahatmaji was never given to any of the leaders in this country, nor a wealthy man or even a king had been offered such a reception.

We had given reception to Mahatmaji about seven days ago and from that day all the citizens of Bombay were mad after Mahatmaji. From morning till evening from 12 O' clock or 2 O' clock thousands of people were ready to sit in the Sun to take Mahatmaji's *darshan*. Such a great leader of ours was arrested like a thief last night at 3 O'clock. The police came and took him away in their charge. Brothers and sisters, it is the misfortune of our country—it is most shameful and sorrowful that such a great leader, for whom crores of people are ready to sacrifice their lives and are prepared to obey his orders and who is very dear to them, should be taken away by the police at night like a thief.

Brothers and sisters, you remember that when a meeting was held here in this maidan to protest against the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai told you that when the national leaders will be arrested, you should not think it to be a sorrowful occasion or you should not get afraid for it, but you ought to take it to be an auspicious and pleasant occasion. I know all of you have great love for Mahatmaji and today we find that in this city and throughout our country—even in every family and house everybody feels as if an elderly person from his house has gone away. But according to Sardar Vallabhbhai's advice, you should not consider this occasion to be a sad one nor should you become angry with the action of Government. We understand that Mahatmaji has been arrested under an old Ordinance of 1827. That old Ordinances of 1827 is still in use up to 1931. Under this Ordinance Mahatmaji and the president of the Congress—Sardar Vallabhbhai have been arrested. But I may tell you that you must have strength and with your soul force you will be able to face any Ordinance whether it is of 1827 or 1527.

Government have been asked by those Sahebs who have been putting on hats to suppress the Congress movement within two months. They (Government) think that they would be able to do so and then would present a Constitution for India. I may tell those Sahebs that "you are eating sugar and we are also eating sugar." If they were to be present here and see the strength and enthusiasm in this meeting, they will be convinced that Government would not be able to suppress the Congress movement. Unfortunately, they are not present here but I am sure there must be about a dozen C. I. D. officers present in this meeting and I hope they would go and give a proper report about the enthusiasm in the people today. When they get such a report, I believe Government will get little more sense. But brothers and sisters, whether Government get more sense or not, we have nothing to do with it.

Today we have to face the present situation. You know we were carrying on our struggle last year and we would have carried it on even for two to five years till we get success. But the truce was made by which Mahatmaji was insulted ; such an insult was never hurled at Mahatmaji during all his life up to now. Government have created a very bad state of affairs within the last few months, but I am sure that they would have to come down on their knee and break open the doors of the Yeravda Jail and release our leaders. I give an assurance to Government not on behalf of the country but only on behalf of the Bombay citizens that they (Bombay citizens) would compel Government to open the doors of the Yeravda *Mandir* and release our leaders.

There is a saying in English : "Pride comes in before destruction." At present we find that there is something wrong with the brain of Government and it seems that they are getting proud which is a clear indication of their downfall. You must know that the key of the Yeravda Jail is in your own hands. It is not with the Jail Superintendent. Now, how will you use that key and bring our leaders out of that Jail ?

You must remember the message that has been given by Mahatmaji to the citizens of Bombay and to the whole country. That message is the resolution of the Working Committee. Up to now there are no Ordinances for Bombay but I believe before the early morning tomorrow you will have them. I am told that there are four new Ordinances applicable to Bombay as well as the whole of India. You will remember that last time when we had assembled to protest against the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal. I told you that Bengal, U. P. and the Frontier Province have got a present of the Ordinances and I further said that Bombay would also get one in a short time, as I believe that Bombay has done some work for the country, and, therefore, it should get that honour also. You should not get afraid whether there are four or six Ordinances. You have to do your duty and carry on the work. You should show your strength and enthusiasm to suffer. As I said just now, you have to act up to the message that has been given to the country by Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai. What is that message ?

The Working Committee has passed a resolution which you have to study very carefully. According to every word in that resolution I hope that the citizens of Bombay will carry on their work. In carrying on this work, you must remember that you will have to go to Jail ; you will have to take lathi charges and you will have even to face bullets. For all this you must be prepared. Perhaps, I may not be able to see

your work ; I may be arrested tomorrow or day after and I think this is the last occasion when I am addressing you and meeting you here. Whether your leaders are free or not, you have to carry on your struggle continuously. Now you are all prepared and you know how to carry on your struggle. You are now quite pucca. Last time you were rather new. But this time you have got one month's time for making preparations. Therefore, I say this time you do not want anybody's help. You should read the resolution of the Working Committee very carefully and try to put it into action immediately. Mahatmaji has told you that perhaps you will have to sacrifice your lives when carrying on that resolution into deeds, but still you should not be afraid of it. On the last occasion Mahatmaji said that the people in the Punjab have received bullets, and why should not the citizens of Bombay receive bullets ? Mahatmaji will be watching our work from the *Yeravda Mandir* and, therefore, you should carry on your work as we have been asked by him to do.

In our struggle there should not be any violence ; you should not give lathis to others or abuse others. When occasions like the acts of violence are known, Mahatmaji feels very much. Therefore, I appeal to you to carry on the struggle non-violently. Mahatmaji's message is that you should remain non-violent and peaceful and be always calm in your minds. Whether you have to take lathis or bullets, you should remain peaceful and suffer ; that is the message of Mahatmaji and I appeal to you to behave according to his advice.

Lastly I may say that you should not get afraid of anything and carry on the movement on non-violent basis. If you do, you will find that it will not be the Congress and the people who would get frightened, but it is certain that Government will have to come down on their knees. There is no doubt about it.

The chief item in the resolution is about the boycott of foreign goods. I therefore make a request on behalf of Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai to the merchants dealing in foreign goods to stop this business. Although we have been making all efforts to stop this business. Although we have been making all efforts to stop this poisonous trade in foreign goods for the last two or one and half years, still I am sorry to find that this trade has been still going on in India. I have nothing to say about those merchants putting on hats (Foreigners), I have not to make any appeal to them. I have to make an appeal to the Indian merchants to accept the challenge of Government that they would be able to suppress our movement and will resolve to discontinue trading in foreign goods. They must consider it to be a sin to deal in foreign goods. Government have given us second challenge also and that is they would stop all picketing work by way of Ordinances and would give protection to foreign merchants. Indian merchants should stop this trade if they do not wish to see insults offered to our sister pickets ; if they do not wish to create a situation when our sisters would get lathis and bullets, they would immediately stop this trade in foreign goods.

Whether there are four or eight Ordinances promulgated by Government, I may inform you that from tomorrow picketing at the foreign cloth shops and liquor and toddy shops will be started. I am hopeful that our Indian merchants will not open their shops of foreign cloth and thus give a reply to the challenge offered by the merchants wearing hats.

I have also to tell you another thing. Yesterday I know many Sir's and Knight's were coming to see Mahatmaji and they were busy conferring with him for hours together. They were sending telegrams to Delhi and London—about a dozen wires were sent—but Government did not care to take their advice. Our Moderate friends should bear in mind what treatment they received at the hands of the Viceroy in their peace efforts. I may tell them that it is not their influence that carries more weight with the Government but it is the influence of the European Association that carried weight with them. If these Indian title-holders, if these Sir's and Knight's have got to keep the Izaat of their country, they would bear in mind the insult that has been offered to them. Government did not care for their advice and all their telegrams were thrown in the waste paper baskets.

Now, they (title-holders) know that the work of the R. T. C. in London is finished and they have returned to India. Government want now to suppress the Congress movement within two months. But one thing I want them to do is this. We know that some committees are going to be appointed within the next two months. I request my Moderate friends that they should not even take the name of these committees and refuse to co-operate with them. You know with what fate the Simon Commission was met in India, when it was sent here about two or three years ago. I hope that these committees would also be met with the same fate—perhaps with more force. I will not take more of your time. But I appeal to the citizens of Bombay that they would be prepared to protect the Izaat of their country, as they did in the last struggle. When they do so, they would be able to bring their leaders out of the jails on their own strength and power.

Today's meeting has a special significance. It is an auspicious occasion. There is great seriousness in it. Because today as you know is the death anniversary of our brother Maulana Mahomed Ali. On the last occasion I have already told how British Government are trying to create disunity among the Hindus and Mahomedans. But from their recent acts, it is clear that they are helping us to create unity among these two communities. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested, Government arrested with him two Mussalman brothers. From this it is clear that there is unity between these two communities. It is our intention to observe the 4th day of each month as the day of arrest of Mahatmaji and at the same time as the date of the death of Maulana Mahomed Ali. Today we are glad for the arrest of Mahatmaji and there is also seriousness in this occasion, because it is the death anniversary of Maulana Mahomed Ali. We shall make this day as an All-India day and show to Government that the Hindus and Mahomedans are united. I wish to remind you on this occasion what was the last wish of Maulana Mahomed Ali. He wished before his death that the Hindu-Muslim problem should be solved. He said "when I shall receive this glad news, I shall die peacefully". Although his political views were quite different, I am sure if Maulana Mahomed Ali had been living today, he would have tried his best to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. There would have been no quarrels between the two communities. Such a great and noble leader has departed from amidst us and we have to remember him today.

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Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in Operation

Although the Congress was banned, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee preserved its identity and activated the Congress rank and file as well as the people to the exasperation of Government authorities. Bombay City was divided into seven wards, each with its organising 'Dictator'. By the end of March 1932, 20 emergency councils had been arrested. As the organisation became more diffused the police found a greater difficulty in suppressing it. In August 1932 the police tried in vain to locate a radio transmitter which was broadcasting Congress propaganda in Hindi and English near Bombay City.

In February-March 1933 the police raided various Congress propaganda centres in Bombay and seized typewriters and duplicating machines and arrested several Gujarati youths and a barrister, A. K. Amin. Police believed that Amin was the principal organiser. However, such raids only stopped the publication of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee bulletins for shorter periods.

As far as the All-India Congress was concerned, the Congress Working Committee had decided in its recent Bombay meeting that each Congress President could nominate a successor, when he was jailed. Accordingly Sardar Patel nominated Rajendra Prasad to succeed him, and Rajendra Babu was to be followed by Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sardul Singh, Abul Kalam Azad, Sarojini Naidu, G. A. Deshpande, S. Kitchlew, Rajagopalachariar and back again to Prasad during 1932. These temporary Presidents did their best to guide civil disobedience. Sarojini Naidu, for example, took great pains to organise the national week in April 1932 before a contraband Congress session in Delhi. The All India Congress Committee office continued to function "with a fair measure of success" as Nehru evaluated it.

—Editor

Wilson to Maxwell

No. 73/H/3717

6 January 1932.

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Arrest of Rajendra Prasad.—In connection with the arrest of Babu Rajendra Prasad the emergency council held a public meeting at Chaupatty on the evening of the 5th. Nagindas T. Master presided over an audience of about 2,000 persons, including 200 women. The president, K. M. Munshi, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Abidalli Jafferbhai, S. K. Patil, Ganpatishanker N. Desai and Y. J. Meherali made speeches condemning the arrest of Babu Rajendra Prasad and exhorting the audience to join the Congress and offer sacrifices in their last struggle for freedom. They were also told to remain absolutely non-violent even under provocation. Nagindas Master said that Government wanted to crush the Congress movement in order to smooth the way of the Round Table Conference Committees in India. He advised the people not to purchase Treasury Bills and said that the pocket of every Indian should be a Congress bank. K. M. Munshi repudiated the statement of the *Evening News* that the Congress had no funds and said that the Congress never wanted any funds as their movement was based on suffering. Umashanker Dixit said that this time the Congress would fight to the finish. He pointed out that the youths, the merchants and the peasants were on side of the Congress and they would give full support to the movement. Jamnadas Dwarkadas said that as long as there was starvation in India the people would have no peace of mind. He said that a deputation of merchants suggested to Mr. Gandhi that some of them wanted to remain aloof from the movement and to negotiate with Government, but Mr. Gandhi did not approve of the idea and suggested that everybody should openly associate with the movement. Abidali Jafferbhai said that the leaders of the All-India Muslim Conference had resigned in order to join the Congress struggle and asked other Muslims also to do the same. Events in the N. W. F. Province clearly showed that the Mussalmans were with the Congress. S. K. Patil also repudiated the news of the *Evening News* about Congress funds and said that the Bombay Congress Committee had decided to finance other Provinces like the U. P. and the N. W. F. P., Y. J. Meherali said that revolution was the result of poverty and discontent and as these two factors were present in India their movement was bound to succeed and when it succeeded the police and military would come under the control of Swaraj Government.

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Arrests under Ordinance No. II of 1932.—I made the necessary arrangements early this morning to have leading Congressmen arrested under Section 3 of Ordinance II of 1932. Congress House was taken charge of by the Dy. Commissioner of Police, Divisions, about 7 a. m. and 4 persons found therein were arrested. Singularly little demonstration took place and the crowd which collected numbered about 200. Unimportant persons found in Congress House were evicted. The Union Jack was hoisted with due ceremony over the office of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and a police guard was posted. The various unlawful bodies are being raided. Nothing was left by the Congress people in Congress House nor in the other District Congress Committee's offices. The Women's Central Training Camp at Matunga was also vacated before the Police went there.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

5 January 1932 (Extract).

Bombay Launches Picketing.—Ordinance or no Ordinance, Bombay will carry out the programme of the Congress with unflagging zeal.

The Emergency Council has decided to start an intensive picketing of foreign cloth shops from today. The picketing will be initiated in the Fort area where lady volunteers of the Congress will picket selected shops.

The success of our effort in preventing the import and sale of foreign cloth will depend largely on the enthusiasm and support of the public. Along with the daily round of picketing, arrests and lathi charges there must be brought into effective expression public opinion which will not tolerate these insults to our country by a few greedy men trading on the blood of their countrymen. Picketing is no coercive action. It is the pathetic appeal of the Congress to the foreign cloth merchants, even at this fateful moment in the history of their country to desist from their trade. That our appeal may be effective, public opinion must assert itself. For, public opinion is the collective social will of the community which will conquer any ordinance or order.

Destroy their Trade.—The British people live and move and have their being in trade, commerce and money power. They know no other God but money and they bend to no other power so easily as the power of money. They have declared war against us. The hands of the bureaucracy are itching for a fight—a terrible fight and they shall have it. We are ready for it and the first blow that we shall strike will hit them hard. We are now bent on destroying their trade in India. Sjt. Vithalbhair Patel at yesterday's meeting at the Azad Maidan drew the attention of the people to the effectiveness of this weapon of war. "Boycott British Goods" is the one cry that should ring day and night throughout India; intensive boycott of British goods should be carried on by every one so that within a short time, the enemy will be brought to its knees. At the end of the meeting, the vast concourse of the people gathered at Azad Maidan meeting solemnly pledged themselves to the boycott of British goods. Let Bombay be true to its pledge and the victory is ours.

First Martyrs of Lathi Charge.—The Government has made up its mind. The movement is to be crushed not simply by clapping leaders in jail or interning them. The spirit of the people is invincible. If oppression does not break the resurgent spirit of the people, let the people themselves be broken by cold blooded massacre. Lathi has begun its devilish work. The blood of the martyrs to the lathi charge is not shed in vain. Let the bureaucracy do its worst and quench its thirst for martyrs' blood, India is determined to be free, no matter at what price. Freedom is not a small thing and its price none too great.

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Bombay Chronicle

6 January 1932 (Extract).

MR. NARIMAN'S REPLY TO GOVERNMENT.—Sjt. K. F. Nariman has issued the following communique to the Press in reply to Government statement :—

As we expected, the Government of India have published a long apology in defence of their action and making a futile attempt to justify their position. It is extremely unfair and unsportsmanlike first to incarcerate the three leaders : Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who alone could be in a position to give a fitting reply and after incapacitating them make a personal attack based on false allegations and misleading statements ; the object of the move is quite transparent ; the Government is naturally apprehensive that this indefensible and flagrant attitude, in spite of universal protest from all quarters including their usual friends and supporters, the Moderates and Liberals, might drive this group of co-operators and supporters into the camp of Congress sympathisers.

They believe that the publication of this document might avoid that political catastrophe and that the old game of playing off one party against another might continue. So far as repressive measures and actual administration is concerned, it may not be necessary to seek their co-operation and consultation for that the Government deems it fit to depend upon other organisations and associations, but the Liberals and Moderates are from their point of view indispensable in the so-called constitution building and hence it is necessary to placate them to some extent, lest the shabby treatment accorded to them in the last affair might alienate their support and drive them to the left-wingers. That seems to be the real object behind this long and laboured apologia and we have no doubt that tactics will succeed.

I am certain that had these leaders been out or even now if the Government has the decency and grace to permit them to submit their version and explanation the slender foundation on which this defence is based would at once fall to the ground and the policy and attitude of some officials coupled with European vested interest in the country both before and after the Delhi pact would be thoroughly exposed.

HOW OFFICIALS WERE OUT TO SCRAP OFF DELHI PACT.—It is over a week since Sardar Vallabhbhai declared in a public meeting in Bombay that he had in his possession several letters and circulars from responsible officials in India wherein they had clearly indicated that in their opinion Gandhi-Irwin Pact was a great blunder and that it should come to an end at the earliest opportunity ; further in the same meeting the President of the Congress had maintained that so far as Congress as an organisation is concerned it had scrupulously maintained the truce terms as much as it was humanly possible and even he went further and made a sporting offer that he was prepared to place the whole case before Lord Irwin himself, the author of the truce, and take his decision whether Government or the Congress had committed the breach ; both these declarations, one an open charge and another an open challenge, have not been replied to and now after caging these lions securely and gagging them, the Government has deemed it proper to goad and prick by publishing these baseless charges.

As a member of the Working Committee, though I was not in possession of all facts relating to various Provinces, still I deem it my duty, before being clapped in myself, to make an effort to place before the public the Congress side of the version.

CONGRESS SIDE OF THE CASE.—As stated before, the Congress has always maintained and maintains it even today that the responsibility for the present crisis is certainly on the heads of two parties, firstly a few refractory and reactionary civilian officers who unfortunately control the situation today and secondly the deep rooted and long enjoyed European vested interests as represented by the typical European Association of Bengal ; these local agencies have of course the powerful backing of extreme section of Conservatives and Tories including the notorious anti-Indian group in England.

AUTHORS OF FIRM RULE.—They have never made a secret of their desires and intentions. To them Gandhi-Irwin Pact was a great political blunder ; they have always openly clamoured for its repudiation, and establishment of firm iron-rule and thus restore the supposed lost prestige and position of the Britishers in India. If the Tory Press and even some speeches in Parliament are clearly studied you will find that even before Mahatma Gandhi left England, ground was being prepared and atmosphere created both in England as well as India so as to give a clear indication of the coming events ; their game could not succeed in England as they had to submit to adverse circumstances and thus to await the more congenial soil more suitable atmosphere to play their dirty game here immediately on his arrival ; we all know that more than one attempt to wreck the R. T. C. then had failed and there is not the least doubt that had Lord Irwin been the Viceroy today these sinister attempts would equally have failed here.

WHO PRECIPITATED THE CRISIS.—Looking at the situation from that point of view, we may put some pertinent questions to the authorities concerned to test the *bona fides* of the declaration that they sincerely desired co-operation and peace but the issue was precipitated by the Congress. According to the admission in the correspondence and elsewhere they exonerate Mahatma Gandhi himself from any deliberate breach of pact ; they give him the credit for sincerity and *bona fides* and he is supposed to be the victim of extreme wing in the Congress. Even in reply to Mahatma's wire, it is stated, " His Excellency is unwilling to believe that you have personally any share in the responsibility for or that you approve of the recent activities of the Congress in the U. P. and in N. W. F. P. " If that is so, the steps taken by the Government on the eve of his arrival here to prevent his trusted colleagues and lieutenants even to meet him and take his counsel or to participate in the Working Committee meeting became inexplicable.

ARREST OF JAWAHARLAL AND SHERWANI.—Pandit Jawaharlal, the General Secretary and Mr. Sherwani were arrested, not while proceeding on a journey to further the no-tax campaign in their Province, but whilst they were serving the Province to meet Mahatmaji and to consult the Working Committee ; further the Etawah Conference that was banned was actually postponed till after the Working Committee meeting so as to enable Panditji to meet Mahatma Gandhi.

WHY WAS " FRONTIER GANDHI " PREVENTED FROM COMING TO BOMBAY.—Again, why was Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan similarly prevented from meeting Mahatmaji and his journey to Bombay suddenly interrupted ? According to Government case, the Red Shirt activities had been going on for some time practically after the Truce. What imminent impending disaster was to be averted by preventing Khan Sahab meeting Mahatmaji and consulting him with regard to future programme ? It could not have meant a delay of more than three or four days.

Although the situation in Bengal is according to them much worse, still Subhash Babu was permitted not only to come here and meet Mahatmaji but even allowed to stay for about a week ; if his arrest could be delayed till after he had completed his mission, why could not similar indulgence been shown in other two cases ? These do not appear to be mere accidents but a pre-arranged plan to have a proper setting for the events that were to follow on the return of Mahatma.

MAHATMA'S OPEN MIND.—Now let us examine the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi since the Premier's declaration ; though repeatedly assailed by the Press from all parts of the world, he refused to commit himself to any definite course, nay, further when a false report appeared in an Italian paper, he immediately contradicted it and again declared that he had an open mind, he would try every avenue and make all efforts to find an honourable way out before launching fresh campaign and he kept the same attitude even after his return although by that time he had been acquainted with all the recent happenings in the country including arrests.

He publicly gave an assurance the same evening in an assembly under the Welfare of India League presided over by Sir Stanley Reed and in reply to some questions by Europeans he expressed his willingness to study the situation in various Provinces on the spot with the perfect open mind and then come to a decision and it was with that object that he took the initiative and sought an interview with the Viceroy. I will repeat here in his reply to the Viceroy making clear his intention and object for seeking the interview.

"I had approached as a seeker wanting light on questions upon which I desired to understand the Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference". Again further, "The popular side I have put as I understand it, but before committing myself to a definite judgment I was anxious to understand the other *i.e.*, the Government side and then tender my advice to the Congress"

"I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as a friend without imposing any condition whatsoever as to the scope or subject of discussion and I on my part can promise that I would study with an open mind all the facts that he might put before me. I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective Provinces and with the aid of authorities study both sides of the question and if I came to the conclusion after such a study that the people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee meeting misled as to the correct position and that the Government were right, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in making that open confession and guiding the Congress accordingly."

Could any leader consistently with his nation's self-respect and realising his responsibility to the whole nation, have gone further in extending most frankly and sincerely a hand of friendship and co-operation?

Could any responsible head of a huge administration, with full sense of his responsibility spurned that offer so lightly and so arrogantly? All sane bodies and institutions were convinced of the *bona fides* and sincerity of the man and made hurried eleventh hour efforts to save the Viceroy and his Government from the disastrous step, save the Government and the country from the clutches of interested parties. The Welfare of India League with Sir Stanley Reed and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and others, the Liberal Federation with Sir P. Sethna, Mr. H. P. Mody representing Millowners and I understand, even the local European Merchants' Chamber joined in the deputation.

THE TIN-GODS OF DELHI.—Under these circumstances what other construction can be put on the amazing pertinacity of the tin-gods of Delhi that it was a part of a pre-arranged and pre-conceived plan to clap him in on his return and give him no opportunity even to discuss the situation?

Bigger and higher bosses like Secretary of State and even Premier who are after all the final and higher authorities under the present constitution could extend at least the grace and decency to discuss with Mahatma and even with lesser personalities about Bengal ordinances and situation in that Province, but the "Grand Moghul" cannot condescend to that extent. More inexplicable still; only a few days before this the Viceroy in reply to a deputation in Calcutta deplored the necessity for these measures and invited the public to make suggestions for alternatives that would secure the purpose as effectually as these ordinances.

INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE.—It is too late now to challenge the authority of the Congress; when the last Viceroy accepted the signature of Mahatma Gandhi on the Pact on behalf of the people, the other signatory being on behalf of the Government, the Congress was recognised as a political body authorised to speak and act on behalf of the people; Lord Irwin may have departed, but Mr. Emerson, the principal actor of that tragedy is still here occupying the same position. After having agreed to peaceful picketing and including a special clause for it in the Pact, is it right for the same draftsman today to make a grievance of it and describe it as "interference with private liberty". Whenever it has suited the Government has not the Government itself asked for Congress help and co-operation? Did not the very U. P. Government

invite the Congress representatives of that Province to discuss the agrarian situation and for days and hours carried on interviews trying to find a way out ; even in Bardoli Inquiry did not the local Government Tribunal allow a Congress Counsel to represent the peasants case ? Has not both Delhi as well as the local Governments carried on correspondence on various subjects with the President of the Congress with regard to questions arising out of the Pact and closely connected with daily administration.

Innumerable instances could be added to prove that the Government has recognised that the Congress is the most powerful political organisation representing the people and treated it as such. Whence this sudden change in the attitude, this new alarm and apprehension, this new bunkum about usurpation of Government functions or setting up parallel Government ?

The issue is simple and any effort to cloud it in the misstatements and false logic will not succeed. Supposing all the charges against the Congress as alleged are true ; if according to their own admission Mahatma Gandhi was not privy or party to the same, why was he not even given a chance to review and study the situation and even revise it if he thought fit ; is there any other individual in the world today so frankly honest, so purely sincere and such a lover of truth as to make open confession of even Himalayan blunders when he is convinced of his or his colleagues errors and immediately retrace his steps ; consideration of false prestige or loss of position never weighed with him.

GOVERNMENT TO BLAME.—It was this modest and most reasonable demand that was found impossible to be complied with and it is this unreasonable and in-explicable refusal that has precipitated the present crisis. How can any sane, honest and truthful man lay the responsibility for the result to any other shoulder than the Government and its advisers ?

BEGINNING OF THE BREACH.—Before I close I must explain briefly with regard to the Working Committee resolutions to restart the campaign, the rapidity with which the events were moving, it was reasonable to presume that Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Working Committee would be immediately arrested, that was practically the last meeting and it would have been disastrous and suicidal from the popular point of view to dissolve before giving a definite lead to the country. The Viceroy's reply refusing an unconditional and free interview was the real beginning of the breach and any Committee with a sense of responsibility would be justified in taking preliminary steps for the future particularly when it was almost certain that there would be no more opportunity to assemble again. Still such precautions were taken to avoid a misunderstanding as was possible under the circumstances. The resolution was made tentative, making its operation dependent only upon a certain contingency happening *i. e.* Viceroy's refusal to reconsider his decision and in his final reply Mahatmaji made that position clear and with a further assurance that it was never intended as a threat, but was only an honest expression of opinion. Besides, the hollowness of this plea is further exposed when we consider that the last negotiations resulting in Delhi Pact were conducted, when the campaign was actually going and Mr. Emerson, the same Home Secretary took no exception to, so this seems to be only a pretext to cover the real intention behind.

I have made this humble effort not officially on behalf of the Working Committee but on my individual capacity to give a reply to what is described as a Government charge-sheet against the Congress. The reply is incomplete and perfunctory because the time at my disposal is very short, and I am expecting every moment the officers of law and order to invite me to my new place of abode ; so I must close in a hurry.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 88/H/3717

7 January 1932.

Public meeting of the Esplanade Maidan.—Last evening a public meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan. Scattered crowds of people numbering about a thousand occupied the border of the maidan on Waudby Road and Cruickshank Road sides but the actual attendance at the meeting was about 300, including 50 women. J. J. Choksey, who presided, referred to the arrests and the promulgation of the Ordinances and appealed to the audience to save the reputation of the city as was done during the last struggle. Mrs. Jamnabai Velji said that every person should join the struggle for the sake of the country. Dr. S. K. Vaidya, who had come ready with his jail kit, said that that was the proper time for the ordeal of the Indian people. If they lost that opportunity the Indians would never be held in high esteem by the outside world. If the leaders were arrested it was up to them to be their own leaders and observe perfect non-violence. He hoped the ladies would rise to the occasion and continue picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops without any communal distinction. Mrs. Amrit Kaur spoke on the boycott of British goods. One H. B. Dixit, a volunteer, condemned the Ordinances and asked the people to join the struggle. A Sikh pointed out that the Congress could not be crushed by Ordinances. On account of persistent rumours that the meeting would be broken up there was commotion every moment and the speeches were not very audible. Within half an hour the meeting dispersed. As soon as the meeting was over the crowds collected on the sides of the maidan and marched in procession loudly shouting boycott and anti-British slogans. Near Crawford Market the crowds were very rowdy. They proceeded to the localities in Bhuleshwar and Girgaum Roads ultimately dispersing near the Congress House.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

6 January 1932 (Extract).

New Regime.—A new regime is begun, the regime of Ordinances and special orders of lawless administration and indifferent cruelty of haughty Police Commissioners and childish Magistrates, of Sergeants and their mounted sowars, of lathis and bullets. We have had experience of these paraphernalia of this new regime a year ago, and that experience has today taught us that nothing can daunt the nation that has fully imbibed the spirit of open, non-violent rebellion. None of the machines of destruction that this new regime can boast of, can spread dread into the hearts of those whose determination to win Liberty for the nation, is built on solid edifice of non-violence. On this edifice shall all the machines of destruction, all the weapons of Satan, inhuman tactics, and cruel shackles of bondage, be all together exploded and broken, so that on their remains, the Indian Nation may create a new structures and give birth to the World Peace.

HCP—352-A-11

Beginning of Satanic Tactics.—The beginning of these regime is heralded by Ordinances in Bengal, U. P. and the North-West Frontier Provinces, to be followed by the arrests of the leaders of these respective provinces. Not satisfied with supplying the nation with iron-bars and prison-cells, they sent the gifts of lathis and bullets. The arrest of Mahatmaji and Sardar which immediately followed, strengthened the resolve of the Nation to win Liberty. The arrests of Bombay leaders this morning, and the promulgation of Ordinances in the Bombay Presidency, have enthused us more.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 111/H/3717

8 January 1932.

Bombay Corporation & the arrests of Gandhi & others.—L. B. Tairsee's motion for an adjournment of the Corporation as a protest against the arrests of Gandhi and other leaders was thrown out at its meeting held yesterday.

The Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations have passed resolutions protesting against the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders and also protesting against the Ordinances.

Boycott Movement.—The Cotton Brokers' Association, Marwari Bazaar, want to boycott all European members from the Board of directors.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

7 January 1932 (Extract).

The Ordinances in full operation in Bombay.—In the early hours of Wednesday, Sjts. Vithalbhai Patel, K. F. Nariman and Nagindas Master were arrested. At about half past seven Mr. and Mrs. Munshi, Sjt. Purshottam Tricumdas, Mr. Menon, Mr. Mukund Malaviya, Sjt. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mrs. Perin Captain were arrested at their respective places. Nearly fifty arrests including 7 women were made during the course of the day. More rounding ups are expected every hour.

Police take possession of Congress House.—The Congress House has been taken possession of by the police. Indian armed sepoy's have been posted at the entrance. Union Jack Flag has been hoisted on the top of the Congress building.

The arrests were made under the new Ordinances, which require no warrant for arrest. Any person on pretence of mere suspicion can be arrested by the police. Safety for life and property under the British rule has ceased to exist. No self-respecting Indian could tolerate the present system of Government. Every one should use his utmost energy to spread disaffection, against the Government which has been trying to suppress the indomitable will of a nation for freedom. Rule by ordinance is by no

HCP—352-B-11

means a cure for political grievances. The Government will very soon find their mistake. We on our part welcome more repression. The Government could at best take away thousands of lives, who are prepared to die. It cannot massacre the whole Indian nation. The inevitable retribution for the unlawful, inhuman and lawless acts of Government will soon come upon them. With love the nation is prepared to sacrifice many lives till the present system of Government is completely stamped out.

The arrests of popular leaders will not dishearten the people. On the other hand it is a matter of pride, rejoicing, welcome and congratulation. If few leaders are arrested many more will come.

Yesterday's meeting and Procession.—In spite of 79 associations and institutions of the city having been declared illegal, Mr. J. J. Choksey, who remained out, and who succeeded Mr. K. F. Nariman, as the president of the Emergency Council, operated the picketing arrangements in the Fort area and also convened a protest meeting on the Azad Maidan in the evening, which he addressed. The meeting was well attended. After the meeting a regular procession was taken out from the Azad Maidan which after passing through various localities terminated near the Congress House, without any interference on the part of the police. Throughout, the one slogan which the processionists cried was "Boycott British Goods".

It has been decided to have one president for the whole city of Bombay and therefore there will be no more Ward Dictators in future. The president will nominate his successor on his arrest.

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Free Press Journal

7th January 1932 (Extract).

The following resolutions were passed by the committee of the Bombay Shroff Association at a meeting held today :—

The committee deplore the action of His Excellency the Viceroy in refusing to grant Mahatma Gandhi an unconditional interview on the present political situation and thereby precipitating a crisis in the country. The present unreasonable attitude of the Government despite the co-operation offered by the Congress by sending Mahatmajji to participate in the Second Round Table Conference at London, clearly proves the hollowness of the professions as embodied in the various declarations of the British Government to grant Swaraj to the Indian Nation. The arrest of Mahatmajji and other Congress leaders as well as repressive measures adopted by the Government betray the firm determination of the Government to crush the premier political organization and to deny the inherent right of the Indian Nation to political freedom.

Boycott and Swadeshi.—The committee firmly believes that the repressive policy of the Government will not only fail in its objective to stifle the national movement but also will give additional momentum and strength to the national struggle and will rally round the Congress Flag all the classes of the country.

Bombay Congress Bulletin

8 January 1932 (Extract).

Kings of canard-spreader.—The Government have been kind enough to supply the city of Bombay with two Kings of Canard-spreaders. There is necessity to name them, because everybody in Bombay is aware of their existence and the stuff they pour in day in and the day out. What we most deplore is the fact that the nationalist papers in their haste to be the first in giving news, have during last two days given news which were misleading and harmful to the cause. We heartily wish that they would stop their journalistic stunts and remember that the basis of our war is truth. The public is also warned against spreading baseless rumours, which may ultimately harm our fight. The Congress Bulletin is issued to give the correct news regarding the activities of the Congress organisation and to keep the people informed of facts which the Nationalist Press may not be able to publish. The Congress Bulletin is the only authentic newssheet in Bombay for Congress news.

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Gold-Pirates.—The British Government knowing the futility of balancing its budget made a courageous move by linking the Sterling to the Rupee thus benefited itself at a of India. It has began the hoarding of Gold to stabilize its financial position by such ill-gotten wealth. It is a sad thing to note that poor peasant & worker is given bait of getting easy money by selling a few gold Trinkets he might have. It is the duty of every Indian to stop this campaign for gold, either by showing the illiterate masses the disadvantage of it or by boycotting such firms that export gold.

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Emphasis on Disruption of Government Finances

Bombay Provincial Congress Committee shifted the emphasis from dislocation of the means of transport to disruption of Government finances. Thus developed a vicious circle of economic depression generating support to the Congress and the Congress campaign contributing to the dislocation of the economy of Bombay. Picketing was particularly acute against foreign cloth and liquor shops as also against chemists and druggists. There were protracted hartals in the Mulji Jetha Market and the Stock, Bullion and Cotton Exchanges. Mulji Jetha Market continued the hartal from 4 January to 7 April 1932. After this date cloth dealers were allowed to open the swadeshi wing in the market to deal in Indian cloth as approved by Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. The Swadeshi wing in the cloth market was inaugurated by Sarojini Naidu.

Bombay's Police Commissioner reported to Government that Congress had more power than Government in the cotton market. Bombay's Governor too admitted that " up to the present they (Congress) have achieved a considerable measure, if success is to be measured by interference with normal trade and influence over a particularly susceptible section of the Bombay Commercial Community " (Sykes to Willingdon, 13 May 1932). Not until October did the East India Cotton Association decide to remove the boycott on cotton transactions. Proprietors of the markets offered to reduce the rents by over half so that the dealers would return. About 80 dealers returned, but they too were nervous of stocking goods there, and dealt in covertly for fear of picketing. British cotton firms were put under severe pressure. Some were black-listed for boycott in a Congress bulletin. The Japanese Consul admitted that Japanese dealers feared to have dealings with English firms due to the threat of boycott. European firms in Bombay were highly dependent on Indian Co-operation and were afraid to take Government help in such circumstances. Some of them began to negotiate with their Indian associates for terms of open trade. It is noteworthy that a group of European firms signed a statement that they shared the national sympathies of their Indian colleagues in cotton trade, and agreed not to transact any business on Mondays which were ' Gandhi Days '. They did so against the advice of Bombay Government.

Prominent among the supporters of boycott were the Bombay Cotton Brokers, Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers, and Bombay Shroffs' Association. Sykes' Government was worried that such groups could dislocate the whole markets. East India Cotton Association was incapable of control over the cotton market. Bombay Government and Sykes were put under so heavy a strain that they passed the Bombay Cotton Contracts Act to regulate dealings in the cotton market. This Act enabled Government to supersede the Associations' Board of Directors to secure open trading. Even this measure did not produce the desired results for Government.

From the Congress point of view the support of Bombay businessmen for civil disobedience was crucial for its momentum, not only in declaring hartals and boycotting British firms and goods, but also in financing Congress activities.

—Editor.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 186/4/3717

12 January 1932.

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The Mangaldas Market, Mulji Jetha Market, Lakhmidas Market, Swadeshi Market, Share Bazaar and some shops in Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Charni Road are closed today on account of the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi. About a dozen female volunteers are going about in Mulji Jetha Market although it is closed. About a dozen more are moving about the Lakhmidas Market today.

Boycott propaganda.—Vernacular handbills advocating boycott of British goods, including medicines were distributed last evening at Princess Street.

The Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association, at their meeting held yesterday, passed a resolution advocating intensive boycott of goods from countries which are opposed to India's national aspirations and discouraging dealing with shipping, banking and insurance houses of those countries which were hostile to India.

The Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce also passed a resolution appealing to His Excellency the Viceroy to withdraw the Ordinance and release Mr. Gandhi in order to create peaceful atmosphere for the completion of the remaining work of the Round Table Conference.

Bombay Congress Bulletin

11 January 1932 (Extract).

Hungering for Freedom.—The whole of India is hungering for freedom from the British yoke, and is fighting under the banner of Mahatmaji to attain their goal. The creed that the Indian National Congress has followed being absolutely of non-violence, it may appear in the eyes of the materialistic world ridiculous, and when British Press say that "non-violence plants the germ of murder", we in India wonder what is on the brain of the British die-hards. To whatever extent the bloody march of the ruthless regime starts with all its repression, savage sentences and even shooting down of unarmed people, the attempt of India to secure its legitimate rights would show to the world and prove that the doctrine of non-violence, if carried with courage and patience, will bring in the ultimate victory. In their triumph they will have inaugurated a new era upon earth. Their triumph must lead to the recognition that soul-force is the much longed for "moral equipment of war."

Making a Desert of India.—Shall we not say that India is ruled not by Ordinances but by martial laws? Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India, has been probably advised that "by making a desert of India" by adopting unmitigated repression and calling it peace—a task from which the previous Viceroys Lord Irwin and Lord Curzon shrank, he would be able to tide over all difficulties in the land. But he may rest assured that the lessons of world's history will not prove false in India.

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Gold Fished Away From India.—We give below the figures of the export of gold¹ from Bombay since the financial crisis in England last September.

<i>Steamer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount of Gold</i> (Rs.)
S. S. Cathay	Sept. 26.	25,01,533
S. S. Rawalpindi	Oct. 3.	2,46,44,165
S. S. Comorin	Oct. 10.	1, 31,77,087
S. S. Viceroy of India	Oct. 17.	1,85,18,379
S. S. Ranochi	Oct. 24.	1,24,07,725
S. S. Chital	Oct. 31.	2,26,94,907
S. S. Narkunda	Nov. 7.	2,58,56,293
S. S. Ranpura	Nov. 14.	93,88,320
S. S. Maloja	Jan. 2.	2,45,61,488
S. S. Naldera	Nov. 21.	2,40,48,948
S. S. Kaiser-I-Hind	Nov. 28.	2,05,02,683
S. S. Mooltan	Dec. 5.	2,31,50,753
S. S. Viceroy of India	Dec. 12.	4,09,06,196
S. S. Strathnaver	Dec. 19.	4,52,32,990
S. S. Ranchi	Dec. 26.	3,99,05,174
S. S. Mantua	Jan. 9.	1,71,80,780
Total		36,46,77,419

Bombay Congress Bulletin

13 January 1932 (Extract).

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Lathi Dance Begins.—Whatever doubts that the citizens of Bombay had about the change of the Government Policy for the better, have disappeared. Whoever thought that the Bombay Government will crush the movement with arrests, his beliefs are falsified, by the use of lathis by the Police yesterday evening. Any optimist who erred on the wrong side may make a note that the pious and Christian Government has but lathis and bullets to suppress us. Lathis have already shown what they can do yesterday evening. The bullets have not yet been given an opportunity, perhaps, because, the stock of bullets, after the shooting at Peshawar and villages of N. W. F. P., Benares, villages of U. P., and Sholapur, might have been showing signs of complete consumption. When the new stock of these weapons arrives, the Government will be in its full form to display its paraphernalia and to exhibit its callousness towards the sacred lives of Indian people. We, the Indians, are waiting for that day.

¹ Huge quantities of gold and silver were sold under conditions of economic distress and the great depression in the Presidency. This coincided with the abandonment of gold standard in England resulting into devaluation of the pound sterling in terms of rupee. Consequently there was a huge shipment of Indian distress gold from Bombay. The Congress saw in it a undesirable impoverishment of India and launched an agitation against the export of gold and silver from the Bombay Port.

Travail of Peshawar :—Our correspondent from Peshawar sends us the following information which shows the devilish treatment that is accorded to the Khudai Khidmatgars :—

The treatment given to Khudai Khidmatgars is too awful for words. Even non-Congressmen also affirm that it is so and the non-violence of the volunteers is exemplary. At first as soon as the picketers arrived, the police and military (European regiments) beat the K. Ks., knocked them down and dragged them along to terrify the people and to make a show that they are helping the merchants. But it did not have the desired effect and public feeling regardless of class or creed became so strong that they had to change their tactics. Now the foreign soldiers take these boys away as somewhere outside Peshawar. They make them stand in waist deep water and the tommies amuse themselves by pouring water on their heads, occasionally fan them to add to their tortures, sometimes keeping them in the waters for four or five hours in the night while it is raining and is bitterly cold. Not content with that they make them stand in their wet clothes for hours till they are exhausted. Another form of punishment is to search them to see that they have no money or food on them, then take them by motor lorry to Cambelpur—that is on the border and drop them at some lonely spot sometimes thirty or forty miles from any habitation. They are out to provoke them to violence ; many women have also been killed.

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Maxwell to Emerson

No. S. D.—883

Bombay, 16 January 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of January 1932.

Political.—The first step taken by this Government to prevent the Civil Disobedience Campaign from gathering momentum was to arrest Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel, the President of the Indian National Congress, under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827. Both were arrested in Bombay at about 3 O'clock in the morning of the 4th and were sent by car direct to the Yeravda Jail, Poona, where they have been confined. A hartal for two days was declared in Bombay but was not generally observed, and 27 mills were closed, of which all but 7 reopened on the next day. In Ahmedabad all the mills and most of the Hindu shops closed on the 4th. Elsewhere hartals were not successful and merchants ignored Congress appeals.

By the time the news reached the districts, the Ordinances had been promulgated. They were republished by this Government in a Gazette Extraordinary on the 5th, which also contained notifications bringing Ordinances II, IV and V into force in the Presidency, and delegating or conferring powers under the Emergency Powers Ordinance in order to enable the local officers to take prompt action to deal with any attempts to give initial impetus to the movement. Notifications were also issued

the same day under the Criminal Law Amendment Act declaring 526 associations to be unlawful, and under the Unlawful Association Ordinance notifying 143 Congress premises throughout the Presidency for the purposes of the Ordinance. Action was taken by all district officers with promptitude. By the 9th, 189 leaders had been arrested under Section 3, of Ordinance II in 14 districts and in Bombay City, and by the end of the fortnight 229 more had been dealt with throughout the presidency. The arrests were received quietly by the general public who evinced little interest, even in the way of hartals. Wherever meetings were held they were sparsely attended and the organisers were promptly arrested. Special Magistrates and Summary Courts were also appointed under Sections 35 and 41 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance in all districts. Of the 448 persons arrested under Section 3 of Ordinance II, 256 have, under the orders of Government, been detained in jail custody for periods in excess of 15 days. Orders have been passed and are being passed by District Magistrates under Section 4(1). These orders have been disobeyed in several cases and the delinquents promptly convicted.

There is little doubt that this vigorous offensive was unexpected, and that it disorganised the arrangements and preparations made by the Congress leaders. It is true that some meetings and processions were held but the motive underlying them was undoubtedly to provoke strong police action and thereby stimulate public sympathy and enthusiasm. These meetings were however generally dispersed without difficulty, though on one or two occasions charges had to be made by the police using light canes.

Incidents of violence.—There were instances of stone throwing at Ahmedabad, Bombay and Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. In Bombay a European Sergeant and a constable were injured.

At Pandharpur there was a hartal on the 12th, presumably for the Sholapur murderers. As the police were arresting and taking away the leaders of the meeting held in the evening, stones and sand were thrown at them. Four policemen were slightly hurt, and one of the arrested persons was hurt by a stone. Some windows of the Municipal office were broken.

Other events of interest and importance.—On the 7th His Excellency issued a message to the people of the Presidency in which it was pointed out that the Ordinances were promulgated to enable Government to discharge its duty towards the people and to save them from the consequences which must inevitably follow if the Civil Disobedience Movement were allowed to develop. It added that no law abiding citizen had anything to fear from the Ordinances and that, on the contrary, these Ordinances would assist Government to protect law abiding citizens in the pursuit of their lawful activities and usual avocations, and that it was the duty of such citizens to abstain from participating in or encouraging the movement. This message was widely noticed and had good effect.

On the 11th, His Excellency convened a meeting of businessmen and representatives, of the commercial and industrial interests of Bombay, at Government House. In the course of his address, His Excellency briefly explained the policy that had been adopted and its bearing on the economic, social and political life of the Presidency, and asked the representatives to make suggestions if any measures taken had caused

inconvenience either in their business or in their daily life. His Excellency denied that there was any intention behind the Ordinances to promote British trade by compelling people to buy British goods and added that their promulgation did not mean any departure from the Government's determination to proceed with the reforms. He again stressed the desire of Government to extend fullest possible protection to persons engaged in legitimate trade, to encourage development of indigenous resources and to see that all engaged in economic activities are secured against molestation. A large number of those present availed themselves of the offer to express their own views or those of the bodies they represented and the various results of the Ordinances were reviewed.

It is understood that millowners in general are not in favour of the boycott movement and they are not known to be giving it financial support. Various commercial bodies in Bombay, however, such as the Indian Piece—Goods Merchants and members of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau sympathise with the movement and may be supporting it financially. The Ahmedabad Millowners Association declined to cancel orders for British machinery and stores owing to earnest money having already been paid. A Buy Indian League is reported to have been started at Karachi and buildings in Bombay City were one day placarded with posters to Buy Swadeshi.

On the 7th the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau issued a statement deploring His Excellency the Viceroy's refusal to grant Mr. Gandhi an interview. It then went on to express its inability to participate in the movement or to pronounce judgment on its advisability, but it assured the Congress of its support in attaining full self-government, especially in its programme of exclusion of foreign cloth and promotion and encouragement of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar. A committee was appointed to prepare a practicable programme.

The Bombay Cotton Brokers, the Native Share and Stock Brokers and the Bombay Shroffs' Association passed resolutions advocating the boycott of goods from countries which are opposed to India's national aspirations and discouraging dealings with shipping, banking and insurance houses of those countries. An unconfirmed report stated that the Cotton Brokers Association considered a proposal to turn out the European members but no allusion was made to this in the resolution. Meanwhile, it is understood that European members are able to carry on business. There have been constant closures of the cloth markets, the Mulji Jetha Market remaining closed for seven days.

There has been practically no picketing of liquor shops but picketing of foreign cloth shops in the Fort area in Bombay City commenced on the 7th. On the 9th it was extended to Charni Road, Chakla Street and the Mangaldas Market and on the 10th to the Mulji Jetha Market and the Bullion Exchange. On the first day crowds collected before Whiteway Laidlaw and Company's premises and were inclined to be rowdy. On the 11th the Commissioner of Police issued an order under Section 7 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance prohibiting the assembling of persons outside shops. The Chief Presidency Magistrate also issued an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting meetings and processions held in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience Movement or other unlawful movement. As a result of this and the nervousness of the public crowds were dispersed without much difficulty.

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Sholapur.—It was reported that the 12th would be observed as the Sholapur Martyrs Day, but the arrests of the leaders altered plans in this connection, so much so that the Pole procession, which was to be held on the same and succeeding days, was allowed to take place and went off quietly. On the 13th a feeble attempt was made to observe the Sholapur Martyrs Day, but orders were issued under Sections 6 and 7 of Ordinance II and the small crowd dispersed on hearing the approach of a police party.

Municipalities : A motion for adjournment was moved in the Bombay Municipal Corporation as a protest against the arrests and Ordinances, but was thrown out by a majority.

Propaganda : As soon as the Ordinances were out steps were taken by the Director of Information, at the instance of Government, to issue a daily communique containing the more important and interesting events reported in the District Magistrates' daily reports. Steps are also being taken to give effect to the Government of India's suggestion in regard to rumours connected with the North-West Frontier Province. Special propaganda methods for Bombay City and Karachi are being devised. In Poona summaries of the Government of India's statement were prepared and published in certain vernacular papers and in pamphlet form. Similar action has been taken by the Director of Information as regards other districts. In Nasik the District Magistrate was approached by non-officials to hold a meeting to explain Government's policy and rally the supporters of order.

The Unlawful Association Ordinance : The police took possession of the Congress House in Bombay without meeting with any demonstration.

Orders under sub-sections (3) and (4) of section 7 were issued on the following banks, firms and individuals :—

Bombay.—Bachhraj and Company, Central Bank of India (in connection with the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the funds of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), Punjab National Bank.

Ahmedabad.—Bank of India (accounts of the Swadeshi Sabha), Industrial Bank of Western India (accounts of the Swadeshi Sabha), Maganbhai Karamchand (firm), Kasturbhai Lalbhai (firm), Punjalal Haribhai.

Surat.—Manubhai Chhaganlal.

Karachi.—Central Bank of India, Mercantile Co-operative Bank, Sind Central Co-operative Bank, Punjab National Bank.

Hyderabad.—Hyderabad District Central Co-operative Bank, Khudabadi Amil Co-operative Bank, Punjab National Bank, Ramchand Parumal.

The search of Bachhraj and Company revealed that monies of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee had been withdrawn by the Secretary of the Committee. Further enquiry is being made about him. There was a balance of Rs. 5,594 of the All-India Congress Committee but Jamnalal Bajaj had withdrawn this himself. The examination of the books of the two Banks in Bombay showed that the Tilak Swaraj Fund had been used by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and other Congress Committees and that small balances of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee were standing to its credit in their accounts. Further enquiries are being made in Ahmedabad, and Government are awaiting the result of the investigations at the other places.

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Central Provinces and Berar*Report for the first-half of January 1932. /*

Political : The event of the past fortnight has been the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Campaign. In spite of the preparations made during the past months, the Congress squib has proved to be rather damp. In Nagpur a protest meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 3rd on account of the arrest of Subhas Chandra Bose, who passed through Nagpur that day on his way to the Seoni jail. At the end of the meeting Punamchand Ranka announced the arrests of Vitthalbhai Patel and Dr. Ansari and ordered a hartal for the next day. The day started well for the Congress, as Ruikar got to the Model Mills before the police and succeeded in persuading the workers not to go to work. An attempt, however, to do the same at the Empress Mills failed, and Ruikar disappeared. In the course of the day the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel came through and was tom-tommed through the city. A hartal followed, but was only a partial success, not more than 40 per cent, of the shops being closed. The Muhammadans refused to have anything to do with it. That evening a meeting of 10,000 persons was held in the Chitnavis Park, and the War Council, which had replaced the Nagar Congress Committee, appeared in force and announced the resumption of the struggle. Abhyankar took the chair as President, with Punamchand Ranka as Secretary. All the members made brief speeches appealing for money and volunteers, and Congress plans were somewhat artlessly disclosed by the announcement that picketing of foreign cloth would be started on the 10th. Nothing was said of a no-rent campaign.

It is clear that the march of events and the quick action of the Government of India in arresting Mr. Gandhi and other leaders took the local Congress party by surprise. Their organization was not ready, and they had neither volunteers nor programme. Of late there has been an increasing realisation among Congress leaders of the fact that a no-rent campaign is a double-edged weapon which may prove more dangerous to them under the new constitution than it is to the present Government. Their only alternative line of attack was to try and stir up public feeling by organising extensive picketing by women. But here too they were met with difficulty. The cloth dealers and merchants in general showed by no means the same readiness to truckle to Congress demands as on the previous occasion. On the 5th, in fact, Bhagwandin, the War Council's treasurer, made open complaint of the public apathy, and on the 6th, when Abhyankar and Punamchand met a number of cloth merchants personally, the Kacchi merchants refused to accept the proposal that they should seal their cloth, and the Hindu merchants said that they would talk about it afterwards. Meanwhile Government came into action. The Molestation and Boycotting and the Unlawful Association Ordinances were applied to the Nagpur district, and the War Council was declared an unlawful association.

On the 8th, 5 members of the War Council addressed a meeting defying Government and preaching the full Congress programme, and on the next day they were all arrested without any particular difficulty. In accordance with the announced programme of starting picketing on the 10th, 64 men and 11 women volunteers assembled at the Tilak Vidyalaya on the morning of that day, and had their photographs taken prior to starting out. As soon as the photographing was over, they were surrounded by a strong force of police and taken straight to jail. A large crowd had collected, and there was some demonstration as the prisoners were removed, but the crowd was orderly and the vast majority were purely spectators. The moral effect of this coup has been great. Picketing has since been sporadic and half-hearted, and the main difficulty of the police has been to move on the crowds of curious spectators who gather to watch stray picketers. Since then two successive dictators have been arrested, but the second had to be searched for, and the Congress policy appears to be to conserve manpower. On the 13th a meeting of the businessmen was convened by His Excellency at Government House, and this appears to have had a distinctly sobering effect on the mercantile element. By concentrating picketing on Muhammadan shops in Nagpur the Congress have also succeeded in alienating completely that community.

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In Berar some of the wilder spirits have shown impatience at the caution of the leaders, and proceedings have been taken against 4 of them for inflammatory speeches, but the leaders themselves have been conscious of the fact that they are not ready for the struggle and that public opinion is no longer behind them to the same extent as previously.

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No-tax Campaign : As already reported, there are signs that the more thoughtful of the Congress leaders are beginning to realise the danger of the no-tax movement as a plank in their political programme. In the North of the Province there has been no overt activity on the part of the no-rent agitators, but it is reported that odd men in various villages who have been won over to the campaign interfere periodically when collections are being made and stop the tenants from paying. There is no doubt that the tour of Govind Das and Mishra and their so called enquiry committee had a certain amount of effect, though possibly not as much as its organisers had hoped for, and that the committee was assisted by a number of landlords and others who should have known better. In Berar there have been numerous meetings in order to organise representations to Government on the subject of the inability of the cultivators to pay revenue, but the idea of a no-tax campaign based on political grounds is making no headway.

Labour : It does not appear that Congress is to receive support either from the depressed classes or from that side of the labour movement which is represented by men such as Ruikar and M. L. Jayavant. At recent meetings of the depressed classes in Nagpur anti Congress views have been expressed, and the speakers have made it clear that they distrust the promises of the present Congress. At the same time they have also said that they have no particular use for Government and have urged that their

salvation lies in their own efforts. When Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested, Ruikar made a violent speech on the usual Congress lines, but he has since gradually modified the tone of his speeches and has now come out with manifesto dissociating the Trade Union Movement from the Congress completely. Similarly M. L. Jayavant, whose influence is growing, has held a number of meetings in furtherance of Communist ideas, at which Congress has been attacked.

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Press.—His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Calcutta European Association dinner, the telegraphic correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the promulgation of the four new Ordinances and the present political situation have been the main topics of discussion. The Viceroy's speech was criticised as a sure harbinger of determined repression. His Excellency's reply to Mr. Gandhi in the matter of granting an interview was commented on as a political blunder involving serious consequences which, it is said could have been avoided by tact and broadmindedness. The promulgation of the recent Ordinances is condemned as a ruthless and unjust war against Congress, and the Government are warned that repression is no remedy for the unrest in the country. As a result of the Ordinances the newspapers on the whole are edited with restraint and caution, and the principal Hindi papers like the *Lokmat* (Jubbulpore) and the *Karmavir* (Khandwa) have even ceased to write editorials.

Locally, the subject of the agrarian plight continues to engage the attention of the press which looks forward to a generous Government announcement at the ensuing Council session for the relief of the agriculturists.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 397/H/3717

20 January 1932.

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Dr. Moonje & Round Table Conference.—Dr. B. S. Moonje delivered a public lecture on "Round Table Conference and the Hindu Maha Sabha" at the Brahmin Sabha Hall yesterday evening before an audience of about 250 persons. He said at the outset that unlike other representatives to the Round Table Conference he went to London only as a nationalist and not as a spokesman of the Hindu Maha Sabha. He was however, blamed by his colleagues on the Round Table Conference as well as by the Government for being an obstructionist. He was for Dominion Status with full responsible Government. By that he meant the withdrawal of the British Army and the control of the Indian Army by Indian officers who could be trained during the transition period of 10 to 15 years. He also wanted control of the finance and fiscal policy. He was willing to let the Viceroy nominate the Defence Minister provided he was an Indian. He then blamed the other minority communities who would not talk of Swaraj unless their individual demands were conceded to.

Arrest of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta.—J. M. Sen-Gupta was arrested this morning on the S. S. Ganga under the Bengal Regulation No. III of 1818.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

19 January 1932 (Extract).

Appeal to Trade Associations.—Non-Importation Agreements were an outstanding feature of the American War of Independence and also of the last Civil Disobedience Campaign. This year too, Trade Associations are resolving patriotically not to import foreign commodities. The Kariana Bazaar Association has resolved to stop the import of foreign Kariana such as cloves, dyes, chemicals, etc. No Saffron, Dates, Dry-fruit, Almonds or Kopra will be imported for the next two months. Singapore Kariana Merchants have decided not to ship anything from Penang, Java or Singapore. The Gum Merchants' Association will not import gum or benzoine. We congratulate these merchants on their patriotic resolves.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

21 January 1932 (Extract).

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How we stand.—It is now exactly a fortnight from the day when by the mass arrests of Bombay Leaders, the Bombay Government declared war in the city. They then gave a fortnight's life to the Congress. The present is, therefore, suitable time to take stock of the situation. A fact which strikes one in the eye is that the Congress is today very much alive and kicking. Open any Bombay newspaper and you will have ample evidence. But need you go even that far? WE ARE THE BEST EVIDENCE of that patent fact. Since the start, there has not been a single day on which this BULLETIN has not been published. There has been a succession of six Emergency Councils. So much for the Congress organisation. How about the people's response? The call of this outlawed organisation has brought forth an inspiring response from thousands of citizens and countless thousands more are waiting to fill up the gaps that may be made in our frontline. Almost every shop in the city selling foreign cloth has been picketed daily. In the Mulji Jetha Market the Desh Sevikas have made all business in foreign cloth impossible. The ban imposed on meetings and processions by a corrupt and servile magistracy has been repeatedly defied by the citizens of Bombay. But the most concrete proof of our success in the first round is to be found in that political thermometer which shows the numbers of arrests. In the past fourteen days there have been no less than about 380 arrests in the city—27 a day. This means that in six months Bombay will send to jail 5,000, number which was achieved in a struggle extending over a year in 1930-31. In the country as a whole, there have been 15,000 arrests in 15 days—1,000 a day. Last time there were 93,000 in a year—about 250 a day. In face of such incontrovertible evidence what chicken-hearted doubter still maintains that Bombay has failed to maintain her lead, or India to respond?

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Times of India

22 January 1932 (Extract).

MEETING OF COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATIONS.—A special meeting of the Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations, representing 33 bodies, was held at the Bullion Exchange Building in Bombay on Thursday, when the attitude of the Federation arising from the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the present policy of Government was considered. After considerable discussion, the meeting resolved to advise its member bodies to “do as little business as possible until normal conditions are restored.”

Mr. Chunilal B. Mehta, the President, at the outset, referred to the feeling of nervousness prevailing among the business community in Bombay due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the promulgation of the Ordinances.

Mr. Ratilal Gandhi, the Vice-President of the Federation, then moved the following resolution :

“The Federation strongly protests against the arrest and incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and declares its firm conviction against the policy of the Government to rule the country by Ordinances whose objective is said to be to maintain law and order but which undoubtedly tends to crush the national life of India. It is further of opinion that the rule by Ordinances has prejudicially affected trade and commerce of India and will soon practically bring them to a standstill and that until the release and willing co-operation of Mr. Gandhi is obtained, the situation will grow more and more difficult.

“It recommends to all the member bodies to foster, promote and encourage to the utmost indigenous industries including Indian institutions of banking, shipping and insurance ; to use only Swadeshi articles ; to use and wear only khaddar so that the starving millions may be fed and to preserve gold and stop its outflow with a view to conserve the resources of the country so that the economic prosperity of the country may be secured.

“It condemns the attitude of some non-Indians residing and trading in India and declares its indignation and strong disapproval of the expressions of opinion in favour of the present repressive policy.

“It is of opinion that the promulgation and application of a series of Ordinances has rendered the prosecution of all legitimate business activities well-nigh impossible and in order to be saved from the inevitable losses consequent on the present insecure and uncertain conditions prevailing in the country because of the Ordinances and their operations recommends to its member bodies to do as little business as possible until normal conditions are restored.

“It further points out that the wide, deep and ruthless repression reaching even in villages of India has clearly demonstrated to the world—if proof were necessary—that Mr. Gandhi alone can speak for India”.

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M. K. Gandhi to Sir Frederick Sykes*

23 January 1932.

The cordial conversations I had with you last year embolden me to write this to you. If you would rather that, being a prisoner, I should not write to you, I shall cease to do so and this may be thrown away. If however you don't resent this letter, I may take the further liberty of writing again, should the occasion arise.

Whilst in my opinion all the ordinances are a tragic blunder and so utterly unnecessary, I can understand the Government taking a different view and trying to crush the Congress. The organization may be put out of action for a time. The spirit will never be crushed. But this is another story.

What I want to draw your attention to is the excesses that are being committed under the ordinances.

The breaking up of a peaceful meeting in Ahmedabad by severe lathi charges and running horses through the meeting appears to have been a barbarous procedure, several youngmen were severely and some women were slightly hurt. One young woman had her hair pulled. This information I glean from the newspapers supplied to me. In Nadiad the treatment is said to have been still more brutal and it is reported to have been the worst in Surat. Boys in two boarding houses are said to have been hurriedly dragged out of them and the houses taken over by the authorities. Such procedure brutalizes those who are engaged in carrying it out. It should be borne in mind that all this treatment is being meted out to those who do not retaliate and have not been known to have done any previous violence.

The authorities have taken possession of the National University buildings in Ahmedabad. The University has a rich collection of carefully selected books. There is a religious section to the library. It is admitted to be a unique library built up by devoted scholars. It contains some rare and valuable manuscripts. There is, too, a little museum which has an art collection. The grounds have valuable trees planted on them. The whole of this constructive effort—a fruit of ten years patient labour—is likely to be ruined without any just cause.

One of the most respectable Indians belonging to the celebrated Tyabji family, Mr. Abbas Tyabji who is 78 years old and who is an ex-Chief Judge of the Baroda High Court is said to have been locked up in Nadiad along with other prisoners in what can only be described as a cage.

I ask you to investigate these statements. Denials by the parties charged can be regarded as no investigation. Often have such denials been proved to be worthless.

I have picked out but a few of what have appeared to me to be glaring instances of high handedness. If past experience is any guide, probably the worst cases have not even been allowed to appear in the newspapers. Nor do I get all the newspapers.

I write this as a friend wishing well to the English. I am anxious that on both sides every avoidable cause of bitterness should be avoided. I would like the fight to be conducted honourably on either side so that at the end of it either party may be able to say of the other that there was no malice behind its actions.

* Governor of Bombay.

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 566/H/3717

28 January 1932.

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The four cloth markets, Javeri Bazaar, Marwari Bazaar, Chemists and Druggists' shops, Bhat Bazaar, Dana Bunder and Khand Bazaar are closed from today. These markets and shops will continue to be closed for a week from today as a protest against the repressive policy of Government and the arrival of the Round Table Conference Committees in India. The following anonymous communication is sent to various shopkeepers.

FREE INDIA ASSOCIATION.—"As it has been decided to go on with the work of the Round Table Conference Committees without the co-operation of Mahatma Gandhiji and contrary to the wishes of the country, this association asks you as a protest to close your business from 28th January to 3rd February both days inclusive, in default you should thank yourselves responsible for the consequences. Be faithful to your Motherland and Mahatma Gandhiji."

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Wilson to Maxwell

No. 592/H/3717

29 January 1932.

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Picketing at the Exchange Banks.—The following banks were picketed yesterday :—

Eastern Bank	2	Volunteers.
National Bank of India	2	"
Mercantile Bank	3	"
Chartered Bank of India	3	"
P. & O. Banking Corporation	1	"

These volunteers advised the people not to export gold and silver and not to receive Paper Currency.

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Anti-R. T. C. Demonstrations.—Although the emergency council announced through a number of leaflets yesterday that people should muster strong at different points along the route by which the committee might proceed to Government House, some Congress workers did not think it advisable to push on the propaganda in view of the reception that was going to be given to Shaukat Ali and Dr. Ambedkar on the

morning of the 29th. They therefore issued instructions not to have hostile demonstrations so that there might not be any conflict between Hindus and Mohammedans. As these instructions did not reach the public at large ; a very feeble attempt was made this morning by some of the enthusiasts to demonstrate their feelings against the arrival of the Round Table Conference Committee. One Jamshed C. Patel, a Parsi youth, managed to go aboard the S. S. Mooltan and attempted to make a demonstration by waving a flag which he carried in his pocket. At the corner of the Royal Opera House about 50 persons collected and a few of them shouted " Go Back ", when the cars conveying the Round Table Conference members proceeded to Government House. Near the Custom's Chowki at the foot of Walkeshwar Road a few persons from a crowd of about 25 waved small pieces of black cloth and shouted " Go Back " when the cars passed that point. In the city several school boys and persons serving in firms are wearing black and red bands on their arms. Some students are going about in tram cars shouting " Boycott Round Table Conference " today.

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Indian National Congress, Special Bulletin

No. II (Extract).

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S APPEAL.—I am pained to find that such a large amount of gold is being exported from the country. The Government of India should have bought all gold that was offered, but they abstained from doing so because they want to keep the rupee linked to the sterling at a rate of exchange which does not benefit this country. It, therefore, becomes the duty of the people themselves not to sell gold but to preserve it. If we allow our gold to be exported it will be very difficult in future to get it back from abroad to rehabilitate the strength of our currency and finances. The export of gold started with the sale of that precious metal by the people in distress. That was a case of helplessness on their part. But now I hear that my countrymen and countrywomen who happen to have gold are selling it because they think that its price has risen very high and that in future they will be able to buy back at a cheaper rate. This idea is based on a mis-conception.

The rate of gold is determined by the rate of exchange. The cross rate having fallen from 4.86 to 3.46, our rate of exchange in terms of gold is at present about thirteen pence. Gold would become cheaper only if the cross rate rises, but looking at trade and other conditions there is little likelihood of a rise in the cross rate, rather there is every indication of a fall. The result of such a fall will be to further raise the rate of gold in terms of rupees.

Moreover, if the export of gold is stopped the rupee—sterling exchange will fall. The result will be to raise the rate of gold in terms of rupees and also to increase the prices of our agricultural products. Such an increase in prices is greatly needed to relieve the distressed condition of our agriculturists. I strongly advise my countrymen to conserve their gold both in their own interests and in the interest of our country. By doing so they stand to benefit in every way.

I therefore appeal to all men and women and all bankers and merchants who have the good of India and Indians at heart not to sell or export any gold at present.

Free Press Journal

5 February 1932 (Extract).

CONGRESS IS BAD BUT ORDINANCE IS WORSE.—The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association has sent the following representation to the Viceroy :—

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association taking advantage of His Excellency's invitation to one of their members, the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna to Delhi for an interview, sent a telegram to Sir Phiroze which the Council understand was placed before His Excellency. Sir Phiroze informed the Council on his return from Delhi that His Excellency had promised to give sympathetic consideration to any representation sent by the Council.

The Council, therefore, beg to forward the following representation embodying their considered views regarding the Ordinances recently promulgated by His Excellency to deal with the Civil Disobedience Movement which they have always held is not and cannot be in the best interests of the country and since the opinions they held are so well-known, they do not think it necessary to dilate on this as such any further. At the same time, Government by Ordinances is always repugnant to Liberal principles and however much Government may consider them justified at the present stage, the Council are emphatically of opinion that no Ordinance should interfere with the liberty of a law-abiding subject and much less with the ordinary amenities of civic life; nor ought it to hamper legitimate political activity.

UNNECESSARILY SEVERE.—The Council of the Association felt that many of the provisions of the Ordinances are unnecessarily severe and do encroach upon personal liberty of even citizens unconnected with any subversive movement. The Council are aware that government have issued assurances that these Ordinances are intended purely to suppress all unlawful activities and that no law-abiding citizen need be afraid of being victimised by their operation. Some local Governments have even gone further and asserted and claimed that these Ordinances are intended to protect the pursuit of their normal avocations and activities by citizens without let or hinderance from any quarter.

Whilst such assurances are welcome, the Liberals feel that the provisions are so drastic and the wording is so wide in scope that a serious obstacle is likely to be placed in the way of patriotic effort for the promotion of indigenous industries and the frank and free expression of political views unconnected with any subversive movement. It may be pointed out that the actual operation of the various Ordinances has not lessened but rather increased the apprehension and anxiety of the public in this matter.

HARDSHIP TO PUBLIC.—The Council realise that the actual administration of the Ordinance is not primarily the concern of the Government of India and they may, therefore, have to approach the local Government in this connection. The Council, are however, convinced that certain provisions are bound to inflict great hardship on the public, however, judiciously they may be administered and would, therefore, earnestly urge their modification. They have carefully studied all ordinances applicable to the Bombay Presidency and have also had the advantage of consulting legal opinion in the matter.

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LEGAL OPINION.—The Council earnestly desire to draw the serious attention of Government to the fact that in the opinion of some leading lawyers, the preaching of temperance, prohibition, agitation against the export of gold, the advocacy of the use of khaddar and even the use of Indian goods (Swadeshi) would be illegal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is well-known that all these items are included in the Congress Working Committee's programme. The Congress is not the only body to take up such propaganda. Nevertheless, the declaring of the Congress and other Associations illegal makes it impossible for any individual or association to carry on such laudable activities of a patriotic character by making them illegal under the present law of the land. The Council do not suggest the cumbersome procedure of amending the Criminal Law Amendment Act but they do most seriously urge that Government should make a clear declaration of policy that they do not propose to proceed against or punish any individual or association that may be engaged in such activities.

BUY BRITISH.—They would point out that "Buy British" has been urged on the people of England by the highest in the land to such an extent and with such success that it has actually become a religion in England. Can the Government then intentionally or unintentionally make the advocacy of "Buy Indian" a criminal offence which under the law they appear to have done at present. This is not merely an academic argument. It is very much a question of practical politics. Many law-abiding citizens have grave apprehensions as to whether they would be acting within the law even if they wore khaddar. Do Government desire in times of trade depression, when the most advanced nations of the world are taking strong measures to compel their own people to consume and use home-grown and home-made goods that there should be grave doubts in the minds of law-abiding and patriotic Indians as to whether they are acting within the law when they only desire to do what the people of other countries are obliged to do by their Governments for their own advantage and well being?

Congress Bulletin, Boycott Supplement

14 February 1932 (Extract).

CLOTH PICKETING.—Since the day the Ordinances were promulgated the picketing was started and all the markets were covered except those where the merchants have promised not to deal even with their present stock in their shops. Mulji Jetha Market, Laxmidas Market, Mangaldas Market and some shops on the Hornby Road have been picketed by ladies and other retail shops by men volunteers. Mulji Jetha Market and Laxmidas Market have been closed from the time of the round up of the eight sevikas from these markets. Since then two or three attempts have been made to open the markets but to no avail. The public is very much agitated and would not allow any more ladies to be arrested.

It is reported that some foreign cloth merchants are doing a lot of business from their *pedhias* and homes and goods are sent away direct from the godowns or warehouses. We do not believe in this rumour, because of the wonderful manner in which the merchants have co-operated to show their resentment against the Ordinances. But we would like to warn Silk merchants of Mandvi, the Punjabi commission agents and brokers that they should stop their sinful trade. We would ask them to think and ponder whether they are helping the oppressor or their own sisters

and brothers in doing this business at present. We are giving this warning so that the persons who are doing business in foreign cloth even now should cease doing so. We have got the names of such merchants and commission agents, but we do not wish to make them public in the hope that they will themselves take steps to avoid pickets coming to their homes.

GOLD PICKETS.—Large amount of gold has gone out of India and is still going out to the detriment of India's economic interests. The repeated requests of merchants and spokesmen of public opinion warned and requested the Government to put an embargo on gold exports, but our Government could not and would never do so, because gold imports to Britain helps the Pound and has enabled Britain to pay off its debt to America and France. The gold from India has directly helped our masters to meet their obligations, without which their credit would have been damned and they are thanking us by trampling us under their feet.

More than hundred volunteers have been arrested in mint picketing and more are daily arrested and jailed.

The quantity of shipment has decreased, but we would like that not a *tola* should be sent out. The effect of picketing has been successful to some extent in stopping the gold being taken to the mint in the day time. The merchants are now clandestinely sending gold, to the mint during night time and, to the banks in various backhand manners. A number of new persons have opened new gold business while others have stopped business in the same. We know their names and we wish to warn them before taking any steps to dissuade them from doing this business. Now the banks have themselves come to do this gold business and take the risk.

We would request the Indians not to sell gold to the banks and merchants, etc., because its price will rise while the general level is depreciating.

ENGLAND HUNGRY FOR MORE GOLD.—India has sent to England 2,723,444 pound worth of gold in four days (from 4th to 8th February) and more is required. The four leading Bullion Brokers are offering 27 shillings for gold sovereigns. The Chancellor of Exchequer has appealed to the public to give every ounce of gold to the Bank of England.

India has sent 43 crores of rupees worth of gold. More and more gold is required by England to keep the pound from dwindling and also to meet their foreign obligations. No country is willing to part with its gold. England cannot get gold from any other country than India. Therefore every effort by honest or dishonest means is being made to part with India's gold. The Viceroy has been saying that it is in the interest of India to beat her best men, shoot and imprison them and to send gold to England. What a benevolent Viceroy?

All the foreign and British banks and firms would be moved to buy and export gold to Britain. It is rumoured that the Native States would also be ordered to part some of their gold as a price of keeping the Princes on their *gadis* and giving them a good time without any effort. In short all the machinery of the Government of India both directly and indirectly will be moved to achieve the purpose.

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Indian National Congress, Special Bulletin

16th February 1932

(Extract)

Miraben's Appeal.—Day by day authentic reports have been reaching me of unthinkable insults to our noble peasantry. The Government's methods have reached a point, which for the honour of our race, for the honour of the humble people we must do everything in our power to expose. And if we have any self-respect and spirit in us, we must not only expose these things, but we must unite as one man in resisting and overcoming the power and repression of the British Government which in its arrogance can employ such methods.

The nation is but an enlargement of the family, the human race is but an enlargement of the nation. And an insult to any human being is an insult to the human race, to the nation, to the individual, and if we are worthy of the name of MAN and WOMAN we will give our all in overcoming the tyrannical power which is piling worse and worse insults on us day by day.

So now how can we unite as one man in resisting this *British Raj*?

There is one golden rule for resisting an evil, in which one and all can co-operate, rich and poor, young and old, and that is complete boycott of all things tainted with that evil. We should not touch a single thing which supports this British Raj that will bring this system to an end quicker than anything else. And then, only then can we lift from our heads the shame which is at present ours.

As I write this paper, the Government has served me with an order and I may expect to be behind the prison walls before this appeal reaches the public. I rejoice to go to one of the only two places where any self-respecting Indian can hope to go prison or death.

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Maxwell to Emerson

No. S. D./1184.

Bombay, 19th February 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of January 1932.

Action under the Ordinances and the ordinary law continued to be taken against persons instigating civil disobedience. Up to the end of the month 765 persons had been arrested and detained in jail custody under Section 3 of Ordinance II and the period of detention had been extended beyond 15 days in the case of 413.

Prominent persons arrested during the fortnight under Section 3 of Ordinance II were Dr. N. S. Hardikar and Jannalal Ramdhandas Bajaj. No persons of outstanding importance were convicted during this period.

Out of the 150 buildings notified for the purposes of the Unlawful Association Ordinance possession has been taken of 86.

Reports from the districts show that the situation was generally quiet. Attempts on a small scale to manufacture or sell contraband salt were reported from Bombay City, Belgaum, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Dadu and Jacobabad. A few telegraph wires were cut in the Belgaum district, where there was also some organised cutting of toddy trees. Attempts were made to break the forest laws in parts of the Kanara and Satara districts but no great damage was done. Land revenue dues are coming in well and in Kaira district Rs. 11,35,000 have been paid up, and taqavi over Rs. 74,000 collected.

Attempts to celebrate Independence Day on the 26th met with little response in the districts. In Ahmedabad a mild lathi charge was required to disperse a procession and no one was seriously injured. Frontier Day on the 29th similarly fell flat.

There was somewhat more activity in Bombay city. After a meeting had been dispersed on the Maidan on the 21st, demonstrations accompanied by stone throwing occurred in front of the Esplanade Road Police Station and three police constables and half a dozen of the mob received injuries. There was also some stone throwing at a meeting at Dadar on the 23rd. On the night of the 26th, Independence Day and several succeeding nights there was a considerable amount of hooliganism, which was, however, confined to the centre of the city.

Extracts from the daily reports of the Commissioner of Police regarding the occurrences from the night of the 26th to that of the 29th (Frontier Day) have been sent separately to the Government of India. Firing by the police was resorted to about mid night on the 26th when two rounds were fired, and again on the night of the 29th when ten revolver shots and two rounds by the armed police were fired. Nineteen persons appear to have been wounded, two of whom died subsequently. Fifteen persons received injuries as a result of the lathi charge on the night of the 26th, three on the night of the 28th and 189 on the night of the 29th of whom 56 were detained in hospitals for treatment. Six police officers and men received injuries through stone throwing. The 31st was the usual monthly flag salutation day. During the morning five processions were dispersed by the police. One of these stoned a police chowki at Kandewadi, one police constable being slightly injured. In the evening between 2,000 and 3,000 persons assembled at Chaupatty as spectators to witness a bonfire of foreign clothes, which had been announced by posters and *Bhui Patrikas*. On the dispersal of the assembly three police officers were molested by a gang of rowdies and fired two rounds in self-defence without injuring anyone. Two more revolver rounds were fired the same night while the police were engaged with hooligan crowds attempting to light grass bonfires and a chowki near Charni Road was broken up to make a bonfire. On this night 50 persons were injured by lathis of whom only four were detained for treatment. Four police officers and four constables received injuries through stone throwing.

The trouble on these occasions was caused by *Mawalis* rather than Congressmen, and the Commissioner of Police has instructed the Superintendent of Police in the division mainly concerned to open fire on crowds attacking police chowkies, if he finds he cannot check their activities in any other way.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops continued through the fortnight. Picketing at the Mint commenced on the 18th and an attempt was made to prevent cart loads of silver from entering the Mint. The total arrests for picketing number 44, the majority being picketers at the Mint. The Currency Office was picketed for a couple of days. Early in the fortnight and from the 28th certain exchange banks were picketed, the picketers advising people not to export gold to foreign countries and not to receive paper currency. A rush for silver occurred at the Ahmedabad Branch of the Imperial Bank and Rs. $11\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were withdrawn in cash, but this subsided after two or three days. The District Magistrate reported that currency notes were at a discount of anything up to 20 per cent in the district.

Attitude of commercial bodies and Associations in Bombay City.—After a great deal of preliminary discussion the Marwari Chamber of Commerce and certain commercial bodies summoned a public meeting on the *maidan* to protest against the promulgation of the Ordinances. The Commissioner of Police thereupon issued a warning to the public against taking part in this meeting and this led to the meeting being called off. However, about 24 members of the Vyapari Mahamandal (Federation of Commercial Associations) met on the 21st and passed a resolution protesting against Mr. Gandhi's arrest and expressing the opinion that rule by ordinances had prejudicially affected trade and commerce. The members of the association were advised to do as little business as possible. This resolution was considered too mild by some half-dozen members, but they acquiesced in its terms after discussion.

On the 17th resolutions were passed at an extraordinary general meeting of the Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers Association protesting against the Ordinances as paralysing business and recommending a conciliatory policy and the encouragement of swadeshi manufacture and industry. It was decided that the Stock Exchange should be kept open on three days in the week, but no business was done. Government have addressed the association regarding its charter and the question of reopening it throughout the week was under consideration at the close of fortnight under report.

It is reported that 40 persons attended a private meeting in the Swadeshi Market at Kalbadevi on the 20th. It was decided among other things to boycott foreign goods and it appears that it was also suggested that shops of Marwaris dealing in gold and silver should be picketed.

From the 28th a number of merchant's associations particularly the grain merchants, the four cloth markets, the Jhaveri, Marwari and other bazaars and chemists and druggists shops closed down for a week as a protest against the repressive policy of Government and the arrival of the R. T. C. Committee in India.

On account of the renewal of civil disobedience and the constant closure of the cloth market on pretexts such as arrests of leaders of women picketers or repressive policy little business was done openly in foreign cloth, but it was understood that a good deal of business went on clandestinely.

Boycott of British Goods.—The *Navjiwan* of Ahmedabad, in a special supplement referring to the boycott of British goods, stressed the need of distinguishing between British goods and those of other nations and published a list of the brands of articles to be boycotted. On the 25th January, copies of a vernacular leaflet, the contents of which were similar to the *Navjiwan* supplement, were distributed from house to house in Bombay City. The *Navjiwan* Press has since been closed down by the District Magistrate and further action is in progress.

Congress Funds.—The balance of the Tilak Swaraj Funds amounting to Rs. 40,000 lying in the Call Deposit Account of the Central Bank of India and balances of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee amounting to Rs. 246 in the same bank and the Punjab National Bank, Bombay, were forfeited under Section 7 (I) of the Unlawful Association Ordinance. Reports of the results of investigations made in bank at Ahmedabad and Hyderabad show that Congress Funds were withdrawn before the 4th January. A notice under Section 4 (I) and (2) of Ordinance II was issued by Government on the 26th on Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, President of the Ahmedabad Municipality, prohibiting him for three months from dealing with the monies of the Gujarat Flood Relief Fund which are under his control.

Counter Propaganda and Publicity.—A cyclostyled bulletin called the *Patriot* is being published daily through a private agency in Bombay City as an antidote to the *Congress Bulletin*. The Director of Information has also issued numerous leaflets in English and vernacular for distribution throughout the Presidency containing such matters as the Government of India's statements, His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Assembly, and details about the Franchise and other committees, in addition to the daily summary of events.

A well attended *darbar* was held on the 26th at Nasik by the Commissioner, Central Division. Successful taluka *darbars* were also held by the Collector of Poona and the Collector of Surat.

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Press Act.—Two publishers and one keeper of a press were called upon by the District Magistrate to deposit security of Rs. 100, 200 and 500, respectively. In no case was the security deposited.

Press.—Protests continued to be made against the promulgation of the Ordinances and the action taken thereunder. Some nationalist papers urged the boycott of British goods as the means of bringing England to her knees. On the other hand several moderate papers protested against the movement and its ill-effects on trade and the public generally and appealed to people not to support it.

Nationalist papers urged the boycott of the R. T. C. Committee.

Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the Second Half of January 1932

Political.—Generally the situation has remained satisfactory. In Nagpur some anxiety was caused by the speeches made by certain moderate leaders at a meeting convened by C. B. Parakh, the President of the Nagpur Municipal Committee, on the 22nd January, which encouraged the Congress to attempt the celebration of Independence Day on the 26th, and Peshawar Day on the 29th. The public, however, realised that C. B. Parakh was angling for extremist support for his re-election as president, and his effort had only a transitory success. In consequence and, thanks also to the efficient measures taken by the local authorities, Independence Day fell flat. The police occupied all meeting grounds from the early hours of the morning until night, and by arresting a few persons and keeping the crowds of spectators moving on. They prevented anything in the nature of a demonstration. With the exception of two men all the persons arrested were released before nightfall. There was no hartal. Similar measures were taken on the 29th, and although there was a partial hartal in the city, everything was quiet till the evening, when the Congress workers took advantage of the hour at which the mills and offices were closing to send parties of boys and low class women into the streets to shout and raise excitement. The police, however, kept the crowds moving on, and, although a marked undercurrent of excitement prevailed all the evening, nothing untoward occurred. 32 women and 7 men were arrested, and as many of them had been arrested previously and only detained for a few hours, it was decided that further leniency would be misplaced, and they were detained for prosecution. A satisfactory feature of the day's happenings was that, although the Congress made special attempts to persuade the Muhammadans to join in the celebrations, the latter as a whole dissociated themselves conspicuously from them.

Elsewhere in the Province the situation is normal. It has been necessary to apply one or more of the ordinances in various districts in order to deal with local troubles, but there has been no general movement. In Berar the leaders resumed their political activities in a mild form after recovering from the shock of the ordinances and the initial arrests. But it is clear that the strong action taken at the outset has disconcerted them, and that Congress propaganda is evoking little response in the country side. Congress is reported to have made no headway during the fortnight, while on the other hand, there are indications of a reaction against it.

No Tax campaign.—In Berar the Yeotmal District Association is still carrying on propaganda with a view to proving that outturn of the crops has been over estimated, and that the relief granted is inadequate, but the publication of Government's orders regarding the remission and suspension of land revenue has had a good effect, and there is reason to believe that all right-thinking men consider the relief granted to be adequate in view of the position of the provincial exchequer.

Arrests and Convictions.—Total arrests during the fortnight were 169 and total convictions 121. Notices under the Press Act were served on the keepers of four presses in Berar and one in Jubbulpore. Three papers have since suspended publication, while two others confine themselves to the publication of news.

A session of the Legislative Council was held from the 18th to the 23rd. A motion to adjourn the House as a protest against Government's policy towards the Civil Disobedience Movement was talked out. Apart from this the most noteworthy feature of the proceedings was the assistance given to Government by Democratic Party, to which the Ministers belong, in passing a number of important amendments to the Municipal Act. The session concluded with two abortive attempts to turn the Ministry out of office, the first being defeated by 40 votes to 24, and the second not being pressed to a division.

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Economic.—In the cotton country the arrivals of cotton carts showed some improvement at first, but this was not maintained, owing chiefly to the uncertain conditions prevailing in Bombay. Test works opened in the Buldana district are attracting labourers.

Press.—The principal subjects have been the Reforms Committees and His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Legislative Assembly. The personnel of the Round Table Conference Committees is characterised as unsatisfactory and likely to strengthen the people's distrust in the *bona fides* of the Government. It is complained that the committees have been packed deliberately with anti-Congress die-hards and communalists. The reflections in the Viceregal address on fighting the Civil Disobedience Movement are criticised as indicating a last effort to crush the national aspirations of the people by severe repression. The anxiety for the speedy inauguration of constitutional reforms is misrepresented as eagerness to force on India provincial autonomy with separate electorates, and cramping safeguards at the centre. The assurances regarding the financial and economic situation and the views on the export of gold are regarded as unconvincing. Locally His Excellency the Governor's speech before the business community of Nagpur is commented on as a defence of repression. The sentences awarded to Messrs. Abhyankar and Punamchand Ranka are criticised as extremely severe and intended to strike terror. The adjournment motion in the Council to discuss the political situation, though talked out, is argued as indicative of the general temper of the House against repression.

The *Prajapaksha* (Akola) has now become a mere news-sheet without editorials, and the *Matribhumi* (Akola), the *Yugantar* (Khamgaon), and the *Lokamat* (Yeotmal), have suspended publication owing to the demand of security.

Maxwell to Emerson

D. O. No. S. D.-1588.

Bombay, 4th March 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of February 1932.

During the fortnight, the outward activities of Congress continued to decline and by the end of the period most districts were practically free from open demonstrations of lawbreaking, and where attempts to hold meetings or other demonstrations were made, they were generally of small importance and easily dispersed. Three more cases of the cutting of telegraph wires were reported from Belgaum district, and there were several cases in the same district of the cutting of sandalwood and toddy trees, but apart from these few instances, this district has now ceased to be troublesome.

The outward calm which prevails does not however mean that the Civil Disobedience Movement has ceased to exist, but it appears that the organisers who have taken the place of these arrested are now more careful to avoid arrest and are keeping in the background, relying rather on propaganda to keep a certain measure of agitation alive. Evidence of this fact is found in a number of unauthorised *patrikas*, bulletins and leaflets which are reported to be in circulation in several districts, propaganda of this kind continues to be active in Bombay City. *The Congress Bulletin* continues to appear daily together with other occasional bulletins intended to stimulate boycott or to induce the students to participate in the movement. On the 10th February, the Bombay City police lighted on one of the headquarters of this propaganda and seized large quantities of Congress literature in process of distribution. It must also be remembered that the leaders who were arrested at the outset under Section 3 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance had not yet become due for release by the end of the fortnight, and some recrudescence of activity or at least agitation is to be expected during the period while such leaders are gradually being released and before they have been rearrested and convicted for open defiance of the order under Section 4.

In the meanwhile, pressure was kept up by means of Section 3 and 4 of Ordinance II against persons attempting to organise meetings and other unlawful activities. During the fortnight, 101 persons (41 in Bombay City and 60 in the mofussil) were arrested under Section 3 and orders were issued under Section 4 against 380 persons. Five more associations were declared unlawful, bringing the total to 588 since the commencement of the movement. Four buildings were also notified under Section 3 or Ordinance IV and three of these were seized during the fortnight. The total number of buildings so notified is now 154 and of these 89 have been seized.

Among the more prominent persons arrested under section 3 were Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani of Hyderabad (Sind) and Mr. Amritlāl Dalpatbhai Sheth, the editor of the *Saurashtra* of Ranpur, Ahmedabad, who was arrested by the Bombay

police on the 13th on his return from Africa. Among prominent persons convicted were Nagindas T. Master, Miss Gulab Parkar, Mahadev Haribhai Desai and Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, all of whom disobeyed orders served on them under Section 4 of Ordinance II.

Congress Funds.—Balances of Rs. 1,489-10-4, Rs. 449-12-2 and Rs. 114-1-7 of the funds of the reception committee of the 45th Indian National Congress deposited in the three banks in Karachi on behalf of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee and the Karachi District Congress Committee were forfeited under Section 7 (I) of Ordinance IV, as was also a sum of Rs. 215 lying as an exhibit in a case in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, and intended for the use of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

Mention was made in my last report of the tendency towards violence in Bombay City. There were some further disturbances in the city on the 1st arising out of an attempt by boys to manufacture salt in the Kumbharwada area. In the morning a crowd collected and stoned a police chowki. It was dispersed. In the afternoon a larger crowd collected, broke the planks of the chowki and set fire to them. Stone throwing followed and another chowki was also damaged. Order was restored shortly after. Seven persons were arrested.

On the 3rd Government issued a warning, which was given full prominence in the Press, to the effect that instructions had been issued to the police to fire on any violent mob refusing to disperse, and that any person mingling in the mob would do so at his own risk and must be prepared to take the full consequences. The warning had an immediate effect and no more cases of hooliganism occurred during the fortnight. Gandhi Day, the 4th, and Motilal Nehru Day, the 6th, passed off without any remarkable incidents.

Frontier Day, the 5th, was an insignificant affair in Karachi. In Bombay City it was confined to a meeting of 2,000 Muhammadans at night at Chhota Qabristan at which resolutions were passed assuring the Frontier Muslims of the support of their Bombay brethren and requesting the former to reserve their energy for a more beneficial movement. In most districts the Day was not observed at all.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops in Bombay City continued throughout the fortnight, the number of picketers varying from 87 to 135. The Mint was picketed daily, except on the 12th, 14th and 15th. The greatest number of picketers on any one day was nine and all were arrested. Picketing of Exchange Banks in Bombay City was resumed from the 11th. The total number of picketers arrested during the fortnight was 44. The gates of the Mulji Jetha and Mangaldas cloth markets were kept open during the greater part of the fortnight, but the merchants have not yet opened their shops, alleging fear of molestation.

Trade and Business.—An informal meeting of prominent European and Indian Businessmen was held in Bombay on the 1st at which it was decided to draft a manifesto suggesting that politics should not be allowed to interfere with business.

In response to the letter from Government mentioned in my last report, the Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers Association met on the 3rd and passed a resolution that a reply should be sent to Government to the effect that the Association had given and is willing to give facilities for legitimate business to the investing public and at the same time point out the present difficulties in the way of an open and free market.

The committee of the Indian Merchant's Chamber forwarded to Government advance copies of resolutions protesting against the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and the promulgation and administration of Ordinances which they proposed to consider at a meeting of the members of the Chamber and of several other commercial associations. The committee desired to ascertain the views of Government whether the passing of such resolutions was unlawful. The committee was informed that Government could not undertake to pre audit such resolutions, the legality of which could only be tested in a court of law. It was suggested to the committee that a resolution condemning the reign of hooliganism that was being inaugurated in Bombay and promising loyal support to Government would serve to allay popular unrest. The correspondence was published in full in the press and the meeting has so far not materialised.

The president of the Emergency Committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee issued a leaflet about the 10th stating that the Congress had accepted five conditions agreed to by the Cotton Bazaar Mahajan Association. The conditions were that the Bazaar should be closed for three days a week, merchants should do no new forward business, no new business with English firms, no future business with Liverpool, and that picketing could be enforced in the event of any breach of these conditions. The Association wrote at once to Government stating that the publication of the handbill was unauthorised and that the contents were entirely inaccurate.

On the 10th the *Times of India* gave publicity to a letter purporting to be from the head of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to British firms dealing in mill machinery in Bombay stating that the Congress was determined to take all non-violent measures to see that no British machinery was brought to Ahmedabad and that an elaborate programme had been planned by which no worker would be found to handle, erect or work the machines, and no shareholder or depositor would be prepared to finance the payments. Enquiries suggest that Shankarlal G. Bankar, the Secretary of the All-India Spinner's Association, who is also running the Ahmedabad Labour Union, may be responsible for the letter. It appears however, that this letter does not reflect the attitude of the Ahmedabad Millowners, who are quite ready to take delivery of orders already taken in hand and intend only to postpone further new orders. They are undoubtedly reluctant to have any but British machinery.

Agrarian.—Land revenue continued to come in satisfactorily where collections were in progress and there was little sign of any no-tax campaign, except in parts of the Belgaum district where it has not apparently made much headway. As the current year's dues from Mr. Gandhi's Ashram at Sabarmati were not paid, some moveable property of the Ashram was attached and has been sold to realise the amount due.

Excise Auctions.—The auctions of foreign and country liquor shops took place without interference in several districts during the fortnight and good prices were generally realised.

Municipalities.—The elections of the Bombay Municipal Corporation passed off without incident. No attempt was made by the Congress to interfere with the polling and it is understood that 52 per cent of the voters recorded their votes.

Publicity and Propaganda.—On the 8th February, Government issued a communique warning the public against the expectation that persons convicted of offences in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience Movement will be released before they have served the full term of their sentences.

On the same day a Press note was issued through the Director of Information explaining the provisions of the Ordinances and the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the manner in which they were being used, and assuring the public that no law abiding person need feel any apprehensions regarding the operation of these measures. It was also stated that Government do not wish to interfere with the honest desire of any individual or any body of individuals to advocate and practise the use and production of swadeshi goods or to restrict the right of any individual or any body of individuals to do business or not to do business with whom they please, so long as they do not interfere with the similar rights of others. The Press Note concluded with an appeal to the public to do everything within their power to assist in the restoration of friendly business relations between the several communities and to unite with Government in preparing the way for the new Constitution.

The *Patriot* bulletin alluded to in my last report continued to be published regularly in Bombay City and is believed to be gradually increasing its circulation.

Numerous meetings and darbars were held by the district officers in order to organise feeling among the rural population against the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Commissioner, Southern Division, held a meeting in the Belgaum district at which the attendance was 4,000. It is reported that the public generally welcome these meetings and that their attitude is entirely friendly.

15. *Press* : Notices were issued by Government under Section 4 of Ordinance II on the editors, printers and publishers of the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Indian Daily Mail*.

The publisher of the *Mahratta* of Poona was on a new declaration called upon by the District Magistrate under Section 7(I) of the Press (Emergency Powers) Act to furnish security of Rs. 1,000 which was duly deposited. Security under Section 7(3) was also required by Government from four publishers of newspapers and under Section 3(3) from four keepers of printing presses. Included in these are the printers and publishers of the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay and the *Navjivan* of Ahmedabad.

Unfavourable criticism continued to be passed on His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Legislative Assembly. Umbrage was taken by the newspapers at the expression "though the dogs may bark the caravan passes on" used by Sir Samuel

Hoare in his broadcast speech and the *Ajmal* observed :— “ This speech of the Secretary of State for India clearly proves that he is still a believer in firm rule for India ” and the *Sanj Vartman* explained :—Sir Samuel Hoare has transgressed all the bonds of decency ”.

The defeat of Sir Hari Singh Gour's censure motion was claimed as a moral victory, since 43 out of 59 elected members voted in its favour.

The Moslem papers drew the attention of Government to the situation in the North-West Frontier Province and called upon them to use conciliatory methods.

The moderate *Dnyan Prakash* endorsed the recommendations of the Council of National Liberal Federation which recently met at Allahabad and appealed to Government to withdraw the Ordinances as, in its opinion, the work of the reforms would suffer on account of the discontent created by the Ordinances and the dissatisfaction at the constitution of the Round Table Conference Committee.

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the First Half of February 1932.

Political: Generally speaking there has been an improvement in the situation everywhere, and for the time being the situation is well under control throughout the Province. All districts are quiet except Wardha, Raipur and Akola and to a minor extent Chanda and Bilaspur. In the Wardha district it has been necessary to impose punitive police in Hinganghat, where there is a troublesome population of mill hands. . . . The meeting of moderate leaders which was held at Nagpur on January 22nd inspired a similar meeting of moderates at Akola, at which speeches were made strongly condemning the repressive policy of Government, and since then there has been a good deal of activity in the way of meetings, but no overt acts. Other reports are encouraging. At Nagpur there have been practically no meetings under Congress auspices, other than tip-and-run meetings, hurriedly convened in back streets in order to enable some one who wishes to go to jail to announce himself as “dictator” and court arrest. In Berar the arrest of almost all the important leaders, with the notable exception of Wamanrao Joshi, who has been studiously moderate, has been effective. Propaganda has virtually ceased in the interior, the number of meetings has diminished, and audiences have been small.

HCP—352-B-13

Working of the Ordinances.—The Emergency Powers Ordinance is not in force in the province. . . . The Unlawful Association Ordinance is in force in 5 districts of the Central Provinces and in the four Berar districts. Up to date there have been 24 prosecutions under it and 16 convictions. Orders under Section 7 (iii) have been issued in respect of 7 firms and persons in Jubbulpore and 4 in Nagpur, but the searches instituted have not had any result. It is fairly clear that Congress was forewarned of the danger and took steps to safeguard its funds, which in this Province at any rate were probably not large. Four places, all in Nagpur, have been notified as places used for purposes of unlawful association, and 10 associations have been declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance is now in force in 12 districts in the Province, and prosecutions under it number 259 up to date, with 232 convictions.

Arrests number and Convictions.—Prosecutions during the fortnight totalled 352 and convictions 260. The fine imposed amounted to Rs. 9,575, of which Rs. 3,526 was collected. The balance for collection is now Rs. 45,629.

Labour.—Trouble was brewing at the end of the fortnight in the Model Mills at Nagpur. Ruikar, the labour agitator, chose the 4th, which had been advertised by the Congress as Gandhi Day, for a labour demonstration. An audience of 5 or 6 thousand assembled, and the Textile, B. N. R., G. I. P., Scavengers and Motor Drivers Unions were all represented, but a great number of the audience were persons with no connection with Trade Union, but who had been attracted by the prospect of a fiery political speech from Ruikar. His speech was almost purely political and was directed principally to attacking Government's policy of repression. Independence was implied as the goal of the worker's movement, but Ruikar said that while they aimed at freedom, they did not believe in the Congress movement, but had in their hands the potential weapon of a general strike for political purposes. Ruikar is being prosecuted for his speech. The events of the day had further consequence. A hartal had been observed, and the management of the Model Mills refused at first to pay their workmen's wages for that day and the previous day, which was Sunday, or to give them the bonus which the mills grant to every man who does a month's unbroken work. The management has since agreed to give Sunday's pay, but is firm on the subject of the bonus, and a strike is threatened. Further developments will be reported.

Economic.—Land revenue is coming in slowly, but not more so than was to be expected from the circumstances of the year. . . .

Press.—The debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Ordinance, India's financial contribution to the League of Nations and the Kashmir affairs have been the main topics. It is commented that though the censure motion against the Government was lost, it was supported by a majority of the elected members and as such it is an index

of the people's feeling against the rule by Ordinances. The Government are asked to revise their present policy in favour of conciliation in order to create a peaceful atmosphere for the discussion of constitutional reforms. With reference to the reply given on the question on the reduction of India's monetary contribution to the League of Nations, the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly are asked to oppose the present item of expenditure at the next budget session in view of the financial stringency. Muslim excesses in the Kashmir State are attributed to the weakness of the Durbar coupled with the hypocritical indifference of the British Government, serious apprehension is expressed about the future of the State. Locally, appeal is made to the Government to secure proper treatment and classification for the civil disobedience prisoners. The *Udaya* (Amraoti) has suspended publication owing to the demand of security.

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Kelly to Maxwell

No.1369/H/3717

9th March 1932.

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Anti-R.T.C. Committee demonstrations.—As reported before the Congress has been trying for some days to organise anti R. T. C. Committee demonstrations in Bombay. On the 5th the *Bombay Congress Bulletin* published the programme of the emergency council asking the people of Bombay to muster strong support with black flags at Bori Bunder at 8 a.m. on the 7th and to observe complete hartal. The students were also asked to join Congress demonstrations and English and vernacular leaflets asking the public to gather in thousands at Bori Bunder to demonstrate against the arrival of the Franchise Committee were distributed in the city yesterday. Accordingly the principal business centres in Mandvi, Shaikh Memon Street, Princess Street and the cloth markets remained closed partly on account of the hartal and partly on account of the Amavas holiday. The Share Bazaar, which was to be kept open today, was threatened with picketing. The Chemists and Druggists and the Cotton Green have remained closed. At the latter place two women went this morning to see whether the Cotton Green was closed. The Colleges and schools were not affected but in the course of the noon a few boys of the Bharda High School absented themselves and demonstrated in front of the Elphinstone High School. They threw stones and broke the window-panes. The police arrested 3 of them and dispersed the crowd collected. The mills are all open and working. Very few shops are closed in the mill area.

The Congress had collected about 100 volunteers for demonstrating against the arrival of the Franchise Committee this morning. These volunteers were kept in different localities in Bazaar Gate and Bohra Bazaar Street. Large crowds collected

in Bazaar Gate and the adjoining localities. A few Congress workers mixed with the crowd to watch the police arrangements at the Bori Bunder Railway Station. The train conveying the members of the Committee arrived at 7-55 a.m. Just about the time the members of the Committee alighted from the train, a batch of about 25 Congress Volunteers headed by the emergency council came running from Bazaar Gate Street with black flags to make their way towards the Bori Bunder Station. They were immediately held up near Bhatia Baug and eleven of them including the members of the emergency council were arrested. The remaining volunteers took to their heels and the police chased them. At this time there was a little excitement as one of the volunteers fell down while running towards the station. His black flag was seized and he was removed to the hospital. This time a few stones were thrown at the police. Two sergeants were lightly injured in the hand. Two further attempts were made to lead a procession of black flags from Bazaar Gate but they were frustrated by the police who chased them away. There was no demonstration along the route to Government House. At the station only one man shouted "shame" and he was chased away by the Railway Police.

Action under ordinance II of 1932.—On Saturday the 5th March about 7 persons assembled in the hall of the Indian Merchants' Chamber under the presidentship of Manu Subedar and decided to hold the proposed meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and other commercial associations on the 8th instant in the hall of the Chamber. I have issued orders, as per copy attached, on 58 individuals.

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ORDER

Section 4 (1) (d) of Ordinance II of 1932.

Whereas I, Sir Patrick Kelly, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, am satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that you have acted or are about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and peace and in furtherance of a movement prejudicial to the public safety and peace, now therefore I, in exercise of powers duly conferred on me, do hereby order that you shall abstain from all acts in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience Movement and more particularly that you shall abstain from participation in the convening or holding or from attendance at any meeting at which the lawful acts or orders of the Government of Bombay or some other Government by law established in British India are to be protested against, condemned or disapproved or the annulment, cancellation or withdrawal of such acts or orders is to be recommended, advocated, suggested or advised or any meeting at which action of like or similar nature is taken or proposed to be taken whether such meeting be convened or held on March 8th 1932 or on any date previous or subsequent thereto at whatever time or place or be convened or held by or at the instance or under the auspices of all or any of the following associations, namely, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Bombay Country Fancy and Grey Piecegoods

Merchants' Association, the Bombay Hoisery Merchants' Association, the African Shippers' Association, the Yarn Merchants' Association, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, the Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association, the Bombay Shroff Association, the Seeds Traders' Association, the Grain Merchants' Association, the Bombay Kharek Bazaar and Meva Merchants' Association, the Malbar Kariana Merchants' Association, the Mudy Bazaar Kariana Merchants' Association, the Kariana Merchants' Association, the Deccan Merchants' Association, the German Silver Merchants' Association, the Copper and Brassware Merchants' Association, the Bombay Bullion Exchange, the All-India Match Manufacturers' Association, the Coal Merchants' Association, the Butter Merchants' Association, the Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association, the Bombay Merchants' Association, the Glass Bangles Merchants' Association, the Sugar Merchants' Association, the Chemists and Druggists' Association, the Diamond Merchants' Association, or of any other association so long as this order remains in force.

Bombay, 6th March 1932.

Commissioner of Police.

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M. K. Gandhi to Sir Samuel Hoare

11th March 1932.

You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the minorities claim was presented, I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorate to the Depressed Classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment, nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement.

In pursuance of that statement, I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion against separate electorate, at any rate, for the Depressed Classes. But it was not to be.

From the newspapers which I am permitted to read, I observe that any moment His Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel that it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally they could not attach the significance I give to my statement.

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of the others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures. I should favour every one of their adults, male

or female, being registered as voters, irrespective of education or property qualifications, even though the franchise test may be stricter for the others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism, whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorates would do to them, one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called caste Hindus, and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned separate electorate would simply vivisect and disrupt it. For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issue. You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. For, I feel that no penance that caste Hindus may do can, in any way, compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the Depressed Classes for centuries. But I know that separate electorate is neither penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under.

I therefore respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step whilst I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to His Majesty's Government and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical, if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me contemplated step is not a method, it is part of my being. It is a call of conscience which I dare not disobey, even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess.

So far as I can see now, my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and that the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice.

Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called the legitimate limit. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalized. The latter, high and low, are becoming demoralized by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious, disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down. Free speech has been stifled. Goondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this, as it seems to me, is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

In all these doings as I read them, I see no spirit of democracy. Indeed, my recent visit to England has confirmed my opinion that your democracy is a superficial circumscribed thing. In the weightiest matters decisions are taken by individuals or groups, without any reference to the Parliament, and these have been ratified by the Members having but a vague notion of what they were doing. Such was the case with Egypt, the war of 1914, and such is the case with India. My whole being rebels against the idea that in a system called democratic, one man should have the unfettered power of affecting the destiny of the ancient people numbering over three hundred millions, and that his decisions can be enforced by mobilizing the most terrible forces of destruction. To me this is a negation of democracy.

And this repression cannot be prolonged without further embittering the already bitter relations between the two peoples. In so far as I am responsible and can help it, how am I to arrest the process? Not by stopping civil disobedience. For me it is an article of faith. I regard myself by nature a democrat. Democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will. Civil resistance therefore has been conceived to be a proper substitute for physical force to be used wherever generally the latter is held necessary or justifiable. It is a process of self-suffering and a part of the plan is that in given circumstances a civil resister must sacrifice himself even by fasting to a finish. That moment has not yet arrived for me. I have no undeniable call from within for such a step. But the events happening outside are alarming enough to agitate my fundamental being. Therefore, in writing to you about the possibility of a fast regarding Depressed Classes, I felt that I would be untrue to you if I did not tell you also that there was another possibility, not remote, of such a fast.

Needless to say that from my side absolute secrecy has been mentioned about all the correspondence I have carried on with you. Of course Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahadev Desai, who has just been sent to join us, know all about it. But you will no doubt make whatever use you wish of this letter.

—M. K. Gandhi.

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Maxwell to Emerson

D. O. No. S. D.-2207

Bombay, 15th March 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of February 1932.

His Excellency the Governor addressed the members of the Bombay Legislative Council on the 17th. After touching briefly on the reasons leading up to the

promulgation of the Ordinances, His Excellency referred to the financial situation. He pointed out that the first essential for a trade revival was the restoration of law and order and the presence of a feeling of security. For this reason he was sure the Council would agree with him in condemning the unpatriotic and suicidal action of that section of the commercial community which was actively supporting and encouraging a movement likely to bring ruin to themselves and their City. He pointed out signs of trade migrating elsewhere and the danger of Bombay being passed by in the returning flood of prosperity, if his warning went unheeded. His Excellency also referred to the continued closing of the markets which added to the feeling of insecurity. Sanity lay in keeping business and politics apart and His Excellency called the attention of merchants to the risk they were running to themselves, the City and the Presidency in thus encouraging the forces of disorder and still more in supplying them with funds. He promised all possible protection to those who wished to trade freely without interference from self-constituted and ignorant dictators. His Excellency concluded with a reference to the coming new constitution and with an appeal to patriotic citizens to rally to the side of Government and actively and openly to assist in repressing forces militating against the return of prosperity.

An adjournment motion was moved in the House on the 22nd to discuss the lathi charges made by the police at Ahmednagar on the 4th February. After however, the Home Member had read to the House the report of the Superintendent of Police describing the incident in full, the motion for adjournment was lost without a division and with scarcely any support.

A meeting of the European Association was held in Bombay on the 16th at which resolutions were passed according entire support to the dual policy outlined in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Assembly and expressing confidence in His Excellency the Governor in his task of restoring law and order.

The Indian Merchant's Chamber finally decided on the 19th to hold a meeting of the commercial associations in order to pass the resolutions referred to in my last report. The President of the Chamber refused to preside at the proposed meeting and there were important abstentions among those who voted for it. Application was made for the use of the Cowasji Jehangir Hall, and when that was refused by Government efforts to secure the use of the Stock of Bullion Exchange halls and various theatres failed, so that it was finally decided to hold the meeting in the small hall of the Chamber itself. It was however, decided by Government that the Commissioner of Police should serve the individual orders under Section 4 of Ordinance II to prevent the office-bearers of the federated associations from attending the meeting, and the effect of these orders, which were served after the close of the fortnight under report, has been to stop the meeting from taking place.

There is nothing of any outstanding interest to report as regards Congress activities in mofussil districts. Land revenue continued to come in steadily, and meetings and other demonstrations have now become almost entirely unimportant.

In Bombay City, the Congress continued to announce various Days which the public were exhorted to observe by means of unauthorised bulletins and leaflets. Only one of these days, viz., the All-India Congress Day on the 21st, led to any disturbance of the peace, when the crowds which had assembled to watch the Congress procession of about 300 persons indulged in jeering at the police and were dispersed by three lathi charges in which 81 persons received injuries. At night on the same day some bonfires were lit in the streets and a municipal refuse cart was burnt by hooligans who fled on the approach of the police.

Three successful raids were carried out by the police against various Congress headquarters during the fortnight. One of these raids resulted in the seizure of a Gestetner machine and accessories belonging to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at Santa Cruz where the *Congress Bulletin* was being prepared at the time. Another important and successful raid resulted in the arrest of the person styling himself the General Officer Commanding, Congress Volunteers. A number of documents relating to the organisation of pickets, demonstrations, accounts, etc., were seized in his quarters, and eighteen other active and secret workers were arrested in the same place as they arrived one by one to receive instructions. On the third occasion, a raid on a shop resulted in the seizure of 10,000 copies of an unauthorised news-sheet.

Orders under Section 3 of Ordinance II are now rare, and during the fortnight only 39 persons (15 in Bombay City and 24 in the mofussil) were dealt with in this way. Orders under Section 4 were issued against 209 persons. One more association was declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and four more buildings were notified under Section 3 of Ordinance IV.

No prominent persons were arrested during the fortnight, but the following were convicted under Section 21 of Ordinance II for breach of orders under Section 4 viz., Miss Slade (Miraben), Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Jannadas Dwarkadas, Mathuradas Trikamji and Purshottam Trikamdas in Bombay City and Amritlal D. Sheth in Ahmedabad.

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Picketing.—In Bombay City the picketing of foreign cloth shops and markets continued throughout the fortnight, and it extended on various days to the Mint, the Exchange Banks, the Bullion Exchange, jewellers shops and shops dealing in foreign sugar. On the 25th, the Imperial Bank of India was picketed by way of a special demonstration, and 28 persons including the leader Mulraj Karsonadas, were arrested and convicted. On the 26th, most of the chemists and druggists shops in Princess and Sheikh Memon Streets closed down on a mere threat of picketing. They remained closed until the end of the month.

While the gates of the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market remained open, the merchants did not open their shops and very little business was done openly in foreign cloth.

The form of action to be taken against picketers in the Fort area was under discussion during the fortnight between Government, the Commissioner of Police and the representatives of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Presidency

Trades Association. While the latter, representing the European shops in the Fort area, was inclined at one time to favour general arrests of such picketers, it was the opinion of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce that the excitement created by such arrests would do more injury to business than the slight inconvenience which they caused. The Presidency Trades Association finally addressed the Commissioner of Police stating that it preferred to leave the matter entirely in his hands. Seeing that mass arrests of picketers would merely result in the imprisonment of large numbers of persons who are hired by Congress from eight to twelve annas a day, it is considered more profitable at present to concentrate on arresting the organisers of picketing whenever they are observed at their work.

Boycott and effect on trade.—It is becoming increasingly apparent that the Congress realising, perhaps, the failure of more active methods of furthering their programme, are now concentrating to a greater extent on the efforts to make the boycott of foreign and more particularly British goods and business concerns effective. It was during this fortnight that an intensification of the boycott programme began to be felt. On the 17th February, the Congress issued an anonymous leaflet urging complete boycott of British concerns and threatening with boycott all those who ventured to disobey the Congress mandate. Seven of the principal British firms were mentioned by name in this leaflet. Other leaflets were issued urging the public not to buy post office cash certificates, not to deposit money in the post office savings bank, and not to spend money on telegrams and telephones.

As regards the general effect of the boycott programme in Bombay City, the trade particularly affected is that in foreign cloth. Imports from Lancashire of cotton goods have fallen considerably. There is less demand for British made matches, tobacco and toilet requisites. Trade in foreign sugar is also suffering. Efforts are being made, and with some success, to replace British goods by those from Japan, Germany and America, where there is no corresponding Indian product.

The Cotton Associations, Bullion Exchange and Stock Exchange have been affected by the boycott, but it does not appear that the picketing on the Banks and Mint has had any result.

The adverse effect is due more to the reluctance of the consumer to buy than of the dealer to sell. The reasons are mainly political. The majority of the Hindus engaged in business are Gujaratis with a veneration for Mr. Gandhi. They believe he has not been fairly treated by Government and resent his arrest. For this reason many of them refuse to open the markets or allow others to do so in order to show their sympathy with him and the Congress, even though their action involves pecuniary loss. On the other hand there are many others whose political sentiments are not so strong and who would be glad to resume normal business but fear the consequence of running against the Congress programme and cannot by any means be induced to mention the names of the persons who terrorise them. Picketing is merely the outward sign of the Congress power, but it is not the presence of the picketers which really prevent the resumption of business.

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In rural areas generally such boycott as exists particularly takes the form of hartals or allowing foreign stocks to be sealed by the Congress. District Magistrates have been instructed to warn the shops keepers that if they do not keep their shops open for normal business, steps will be taken under Section 4 of Ordinance II to compel them to do so. At the same time, the merchants are being assured of police protection in the event of attempts to blackmail them. The District Magistrates have also been instructed to use Section 17 (I) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act against any persons known to be advocating this form of boycott.

It is probably however that the boycott movement will have to be fought seriously only in Bombay City, where a definite effort is discernible to squeeze the European firms out of business. It was only on the 27th February, that the representatives of the European cotton brokers approached Government and said that they were no longer able to do business except with great difficulty. On several occasions when previously consulted, they had stated that their business was not greatly affected and that they preferred to do without Government intervention ; but they now admitted that the position had changed. Frequent consultations are taking place between representatives of the European community and the Government, but subsequent developments are outside the scope of the present report.

Liquor shop auctions.—In accordance with announcements in the *Congress Bulletin* the gates of Coawasji Jehangir Hall, at which the auctions were held in Bombay on the 17th, were picketed by members of the Emergency Council and batches of volunteers. Each batch as it appeared was arrested. In all 99 persons were arrested, and a taxi and a private car were dealt with under Section 10 of Ordinance II. Twenty more picketers were arrested on the 19th.....

Propaganda.—During the past two months the Director of Information issued eight leaflets in the vernaculars of this Presidency, 453,000 copies in all being distributed, and 45 press-notes in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. The press-notes were also sent to the Broadcasting Service to be broadcasted on the wireless. The Director also saw a number of foreign correspondents, most of them on several occasions, discussed the situation with them and put forward the Government point of view.

The *Patriot* bulletin is now appearing both as a daily and weekly. Copies of it are sent to all District Magistrates, Commissioners and Colleges.

Meetings for the purpose of Government propaganda are now being organised in almost all districts and are reported to be making good headway. A further development of this form of propaganda is anticipated in the near future.

Press.—Orders under Section 4 (I) were served by the Commissioner of Police on the editors, printers and publishers of five newspapers directing them not to publish Congress propaganda or any matter calculated to further the aims of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Security was required by Government under Section 3 (3) of the Press Act from the keepers of four printing presses and under Section 7 (3) from the publishers of three newspapers during the fortnight. One of the presses concerned is the Kesari Press of Poona which publishes the widely circulated paper of the same name. The security of Rs. 1,000 required was deposited. The District Magistrate, Hyderabad, required the publisher of the notorious *Hindu* to deposit Rs. 1,000 as security under Section 7 (I).

His Excellency's address to the Bombay Legislative Council was considered to be an attack on the Congress.

It would appear from articles in the Indian press that the papers on the whole are getting tired of the present struggle and want Government, in the first instance, to resort to what they describe as conciliatory methods so as in their view to enable the people to co-operate with them in formulating the Reforms.

The attempts on the life of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal was deplored, the general view being that methods of violence will not help India to progress towards Swaraj.

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the Second Half of February 1932.

Political.—The fortnight has been quiet generally, and there has been a further improvement in the situation. The only place where there has been trouble is Wardha. In spite of many arrests in the town there was continued activity, with picketing in several places and many meetings and objectionable speeches. On the 16th a crowd of 5,000 had to be dispersed after the arrest of volunteers, who were picketing the liquor shop, and the police were stoned, 7 constables being injured. Extra police were drafted into the town, and the situation has improved. In Nagpur itself public opinion is reported to be more exercised over the question of the rendition of Berar than over the Congress movement, and the few persons arrested during the week were for the most part riff-raff. Some of them were persons who had been out of employment for weeks and had been persuaded to do Congress work merely to secure a meal. In Berar Congress is reported to be short of volunteers and funds, and there has been a steady decline in political activity.

Legislative Council.—The incidents at Wardha described above, and the subsequent issue of a brief Government communique giving an account of them, led to the bringing of a motion for the adjournment of the Legislative Council by the leader of the Peoples' Party. The move was supported by the leader of the

Democratic Party, the reason being that both these gentlemen hail from Wardha, and pressure had been brought to bear on them by their constituents in order to avoid the imposition of punitive police, as had happened already in Hinganghat, another town in the district. Owing to an unexpected ruling of the President the debate came to a premature close, and the motion was carried by a small majority, with a number of abstentions. The only significance which attaches to the incident is the proof which it gives of the unwillingness of members to risk unpopularity by championing the cause of law and order.

Boycott of British goods.—Several places report a boycott of British goods apart from the activities of picketers. In Chanda and Warora there is practically no sale of British goods, the cloth merchants being active supporters of the Civil Disobedience Movement. . . . It may be assumed with safety that the falling off in the sale of British goods such as cloth, cigarettes, tea, cycles and soap is due in part at least to *res angusta domi*, and that as soon as consumers can afford to purchase the dearer article the trade will revive. In Nagpur, for instance, a brisk trade in cloth continues, and orders are being freely sent for fresh stock.

The working of the Ordinances.—The only action which was taken during the fortnight to extend the Ordinances was the application of the Unlawful Association Ordinance to the Chanda district. At the same time the War Council of Chanda was declared to be an unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The total number of associations declared unlawful is now 11.

Arrests and Convictions.—The total number of prosecutions during the fortnight is 449 and the total number of convictions 463. Fines imposed amounted to Rs. 11,549 and collections to Rs. 6,814. The bulk of the prosecutions were under the Molestation and the Boycotting Ordinance, which is now in force in 13 districts, the figures being 302 prosecuted and 294 convicted. Under the Unlawful Association Ordinance there were 24 prosecutions and 16 convictions and under the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance 2 prosecutions and 1 conviction.

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Economic.—In Nagpur, the number of cotton carts which have arrived in the market to date is only one-sixth of last year's total at the corresponding date. In Berar, however, the indications are that the outturn is about 40 per cent of last year's outturn, while the ruling price has been some 80 to 100 per cent more favourable. Grain prices have hardened slightly everywhere, and the collection of land revenue is proceeding steadily and is not behind expectations. The no-tax campaign appears to be dead.

Press.—It is maintained that the object of the Muslim agitation and excesses is to paralyse the Hindu State and to further the pan-Islamic designs in North-West India. Locally the *Maharashtra* advises the Provincial Franchise Committee to support the demands of the Muslims and the depressed classes with a view to securing joint electorates. Concerning the rumoured negotiations about the retrocession of Berar, the same paper says that the rendition would give a fillip to the question of the restoration of other ceded tracts in the country. The *Hitavada* praises the courage of the Government in budgeting for a surplus and doing its best without resorting to fresh taxation. The *Udaya* (Amraoti), has resumed publication owing to the cancellation of the demand for security.

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Times of India

22 March 1932 (Extract)

Merchants Decide to Restore Normal Conditions.—A conference of all interests concerned in the cotton trade assembled under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir G. B. Pradhan, Finance Member, in the Council Hall this morning. About sixty-five persons attended, including two members of the Legislative Council representing the cotton-growers.

Mr. Wiles, the Finance Secretary, pointed out that a feeling of insecurity pervaded the cotton trade, which the Government was desirous of removing and asked whether the merchants and the various trading associations would support the Government in its attempts to do so.

The general opinion was that all were opposed to frequent hartals and interference by the Congress with trade and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas declared that everyone would do their best to prevent hartals and bring about normal conditions in the markets.

In opening this proceeding the Hon'ble Finance Member said that it was a happy augury that so many people had accepted his invitation to be present that morning all actuated by the same motive to get over the unfortunate situation in the cotton trade. He invited them to suggest ways and means to this end.

Mr. G. Wiles, Secretary, Finance Department, said that whatever the reason there did exist a certain fear and a certain insecurity in the cotton trade. All the associations that Government had addressed officially had disclaimed being officially influenced by outside pressure. What Government wanted to know was whether the Associations were officially with them in this matter.

Government had no desire to convert the associations into quasi-political bodies. The contrary was the case. Government only wanted them to assure their members of equal protection without distinction and protect them from outside influence. Government did not want to interfere with private trade or take away the control the associations had over their own interests. All Government wanted to do was to help.

Sir Manmohandas Ramji said that he welcomed the attempt that had been made by Government to bring the various interests together to consider a question.

Mr. Jagjivan said that they all deplored the present deadlock and he appreciated the spirit in which the Chairman had handled a complicated and delicate situation by methods of persuasion and conciliation.

Mr. Samoilya pointed out that Bombay was gradually losing her trade to more stable centres. By their action they had driven away much future business which used to be sent to Bombay from overseas. Moreover, they were failing in their duty to the producer, which was to obtain from him the highest price for his cotton.

Mr. Purshottam Jivandas agreed that the closing of the markets was not in the interests of the merchants, but looking at the sentiment prevailing, even if they wanted to do business they could not do so.

Markets must be opened.—Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas said that the speeches already made had shown the utility of conferences of that nature. All were agreed that it was undesirable to have the markets closed and an interference with the working of the cotton market was a handicap to the cottongrowers of India. There were various reasons for the present situation, but it was a very natural presumption that merchants desired to make money provided trading did not involve undue risk. The East India Cotton Association would welcome any constructive suggestions, consider them and if possible give them a trial. He asked Government not to be impatient or do anything that would retard the movement towards normal trade.

Mr. Muhammad Suleiman Cassum Mitha said that the present deadlock was against the best interests of the cotton trade and the principle of Swadeshi.

Sir Manmohandas Ramji suggested that a small committee of the trade might be formed to consider the whole situation.

Mr. Lalji Naranji thought that nothing could be done unless peace was restored in the country.

Mr. Durgadutt thought that this matter might be left to the trade itself.

Sir G. B. Pradhan said that Government had no desire to appoint the committee.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas thought that the East India Cotton Association which represented all interests might well be left to deal with the matter.

Hartals must be stopped.—Mr. Wiles said that it appeared to be the conclusion of the Conference that all were opposed to frequent hartals and interference with trade. If Government could assume that every merchant present and each association represented at the Conference would put forward their best effort to achieve a better state of affairs in the market then the conference had been well worth while.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas said that this was certainly the conclusion of the meeting, everyone both in his individual capacity and as representing association would do their best to prevent hartals and bring about normal working in the markets.

Mr. Jamnadas Ramdas supported Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by Sir Purshottandas Thakurdas and seconded by Mr. Durgadutt and the Thakor of Kerwada, M. L. C., who speaking on behalf of the growers, expressed his appreciation of the fact that the conference had been called by Government. He hoped that the merchants of Bombay would have the courage of their convictions and prevent further damage to the growers.

Importance of Cotton Industry.—Mr. Muhammad Suleiman Cassum Mitha in the course of his speech said : “ We all have assembled today for the purpose of solving the most deplorable deadlock which has ever been created in our market. I trust you will all agree that the present deadlock is against the best interest of the cotton trade, the cotton-growers, the interest of the mills, and is antagonistic to the progress of Swadeshi which I trust is the ultimate aim of all those who have the interests of India at heart. It is a fact universally acknowledged that this great city owes its present importance to its cotton export and cotton textile. Any causes which work against cotton trade and textile industry lead to the ruination of the prosperity of Bombay, the foundations of which are already shaken on account of a number of causes such as repeated continued hartals, acute unemployment, heavy taxation, etc.

Further more, as we all know, the very existence of this city of ours pivots on the cotton trade and the cotton industry and any deadlock and disorganisation in our market causes a diversion of trade and consequently jeopardized the very existence of Bombay as the premier city in India.

“ In our zeal many of us have committed mistakes. We have allowed a process to take place which engenders bitterness and disseminate the seed of discord. But don't let us forget that this is the most critical period in India's history and that co-operation amongst us, whether Europeans or Indians, majorities or minorities, is the only short cut to the attainment of our goal. After all, we are all for liberty and the substance of liberty does not lie only on the political side. The essence of it is that every body should be allowed to proceed with his day's occupation without let or hindrance. And any arbitrary interference with liberty only acts against those who indulge in it and retards the attainment of the common goal.”

“ In conclusion, many of us have our grievances. But I am prepared to forget them. When it comes to a scuffle, we can all look after ourselves. But we do not want scuffles. We all have a common aim. Our paths may be different, but they all converge to the same goal, viz., India's political freedom. And let me put it to you with all the emphasis at my command that the short cut to that goal in harmony, co-operation and ability to realize and appreciate each other's point of view. Let us therefore, rise above our passions and remember that financial ruin, bitterness and discord brings us no nearer to our goal. Congress ordinances against minorities are worse than those of the Government. But we do not like ordinances. No matter wherefrom they emanate, and it should be the common aim to see that they are abolished. Let us also remember that an attempt to coerce the minorities dissemination in their minds the seed of suspicion and what is equally important let us all remember that we have a solemn duty to perform towards this fair city of ours and towards the millions who toil the soil and who rely on us to market their produce and provide them with the wherewithal to rear their families and contribute to the progress of this great country of ours.”

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Maxwell to Emerson

D. Q. No.S. D.-2545

Bombay, 26th March 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of March 1932.

On the 12th the Member for the Bombay University in the Bombay Legislative Council moved that an address be presented to His Excellency the Governor asking him to convene a conference of leaders of various parties in the Presidency in order to find means of establishing a peaceful and calm atmosphere and to secure the co-operation of all parties in facilitating the work of the several committees set up to help the framing of the new constitution. The mover asserted that the Ordinances had not created the necessary peaceful atmosphere, and he complained of undue harshness by subordinate officers in carrying out the provisions of the Emergency Powers Ordinance, particularly Sections 3 and 4 thereof. In order to facilitate the discussion, the Home Member spoke immediately after the mover. He pointed out that the Ordinances were not being applied harshly; leniency and clemency had been shown to the misguided but to the determined law breaker no mercy could be shown. The Home Member then went on to show how Government were exercising a close watch and control over the use of the provisions of the Ordinances, especially the two sections quoted above, by the local officers. He quoted figures to show that out of 5,165 persons who had been convicted for offences arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement up to the end of February not more than 30 per cent, had been dealt with under the Ordinances, and that the percentage of convictions to the population was less than one in 4,000. In concluding, he referred to the vital necessity of propaganda and suggested that if a deputation of the House were given an interview by His Excellency they should go to him with definite proposals for the organisation of a loyalty league with the express object of explaining to the people what was actually being done at the present moment for the speedy introduction of the reforms, and urging them to give their whole hearted support to Government in the brief interval that remained. The motion was finally taken to a division and lost by 27 votes to 29, Government benches refraining from voting.

The Franchise Committee arrived in Bombay on the morning of the 7th. For some days prior to their arrival, the Congress had been trying by means of their bulletins and leaflets to organise demonstrations and hartals. The hartal proclaimed by them was to be from the date of arrival of the Committee to the date of its departure (17th). It was stated that the mercantile community had agreed to observe the hartal, but that the Congress had also agreed in view of its length and in the general interests of the public to allow the various markets to open on the 14th and 16th. On the 7th the principal business centres in Mandvi, Sheikh Memon Street, Princess Street, and the cloth markets remained closed partly on account of the hartal and partly on account of the *Amavas* holiday. The chemists and druggists shops and the Cotton Green also remained closed. The colleges and schools however were not affected, nor were the mills.

HCP—352-B-14

An attempt by a party of volunteers to demonstrate before the members of the Committee on their arrival at Victoria Terminus was foiled by the police, who for a brief time were stoned, two Sergeants receiving slight injuries. The Share Bazaar which was kept open was threatened with picketing. After the bazaar had closed the crowd made a small bonfire but dispersed on seeing the police. There was no further demonstration against the Committee, barring feeble attempt at a garden party given in its honour by the Sheriff on the 10th nor was any attempt made to interfere with its work. On the 16th a small part of untouchables organised by Congress agents went to the Town Hall on bicycle and in lorries, with banners and slogans disclaiming separate electorates, but were stopped by the police at the entrance. They gave no trouble and left after a few minutes.

On the 1st March, officials of the P. and O. Banking Corporation removing gold from the Bullion Exchange were obstructed. After the bars had been removed under police protection, there was a demonstration by a mob before a couple of shops, in one of which the telephone and cushions were burnt. The mob fled on arrival of the police.

As regards other events in Bombay city Gandhi Day (4th) was observed by a few attempts to make illicit salt. The evening meeting at Chaupaty sands was a fiasco. The 12th which was Dandi Day or All-India Satyagraha Day was a bigger fiasco, the salt offered for sale being obviously not contraband. The 15th was Peasant's Day to pay a tribute to the peasants of the United Provinces and other places in India. The programme of hartal was not acted upon but in the evening about 500 persons collected in groups on the sides of the Esplanade Maidan. The Emergency Council and 87 volunteers moved on to the Maidan to hold a meeting but were put under arrest. There was some jeering at the police thereafter by the crowd which was chased away several times, six mischief-mongers being arrested. At 7-30 the crowd dispersed.

Two police raids were carried out in Bombay on places suspected to be centres of Congress activities. In one case eight persons were arrested and in the other ten large quantities of *Congress Bulletins* and documents relating to Congress activities were seized.

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Prominent persons arrested under Section 3 of Ordinance II during the fortnight were Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dean of the King Edward Memorial Hospital at Parel, and J. A. D. Naoroji, a grandson of the late Dadabhoy Naoroji. Other leaders arrested and convicted under Section 21 of Ordinance II were Jairamdas Daulatram, Karachi; and Waman S. Mukadam, an Ex-M. L. C., from Godhra (Panch Mahals). Mrs. Perin Captain, Messrs. K. F. Nariman and K. M. Munshi, who were released from the Bijapur Jail on the 5th and served with orders by Government under Section 4 of Ordinance II, were rearrested and convicted under Section 21 for breach of the orders. Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi was arrested and convicted on the 15th under Section 17 (I) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for spreading Congress propaganda at Bardoli. She was given six months rigorous imprisonment. Through a stupid mistake on the part of the trying Magistrate she

was placed in C class but this was almost immediately rectified and she was transferred to A class. Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel was released on the 5th. He sailed the same day for Europe to undergo further medical treatment at Vienna.

Congress Fund.—Two sums amounting to Rs. 35,705-8-3 belonging to the Swadeshi Sabha, Ahmedabad, were forfeited under Section 7 of Ordinance IV, and also a sum of Rs. 340-5-4 belonging to the Chiplun Taluka Congress Committee, Ratnagiri.

Picketing.—Picketing of certain foreign cloth shops and the cloth markets in Bombay City continued. Some of the Exchange Banks and the Bullion Exchange were picketed for the greater part of the fortnight. The Mint was not picketed; nor were the shops dealing in gold and silver except for a couple of days. . . . The Mumbadevi Post Office in Bombay was picketed on the 14th in order to induce people to withdraw their money from the Savings Bank and not to put in any more. The two picketers were arrested. There was some excitement as a result, persons from the crowd burning a chair generally used by the stamp vendor. The police dispersed the crowd without difficulty. There was no picketing of the post office on the following days.

Hartals.—On account of the arrest of Dr. Jivraj Mehta all the cloth markets and important places of business in Mandvi and Shaikh Memon Street and the shops dealing in gold and silver closed down on the 3rd. The chemists and druggists shops were also closed. The next day being Gandhi Day the same concerns were closed, except the chemists and druggists shops. The 7th was a holiday and partly on this account and partly on account of the hartal called by the Congress to be observed while the Franchise Committee was in Bombay, all the cloth markets and the Jhaveri and other bazaars, the Bullion Exchange, the Cotton Green and the chemists and druggists shops were closed. The Share Bazaar remained open and was picketed by two women pickets. After their arrest it was practically closed, as no business could be transacted on account of hostile demonstrations. The hartal continued on the 8th, but the Mangaldas Cloth Market opened in the afternoon. On the 9th more shops began to open, including some chemists and druggists shops. The Share Bazaar and the Cotton Green remained open on the 11th. On the 14th there was no hartal, on the 15th the cloth markets were closed but the chemists and druggists shops were open, and on the 16th all places, except two cloth markets, were open. Business has, of course, been affected by these continued hartals. . . . Government were, of course, aware of the proposed prolonged hartal and, at their instance, the Commissioner of Police sent for and interviewed the leading chemists and druggists on the 4th. He made it clear to them that if they wanted to do business they should keep their shops open and carry on business without fear of the Congress. He assured them that they would be given every protection but if, on the other hand, they believed in the Congress programme they should not be ashamed to say so openly and in that case they could have no complaint if they were dealt with under the ordinance. They all said they were anxious to do business and would

keep their shops open. As, however, they closed their shops on the 7th and 8th notices under Section 4 were issued on the 9th against 84 of them directing them, *inter alia*, to abstain from closing their shops or business in the ordinary way. As a result all those on whom the orders were served kept their shops open.

Boycott and effect on trade.—Congress propaganda in regard to the boycott was active during the fortnight. A leaflet dated the 2nd March purporting to be issued by the President, All-India Congress Committee, urged the boycott of imported sugar and of the firm of Ralli Brothers who are large importers of this commodity.

The boycott movement affected the general trade in Bombay City during the fortnight, and on account of the hartal advocated by the Congress there was a marked tendency to do no business on the part of the Indian merchants dealing in grain, cotton, sugar, iron and chemicals and drugs. The attempt to boycott business with a few European firms met with some success. The Stock Exchange and the Bullion Exchange were unable to do business openly and regularly. Efforts to replace British goods by goods of foreign countries, where corresponding Swadeshi articles are not available, also met with some measure of success, and the effect of Japanese competition became more noticeable.

As regards the British firms signaled out for boycott, to which I referred in my last letter, Government are in close consultation with their representatives and it is under consideration whether pressure can be brought to bear upon the boycotters. Their activity is mainly confined to the cotton trade, and the question of exercising control over the cotton market is being considered. With a view however to avoiding the initiation of measures which it might be difficult to carry through to a satisfactory conclusion letters were addressed by the Finance Secretary to the cotton associations and to a number of individual firms with the object of getting them to make a definite declaration of their intentions. As there were also indications that the Japanese and Swiss firms were lending themselves to the boycott movement, the Consuls concerned were requested in friendly conversation to warn their nationals against participation in attempts to promote racial discrimination. The Consuls have professed entire readiness to co-operate.

The position as regards the Bombay Cotton Mills during the month of February was satisfactory, the order books of the various mills showing a healthy condition. About 80,000 bales of cloth were sold, or 20,000 bales more were actually produced during the month. It is, however, stated that the mill-owners are nervous about the future in view of the rise in the cross rate and the advantage which Japan has secured by going off the gold standard. It is pointed out that Japan is now able to sell her goods in this country at about half the price possible before the embargo on gold was imposed by the Japanese Government.

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Propaganda.—This continued to be steadily maintained in the districts by means of meetings, Collector's *darbars* and the distribution of printed matter. Increased grants have been sanctioned to Collectors for the holding of *darbars*..

An experiment is being tried to utilize broadcasting for the purpose of propaganda. As the first step, Divisional Commissioners have been asked to instal listening-in sets in each of their divisions. Should the scheme prove successful its expansion will be considered.

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Press.—The Secretary of State's speech in Parliament while introducing the India Office estimates was the subject of adverse criticism. The view being taken that he has been kept in complete ignorance of the volume of dissent from and protest against the Ordinances and the policy of repression in general.

The decision of the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference to limit the application of the fundamental rights to British India alone was adversely criticized and fears were expressed that a disparity would arise between the citizens in British-India and those in the Indian States and that real national citizenship would not be evolved. The decision of the Committee to request the Premier to pronounce his award on the communal question was received with mixed feelings. But the decision of the depressed classes to accept joint electorate with reservation of seats was welcomed in many quarters.

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Maxwell to Emerson

D. O. No. S. D.- 2966

Bombay, 14th April 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of March 1932.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on the 30th, His Excellency, referring to the Congress policy of intimidation, blackmail and social boycott to prevent the resumption of trade and the employment of hirelings to cause disturbances in the trading areas, stated that the maintenance of the reign of law and the authority of the Government must come before all other considerations. He pointed out how the Committees were working at full speed to bring the Reforms into operation with the least possible delay, and expressed the confidence that the results would satisfy all but the utterly unreasonable and irreconcilable elements.

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In Bombay City there were some small bonfires of cloth in different localities daily between the 19th and 23rd and again on the 27th but the police had no difficulty in dealing with the organisers. Sunday the 27th was the usual monthly flag salutation day, and, apparently realising its weakness, the Congress Emergency

Council concentrated all its forces at Chowpatty. About 90 volunteers and 500 spectators were present and formed two cordons round the flag staff. The spectators offered no opposition to the police when they broke the volunteers' cordon. While the volunteers were being marched off to the police station, a gang of hooligans gathered in front of the Wilson College, where some unknown person had hoisted a Congress flag on the College flag staff. On a *hamal* pulling down the flag, stones were thrown and some of the windows and doors of the college were smashed. The mob fled on the appearance of the police. Altogether 102 arrests were made on this morning.

Two more successful police raids were carried out on suspected centres of Congress propaganda and volunteer activities in Bombay City. A quantity of volunteers' uniforms and badges, a list of reserve brigade volunteers and a number of food coupons and memoranda for food and conveyance charges together with a sum of Rs. 78-8-0 were seized.

No prominent persons were arrested or convicted during the fortnight. Only 25 persons were arrested under Section 3 of Ordinance II. Orders under Section 4 were issued against 197 persons. No association was declared unlawful, nor was any building notified under Ordinance IV.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops and cloth markets went on in Bombay City throughout the fortnight, but the number of picketers was less than hitherto. The Exchange Banks were picketed for only two days, the 19th and 22nd, and some shops dealing in foreign yarn were picketed for four days from the 17th. The Bullion and Stock Exchanges and the Mint were not picketed. On the 31st a chemist's shop was picketed. The six picketers were arrested and thereafter all the chemists and druggists shops were opened. There was no further picketing.

The Boycott Movement.—In response to a request made by the Bombay Millowners' Association, about 20 merchants led by Mr. Lalji Naranji met near the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market on the morning of the 18th to attempt to get the market to resume normal business. Large crowds collected in the locality and women picketers posted themselves at the gates of the market. After waiting for an hour the merchants decided not to open the market and they are said to have written to the Millowners' Association stating that their decision was due to indiscriminate assaults by the police on the crowds. This allegation is false, and it does not seem that the merchants made any attempt to verify their information. There was no occasion for a lathi charge nor was there any assault as the crowd, though hostile to the proposal to open the market, was peaceful. The Millowners' Association made no further move until the 30th when they held a meeting of their selling agents who had shops in the market. These agents expressed various views and some of them pointed out that business in the local mill-made cloth had not suffered owing to the agents moving outside the market. The Chairman of the Association agreed with this view but pointed out that as Swadeshi had come to stay it was necessary to consider whether to remain in the Mulji Jetha Market along with the foreign goods merchants or to establish a separate market of their own. Ultimately the meeting appointed a committee to discuss the question from time to time.

On the 24th the Lakmidas Khimji Cloth Market was opened as the New Swadeshi Market in the presence of some 50 persons. There are about 90 shops in this market where about 25 dealers in foreign cloth are stated to have vacated their stalls. It is understood that an attempt is also to be made to convert the Mulji Jetha Market into a Swadeshi Market, the first step being to divide it into two sections, foreign and swadeshi.

On the morning of the 21st a conference was held by the Finance Member at the Secretariat at which 65 persons interested in the cotton trade attended. It appeared to be the opinion of the meeting that all were opposed to hartals and interference with trade, and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas voiced the view of those present that they would, both in their individual capacity and as representing associations, do their best to prevent hartals and bring about normal working in the markets. On the 29th the annual general meeting of the Cotton Broker's Association was held. It was followed immediately by an extraordinary general meeting at which a resolution was passed that as the Association was of opinion that there had been no improvement in the state of affairs since January, the policy hitherto pursued should be followed. However, having regard to commodity prices and the interests of the agriculturists and producers, dealings in cotton for July-August transactions were to be permitted and, in order to facilitate the marketing of the crop, business was to be carried on for three days in the week. The Association also expressed the opinion that normal trade would not and could not be restored until other conditions became equally normal, and it vested its managing committee with plenary powers to take such action in the interests of the trade as it thought proper in all altered conditions and emergencies. Congress leaflets distributed near the place of this meeting stated that Congress permitted July-August transactions from the 4th April on the conditions that the bazaar should remain open only three days each week, that commercial and insurance firms and banks which were against the interests of the nation and foreign cloth should be boycotted, and that cotton merchants should not take part in the export of gold.

His Excellency the Governor in the course of his speech at the Bombay Municipal Corporation dinner on the 22nd drew attention to the harm done to the City by allowing business to be mixed with politics and regretted the lack of determination on the part of the business community which permitted coercion and intimidation to paralyse the trade of Bombay. He appealed to all other traders to join in implementing the assurance given by cotton merchants at the Secretariat Conference mentioned above and urged the members of the Corporation to use their influence to bring to an end the present movement and to give the trade of the City a chance to recover its lost ground. In Dhulia and Dharwar local cotton merchants have found it difficult to trade owing to the hartals in Bombay City and their consequent inability to enter into hedging contracts or to get cash for their hundies. In Dhulia this is having an adverse effect on the rates which the local merchants are able to offer the cultivators and in Dharwar the merchants are inclined to stop trade.

Propaganda.—Sixty-one thousand copies of a leaflet on Hartals and the Cotton Market were issued by the Director of Information in English and the vernaculars. Nine press notes relating to the Civil Disobedience Movement were also issued during the month of March.

The *Patriot* continued to appear in daily and weekly editions, the weekly having a circulation of about 2,000. A daily edition in Gujarati has now been introduced.

In the districts loyalty meetings continued to be held at numerous centres by Government officers and non-officials.

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Press Act.—An appeal against the demand for securities of Rs. 3,000 each from the publisher of the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay and the keeper of the Indian Daily Mail Press was dismissed by the High Court on the 22nd. The security was not deposited and the *Indian Daily Mail* has ceased publication.

The Press.—The Indian Budget for 1932-33 was adversely criticised by papers of all shades of opinion. They expressed the opinion that the Budget was opposed to the canons of finance and taxation and blamed the Finance Member for levying additional taxes on the necessities of the poor people rather than the luxuries of the rich. The papers unanimously laid emphasis on the point that the limits of taxation had been reached and held that drastic retrenchment in civil and military expenditure was the only course open to make good the deficit and to balance the budget. Some papers condemned the policy of allowing the export of gold to foreign countries which they maintained was responsible for the present financial troubles along with the currency and exchange policy of the Government.

Sir Samuel Hoare's recent speech on the Indian situation in Parliament was subjected to adverse criticism. A number of papers observed that the Ordinances had failed in putting down the Civil Disobedience Movement and that the situation could be improved only by resorting to a conciliatory policy.

The judgment delivered by a special branch of the High Court of Bombay dismissing the appeal of the *Indian Daily Mail* against the Government demand for security was deplored by the few papers which have commented on it so far. The *Mahratta* observed : "The Judgment gives a lie direct to the claims put forward by the Home Member in the Assembly and the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons to the effect that the Ordinances so far as the Press was concerned left the liberty of the Press practically untouched." While the *Nava Kal* remarks : "Instead of deploring the fact that the grievance in this case has not been redressed it is the duty of the people to think intensely how they can get rid of the very political environment to which such undesirable laws and their disastrous operation own their origin."

Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the first half of March 1932.

Political.—The fortnight was quiet generally, and there is nothing of any interest to report. Gandhi Day on the 4th attracted no attention. In Amraoti there was a move to replace the older leaders like Wamanrao Joshi by the younger and more irresponsible element, and the latter made an attempt to revive excitement by reading proscribed literature at public meeting; but when 5 of the more offensive speakers were arrested no interest was aroused and the resulting hartal was a failure.

As showing the nature of the present movement an analysis of the list of the first 340 persons arrested in the Nagpur district shows 67 Maharashtra Brahmins, 29 Pardeshi Brahmins, and 14 Marwaris or Baniyas. The rest are nearly all obscure persons of very low origin. In fact some of the people arrested during the fortnight declared that they were starving and out of work and had only taken part in Congress demonstrations for the sake of food. The Koshti caste of weavers, which is very strong in Nagpur, only contributed 12, and the Muhammadans only 2. Not a single Mahar was arrested.

Legislative Council.—The budget was passed almost untouched, and an attack on the Ministry failed ignominiously. The only excitement of the session was caused by a diminutive youth who obtained entrance into the Council Chamber among the press representatives, and, after distributing a number of pamphlets to the latter, turned towards the members and began a declaration announcing himself as the 18th dictator. He was promptly marched out and handed over to the police.

Boycott of British goods.—A movement which is being watched consists in the establishment by so-called liberals and moderates of Swadeshi Pracharak Sabhas for the pushing of sales of Indian wares. In so far as this movement is an imitation of the "Buy British" movement, no exception can be taken to it. The slogan "Buy Indian" is usually conjoined, however, with "and don't buy British." The original Sabha was formed at Akola, and others have now been formed at Amraoti and Nagpur. The Berar Sabhas have done nothing so far except a little preaching, and in Nagpur the small amount of enthusiasm which was shown at the initial meeting seems to have dwindled. A meeting convened 10 days after the initial meeting had to be abandoned because no audience at all turned up. In part at any rate this is probably due to the fact that the Congress frowns upon the movement, which it considers to have stolen one of its own particular lines of thunder.

Ordinances.—No action was taken during the fortnight to extend any of the Ordinances to fresh districts nor was any action taken to declare further associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There was no seizure of Congress funds.

Arrests and convictions.—No prominent persons were arrested during the fortnight. The total number of prosecutions was 238 and the total number of convictions 246 - a substantial drop. Fines amounted to Rs. 6,175 and collections to Rs. 4,644. The bulk of the prosecutions were again under the Molestation and boycotting Ordinance, the figures being 129 prosecuted and 134 convicted. Under the Unlawful Association Ordinance there were no prosecutions or convictions.

Economic.—The cotton season is likely to last a month longer than usual, but the later picking is of inferior quality and the price has declined by 20 to 30 per cent. The fall being helped by the rise in sterling. Land revenue continues to come in everywhere as well as, if not better than, was expected.

Press.—The Secretary of State for India's speech in the Commons and the Indian budget have been the main topics of discussion. Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the debate on India Office Estimates is regarded as a lame defence of the administration by Ordinances which, in the opinion of the press, has not met with general acceptance. The statement that the emergency powers are used with caution and moderation is regarded as unconvincing. The Finance Member is criticised for throwing out an ominous hint about the rise hereafter in the military expenditure, which is already regarded as crushing. Locally, the recent budget session of the Council is commented on as disappointing to the public though smooth for the Government owing to the attitude of the Democratic Party. The *Maharashtra* says that support was given to the Excise policy of giving protection to liquor shops, that not a single cut moved on a question of principle could be passed, and that repression could not, except in one case, meet with general condemnation. The Government is reminded that in the light of the token cuts it owes a duty to the public to give effect to the recommendations of the Financial Committee.

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the second half of March 1932.

Political.—The following extracts from divisional reports sum up the situation :—

Nagpur.—Things have become even quieter than in the previous fortnight. Congress has practically no supporters in Nagpur except for a few non-descripts and has been reduced to importing loafer volunteers from the Wardha district. The reports from the other districts also indicate the progressive collapse of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Berar.—The fortnight was, if anything, even quieter than the last. There is no fresh indication of what the younger element which has displaced Wamanrao Joshi in Amraoti intends to do.

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Boycott of British goods.—There is no sign of any spread of this movement. The Swadeshi Pracharak Mandal continues to hold small meetings and is said also to have formed branches at Katol and Ramtek. The movement is, however, still regarded with suspicion by the Congress party and with indifference by the general public. Elsewhere there is nothing doing.

Ordinances.—There is nothing further to report. There was no seizure of Congress funds, nor was any action taken under the Press Emergency Powers Act.

Arrests and convictions.—Prosecutions again showed a large drop, the total being 140, with 137 convictions. No proceedings were taken against any prominent person. Fines imposed amounted to Rs. 5,593 and collections to Rs. 5,647. The only Ordinance used was the Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance under which there were 81 prosecutions and 74 convictions.

Labour.—The Nagpur report indicates that there has been a great deal of political activity amongst the Mahars. Arrangements are being made for holding meeting of an All India Depressed Classes Congress at Kamptee on April the 24th, to be addressed by Dr. Ambedkar. Meanwhile a number of meetings of the different sections of Mahars are being held to discuss the question of joint or separate electorates. Ambedkar caused some annoyance by an alleged neglect of the local Mahar representatives who had been summoned to Bombay when the Central Provinces representatives were appearing before the Franchise Committee. A somewhat inharmonious meeting of the Mahar Seva Dal, of which Kedar is President, was held on the 23rd, and was addressed by Dr. Moonje, who tried to set the Mahars against the Muhammadans by pointing out that the Central Provinces Government and the Franchise Committee proposed to give only 10 seats in the Legislative Council to the depressed classes as against 15 to the Muhammadans, whereas on numerical strength they were entitled to 22 seats against 5. He said that the Mahars must now choose once for all whether they would agree to joint electorates with reservation of seats, or would hold out for separate electorates; and that if they chose the latter, they would lose for ever the sympathy of the caste Hindus and all chance of their support for their social and political uplift.

Economic.—The number of cotton carts coming into the Nagpur Market is less than one-fourth of last year's number up to date. The wheat crop varies from about 8 annas in Nagpur to 11 annas in the Nerbuda tract.

Press.—The Irish Free State's declaration of policy, the Rajah-Moonje pact and the recent session of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have been the chief topics of discussion. President De Valera's declaration of policy to abolish the Oath of Allegiance to the King and to stop the land annuities paid to Britain is watched with keen and sympathetic interest. The Rajah-Moonje pact in regard to the demand of joint electorates for the depressed classes is received with approbation as tending to harmonise their relations with the caste Hindus and make for national solidarity. The presidential address and

the resolutions passed at the recent session of the Federation of the Indian Chambers are favourably received by the *Maharashtra* and the Government are asked to follow the lines of policy indicated therein for the mutual good of Britain and India.

Quarterly Report of All India Congress Committee

30th March 1932 (Extract).

It is nearly three months now since non-violent war of independence was restarted. The precipitate haste with which Government launched the countrywide offensive against the Congress left one with the only conclusion that Government were taking their last chance to crush the Congress. Well, Government did take their chance, but they failed miserably. For, after three months of drastic and brutal repression, the Congress is still as alive as ever. The following pages will fully substantiate this statement. But let us here point out a few salient facts. Sixty thousand men, women and children have been clapped up in the jails yet the administration finds it impossible to withdraw the ordinances. Every form of goondaism has been tried on Congress volunteers, yet picketing of foreign cloth shops continues wherever it is thought necessary. In spite of every sort of intimidation the Indian business community continues to show its sympathy with the national cause. The boycott daily grows stronger. Peasants in U. P. and Gujarat have been treated to all sorts of barbarities yet their spirit has not been broken. Lathis have been wielded with gruesome cruelty yet there are more heads ready to be broken. Jails are overflowing with prisoners, yet thousands are still coming to join the pilgrimage. No, the Congress cannot be crushed. Sooner or later the Government will have to take their defeat.

A word of explanation with regard to this Special Bulletin. The bulletin contains only brief accounts of the progress of civil disobedience in the provinces. In preparing these accounts reliance has been entirely laid on the Provincial reports received. There have been two reasons for doing this. Firstly, very little or no information appears in the press about civil disobedience activities. Secondly, the little that does appear is often misleading.

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Berar.—When civil disobedience was revived in Berar it was actively taken up in two districts only, Akola and Buldana. A Provincial War Council was constituted with headquarters at Akola. Demonstrations and meetings were held in many places. Picketing of foreign cloth shops was also taken up.

In Akola the foreign cloth dealers yielded after a few days' picketing and the majority of them sealed their stock of foreign cloth. The boycott of foreign cloth was also quite successful in the tahsil of Akola. Most of the shopkeepers in Balapur,

Akot, Telhara tahsils have sealed up their foreign cloth. Shops in Basim tahsil are also being picketed but the shopkeepers who are mostly Mohammedans, have not yet agreed to seal their stocks. Picketing of liquor shops has also been taken up in some centres of the district. Over fifty volunteers were arrested in Akola under the Picketing Ordinance uptill the end of February. In Khamgaon, the headquarters of Buldana district, the foreign cloth shops had to be picketed for one month and a half before the dealers agreed to seal up their stocks. During this period about 90 pickets were arrested. In Amraoti and Yeotmal there is no picketing but propaganda for Swadeshi is being carried on.

All the All-India Days have been observed. Independence Day was celebrated in about 60 places and Puri Congress Day in about 25 places on the 25th of February. Congress propaganda by means of leaflets and bulletins is being done in the Province. There have been about 204 arrests in the whole Province uptill the end of February. Akola and Buldana contributing 100 and 90, respectively.

C. P. Marathi.— We have had so far only scanty reports from this Province. However, we shall try to give an idea of the activities in the Province on the basis of these.

C. P. Marathi is one of the smallest Provinces comprising of four districts only, Wardha, Nagpur, Chanda and Bhandara. After the Working Committee's resolution reviving civil disobedience the Provincial Congress Committee suspended its constitution and appointed a War Council and the districts were advised to do the same. The Government started the offensive immediately and applied the Picketing and Unlawful Association Ordinances to Nagpur as early as the 6th of January.

The C. P. Marathi War Council and district and taluka war councils, totalling 17 were declared unlawful on the 10th of January. Tilak Vidyalaya and Asahayoga Ashram, Nagpur, were "notified" and yarn, Khadi and grain worth about Rs. 3,500 belonging to the Tilak Vidyalaya were confiscated.

These measures did not check the progress of the movement. Nagpur and Wardha took up the boycott programme earnestly and picketing of foreign cloth shops was started. In Nagpur a large number of foreign cloth and the shops of those who have not sealed are being picketed. In Wardha almost all the foreign cloth has been sealed and the liquor shops are now being picketed. Picketing has also been started in other districts. Large number of ladies are taking part in the movement. Over 100 of them have gone to jail. Yet, even now the *prabhat pheris* in Nagpur consist exclusively of women. Ladies of high families are coming out of their homes and participating in the movement.

Propaganda by means of leaflets and *Congress Bulletins* is being carried on throughout the Province. In the four districts there are eight centres from which *Congress Bulletins* are regularly issued. They publish Congress announcements and Congress news. Street boards giving daily Congress news are also used in Wardha but a large number of them have now been confiscated by the police.

Almost all the All-India "Days" have been celebrated and hartals have been observed on Gandhi Day, Independence Day, Frontier Day and other important days. The Governor of the Province called a meeting of the merchants of Nagpur and asked them to deal in foreign cloth, not to observe hartals and to have nothing to do with the Congress which he said was a communal body. But the hartals have been observed in spite of the Governor. The Independence Day was very successfully celebrated in a number of places in the Province and a large number of arrests was made in Nagpur. In Wardha, even the depressed classes joined the procession on the Independence Day and huge meeting was held. Congress flags were hoisted on many houses and they are still there.

Very good anti-liquor propaganda is being done in Wardha and some other places. In Wardha volunteers picketing liquor shops were severely beaten by the police on several occasions.

There were lathi charges in all the four districts. The charge in Wardha being very serious. Several people were injured. Now, the police arrest fewer people and beat and disperse most of the people doing Congress work. The Government has been trying to terrorise workers and volunteers by inflicting very severe and vindictive punishments. Messrs Abhyankar and Ranka were each sentenced to three years. R. I. and Rs. 10,000 fine. The sentence was however reduced later by the Home Member, after a discussion in the Council to two years R. I. and Rs. 2,500 fine. In the whole Province only Mr. Abhyankar has been given A class and all others are put in C class, very few being in B although a large number of the prisoners have a status which would entitle them according to the Government classification to A class. In all, there have been 850 arrests up to the end of February out of which over a hundred are women.

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Bombay Chronicle

8th April 1932 (Extract).

Mrs. Naidu opens new wing of Mulji Jetha Market.—A fervent exhortation to the merchants of Bombay to stand by the creed of Swadeshi and help the country to achieve freedom was made by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in declaring open the Swadeshi wing of the Mulji Jetha Market on Thursday¹.

Every shop in the market flew a tri-colour national flag. There are about 110 shops in the wing and every merchant has taken a pledge to deal in Swadeshi cloth only.

Mrs. Naidu who appeared in a charming orange coloured saree was loudly applauded when she declared that Bombay merchants had stood solidly behind the patriots who had courted sufferings in the services of the country.

¹ Mulji Jetha Market observed hartal for 3 months of 1932 and after April 7th the dealers opened a swadeshi wing to deal in Indian piece-goods approved by Congress.

A hope that no trace of foreign cloth will be left in the Mulji Jetha Market and that all the shops will soon be converted into Swadeshi shops was expressed by Mr. Lalji Naranji in asking Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to declare the market open. He asked the merchants to remember that Mrs. Naidu had agreed to perform the opening ceremony of the market on the condition that every merchant will sell only Swadeshi cloth. She had sent women volunteers to inspect the stock of every dealer and satisfied herself that there was no foreign cloth in the market. The merchants had given a solemn pledge to sell only Indian mill-made cloth and they would not be true to their country and to their word if they chose to deal in anything except Swadeshi cloth.

Mrs. Naidu in declaring the market open said that it gave her the greatest pleasure to preside over such a pleasant function. The thought that we were able to open the Mulji Jetha Market during the National Week made her happier still. Hitherto the market was dealing in Swadeshi cloth as well as foreign stuff.

Some days ago she visited the premises of the market and found it like the Sahara desert. The shutters of all the shops were down and not a soul moved in the market. She was wondering how long this gloomy state of affairs would last. But today she saw the same market bubbling with life. The conversion of the merchants to the creed of Swadeshi, she thought was due to the untiring and selfless work of volunteers whom she styled as the *Bhagya Fouz*, who for the last two years had been making ceaseless efforts in that direction.

Continuing Mrs. Naidu said that she agreed to open the market on one condition only. Not a single merchant in the market can deal in foreign cloth. That was the pledge that she expected the merchants to take. She was informed that some merchants who could not find accommodation in the market and others who were dealing in foreign cloth were not quite pleased and might create some trouble. But she did not believe that there was a single Indian, whether he was dealing in foreign cloth or Swadeshi cloth who would be unpatriotic enough to do injury to the cause of Swadeshi which was one of their strongest weapons for achieving freedom.

Mrs. Naidu then told the audience how in England the English people were carrying on a campaign in favour of their own industries. When she attended the R.T.C. she found every tram-car and every signboard displaying "Buy British" slogans. To buy a British made article was considered by an Englishman as a patriotic duty. The King and members of the Royal family set an example to others by buying only British made articles. But in India those who advocated the creed of Swadeshi were considered as sedition-mongers.

But every true Indian now knew that his salvation was Swadeshi. They must stick to Swadeshi if they wanted to improve the condition of the starving millions. She hoped that every merchant would respond to the voice of India's half-clad men and women who were crying for bread.

"You the merchants of Bombay, I am glad to say, have fully shown that you are solidly behind the patriots who have sacrificed everything in the cause of the country," added Mrs. Naidu, amidst cheers.

She then went on to repudiate the suggestion that she was negotiating for peace with the Government. The country was not for peace so long as Government did not show any inclination for it. She emphasised that only the accredited representative of the country-Mahatma Gandhi was entitled to negotiate for peace on behalf of the country. The country she emphasised will have peace on its own terms. In conclusion she fervently exhorted the merchants to expouse the cause of Swadeshi cloth and give up trade in foreign cloth.

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Maxwell to Emerson

D.O. No. S. D. - 3115

Bombay, 22nd April 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the first half of April 1932.

Civil Disobedience.—The situation in the districts remained very quiet throughout the fortnight and there was practically no observance of the National Week between the 6th and the 13th.

In Bombay City a "Buy Indian" procession was advertised to take place on the 3rd April, but as no responsible body identified itself with the advertisement, the procession was presumed to be in furtherance of civil disobedience and was prohibited by an order of the Commissioner of Police under Section 23 (3) of the City of Bombay Police Act. Scarcely any attempt was made to start the procession, and it subsequently transpired that it had been planned by the Congress without the knowledge of the Swadeshi League. On Gandhi Day the 4th, there was a hartal and the public displayed little interest in a number of small processions and meetings which were attempted, the largest attendance being about 200 persons.

For the national week a detailed programme was issued in advance by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as Acting President of the Congress, but this was not adhered to. Considerable efforts were however made by means of leaflets to arouse interest in a number of "Days" for which various programmes were laid down intended to emphasise certain lines of Congress propaganda. Regarded as a test of Congress enthusiasm in Bombay the result must have been disappointing for the organisers. Comparatively few of the advertised items of the programme were even attempted and except on two occasions, public enthusiasm was conspicuously absent. The futility of the proceedings must have been apparent when on the 11th, entitled "No Tax to Government Day", no one attended the advertised flag salutation, while the Railway picketing announced to take place at Bori Bunder and Central Station reduced itself to the presence of eight volunteers at the former and six at the latter shouting, "Boycott Railways", of whom the travelling public took no notice whatever. The two occasions above referred to were on the 6th, called "Ladies Day", and the last day of the week, the 13th, entitled "Jallianwalla Bagh Day". On

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the former occasion, a crowd of 2,000 assembled to watch the ladies meeting at which Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya was arrested in attempting to start a procession with nine other ladies. Two of these were girls under 15 years of age. On their arrest, the crowd showed some excitement and were dispersed by a mild lathi charge. On "Jallianwalla Baug Day" the programme of complete hartal was observed slightly more extensively than before, and the Stock Exchange, four cloth markets, the Javeri Bazaar and the Chemists and Druggists bazaar were closed. The other bazaars and the offices of the cotton merchants were however open and the mills worked as usual. A two minutes' silence was announced for 11 a.m. when 15 persons dressed in funeral clothes requested passers by to remove their head-dress, and in the afternoon a procession announced to consist of 500 volunteers, but actually consisting of 40, was easily dispersed by the police. Some stones were thrown on this occasion from adjoining buildings, and it became necessary to disperse the crowd by a mild cane charge.

27 persons were arrested during the fortnight under Section 3 of Ordinance II and 73 were in jail custody at the end of the fortnight. 68 orders were issued under Section 4 and 824 were in force at the end of the period. There were only 51 convictions under section 21. Apart from Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, whose arrest has been mentioned above, the only other prominent person arrested during the fortnight was Mr. Durgadutt B. Savalka, President of the Bombay Cotton Brokers Association, who was found to have been assisting the Congress by levying fines on cotton brokers who were carrying on surreptitious trade with British firms.

Two sums of Rs. 17,199 and Rs. 16,819 standing as fixed deposits at the Bank of India, Ahmedabad, in the joint names of G. V. Mavlankar and Mr. Vallabhbbhai J. Patel on behalf of the Gujarat Sabha were declared forfeited to Government under Section 7 (I) of Ordinance IV, as it was found that the Sabha was practically only another name for the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee.

The Boycott Movement.—Picketing of foreign cloth shops in Bombay City continued during the fortnight, but the number of picketers showed a tendency to fall towards the end of the period. The chemists and druggists shops were picketed without effect on several occasions, but as a result of their closure on the 13th two arrests were made for breach of the order under Section 4, and the bazaar has since been reopened.

The Mulji Jetha Market which had observed hartal continuously since the commencement of the present movement has partially been reopened for business in swadeshi cloth as a result of two ceremonies held by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on the 7th and the 11th. These proceedings have antagonised the cloth merchants who formerly did business in the same market and they have asked the Bombay Native Piece-Goods Merchants Association to take the matter up on their behalf. The managing committee has appointed a sub-committee to enquire into their complaints and to negotiate with the proprietors of the market one of whom is Mr. Lalji Naranji. This action has provoked Congress leaflet threatening mass picketing if the foreign cloth section of the market is opened.

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An informal meeting of the members of the Bombay Stock Brokers Association was held on the 11th to consider the advisability of keeping the Stock Exchange open for business on all working days. After prolonged discussion the meeting was adjourned to the 13th when, after a heated debate in which some members pressed for opening on all days and others advocated entire closure, it was decided to keep the Exchange open on any three days in the week.

In pursuance of the boycott programme, pressure was brought to bear on dealers in watches and clock to sign an undertaking not to import such articles of foreign make. Two of the dealers who had signed the undertaking were promptly arrested but were released on their promising to revoke the pledge and not to be influenced by Congress threats in future. They were assured of police protection against intimidation or coercion.

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In Bombay City the boycott of British firms and business seems to be confined to the seed trade and the cotton market, and feeling seems to be growing against interference with normal business. The position in the cotton trade remains unchanged and the benefit of the opening of July-August business, referred to in my last letter, has not apparently been extended to the European firms on the boycott list. It is understood that the boycotted firms are still able to carry on a considerable amount of business through Indian intermediaries, but the Congress agents are active in tracing such transactions and firing the participants, and it was for this reason that the president of the Cotton Brokers Association was recently arrested as mentioned above. The situation was still under discussion with the firms concerned at the end of the fortnight.

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Satyagraha at Nasik.—The Ramnavami festival day on the 15th was the occasion for renewal of the satyagraha of the untouchables at the Kala Ram Temple at Nasik, where the District Magistrate with the approval of Government reimposed an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, preventing the carrying of weapons and gathering of crowds near the Temple. Notwithstanding this order, a number of Mahars attempted to force their way into the Temple along with others, and in order to relieve a situation in which the resulting congestion of the crowd might have caused danger to women and children among them, it became necessary to arrest 29 persons, the majority of whom were Mahar men and women, and the entrance to the temple was subsequently closed. Although feelings for a time ran high, the danger of a serious riot was averted, but on the 16th parties of Mahars assaulted some isolated Sanatanists and one person was seriously injured. The car procession which was to have taken place on the 17th was accordingly prohibited and the temple authorities were not allowed to take the God in procession to the river. The trouble is now temporarily at an end and it is possible that an enquiry under Section 147 Criminal Procedure Code, which the District Magistrate is about to undertake in regard to the parallel dispute about the Ram Kund, may either induce the parties to come to terms or provide a less dangerous outlet for their activities.

The Maratha Printing Press, Bombay, was forfeited under Section 12 of the Press Act, as the security required from the keeper under Section 3 was not deposited and the press was used after the expiry of the period allowed to make the deposit.

The Press.—The assurance given by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his opening speech at the session of the Chamber of Princes, that their rights and privileges would be safeguarded was viewed with disfavour. The resolution passed by the Chamber embodying the conditions on which the Princes would join the Federation was condemned, the view being expressed that the federal constitution of India would have to be frame without the participation of the Princes.

The settlement arrived at the Cape Town Conference failed to give any satisfaction to the Indian Press. A number of papers took strong objection to the delegation's consent to the preposterous proposal for the establishment of an Indian colony for settling Indians both from India and South Africa in other countries. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* characterised the colonisation scheme as a made of voluntary exile and predicted that it was doomed to failure like the repatriation scheme. The *Dnyan Prakash* alone commended the Cape Town agreement as being of a progressive nature on the whole.

The appointment of an Indian delegation to the Ottawa Conference was disapproved by certain papers on the ground that the principle of Imperial Preference would be foisted on India at the hands of the delegation. The general trend of opinion in this connection may be summed up in the words of the *Bombay Chronicle* which remarked. "As the only object of sending a delegation to Ottawa is to commit India to the principle of preferential tariffs with Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire and as there is no support in this country for such an enterprise, the Government of India's action in sending this delegation is arbitrary and invidious..... Indian opinion is opposed to this Imperial Preference stunt because it knows that the country's interest will be sacrificed on the altar of Imperialism.

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Maxwell to Emerson

No. S. D. -3549

Bombay, 14th May 1932.

I am desired to submit my report for the second half of April 1932.

Political.—The attempt to hold the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi on the 24th April aroused no appreciable interest. In spite of the numerous appeals for thousands to go to Delhi, the response was extremely poor. With the exception of Ranchhodlal Amritlal, a millowner of Ahmedabad, who, according to press reports, presided over the so-called session, and of a few insignificant individuals who left before definite steps were taken to prevent their

departure or who subsequently evaded the police, the measures taken in accordance with the Government of India instructions to deal with parties proceeding to Delhi were on the whole successful and it is doubtful whether any person of real consequence from this Presidency succeeded in reaching Delhi. The departure of the quota of delegates from Bombay City reduced itself to a farce when on the 20th, following an announcement that a public send-off under the aegis of the Emergency Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee would be given to them, about 200 persons collected at Victoria Terminus. The Emergency Council did not put in an appearance and as the train was about to leave, two supposed delegates who had purchased tickets for a station near Kalyan detached themselves from the crowd and hurriedly entered a third-class compartment. Mrs. Naidu, the acting President of the Congress, was served with an order on the 21st April directing her under Section 4 (I) of the Emergency Powers Ordinance not to leave the limits of Bombay City without the written permission of the Commissioner of police. The following evening, in response to an appeal for a public send-off to her, scarcely 100 persons assembled at the Bombay Central Station. Mrs. Naidu was arrested at Bandra Station and was subsequently convicted and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 21, Emergency Powers Ordinance. She has been classified as a A class prisoner and removed to Yeravda. A partial hartal was observed on the same day on account of her arrest and another on the 25th on account of the arrest of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, when the four cloth markets and a few other shops were closed. An attempt was made on the 25th by the Emergency Council to hold a meeting of about 1,000 persons on the Chowpatty Sands to read out the resolutions said to have been passed at Delhi. Immediately the president commenced to read out the Independence resolution, the Emergency Council was arrested and the crowd chased away.

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In Bombay City the usual monthly flag salutation ceremony was attempted on Sunday the 24th April when about 1,000 persons assembled at Mandvi. Little difficulty was experienced in preventing the ceremony from taking place and 34 arrests were made. There were no other demonstrations worth mentioning during the fortnight.

The police carried out two further successful raids on suspected centres of Congress propaganda on the 23rd and 25th April and seized a considerable quantity of unauthorised literature and paraphernalia used in its production. The first of these involved the seizure of the Rajahansa Printing Press which was responsible for the production of the Weekly Boycott Supplement to the *Congress Bulletin* and resulted in the non-appearance of the supplement on the following day.

A new activity in Bombay City was the introduction on the 25th April of the practice obtaining in other parts of India of tempering with post office boxes. Several letters in a box near the Wilson College were damaged by some combustible materials thrown into the box, and again on the 30th some letters in the inland and foreign letter boxes at the General Post Office were similarly damaged.

Forty four persons were arrested during the fortnight under Section 3 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance and 68 were in jail custody at the end of the period. 71 orders were issued under Section 4 and 859 were in force at the end of the fortnight. There were 26 convictions under Section 21. In addition to Mrs. Naidu, whose arrest and conviction has been alluded to, the only other prominent person arrested and convicted during the fortnight was one Haridas Lalji who is believed to have been supplying the brains and money from behind the scenes in Karachi.

The Boycott Movement.—Picketing of foreign cloth shops continued in Bombay City throughout the fortnight, the largest number of picketers being 58 on the 22nd. The chemists and druggists shops remained open notwithstanding occasional picketing and a demonstration of about 200 persons on the 24th involving a cane charge by the police. New developments were the picketing of brass and copper shops on the 18th and 19th and of four watch shops on the Congress blacklist since the 28th. It is believed that the picketing of the brass and copper shops was withdrawn on the Bania dealers promising not to import any of their wares from England in future.

The sub-committee appointed by the managing committee of the Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchant's Association has addressed the managing director of the new Piece-goods Bazaar Company Limited, which manages the affairs of the Mulji Jetha Market asking him to give all facilities to the merchants dealing in foreign and other piece-goods by removing the partition erected after the opening of the Swadeshi wing of the market and opening all the gates of the market leading to the foreign cloth shops. Two gates were accordingly kept open on the 21st and one on the 22nd, but they were picketed by women volunteers and the foreign cloth shops remain closed. Female volunteers are now trying to obtain pledges from the merchants in India piece-goods that they will deal only in Swadeshi, but the latter are reported to be reluctant to sign in view of the Ordinances.

In consequence of an attempt by the Congress to fine two bullion merchants, police assistance was requisitioned and two picketers were arrested inside the hall of the Exchange on the 29th, whereupon the Exchange closed for the rest of the day. The Government of Bombay addressed a letter to the President of the Bullion Exchange on the 27th April pointing out that if their information that outside pressure was being applied to members of the Exchange to boycott certain other members for trading on days when the market was officially open was correct, it was essential that steps should be taken to concert action to safeguard the rights of its members to trade freely on all days when the market was officially open and to prevent outside interference. It is understood that the letter was considered at a meeting on the 28th of the Board of Directors and of the merchants' committee and it was decided unanimously to stand firm. They are prepared to avail themselves of police protection against molestation and all necessary measures are being taken by the Commissioner of Police. Many of the brokers in the Bullion Exchange Work in all three markets, viz., Bullion, Shares and Cotton, and any success achieved in this direction is likely to react favourably in the other markets.

There is little sign of any development of the boycott movement in the mofussil. The Barsi Municipality in the Sholapur District is reported to have accepted without assigning reasons a tender for the supply of oil from the Standard Oil Company as against that of the Burma Oil Company. The District Magistrate is taking the matter up. In Bombay City a new development in the situation previously reported is the pressure that is now being put by the Congress on rice merchants to boycott British Shipping Companies. Most of the members of the Rice Merchants' Association—excluding mainly those who have very little business and so can be afford to pro-Congress are inclined to stand firm and have so far refused to negotiate with the Congress agents. It is suspected that Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company is behind this move against Shipping Companies. One consignment of British machinery has been accepted in Ahmedabad. This is the first case in which a firm which had refused to agree to the request for postponement has forwarded the goods, and the acceptance of delivery by the consignees is regarded as a hopeful sign.

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The Press.—The decision of the Government of India to ban the Delhi session of the Congress claimed a fairly large share of attention and the Indian Press was generally inclined to the view that Government had committed a blunder in banning the mouthpiece of the country. The attempt to hold the session did not evoke such enthusiasm though a few papers wrote of it in a triumphant spirit.

The inauguration of the reforms in the North-West Frontier Province led the *Kesari* to observe that the British Government was following a policy of duplicity inasmuch as it wanted to make the Musalmans believe that Government had fulfilled their demand at great self-sacrifice while at the same time telling non-Muslims that the Muslim demand had been granted with the greatest reluctance. The *Nava Kal* attributed the credit for the reforms to the Red Shirt Movement which forced the attention of the authorities to the claims of the Frontier Province and it complained that the very dyarchy which had already proved utterly worthless was conferred upon the province.

The new Sterling loan issued by the Secretary of State for India was adversely criticised by a few papers. The *Nava Kal* declared that "this unexpected new loan is the latest proof of how the alien Government of India cares more for the interests of the capitalists in London and the exchequer of the Secretary of State than for the interests of India".

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the first half of April 1932.

Political.—There is little of interest to report. In Nagpur the 6th to the 13th were advertised in the *Congress Bulletins* as national week, each day being set apart for some special form of boycott, but the effort was a complete failure. Of 31 people arrested during the week 14 were let off as not worth troubling about, and it is note-worthy that only 5 of the persons arrested were locals, the remainder coming from neighbouring districts. The supply of local volunteers seems to have run practically dry.

Boycott.—The Swadeshi Pracharak Mandals in Nagpur and Amraoti appear to be becoming manifestations of Congress activities in all but name. In Nagpur the Mandal is reported to be having little effect on trade. Those who believe on principle in buying Indian goods continue to do so ; the men in the street buys the cheapest goods that he can get. On the 3rd the Mandal organised a procession of 200 men and 60 women, which went through the streets shouting slogans such as "Boycott British goods", "Dèstroy the British Empire", and "Long Live Rajguru and Bhagat Singh" - a strange commentary on the professedly economic objects of the founders of the Society. The women belonging to respectable families, but with a few exceptions the men came from the lower classes. A branch of the Mandal has been opened at Wardha. The Amraoti Mandal, which has adopted the Akola programme of barely disguised boycott of British goods, held a rally with the presence and support of prominent liberals, Sir Moropant Joshi being in the chair. Sir Moropant told the audience that the public should insist on buying Swadeshi articles, and that, if these were not available, foreign goods other than British should be bought. British goods should only be purchased if none other were available. He justified this attitude by the statement that British goods received preferential treatment under the tariff.

Ordinances.—There was no extension. No Congress funds were seized and no fresh action was taken under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. In the report for the first half of March it was stated that security for Rs. 1,000 had been demanded from the Shriguru Balaji Printing Press, Akola. This press has now closed down owing to its inability to make the deposit.

Arrests and convictions.—There was a slight rise in prosecutions, the total being 192 with 180 convictions. No proceedings were taken against any prominent persons. Fines imposed amounted to Rs. 4,460 and collections to Rs. 4,379. The only Ordinance which was used was the Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance, under which there were 95 prosecutions and 101 convictions.

Labour.—Political excitement among the Mahars continued. On the 5th of April a meeting was held at Panchpaoli (Nagpur) under the chairmanship of a Mahar M. L. C. at which the supporters of the Rajah-Munje pact were severely heckled, and the pact was condemned, a practically unanimous resolution being passed in favour of separate electorates and reserved seats. Ruikar's trial has been resumed after being interrupted by a reference made to the Judicial Commissioner. Appeals for contributions to his defence fund have met with a poor response.

Economic.—The collection of land revenue has been better than was expected, and cotton arrivals have increased, though prices have declined. The number of labourers on special works opened in the Buldana district is about the same, and works recently opened elsewhere have not attracted much labour.

Press.—The Anglo-Irish controversy and the Rajah-Moonje pact continued to be discussed. The Assembly debate on the political situation, the Princes' decision to join the Federation, India at the Ottawa Conference, the revised Cape Town Agreement, and the prohibition of the Delhi session of the Congress, were fresh topics. The Government's defence of its dual policy of putting down the Civil

Disobedience Movement and expediting the reforms is regarded as inconsistent and unconvincing. The conditions under which the princes have decided to join the Federation are criticised as selfish, retrograde and unacceptable to British India. The prohibition of the Delhi Congress is deplored as an unwise repudiation of the moderating influence of Congress leaders like Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. S. Naidu.

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Central Provinces and Berar

Report for the second half of April 1932.

Political.—The fortnight has been devoid of any political development of interest. A feeble attempt was made in Nagpur to hold a hartal in honour of the Delhi Congress and as a protest against the arrests of Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Malaviya, but very few shops were closed, and here, as elsewhere throughout the Province, the attempt to arouse interest over the meeting was a fiasco. The so called postal week which was held from the 21st to the 28th failed equally to arouse any interest.

Boycott.—The Nagpur Swadeshi Pracharak Mandal is reported to be suffering from the hot weather and to have show very little sign of life. The Commissioner, Jubbulpore, reports as follows with regard to a body called the National Boy Scout Association. "This body has begun recently to be active, but was apparently formed in April or May, 1931, by Govind Das, when the youth leaguers became members. They have recently staged a 'Buy Swadeshi' processing and meeting of about 300 persons. . . . The speaker was careful to disown boycott of foreign cloth, but on the 22nd B. P. Shrivastava, 'the first dictator of the National Boy Scout Association', seems to have gone round with 12 friends and a congress flag threatening merchants if they sold foreign cloth. The whole movement is connected with Madan Mohan Malaviya's all-India Swadeshi Sangh. . . . I do not know if this association will be found worth powder and shot, but it may be necessary to declare it unlawful". A disagreeable incident is reported from Amraoti, where a new departure has occurred in the shape of the picketing of Hindu cloth shops by a band of youngsters, who leave Mahommadans severely alone. The Civil Surgeon, a European, who went to the bazaar to buy some cloth was hustled and molested by the picketers, one of whom caught him round the knees and brought him to the ground. He had some difficulty in making his way to his car.

Ordinances.—There was no extension, and no action was taken under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. No Congress funds were seized.

Arrests and convictions.—Prosecutions fell slightly, the number being 145, with 159 convictions. Fines imposed amounted to Rs. 4,512 and collections to Rs. 2,133. The only ordinance used was the Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance, under which there were 57 prosecutions and 60 convictions. No fresh associations were declared unlawful.

Labour.—Charges have been framed against Ruikar, but he has again delayed progress by a revision application to the Sessions Judge. He has been re-elected president of the local railwaymen's union, apparently as a demonstration of sympathy for him on account of his prosecution. The result of the local Bengal-Nagpur railway ballot is not yet announced, but it is anticipated that there will be an almost unanimous vote in favour of the strike. Indications, however, are that there will not be an actual strike unless all railways in India agree. The Mahars continue their political activity, preparing the way for the All-India Depressed Classes Congress at Kamptee, which has been postponed till the 7th and 8th of May owing to Ambedkar's work on the franchise committee. Various meetings have been held at the townhall and elsewhere, at all of which there has been a decisive majority in favour of Ambedkar and against the Raja-Moonje pact, the adherents of which have had a bad time from the audiences.

Economic.—There is nothing particular to report. Land Revenue is coming in as well as can be expected.

Press.—The Anglo-Irish controversy and the Ottawa Conference continued to be discussed. His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the representation of the Western India National Liberal Association on the question of the administration of the Ordinances is commented on as an unconvincing defence of the Government's policy, it being maintained that there has been abuse of the emergency powers. The Delhi Congress session is regarded as a great feat (sic) showing the organisers' singleness of purpose, and as a moral triumph for the Congress. The Government are warned that any attempts to crush the Congress or to force on the country a type of constitution unwanted by the majority will prove futile. Locally complaints are made against the alleged improper classification and ill-treatment of civil disobedience prisoners.

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Bombay Chronicle

6th May 1932 (Extract).

Bhulabai Desai Opens Swadeshi Bazaar.—"The cult of Swadeshi is a world phenomenon. Mighty nations like Britain are carrying on a vigorous campaign to induce their people to buy their home made products. The days when economics taught us to buy the cheapest stuff are gone. The very people who taught us that doctrine now, buy their own products irrespective of the consideration of price. It is gratifying that the spirit of Swadeshi is growing rapidly in India. If every Indian makes it his religion to buy nothing but Swadeshi all our problems would be solved without much difficulty. I believe it will transform the whole country in

five years". These remarks were made by Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, who opened a Swadeshi Bazaar at the Royal Opera House on Thursday evening before a very large gathering. The bazaar is organised by the Parsi Swadeshi Bazaar committee.

Mr. B. F. Bharucha in requesting Mr. Desai to open the bazaar gave a report of the activities of the Committee. He said although the committee was named as Parsi Swadeshi Bazaar Committee the bazaar was open for all communities. They had so far held 30 weekly bazaars at Marvadi Vidyalaya Hall and were all patronised by the public. He appealed to the public to continue their patronage and to support the bazaar by making purchases.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai observed in his speech that the spirit of Swadeshi was universal and in India, thanks to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi the stage when they needed speeches in support of Swadeshi had passed. The one problem before the nations of the world today was how to relieve unemployment and to feed the hungry mouths of their millions. In India the Swadeshi movement was founded to solve that problem. India did not want to exploit others by becoming rich. She was anxious to feed her hungry millions and to save them from starvation. That was the teaching of Gandhiji. The Swadeshi movement in India was more of a humanitarian nature than anything else. There was no unfair competition, or any malice against any other country.

There was a time when we were taught in our colleges that it was economy to buy the cheapest articles irrespective of the country where it was manufactured. But the very people who taught us that doctrine have now revised their opinion and are carrying on a vigorous campaign to induce their countrymen to buy things made in their own country even if they were dearer than similar articles from foreign countries. India also must follow that method.

So long Indians were importing 64 crores of rupees worth of cloth every year. They imported 11 crores worth matches. The imports of an ordinary article like bangles amounted to three crores. They never realised the ruinous effect of that policy. India was a country self-sufficient in respect of every raw material and there was no reason why she should not produce all her requirements at home. It was estimated that on an average raw material worth a rupee imported from India was sent back to this country in the shape of a finished article and then Indians paid Rs. 11 for the same article. He asked if it was not a folly to allow that state of affairs to continue.

Proceeding the speaker stressed the need of a radical change in the mentality of the people. He wanted them to learn to respect their own countrymen and to foster a brotherly feeling among them and to treat the poor people with respect. Indians were being treated shabbily by other people because they treated poorer classes in their own country with contempt. The speaker wanted every Indian to take a vow of Swadeshi and said that he believed that if they did it, all their problems would be easily solved.

Concluding the speaker added that in declaring the bazaar open he was merely doing a formal duty. It was really for the public to lend their active support to the movement by resolving to buy nothing but Swadeshi in future.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

16th May 1932 (Extract).

TRIUMPH AT WADALA.—To the brave citizens of Bombay, to the gallant band of volunteers and to the members of the Emergency Council who gave them such an intrepid lead we tender our respectful congratulations on their triumph on the salt pans at Wadala. After a short and impressive prayer Sardar Pratap Singh bearing a huge standard marched with his followers each carrying a flag. They made a dash across the maidan, crossed the ditch and before the police could come the residents and about a score of the volunteers broke through the barbed wire fencing and were in the pans picketing the salt. The outwitted Police ran hither and thither and the stalwart Sardar himself waving his huge banner and raising the *Jaikars* led the Police a pretty dance through the pans. After a quarter of an hour's chase they were all put under arrest and marched off. The Sergeants having been unable to prevent the raid vented their wrath on the volunteers whom they were able to hold up at the fence. These victims of the Police fury were very severely assaulted with batons and buttends and over a dozen sustained injuries. The public who had been watching the progress of the raid and had been echoing enthusiastically the *Jaikars* of the volunteers now began entering the pans and removing salt. The police chased them off now and then but they returned back and again. And illicit salt was distributed at the village and later in the day at Bombay.

When their law has been broken and their salt pans have been raided Government are trying to protect their tattered prestige by shameless lying. Long before the raid the hack in the Secretariat seems to have been asked to be ready with his cocked up report and last evening it was released to the press. It consists of some 800 words all to describe a fiasco. Leaving aside its usual lies we wish to challenge it on two definite points. Did or did not the Police subject the volunteers who were held up at the fence to cruel and merciless assaults? Did or did not the public between 9-40 a.m. and 10-30 a.m. enter the fields and carry away salt? Sir Patrik Kelly was present on the scene. We cite him for our witness. If his testimony is inadequate we shall furnish further proofs.

Meanwhile there is another interesting discovery. The "fiasco communique" which appeared under the seal of the Director of Information last evening appears in a rehashed form in this morning's *Times of India* as its own report. Not only is it a rehash but sentences and paragraphs occur verbatim. Between the official propagandist in the Secretariat and the penny-a-liner in Bori Bunder we are puzzled as to who is who? Has Mr. Gennings, to make up for retrenched salary taken to the honourable profession of reporting to newspapers accounts of happenings he had not seen? Or have Government in these days of deficit thought it better to employ the *Times of India's* penny-a-liner as their Director of Information? All that the public know is that there are two lies and only one liar.

CONGRESS PROGRAMME AND HOOLIGAN OUTBREAK.—For two days now parts of the city have been in the grip of the hooligans. By months of sedulous propaganda and subtle as well as open incitements he has inflamed mob passion and

on Saturday he struck. Innocent lives have been lost and looting and arson have followed on the track of murder. And on behalf of police who have through deliberate callousness or self-imposed inefficiency have let the situation slip out of their hand it is contended that Congress activities have hampered the police from restoring peace. The plea is as lame as the insinuation is wicked. Still to give the police as free hand as they may desire the Emergency Council have decided to adjust Congress activities in such a manner as not to there additional burden on the police. There will be no question of suspension. But long as the virulence of the hooligan outbreak lasts Congress programme will eschew aggressive law-breaking activities. Meanwhile the Emergency Council appeals to all elements of peace to mobilize quickly all panic and foil the hooligan.

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Congress Bulletin

12th June 1932 (Extract).

RESULTS OF FOREST SATYAGRAHA.— In the last Civil Disobedience Campaign large sections of the rural population in the Konkan, Karnatak, Maharashtra and Khandesh learnt their first lessons in organised civil resistance to antisocial laws during the forest satyagraha in these parts of the Bombay Presidency. The aim of this satyagraha was to establish their inherent right of the agricultural population to the free use of finest areas in their vicinity and to register a most effective form of protest against oppressive forest laws and unconscionable forest dues. To seek a reduction of Government's revenue from the forests was not the direct aim of the organisers of this form of satyagraha, but actually the revenue did fall considerably as will be seen from the following :—

<u>Year</u>	<u>Gross Revenue</u>	<u>Net Surplus</u>
1929-30	Rs. 79,73,000	Rs. 36,63,000
1930-31	Rs. 52,24,000	Rs. 9,78,000

These figures indicate the extent to which the civil breach of forest laws proceeded and influenced the course of forest administration. The vigorous prosecution of this campaign naturally had its influence on the minds of contractors and traders dealing in forest produce who were disinclined to offer bids for a business which they saw was being objected to by the rural community and for the establishment of the communal rights over which hundreds of simple, unsophisticated agriculturists were willing to face the rigour of imprisonment in jails or to be mulcted in the shape of heavy fines. This aspect of the campaign naturally is ignored by Government who as is nowadays their wont, hold the Congress responsible for what they call a first class disaster for the forest of the Presidency. The people's protest is against the costliness and inefficiency of the present system of forest administration which involves a ruinous expenditure on the superior staff, equally even before the abnormal season of 1930-31 the net surplus earned for the tax payer. The report in which Government

malign the Congress and its activities, does not show any increased tendency towards disorder or lawlessness or indiscipline. On the contrary, the following figures show that the Congress campaign was carried on in a truly non-violent spirit and while the mass agitation continued no undesirable tendency towards mischief manifested itself :—

Year	Forest Fires	Tilling or Removal of Forest Produce	Forest Offences
1929-30	2,107	10,930	21,530
1930-31	2,124	9,495	20,294

That so great a success was registered in difficult circumstances without arousing any evil passions for mischief or illicit gains, is an achievement in which the leaders of forest satyagraha throughout the Presidency as well as the population concerned may well congratulate themselves.

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Kelly to Clee

No. 3535/H/3717.

23rd June 1932.

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East India Cotton Association.—As previously notified, the extraordinary general meeting of the East India Cotton Association Ltd., was held on the 22nd instant in the Board room of the Exchange, Sewri, for the purpose of considering the present situation in the cotton trade. The meeting was private. About 75 persons were present. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas presided. He opened the proceedings taking credit for various steps taken by the Board of the East India Cotton Association to meet the conditions in the Cotton Market arising from three days hartal and boycott of certain firms. One Jagjiwan Ujamsey, apparently working on behalf of Jiva Pratap, opposed Sir Purshottamdas's remarks about doing every thing to meet the conditions in the market arising from constant hartals and boycott of certain firms. He charged Sir Purshottamdas for his failure to take the lead in putting down constant hartals and boycott of certain firms. These remarks were resented by Sir Purshottamdas and his friends present at the meeting. Jagjiwan Ujamsey being an illiterate and succumbed to the opposition and did not press his point further. He was not supported by many. The attitude of the European members present was certainly deplorable. They did not either stand by Jagjiwan Ujamsey or make any criticism of existing conditions. Mr. C. P. Bramble of the Bombay Company moved the following resolution :—

"The present meeting deplores the present abnormal situation in the trade and is of opinion that every individual member should take active steps to promote normal working in the cotton trade."

An amendment to this resolution was moved by Jagjivan Dossabhoy which was accepted by Mr. Bramble. The amended resolution passed runs as follows:--

"The present meeting is of the opinion that every individual member should take active steps to promote normal working in the cotton trade".

It was apparent that the European members and some of their friends present there were not out for a fight. There was an attempt on behalf of the Congress to postpone the whole issue till the middle of July. One Kishan Prasad spoke on behalf of the Congress but he was also not seriously supported. The result of the meeting was a sort of a success for Sir Purshottandas Thakurdas.

Bombay Congress Bulletin

1st July 1932 (Extract).

MULJI JETHA BECOMES SWADESHI.—The turn of events at Mulji Jetha Market has in no way surprised us. Only day before yesterday we pointed out that the Commissioner's order was only another reminder to the people that the foreigner is still out to force his merchandise upon us with the stroke of the lathi or the thrust of the bayonet. The Commissioner besieged by his own Ordinances and orders is not in a position to judge accurately the temper of the people and their attitude towards foreign cloth. But the dealer in foreign cloth will never forget the bitter lesson he has learnt in trying to sell his detested goods under police protection. The police party came to the Mulji Jetha Market yesterday to watch with malicious glee the departure of Swadeshi merchants from the Market. But to their utter disappointment they found the foreign goods merchants striking away with their possessions. The dealers know very well that with Congress pickets standing at the door no Indian would enter their shops. So the Police Commissioner's order was obeyed, the barricades were removed and the biggest foreign cloth market in India was turned into a pure Swadeshi Market.

As to the fate awaiting the goods we need not speculate. God will see to it. Large stocks of foreign cloth distributed by the merchants of Mulji Jetha and Mangaldas Markets to the shopkeepers of Pydhonie, Bhendy Bazaar, etc. were destroyed by rioters a few days ago. God has an uncanny way of upsetting the calculations of the cleverest rogues.

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Times of India

18th July 1932 (Extract).

COTTON MARKET TO OPEN FIVE DAYS A WEEK.—The Bombay cotton market will be open in future for five days in the week as against three days as at present.

The alteration has been effected by the Cotton Brokers' Association, an extraordinary general meeting of which was held on Saturday afternoon, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jagjivan Dossabhoy, vice-president of the Association.

The question of lifting the ban on some brokers firms at the instance of Congressmen was also raised at the meeting, but no decision was reached on the subject.

The meeting resolved: "This meeting protests against the continued internment of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues and against the continuance of Ordinances inasmuch as they prolong a feeling of nervousness, insecurity and instability in the country".

"This Association, in view of the extremely depressed condition of the cotton trade with a view to safeguard the best interests of the cotton merchants and growers, resolves that trading days should be five days in the week, instead of three as at present"

"This Association hereby invests the managing committee with plenary powers to take such action in the interests of the trade as they might think proper".

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Secretary, Chamber of Commerce to Freke, Secretary to Govt. of Bombay

No. 1970/71 of 1932.

Bombay, 6th August 1932.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 18th, ultimo intimating that in case the present disorganisation of the Bombay Cotton Market should continue or recur Government should be empowered, in the interest of both bona fide traders and dealers in Bombay and the growers of cotton throughout India to interfere and improve the regulation of the market in such a way as to secure free trading and to minimise outside interference. The views of the chamber are requested on a Bill which it is proposed to present to the Legislative Council in September.

It is further explained that as a basis for continuing the recognition of the East India Cotton Association, or recognising any other institutions in its place, Government would require that it shall own and be in sole control of its markets and that it shall have three representatives of the growers of cotton on the Board of Directors. In this connection it is observed that Clause 4 (4) recognises the East India Cotton Association Limited., and approves its by-laws and it does not appear that any provision is made for the Association altering its by-laws to give effect to Government's intention that three representatives of the growers of cotton shall be included on the Board of Directors.

In consultation with a Special Sub-Committee of the Chamber my Committee have examined in detail the differences between the old and the new Act with a view to discovering what the result of such differences will be if the new Act is brought into force. My Committee have applied the following tests to all of the proposed changes :—

(a) Whether the new Act will enable the cotton trade to function freely without hindrance to those who are principally concerned in it viz, the sellers (or growers) and the buyers (consumers-millowners or exporters).

(b) Whether in the light of recent events the new Act provides sufficient protection against interference with those who have a stake in the trade by those who have not.

Objections to the Bill will doubtless be made on the grounds that it renders possible at any time interference by Government in the cotton trade and provides for the control of the trade by Government under certain conditions. While agreeing generally with the principle that Government interference with trade is undesirable, my Committee, as they pointed out in their letter to Government of 4th May, are of opinion that conditions in the cotton trade in Bombay for sometime past have been such that this principle does not apply in this instance ; further that it is essential for the safeguarding of the interests of an important section of the trade, both Indian, British and foreign, that the provision contemplated in Sections 9 and 10 should be made. My Committee note that no period is specified during which the Bill will be in force and this has their strong approval as they consider that the powers to be taken should be kept permanently in reserve to prevent a recurrence of the present state of affairs.

Further objection may be made to the Bill on the grounds that it enables more than one association to be recognised, although this is not necessarily contemplated. My Committee see no objection to this : on the contrary, they consider that the proper conduct of the trade by the East India Cotton Association in the interests of all its members is more likely to be ensured by the possibility of the withdrawal of recognition or the granting of recognition to another Association, and the necessity for the introduction of a Board of Control will thereby be rendered more remote.

In my Committee's opinion there are no clauses in the Bill which need cause any anxiety to cotton growers or traders who are willing to trade honestly and freely. They have the following criticisms and suggestions to make on the drafting of certain of the clauses.

Clause 3 (e) My Committee have two points to raise in connection with this definition. In the first place, it is understood that the word " transaction " has no legal significance and it appears to be too wide a term. It might for instance include a pledge of cotton to a bank. It is suggested that the words " contract for the purchase or sale of cotton " should be substituted.

In the second place, if the words " entered into " mean " made " the place of acceptance of a contract is all important since a Madras case (No. 27 Madras 355) makes it quite clear that a contract is made in the place of acceptance. Therefore,

while an acceptance sent by telegram or letter from Bombay would be a transaction entered into in Bombay, an acceptance sent by telegram or letter from upcountry would not be a transaction entered into in Bombay. My Committee feels that it is not Government's intention that the Act should apply in one case and not in the other. Further, it is probable that, if a contract was held to be void under the Bombay Act it would also be held to be void by Courts in other parts of India. It is highly important to ensure that contracts made out of Bombay should not become void under the present Act. With this object my Committee suggests omitting the words "entered into or carried out" and substituting the words "for delivery". If the above suggestions are accepted the Sub-Clause would read.

"Contract" means a contract for the purchase or sale of cotton for delivery in whole or in part in Bombay except such as the Governor in Council may, by notification in the Bombay Government Gazette, declare to be excluded from the provisions of this Act.

Clause 3 (g)—It is suggested that the words "in Bombay" should be inserted after the word "Cotton".

Clause 3 (h)—For the same reasons that apply in the case of Sub-clause (e) it is suggested that the definition be altered as follows :

"Option in cotton" means a contract for delivery in whole or in part in Bombay for the purchase or sale of a right to buy, or a right to sell, or a right to buy or sell cotton in future, and includes a *teji*, a *mandi* or a *teji-mandi* in cotton.

Clause 3 (i)—In order to clarify the meaning of the word "Immediate" it is suggested that the definition be altered as follows :

"Ready contract" means a contract made or to be carried out in Bombay in accordance with the by-laws of the recognised Cotton Associations governing "Ready contracts".

Clause 6 (3)—As it stands this clause would appear to refer to by-laws made under Clause 6 (1) and might not cover the original by-laws made under Clause 4. To remove any doubt it is suggested that it should be altered to read.

"If any person committing a breach of any by-law of a recognised Association is a company, every director and officer of such company shall also be deemed to have committed such breach, unless he proves that the breach was committed without his knowledge and control".

Clause 8 (1)—My Committee have had the benefit of legal advice in studying this clause and they apprehend that a difficulty may arise here inasmuch as under Indian law a contract is not void. The difference between a contract and an agreement is explained in the interpretation clause 2 of the Indian Contract Act, viz.

An agreement not enforceable by law is said to be void.

An agreement enforceable by law is a contract.

An agreement which is enforceable by law at the option of one or more of the parties thereto, but not at the option of the others, is a voidable contract.

A contract which ceases to be enforceable by law becomes void when it ceases to be enforceable.

Thus an agreement which is void and therefore not enforceable by law can never become a contract because once it is a contract it is enforceable by law. It is true that a contract may become void later e. g. when it has become impossible of performance or its performance has become illegal, but that is a different matter. What the Bill tries to say as my committee understand it, is not that the contract shall become void at a later date because it is declared void, but that it is void at once, that is to say that it never becomes a contract. Section 57 of the Indian Contract Act shows when a contract can become void and also the difference again between an agreement which is void and a contract which will become void. It is suggested therefore that the word "agreement" be substituted for "contract". My Committee put forward the following amended draft of this Sub-clause for Government's consideration.

Save as hereinafter provided in this Act, any agreement purporting to be a contract or a forward contract or an option in cotton or a ready contract as defined in clause 3 (e), (g), (h) and (i) (whether either party thereto is a member of a recognised cotton association or not) which is entered into after the date on which this Act comes into operation and which is not in accordance with the by-laws of any recognised cotton association, shall be void.

Clause 8 (2)—A consequential amendment would be the substitution of "agreement" for "contract".

Clause 9 (1)—It is suggested that the words "in order to secure free trading in the market and to prevent obstruction thereto and interference therewith" should be omitted as unduly restrictive of the discretion of the Governor in Council.

In connection with this clause I am to point out that, while up to this point the Act provides for the recognition of more than one Association, in this clause and those that follow it appears to be assumed that only one Association has been in existence. It might be necessary to supersede more than one Board of Directors and it is suggested that it might therefore be advisable to alter the wording to "any Board or Boards", "such Board or Boards", etc.

Similarly in sub-clauses (6), (7) and (8) it may be necessary to alter "the recognised cotton association" to "any recognised cotton association".

Clause 10 (1), (2) and (3)—It is suggested that this clause should be amended on the lines suggested in clause 8 (1) and (2).

Clause 12 (1)—It is presumed that "this Act" means the Act of 1922, in which case "the said Act" would be clearer.

Times of India

8th August 1932 (Extract).

Cotton Contracts Bill.—The Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association, at a general meeting held on Saturday, expressed itself against the Cotton Contracts Bill proposed to be introduced in the ensuing session of the Bombay Legislative Council. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Jagjivandas Dossabhoy, vice-president, and was attended by over 100 Indian Members.

Mr. Prataprai Manmohandas moved and Mr. Jawaharlal Ramlal seconded the following resolution :

“The Association resolves that the proposed Cotton Contracts Bill is unacceptable to them, firstly because as a matter of sound principle of commerce, Government intervention or control is always undesirable ; secondly because the Bill provides to give the Government the most drastic and alarming powers of unheard of nature e. g., setting up a nominated Board with extraordinary powers, in supercession of the elected Board a step amounting to complete negation of all democratic principles and ; thirdly because in the said Bill there is no provision of unitary control of the trade which is so much essential in the best interests of the merchants and growers ”.

“It is the considered opinion of this Association that the best and happiest solution of the present difficulty is to leave the matter, which is only of a temporary nature and of outside influence, entirely into the hands of the trade itself, in which there exists mutual goodwill and an earnest desire to restore as soon as possible normal conditions which are partially restored, and for the practical and complete restoration of which efforts will be continued ”.

Mr. Tibriwalla and Adukia, the resolution was carried.

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Secretary, Chamber of Commerce to Haig ¹

No. 2030/71.

11th August 1932.

When I was in Simla a few weeks ago I spoke to you about the situation in the cotton market in Bombay and mentioned that the Government of Bombay were contemplating introducing legislation to enable them to take over control of the market in the event of the East India Cotton Association failing to prevent interference with free trading. The text of a Bill which is to be introduced during the Poona session next month has now been circulated for opinion to the leading commercial bodies in Bombay. All of them with the exception of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, have declared themselves opposed to the Bill and their protests have been published in the press. The Committee of the Chamber after consulting a special Sub-Committee decided to support the Bill subject to criticism of the details of some of the clauses.

Amongst the bodies which have opposed the Bill was the Indian Central Cotton Committee, on which most unfortunately the Chamber was not represented at the recent full meeting in Bombay, Sir Joseph Kay, our representative, being absent

¹M. H. Haig, Home Member, Government of India.

on leave. It so happened that the Karachi and Tuticorin Chambers were also unrepresented nor were any British trade representatives present at all. The only speaker on the subject of the Bill was Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas. No one spoke in favour of the Bill and the Government and British trade points of view were not put forward by anyone. In fact I understand that one Director of Agriculture said that the majority of the members were not even aware that there was any boycott in the cotton trade at all. In the event the Indian Central Cotton Committee passed a resolution condemning that portion of the Bill which deals with the Board of Control.

You will say that it was very remiss of British trade interests not to see that their point of view was put forward in the Indian Central Cotton Committee and I must admit we cannot be absolved of all blame.

The object of this letter is to warn you that in view of the unrepresentative nature of the Indian Central Cotton Committee on this occasion the usual importance should not be attached to the resolution which they passed. There is in fact a large body of non-vocal opinion in Bombay, by no means confined to Europeans, that would welcome the Bill as a most salutary measure which is necessary to put an end to the present intolerable state of affairs.

As the Commerce Department is probably more directly concerned in this matter than you are, I am sending a copy of this letter to Drake.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

2nd January 1933 (Extract).

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Who is the Lier—Mathuradas Vissonji or Hoare.—The British Government's statement in the House of Commons that the British Cotton Brokers of Bombay came to terms with the Congress in spite of the Government's strong disapproval and protest throws considerable new light on the subject and suggest some significant conclusions.

The outstanding disclosure is that the British Brokers considered the Cotton Contracts Bill to be a slender reed on which to rely for support and realised at long last that only by obtaining the license of the Congress could they carry on business in Bombay. That is a lesson which Drennan and Co., had evidently only half learnt and which they are now having plenty of time to take to heart. The disclosure in the Commons is a wonderful tribute to the power of the Congress, the splendid loyalty of the bulk of the Cotton trade and the importance of the Government of Bombay to protect their own nationals, the Britishers. It shows how baseless were the fears of certain "big" members of the trade that the Cotton Bill would or could destroy the boycott. The British Brokers evidently knew better.

The other result of the Government's disclosure is to confirm our charge against Seth Mathuradas Vissonji and the other negotiators that they gave assurances on behalf of the Government which they must have known would not be implemented. That is a grave charge challenging the very honesty of these gentlemen. What have Mathuradas Vissonji and his co-negotiators, Indian and British, to say for themselves? Are they prepared to admit that the promises of release of cotton merchants they hold out on behalf of the Government were false to their knowledge? Or are they prepared to come forward and give the lie direct to Hoare? If these gentlemen were honest, the only conclusion would be that the Government of Bombay were parties to the settlement and that Hoare is lying to save the prestige of the British Raj. Let Mathuradas Vissonji and his colleagues say so or the public and the cotton merchants will know what weight to attach to their word in future.

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Bombay Congress Bulletin

5th Jan. 1933 (Extract).

A Red Letter Day.—It was a sight for the Gods. Twelve months of ruthless repression have left deep traces on the people and yesterday, the day of the first anniversary of the movement for freedom will remain a red letter day in the annals of our country. It was a fearless and indisputable demonstration of the power the influence and the supreme authority of the Congress. Thousands come to witness the inauguration of another year of relentless defiance to the foreign Government whose boast of crushing the Congress in six weeks has mingled with the dust. The people today are more determined than ever to send the Government to its grave, and if necessary perish in the attempt. Our movement of truth and non-violence has isolated the brute in the foreigner from his hypocrisy and so called civilisation and has laid bare before the people the horror of foreign despotism in all its nakedness. Today the people do not ask for peace but for war. That shows what strength lies hidden in the Congress, ready to be used at a moment's call. Yesterday the people demonstrated and renewed in unmistakable manner their allegiance to the Congress authority. Lathis, bullets, arson, murder, the most inhuman type of tortures have not deterred the people. In fact, it has hardened them and made them better fighters. The forces of revolution today are more trained and disciplined than ever before, and in this fight to finish the daily increase of Congress strength is routing the Government on every front.

Mr. Masani's Message.—The following message of Mr. M. R. Masani, President, Emergency Council, was broadcast yesterday night from the Congress wireless station.

"Citizens, today marks the end of one year of struggle and the beginning of another. It is an honour I deeply cherish to be able to inaugurate the second year of the fight. As a Parsi I am proud to follow in the footsteps of Sjt. K. F. Nariman who on the 4th January 1932, led the city as the president of the first Emergency Council. This will give the lie to those Government henchmen who insult the Parsis by alleging that they are not behind this great movement of Indian freedom".

"I want to say one parting word. Nobody is indispensable to this movement of ours. Our comrades who have been behind prison bars all last year are now emerging and will throw themselves once again into the fray. It behoves each one of us, therefore to carry out the mandate of Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Acting President of the Congress only specified and selected Congressmen should devote themselves to anti-untouchability work by permission of the local Congress organisation. By the 26th January 1933 Independence Day, every Congressman and Congresswoman who pines for freedom should be behind prison bars".

"The All India Anti-Untouchability League has been established and is being run mainly by non-Congressmen. It is only allowable for Congressmen or Congresswomen to work in that organisation where a particular need for them arises and the local Congress organisation deputed for such a purpose. Those, however, who have not been specifically deputed for anti-untouchability work must devote themselves to civil disobedience alone."

"I appeal to the citizens of Bombay to see that by Independence Day the instructions of Babu Rajendra Prasad are carried out. At this juncture the only course for a Congressman or Congresswoman to take is the path to prison"

Bombay Congress Bulletin

13th April 1933 (Extract).

ETERNAL MENACE.—The Bombay administration Report for the last year issued on the 11th April is a fresh testimony to the success of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The report frankly admits that the year was one of the most disappointing the Presidency had ever from the administrative standpoint.

In the official survey of the situation and past year's history we find the same tale recounted from cover to cover. Almost every department of the Government was hit to a greater or less degree by the Civil Disobedience movement. The Department of Excise, Income Tax and Forests suffered heavily in their income. Out of these the most severe effect was felt in the Income Tax department in which as the report says the fall was phenomenal, business was dislocated, hartals were frequent and protracted. The Congress absolutely dominated the important markets and business centres such as the Mulji Jetha Market, the Stock Exchange, Bullion Exchange and Cotton Exchange. In spite of the intervention of the Police Commissioner and his persuasions and threats, the dealers in the biggest foreign cloth centre in Bombay were ousted by the silent pressure of the Congress movement. Though the rate of the income tax was increased by 50 p.c., the total collection of both the income tax and the super tax declined by more than two hundred thousand rupees. In the forest department it was impossible to collect even the normal revenues. The report admits that almost every revenue-producing department of the Government was affected to greater or less degree by the Civil Disobedience Movement, which on the other hand necessitated increased expenditure by such departments as police and jails. The adverse effect of this was seen in worsening of revenues which declined by 73 lacs and the total deficit was estimated at one crore eleven lacs.

No government is ever honest and this is no exception to the rule. While explaining the events which led up to the promulgation of the ordinances, the report says that the preparation of the Congress had reached a stage at which orderly government was seriously menaced. The return of Mr. Gandhi to India was a signal for the resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement. It was because, the government realised the gravity of the situation and took immediate steps to equip themselves with the necessary powers to meet the challenge and to cope with a movement with which the ordinary law was not capable of dealing.

This is sheer bunkum. Every one knows that the Ordinances were not the work of a day or few days. The government had forged these weapons ahead and the list of the Congress workers and leaders who were to be clapped in jail on the first day of the general round up were ready long ago. Benthal's letter makes it as clear as possible and the lie has been nailed to the counter times without number.

The government believes that the vigorous offensive and the steady pressure maintained against every form of Congress activities has brought the movement well under control. What that phrase means the writer of the report alone knows. The government feels the pressure of the movement even after 15 months. What were once emergency measures have become the ordinary law. Continuance of abnormal situations does not make them normal. In fact, the report admits the potentialities of the movement whose outward spectacular demonstrativeness has not been repressed but replaced by a regular, better organised and silent defiance which, even the government fears, would break out afresh if the grip of the Ordinance laws were relaxed.

The menace will always be there till the Congress achieves its goal of complete Independence.

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Kelly to Maxwell

No. 3007/H/3717.

Bombay, 19th June 1933.

In continuation of my Confidential D. O. letter No. 2987/H/3717, dated the 17th June 1933.

There was no Congress activity in the city on the 17th and 18th June 1933.

Suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement.—According to the statement in the press issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, Acting President of the Congress, the period of suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement has been extended to the 31st July 1933.

Arrest of Purshottam Trikamdas.— I had a special Branch Officer to locate Dr. Bhasker Patel and Purshottamdas Trikamdas, who were reported to be at Poona. My man pointed out Purshottamdas Trikamdas to the Poona Police who arrested him and sent him to Bombay.

On questioning him he admits that some time after his release from jail he did take part in the Civil Disobedience Movement, but that he has done nothing since the movement was suspended and has no intention of doing anything as long as the suspension lasts; he says however that if the Congress decides to resume Civil Disobedience, he will again take part openly and court arrest.

In the circumstances as the movement is suspended and as I believe him when he says he has done nothing since the suspension and does not intend to during the period of suspension, I released him. Dr. Bhasker Patel has not been arrested yet.

I had also written to the Poona C. I. D., and the Superintendent of Police, Poona, to arrest Girdharilal Kirpalani, an active All-India Congress Worker. He has been arrested at Poona.

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A New Programme of Action : Civil Disobedience

The Free Press Journal, 12th July 1933.

On the eve of the momentous conference of the Congress leaders at Poona on Wednesday a joint manifesto has been issued under the signatures of Miss Maniben Kara, Purshottam Trikamdas, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and several others urging the calling off the C. D. movement and orientation of a new policy for carrying on the struggle for Indian freedom.

The manifesto is reproduced below :—

A deadlock has been reached in our struggle for freedom. The Civil Disobedience movement has obviously failed, even in its immediate objective of extorting a few concessions from the Government. It failed not because of any moral or metaphysical reasons but because of the conditions under which it was started and the limitations which were imposed upon it. The C. D. movement was precipitated without preparing the masses to meet the organised forces of the Government, and by its failure to link, up to struggle for freedom with the economic struggle of the exploited masses the movement isolated itself from the fountainhead of dynamic mass energy. A movement started and conducted under such circumstances was foredoomed to failure. The popular forces have been checkmated by the superior forces of the Government. There is no harm in admitting a defeat when we do so with the determination of turning it into a victory. It will be suicidal to deceive ourselves about the realities of the situation by talking glibly about moral victories and metaphysical virtues. The C. D. movement, instead of becoming a potent weapon in the struggle for freedom, has degenerated into a futile and meaningless demonstration. It should, therefore, be immediately called off.

No cessation of struggle.—The calling of the C. D. movement will not mean the cessation of our struggle for independence. The struggle will continue unabated as long as freedom is not achieved. It is necessary to clarify the issues by stating clearly what we mean by freedom. By freedom we mean the complete elimination of foreign domination and not a few concessions made to the native upper classes by British imperialism to consolidate its rule. Such freedom can come only as a result of a relentless struggle against imperialism carried on by the Indian masses. The task of the moment, therefore, is to organise and co-ordinate this anti-imperialist struggle of Indian masses. This can be done only by supporting and actively participating in the struggles of the toiling masses for the realisation of their immediate and pressing economic and political demands. The struggle for independence must be fought on all those fronts and necessary steps will have to be taken for organising and mobilising the workers and peasants in their respective class organisations.

But, apart from all those methods of struggle, which we do not propose to neglect, we suggest, as a complement to the general mass organisation in the country, the utilisation of the Council for purposes of agitation and propaganda.

Whatever the scheme of reforms be, it would no doubt be worthless as any scheme prepared with the sanction of the British parliament is bound to be. But whether we want those reforms or not, they are going to be foisted upon us. A merely negative attitude about the coming reforms will not be helpful in our struggle for independence. The boycott of legislatures by Congressmen will only facilitate the Government's object of packing the legislatures with own henchmen. It will be suicidal on our part to allow these positions of possible vantage to be captured by the enemies of our country's freedom.

We suggest going into the legislatures neither to work the reforms nor to liquidate our struggle for freedom. We should go there only with the intention of broadening and deepening our struggle and for utilising the legislatures as platforms for agitation and propaganda. The electoral campaign will afford us an opportunity of carrying on a countrywide agitation on concrete issues. The efforts of that agitation will be crystallised in local organisations to be linked up nationally in course of time. Our activities inside the Councils will bring into sharp relief the antagonism between the state entrenched behind "safeguards and reservations" and the popular will and well-being. Our work in the Councils will always be a continuation of our struggle outside for the wider issues of independence and the more concrete issues of the immediate demands of the exploited masses. Our electoral and Council activities will thus form an integral part of our struggle for independence.

Main planks.—But we must fight the election and work in the Councils on the basis of a definite programme embodying the immediate pressing demands of the overwhelming majority of the electorate. Provisionally we suggest that the following should be the main plank of the programme :—

- (1) 30 per cent reduction in land rent of tax payable to the landlord or Government,
- (2) Proportionate reduction of other local charges,
- (3) Legislation to fix the maximum rent of revenue and to ensure the peasants the possession of the land.

- (4) Reduction in the rate of interest,
- (5) Annulment of agricultural indebtedness where the principal with 6 per cent interest had been paid off,
- (6) Agricultural banks subsidised by Government to provide peasants with cheap credit,
- (7) Reduction of indirect taxes that weigh heavily on the consuming masses,
- (8) Minimum wage, 8 hours day, unemployment insurance etc., for the workers,
- (9) Free and compulsory primary education,
- (10) Freedom of press, speech, association etc.

We appeal to the rank and file of the Congress to give their best thought to those suggestions. The C. D. movement has been suspended twice. But mere suspension does not improve matters in the least. It is one more piece of evidence of the inability of the Congress leadership to grasp the realities of the situation and of their incapacity to give a clear lead to the country. The rank and file of the Congress must, therefore, assert itself and give a new orientation to our struggle for freedom. We appeal to them immediately to call off the C.D. movement and to adopt the positive programme of contesting the Council elections on the platform mentioned above as one of the methods of our struggle. This we are convinced, is the best way of furthering and intensifying our struggle.

We might re-emphasise here that we are not expecting much from the work inside the Councils. The real work, viz., the organisation of the peasants and the workers to carry on the struggle for freedom, lies outside. It is on our ability to do this latter that we shall be and want to be judged.

The manifesto is signed by Miss Maniben Kara and Messrs Purshottam Trikandas, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Sardar Jamiat Singh, Abdul Majid Hakim, S. D. Palekar, S. D. Thakur, G. B. Mahashabde, K. T. Suwle (Sule), Kamlashankar Pandya, C. S. Joshi, K. Mukherji, V. K. Tawade V. B. Karnik, A. N. Shetty, Abdul Majid, Mr. Siddiq, G. R. Inamdar, Mahmud Siddiq, R. B. Taldevkar, Y. K. Kondivkar, R. V. Mehta, Sitaram J. Sharma, Mahmud Ibrahim, Nurmahomed Vallibhoy, S. Mahmud Kazi, Yusuf Meherally and Dr. R. K. Gawande.

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Statement of M. S. Aney, Acting Congress President

22nd July 1933.

Having considered very carefully the recommendations of the Informal Conference recently held in Poona and the discussions among Congressmen in the Conference and outside and the advice tendered by Mahatma Gandhi, I have come to the conclusion

that the best interests of the country would be served by the following instructions being carried out :—

(1) The campaign of Civil Disobedience should not be unconditionally withdrawn in the existing circumstances.

(2) Mass Civil Disobedience including No-Tax and No-Rent campaign should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities to continue Civil Disobedience being reserved.

(3) All those who are able and willing to offer individual Civil Disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress Organisations are expected to do so.

(4) Secret methods such as have been followed hitherto should be abandoned.

(5) All Congress Organisations including the office of the A. I. C. C. should cease to exist for the time being provided however that wherever possible the line of dictators in the provinces and all India Dictators should continue.

(6) All Congressmen who are unable for any reason whatsoever to offer Civil Resistance are expected to carry on individually or corporately such constructive activities of the Congress for which they are fitted.

I hereby appoint Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram as my successor on my being imprisoned.

I regret it has not been possible to call off the movement and it has become necessary for me to issue these instructions. I share with many others, whether Congressmen or others, my disappointment that the every simple request of Mahatma Gandhi unaccompanied by any conditions for an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in order to explore possibilities of peace was summarily rejected. His Excellency very wrongly allowed himself to be influenced by the unauthorised reports of confidential proceedings of an informal conference which for the sake of furthering peace efforts were purposely held back from publication. His Excellency should have known that at that conference there was an overwhelming opinion in favour of seeking such an interview and therefore for an honourable peace. I hold it to impossible for any Congress organisation or its representative to accept the terms peremptorily laid down by His Excellency as a condition precedent to any conversation for peace. I hope that the nation will compel a revision of this attitude by developing the requisite strength at whatever cost it may be.

In spite of these instructions it should be borne in mind that the suspension of the Campaign upto the end of this month stands.

Nagpur :

Dated 22nd July 1933.

—M. S. Aney.

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PART-II

POLICE ABSTRACTS OF INTELLIGENCE

BOMBAY POLICE ABSTRACTS
AND
C. P. POLICE ABSTRACTS

PART-II

Police Abstracts of Intelligence

This part of the Volume contains the matter culled from the Bombay Presidency Police Secret Abstracts of Intelligence and the Central Provinces and Berar Police Secret Abstracts of Intelligence. In the nature of things these Abstracts of Intelligence are yet secret and not accessible to students of History or research scholars. They are, probably, the most authentic documents which were originally got prepared for helping the framing of policy and execution of measures for maintaining law and order by the alien British Government. It can by no stretch of imagination be said that everything that is mentioned in these Abstracts is true. As a matter of fact, in the course of getting the material this Editor found that several observations made and assessment of the events done by the Police authorities in these Abstracts are not borne out by facts and truth about the events. It has, therefore, been incumbent upon the Editor to record his own observations in the Notes and Footnotes.

It should, however, be acknowledged that these documents are quite trustworthy for studying the history of freedom struggle.

The Police reports mention the names and activities of innumerable local leaders and activists, who participated in the freedom struggle. It has been necessary that very brief notes about their role in the national struggle should be furnished. Such an effort has been done in footnotes, within the constraints of available space. The users of this Volume, it is believed, will find the footnotes very useful.

—Editor.

HCP—352-B-17

Secret

No. 9.

No. 40 of 1930.

Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

Poona, Saturday, October 4, 1930

Political, Politico-religious and Racial Movement

1748. S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, Sept. 27.

Civil disobedience Movement, Bombay Presidency : General Summary of—

Agitation on the whole appears to be decreasing in the North, and continues to be of some importance in the South. Districts which appear to show comparatively little agitation are Thana, Bandra, Ahmednagar, West Khandesh, Poona and Sholapur. The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually.

Thana.—Week ending September 13. 11 meetings, the largest audience being 600.

Bandra.—Week ending September 13. Prabhat Feris, of which three were of large number, are the main forms of propaganda.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending September 20. General support to the movement is diminishing everywhere. No meetings of any size are reported. Collections of grazing fee are making progress, more so in Sangamner taluka than in Akola taluka where heavy rain has hampered communications. Persons paying grazing fees in Akola are, however, reported to be subjected to harassment and threats. Shastri Buwa is untraced. This is probably a story related to enable him to fade away with dignity, as he has been losing ground.

Nasik.—Week ending September 13. There have been 21 meetings including the following with large attendances. Nasik, September 8 (1,000), boycott of Council elections ; Bhagur, September 5 (1,000), civil disobedience ; Yeola, September 7 (3,000), unity between Hindus and Muhammedans ; and September 8 (2,000), boycott of Councils. Dr. Bhutekar continues to move about in the vicinity of Nandgaon, but is decidedly careful in the matter of his speeches.

West Khandesh.—Week ending September 13. Merchants of Taloda have been asked to boycott the Police Patels of Nimbhare and Pisawar as they have refused to resign their posts. Agitation appears to be decreasing.

East Khandesh.—Week ending September 13. Five meetings with small attendances. Dr. Bhutekar, among others, visited the district.

Poona.—Week ending September 20. Only three meetings are reported in Poona city, none of importance. B. J. Deosthali is the new dictator of the Poona Youth League. Mrs. M. E. Cousins, theosophist and secretary of the Women's Indian Association, Madras, visited Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in the Yeravda Jail on September 14, and addressed a small meeting of students the same evening. She advised them to leave college and work for complete independence as Dominion Status would do India no good.

Sholapur.—Week ending September 13. There were no meetings or hartals. Only one procession is reported from Akulj in Malshiras taluka.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending September 13. 37 meetings, all on account of the Ganapati festival combined with civil disobedience propaganda. There were large attendances at Ratnagiri, September 2 (1,000), September 6 (1,000) and September 7 (1,000).

Kolaba.—Week ending September 20. 20 meetings with audiences upto 1,200. There was another general outburst of forest satyagraha in Panvel and Alibag talukas. On September 18, forest satyagraha took place at four places in Panvel taluka and at two places in Alibag taluka.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 41.

October 11, 1930.

1796. General Summary :

Thana.—Week ending September 20. 11 meetings. None had an attendance over 200.

Bandra.—Week ending September 20. The usual daily meetings with attendances under 100, except in one case (on Gandhi's birthday) when the attendance did not exceed 400.

Nasik.—Week ending September 20. Meetings have dropped to 13 and audiences are smaller. Efforts are being made to enlist Congress members and about 700 names are reported as having been enrolled. Kalwan, Baglan, Nandgaon and Yeola talukas are the most affected by forest satyagraha in connection with non-payment of grazing fees. In the north, the movement appears to be spreading in Dindori taluka and Malegaon.

East Khandesh.—September 20. Eight meetings with an attendance of over 1,000 at Jalgaon on September 19. The Youth League has started a Swadeshi store in Jalgaon city.

Poona.—Weeks ending September 27 and October 4. The Poona Youth League has formed a new body called the student's Union with the object of inoculating school boys with political ideas but not involving them in criminal activities. B. M. Gupte is president and the Council includes D. K. Sathe, D. R. Gupte, V. V. Bhagwat and himself. L. B. Bhopatkar, the President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, returned to Poona from Thana Jail on September 24 and was the recipient of many congratulations.

Sholapur.—Week ending September 20. Prabhat feris at Akluj in Malsiras taluka, supported by the Shvetambar Jain Sect, are again reported.

Satara.—Week ending September 13. Seven meetings. Speakers are moderate and the district appears to be reverting to normal conditions.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending September 20. Ten meetings, small audiences. Prabhat feris continue to be the popular means of agitation.

Kolaba.—Week ending September 27. Enquiries are being continued in connection with the firing at Chirner village during the forest satyagraha. Congress volunteers are touring the villages in the vicinity and it is difficult to get the true details of the firing.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 42.

October 18, 1930.

1830—B. General Summary :

Bombay Suburban District, September 27.—Usual daily meetings at which the principal speakers were Professor Dharmanand Kosambi, Mrs. Jankibai Bajaj and H. D. Rajah.

Week ending October 4. Prabhat feris continued as usual. A new Swadeshi Store was opened near Khar Station on October 2. There was forest satyagraha on Gandhi's second birthday at Mire in Thana Mahal. Five volunteers entered the forest and collected fuel and grass. No arrests were made.

In Laxminagar on October 4, Dr. N. D. Savarkar was congratulated on his release and made an interesting speech to an audience of 100. He boasted that he had been convicted along with Tilak and had never ceased agitating after his release. He also said that Gandhi had told them to be non-violent but in certain circumstances non-violence was of no use. Violence must be used as it is seen that might is right. He further said that he was ready to sacrifice his life and urged the audience to join the movement.

Thana.—Week ending September 20. There was a gathering of 3,000 persons at Virar to receive Jannadas M. Mehta after his release from jail. Audiences at other meetings were below 500.

East Khandesh.—Week ending September 27. The Youth League has been active in Jalgaon.

West Khandesh.—Week ending September 27. 31 meetings including 12 to protest against the Round Table Conference. No large attendances. Two jungle satyagrahas took place, one at Dangurna on September 25 when 700 people attended and the other at Kudawad in Shahada taluka on September 28 when 100 persons attended. In each case only ten persons were selected to break the law.

Nasik.—Week ending September 27. 24 meetings 2,000 villagers took part in mass forest satyagraha at Jamdari in Nandgaon Police Station and damaged trees, grass and wire-fencing to the extent of Rs. 200. The collection of forest dues is continued in Baglan taluka with the assistance of the Police.

Week ending October 4. There is still considerable interest in the movement especially in Nandgaon, Yeola, Malegaon, Trimbak and Vani. There were 21 meetings. Attendances over 1,000 at Vani on September 29 (condemnation of the Round Table Conference) and September 30 (1,300). About Rs. 9,000 have been collected up to October 11 on account of forest dues out of an average annual collection of Rs. 14,000 in Baglan taluka.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending September 27. Activities are concentrated on spinning and prabhat feri. A Prabhat Feri Mandal has replaced the Satyagraha Mandal. The president is Chamanlal Jasrak, Marwadi, and the secretary Navalmal Kundanmal Firodia. Shastri Buwa is still alive. He appeared at a mass forest satyagraha at Kirla in Akola taluka attended by 1,000 persons, mostly Kolis, Thakurs and Kunbis. He incited those present not to pay grazing fees and to boycott Government servants and those villagers who had paid their dues. He is again missing but two friends of his, Balkrishna Savlaram Shimpi of Kopargaon and Babu Koshti, were arrested at Yeola in Nasik district. Forest dues are being collected but the Kolis, Thakurs and Kunbis in the north of Akola taluka, bordering on Nasik district, and in the south bordering on Poona district are still stubborn and their stubbornness reacts on other communities.

Satara.—Week ending September 27. 18 meetings. Forest satyagraha was launched at Lohare village in Wai taluka, but was poorly attended. Seven volunteers who played an active part in the proceedings were arrested.

Sholapur.—Week ending September 27. Flag processions took place in Barsi town.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending September 27. 10 meetings. At a meeting at Mithbav on September 24 the audience was asked to make raids on the salt depot at Mithbav. The tri-colour flag was hoisted on the English School and another was fixed to a tree in front of the vernacular school and the people were asked to guard it.

Kolaba.—Week ending October 4. 15 meetings. A meeting of 2,000 persons was held at Uran on October 3 to protest against the Round Table Conference.

Week ending October 11. Forest satyagraha took place in Mahad taluka on October 5 and October 10. In no case was the attendance as large as had been the case in the Panvel satyagraha. In each case the leaders were arrested subsequent to the event to avoid undue demonstration.

On October 8, Government declared the Congress bodies, etc., of Panvel, Uran and Karjat talukas unlawful assemblies. Accordingly the District Superintendent of Police raided the Panvel Congress Office on October 8 and arranged for the simultaneous raiding of the Uran and Karjat offices by the respective Sub-Inspectors. The three offices were closed and papers, etc., attached. At Panvel, subsequent to the raid, P. K. Gupte publicly opened another building as a nominal Congress Office and then absconded to Bombay. The flag and notice-board of this building also were removed by the police next day. Arrangements are being made to apprehend Gupte who is the only office-bearer of the Panvel committee.

At Uran and Karjat the office-bearers were arrested. The Alibag shibir on learning of the Government notification closed down, but reopened next day, when it was found that the Alibag shibir was not included in the list of bodies declared unlawful.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 43

October 25, 1930.

1887. General Summary :

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 18.—Meetings are fewer and sparsely attended, as a whole and agitation in future is likely to be more in secret than open. Wholesale arrests are not courted and dictators have taken the place of War Councils and Congress committees with the object of conserving manpower. Volunteers are not forthcoming in large numbers, and those that are enlisted are mostly on daily wages who display their real lack of interest in the movement by offering apologies when arrested. Danger lies in incidents such as that which recently occurred at Chandkapur in Kalwan taluka, Nasik district. Illiterate villagers misled by Congress agents and stirred by the belief that Gandhi-Raj has come, have shown unusual aggression in the movement.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Bandra.—Week ending October 11. Prabhat feris and hartals have been the main forms of agitation. The Ville-Parle Chhawani was raided on October 11 and 56 volunteers including three leaders, *i.e.*, Dharmanand Kosambi, Dilkhush Divanji and Chhaganlal Diwavala, were arrested.

Nasik.—Week ending October 11. 16 meetings, none of the audiences over 800. Kalwan and Baglan talukas have shown much activity in connection with the non-payment of grazing fees. Collections are only made with the assistance of parties of police, and then only with great difficulty. The agitators in Kalwan have been outsiders in several cases including Dwarkanath Bhagwant Karnik¹ of Bombay, Vishnu Laxman Mehendale of Poona, Anant Swami *alias* Laxman Balaji Joshi Shastri (*Tarkatirth*)² of Wai, district Satara, and Shrikrishna Shrinivas Khot of Nagpur. All four were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50. Much damage has already been done in this taluka. At Chandkapur, in Kalwan taluka, a large body of Kolis gathered from several villages and defied the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, who had gone there on October 19 with a party of 50 police. They had previously severely beaten minor forest and village police officials and compelled them to send in their resignations. When addressed by the District Magistrate they said that

¹ Karnik later earned a name as a journalist and a great follower of M. N. Roy.

² Laxman Shastri was a great Sanskrit Scholar and Philosopher of Maharashtra.

Government had better cut the throats of "Gandhi Sarkar" and "Motilal Sarkar" and then rule them. They challenged the Police party with spears, bows and arrows, swords and stones and could only be dispersed by firing, in which 6 villagers were severely wounded. The firing had a good effect and 300 representatives of 20 villages in the vicinity presented themselves with double grazing fees from their villages shortly afterwards.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 4. Prabhat feris continue to be taken out and national flags were carried in Dassera processions at several places.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 4. 10 meetings, two had audiences over 1,000 at Shirpur, i.e., September 27 (1,500) and September 29 (2,000).

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 11. One meeting with an attendance over 1,000 is reported from Ahmednagar on October 8 held in connection with sentences passed on Bhagatsingh, Rajguru, etc. Forest satyagraha is active to some extent, though not openly.

Poona.—Week ending October 11. The Poona Youth League held six meetings in connection with Gandhi Week. On October 11; 5,000 leaflets were seized from Vijay Printing Press announcing a procession and speeches to congratulate the Lahore murderers on their patriotism.

The District Superintendent of Police remarks. "It is becoming increasingly apparent that the Poona Youth League aims at violent revolutionary methods, and the treatment of it as an unlawful association under the C. L. Amendment Act of 1908 is being considered."

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 44

November 1, 1930.

1947.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 31.—The effect of the Ordinance declaring Congress bodies illegal has been excellent. Bombay Suburban District repeat, the same tale that Congress committees are being dissolved and volunteers are dispersing, with no homes, no funds and no plans. It will take the Congress some time to recover and adapt themselves to this state of affairs. Except in isolated cases those influential leaders who were arrested at the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement and who have now been released have not laid themselves open to rearrest by seditious speeches. It would, however, be unwise to neglect such men as N. V. Gadgil of the Poona Youth League, the most influential agitator or V. V. Dastane of Bhusawal, East Khandesh District.

N. C. Kelkar has sponsored an unofficial committee appointed to enquire into the Chirner firing by Police (September 25). Sitings commence at Bombay on November 4. The committee is appointed by the Sarvajanic Sabha.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending October 18. Twenty meetings. The boycott of scent and crackers are new sources of amusement to youthful picketers. Women speakers attracted some attention during the week at Vada, but audiences were small.

Bandra.—Week ending October 18. The District Superintendent of Police remarks.—“The effect of the new Ordinance in this district has been tremendous. A large number of people who previously were considerably interested in the movement have decided to take no further part in it, and there has been apparently great difficulty in obtaining audiences for meetings. This effect has been further increased as a result of action being taken in Bombay.”

On October 19, the so-called new chhawani at Ville-Parle was raided, the flag and board being confiscated and removed to the old chhawani. That day also Chembur and Ghatkopar sub-chhawanis were raided, volunteers arrested and contents confiscated. The small sub-chhawani at Bhandup closed of its own accord. There are very few processions of any description anywhere now, practically no meetings are being held and most of the Congress committees have been dissolved.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 11. Two meetings. Week ending October 18. Seven meetings, protest against the death sentence passed on Bhagatsingh and others. Boycott of liquor and foreign cloth are the main subjects at meetings.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 11. Nine meetings, none of any importance.

Nasik.—Week ending October 18. Sixteen meetings. Two at Yeola had audiences over 1,000. 3,500 on October 8 and 1,000 on October 14. The boycott of foreign goods was the subject at these two meetings. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Sinnar, but is careful in his speech.

Poona.—Week ending October 18. The Poona Youth League has become the rallying centre for adult as well as adolescent Congress agitators. It appears that 2 Poona Youth League workers, Karnik and Mehendale (brother of S. B. Mehendale) took part in the forest satyagraha at Kalwan and Nampur in Nasik District. N. V. Gadgil was the recipient of meetings in honour of his release. . . .

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 18. Kolis are still stubborn in parts of Akola taluka adjoining Poona district. Elsewhere there is little enthusiasm and agitation is mostly confined to prabhat feris.

Satara.—Week ending October 18. Eight meetings. Satara city may show further activity due to the release of agitators whose sentences are up.

Sholapur.—Week ending October 18. A small meeting of 300 persons was held on October 18 by P. G. Beke, secretary of the Sholapur Branch of the Bombay Labour Union. The judgment in the Sessions Court. Arson and Conspiracy Case, which was given the same day, was referred to and Antrolkar's sentence to 10 years' imprisonment condemned.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending October 11. Fourteen meetings. Protest against death sentence passed on Bhagatsingh and others. Propaganda on usual lines.

Week ending October 18. Twelve meetings. Similar propaganda. Maximum attendance 500.

Kolaba.—Week ending October 18. Nine meetings. The application of Ordinance IX against the Congress Committees at Uran, Panvel and Karjat has had a quietening effect and there is a wait and see attitude among the local Congressmen.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 45

November 8, 1930.

2002-A.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 1.—Open agitation is definitely on the wane and such volunteers as remain are on the defensive and in many cases have been advised to move about without their badges and not seek Police interest in their movements or doings.

The following is the state of agitation in the district individually :—

Thana.—Week ending October 25. Six meetings. Jamnadas M. Mehta had an audience of 900 at Yewoor under Palghar. Agitation has greatly decreased for the present in this district.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending October 25. Agitation has greatly decreased here too. Mrs. Kamalaben Sonawalla, dictator of the Ville-parle Chhawani, was arrested on October 20. The volunteers of the Ville-Parle Chhawani who are not yet arrested are playing a game of hide and seek with the authorities.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 18. Seven unimportant meetings. Prabhat feris and a few flag processions are the only other form of agitation.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 25. Nine unimportant meetings. V. G. Jawdekar, M. P. Khaladkar, Shaligram R. Marwadi and Vinayak Narhar Barve are trying to keep the movement alive by various means particularly in Shahada taluka but are not meeting with much success.

Nasik.—Week ending October 25. Eight meetings. No attendances over 1,000. The state of affairs at Kalwan rapidly improved after the firing on October 19 and by the end of the week most of the arrears of grazing fees had been received.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 25. Shastri Buwa is reported to have held a meeting at Patta Fort on October 16. It is reported that volunteers from Bombay are entering the district to encourage forest agitation in Akola taluka. Four arrests were made including two women volunteers, the latter were sisters of Shrinivas Ganesh Sardesai of Bombay and Shripad Ramchandra Tikekar of Dadar. The District Superintendent of Police marched with a force of 100 Police to effect arrest in the Khirla-kombhalne area in connection with forest satyagraha. Slow but steady collection of grazing fees is now being made.

Sholapur.—Week ending October 25. On October 19 a handwritten poster advocating the renewal of agitation was pasted up in Sholapur. Boys of the Jain Boarding Hostel are suspected. Prabhat feris are the only forms of agitation.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending October 25. Eleven meetings. Interest in the movement is diminishing.

Kolaba.—Week ending October 25. Nine unimportant meetings. Some hartals were observed in connection with the arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru. Prabhat feris have discontinued in Karjat, Uran and Nagothana but not at Pannel.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 46

November 15, 1930.

2043-B.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 8.—Open agitation is at about the same low level as last week. Very few meetings are reported from most districts, the largest number being held in the south.

The following is the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending November 1. Nine meetings. Enthusiasm for the Congress appears to be definitely on the wane. Prohibition is the main slogan and a Thana District Liquor Prohibition Mandal was formed on October 31 and has started work in Bassein taluka.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending November 1. Dahiben Jayakisandas Desai is the new dictator. Women and children are the main agitators here but there is very little doing. —

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 25. Seven meetings. Two at Chikhaltan, taluka Chalisgaon, had attendances of 500. The movement appears to be dying down.

West Khandesh.—Week ending November 1. 20 meetings. Only two had audiences over 500. V. G. Jawadekar has established two committees at Shahada for alleged constructive work.

Nasik.—Week ending November 1. 13 meetings. Audiences below 700. Kalwan taluka is quiet. In Baglan taluka some seven or eight villages are holding but against the payment of grazing fees.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 1. Forest satyagraha is reported to be breaking down in Akola taluka. A report has been received by the District Superintendent of Police that a crowd of 3,000 armed with slings, axes, etc., gathered at Kohone under Kotul when a Head Constable went there and announced their intention of dying rather than paying grazing fees. The District Superintendent of Police considers that the report is exaggerated. Meetings in Ahmednagar still draw considerable audiences but prabhat feris are the more usual forms of agitation.

Poona.—Week ending November 1. G. N. Kanitkar came out of jail on October 29 and was the subject of congratulatory meetings and hailed as Poona's second Tilak. His first utterance was a hint of dropping non-violence in future. The Poona City Municipality has from time to time passed resolutions condemning Government for arrests of all India leaders. Saswad continues to be the most disaffected part of the district outside Poona.

Sholapur.—Week ending November 1. Manekchand Ramchandra Shah returned to Sholapur from jail on October 28. He was received by 300 persons at the station. It appears he desires to lead a retired life for the present. A few unimportant displays of the Congress flag occurred at Sholapur, only boys taking part.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending November 1. 10 meetings. The starting of no-tax campaign has been preached.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 1. Six meetings. The District Superintendent of Police's remarks—here are a good summing up the situation generally at present—"Judging by events or lack of events the movement has lost strength. The anti-Government spirit remains however but is not expressed in action, solely on account of lack of leaders of a definite plan of campaign. The Swadeshi movement remains strong."

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 47.

November 22, 1930.

2089.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 21.—The Congress is now bringing up its second line of attack, the women and children, as its original "storm troops"—the much vaunted volunteers—are no longer available in numbers.

Attempts to raise public resentment against Government were made by many speakers who referred to the treatment of women on the Azad Maidan in Bombay. Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest also produced several meetings.

Thana.—Week ending November 8. 4 meetings, attendances all below 50. A Swadeshi Store was opened by Jamnadas M. Mehta at Palghar on November 8.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending November 8. Prabhat feris and monkey army activities are the main forms of agitation. The monkey army boys are being used for selling unauthorised literature in the trains and at railway stations. Some hartals are reported in honour of Gandhi Day and for local arrests at Ghatkopar.

East Khandesh.—Week ending November 1. 9 meetings, largest attendance 1,000 at Jalgaon on October 30, to congratulate Jawaharlal Nehru on his conviction. Some lecturers from outside the district have been noticed in it.

Week ending November 8. 15 meetings. The outside visitors to East Khandesh include V. T. Paranjpe of Poona, V. V. Dastane, Mrs. Yashodabai Bhat, Laxman Shastri Dravid and Devanayakcharya of Benares. They have been touring in two talukas to the north of the Tapti and in Jamner taluka. Asoda village is mentioned by the District Superintendent of Police as a troublesome centre of agitation.

Nasik.—Week ending November 8. 14 meetings. Attendance of 1,000 at Yeola city on October 30 on account of Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest. There is noticeable agitation still in Yeola, Nasik city and a small area in the south of Malegaon taluka. Kalwan has been quiet since the grazing fee trouble occurred there. In Baglan taluka the remaining villages which refused to pay grazing fees have since paid up their double fees dues and the four offenders who had escaped from police custody in October surrendered themselves to the Mamlatdar. G. B. Bhutekar is still active with Nandgaon as his headquarters.

Poona.—Week ending November 8. Poona has had a quiet week marked by two convictions. The first of G. M. Nalavade, editor of the now defunct newspaper *Sangram*. The other conviction was a sentence of three months on Chandulal Dalsukh Shah.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending November 8. 8 meetings, two being in connection with the conviction of Jawaharlal Nehru. The incidents at Bombay on the Azad Maidan were the subjects of speeches.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 8. 8 meetings, including several to congratulate released political convicts. Volunteers are active in Alibag taluka. The local volunteer camp is reported as still being kept open.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 48

November 29, 1930.

2157.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 29.—There is little change in the situation as described last week. Volunteers are not forthcoming in the districts in numbers and women and children are encouraged to take their place. . . .

Thana.—Week ending November 15. 5 meetings, attendances under 500. There was an attempt of forest satyagraha at Kashi under Thana Mahal on November 9 which was frustrated by the Police arresting the five leaders. Prohibition is being preached in the villages in Bassein taluka from Sopara as centre.

East Khandesh.—Week ending November 15. 11 meetings. Attendances over 1,000 at Jalgaon, November 11 (1,000) and November 12 (1,200), Mir Shukrulla was the prominent speaker at both along with speakers from outside the district. Shri Bharat Sewak Mandal was opened at Pachora on November 9 and is affiliated to the Charkha Mandal. It appears to be the Taluka Congress Committee under a new name.

Nasik.—Week ending November 15. 13 meetings, attendances under 500. Liquor shop picketing at Yeola led to stone-throwing and injury to four constables. S. B. Bhutekar is still rampant in Nandgaon taluka.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 15. 11 meetings. Largest attendance at Ahmednagar on November 11 (2,000). Padmasalis resolved to give up drink and to inflict fines of Rs. 5 on such of their members as were caught out in this vice. General support to the Civil Disobedience Movement is weakening in Akola taluka except in the Palsunde area.

Satara.—Week ending November 8. 15 meetings. There is activity at Wai and Karad but the general situation is otherwise quiet. Agitation is directed towards non-payment of land revenue.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending November 15. 11 meetings, none of importance. Morning rounds are the main forms of political entertainment, and continued at 43 places in the district. A raid of the salt works at Shiroda took place on November 9 by 200 members of prabhat feris. 20 arrests were made by men of the Salt Department. The raid followed a lecture delivered on November 6 by Trimbak Raghunath Deogirikar of Poona inciting the people to use contraband salt. The situation is now quiet.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 15. 10 meetings. Audiences up to 300. M. R. Gosavi urged the people of Alibag on November 8 to show their spirit and follow Pannel.

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2183. Raid on Salt Works at Shiroda :¹

Ratnagiri, November 15.—During the early hours of the morning of November 9, about 200 persons of Shiroda, Redi, Aravali and Ajgaon (Sawantwadi State) started prabhat feris from Ajgaon, and while passing through the salt works, Shiroda, raided one of the platforms and removed about 80 maunds of salt. Ten of them were arrested. After this raid, about 50 Special Salt Department Constables have been posted at Shiroda, 40 of them were armed.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 50

December 13, 1930.

2319.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 13.—Meetings are less both in number and in the size of audience. They have been held mostly in connection with the non-payment of land revenue and as welcomes to released leaders. . . .

¹ During the earlier raid on 12 May 1930, nearly 583 volunteers from Bombay, Jalgaon, Satara, Pune, Ratnagiri and Ahmednagar took part in Salt Satyagraha under the leadership of S. D. Jawadekar, Dr. Athalye, Vinayakrao Bhuskute, Dr. Lagu and Sahasrabudhe.

A subject which has been greatly agitating the people in general has been the sentences of death on the Sholapur murderers. References, both in the Press and at meetings, continue to be made to the refusal of the Privy Council to grant leave of appeal in the Sholapur case in which Dhanshetti and three others have been condemned to death. The *Mahratta* writes : " By executing the sentences a deep wound will be made in the heart of Maharashtra and there cannot be any remedy to heal that wound ".

The most recent meeting in this connection is one held in Poona on December 11 with an audience of 2,000. It is significant that Fr. Winslow of the Christa Seva Sangh was chosen as president, and his plea is typical of the view taken up by Indian opinion. It is as follows : " We are not here to condone the wrong done. Our petition is based on a measure of doubt which exists in respect of their conviction and the conditions prevailing under Martial Law. It is noteworthy that in the High Court two different judges came to two different conclusions. This indicates therefore there must be some doubt and therefore according to the best traditions of English law, the benefit of the doubt should be given to the condemned man. "

The following are details of agitation in the districts mentioned below :—

Thana.—Week ending November 29. 6 meetings. There are rumours of a mass raid on salt works by the people of Juchandra in Bassein taluka.

Bandra.—Week ending November 29. Salt agitation and the sale of " Patrikas " are mentioned.

East Khandesh.—Week ending November 29. V. V. Dastane and Mir Shukrulla Khan have been busy on foreign cloth boycott campaign in Bhusawal. C. B. Bhutekar, Dr. Nilkant Ganesh Sane and Vishnu Balwant Nerkar of Amraoti visited the district.

West Khandesh.—Week ending November 29. 15 meetings. Agitation on general lines and largely attended at Dhulia, November 22 (4,000), November 23 (1,000) and November 24 (3,000). G. B. Bhutekar also visited this district.

Nasik.—Week ending November 29. 7 meetings. Large audiences at Nasik, November 26 (4,000) to congratulate B. J. Marathe, *ex-editor* of the *Swatantrya*, on his release from jail, November 29 (4,000), Yeola, November 21 (3,000).

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 29. 4 meetings, audience 3,000 at Ahmednagar on November 24 to welcome the released prisoners. Opposition in the Palsunde group of villages broke down and Revenue and Forest officials are now able to function throughout the taluka. Patils who had submitted resignations have withdrawn the same when grazing fees were paid. Additional Police are still being kept at Akola and Rajur for the present.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 29. Boycott of foreign goods continues. The District Superintendent of Police remarks that 25 Police Patils of villages in the northern half of Alibag taluka have resigned and volunteers are still moving about among the Agri villagers. Government servants are given no assistance and no information. Mahad taluka also shows activity, probably in preparation for a no-tax campaign.

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December 20, 1930.

2398.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 20.—Agitation is on the usual lines, with the addition of propaganda for the boycott of the Census. The latter has taken two forms. In some cases operations have been obliterated. There has also been advice to communities to adopt new names for their sects in order to hamper the Census work.

Propaganda is active with regard to the non-payment of land revenue and boycott of foreign cloth, which appear to be the two chief objects of Congress attention of present.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending December 6. B. G. Horniman¹ presided at the hoisting of the Congress flag in Chendni, Thana town, on November 30.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending December 6. Prabhat feris, sale of patrikas by children, and picketing of liquor shops are the main forms of agitation. Hartals are also popular.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 6. Seven meetings, one with an attendance of 1,000 at Jalgaon on November 30. S. R. Kulkarni, president of the Taluka Congress Committee, indulged in some bombastic speech making and was arrested.

Nasik.—Week ending December 6. Nine meetings, attendances below 500. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Niphad taluka and prabhat feris move about in Nasik city.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending December 6. 6,000 people gathered at a meeting at Ahmednagar on December 3 to welcome P. H. Patwardhan on release from jail. Patwardhan praised the Bengal revolutionaries and advocated the non-payment of taxes. Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale Presided. Gandhi Day, December 5, produced an audience of 1,500.

Poona.—Week ending December 6. Prospectuses have been issued for a Swadeshi Exhibition in January next. N. C. Kelkar and V. G. Limaye, editor of the *Dnyan Prakash*, figure among the promoters. Five meetings are reported with meagre attendances.

Sholapur.—Week ending December 6. The surreptitious hoisting of Congress flags appears to be on the increase. The congress flag was unwisely hoisted on the gate of the Collector's compound and the two men seen doing it were arrested. Two meetings are reported at Pandharpur town where Narayan Ramchandra Nerkar and Anant Shridhar Kshire of Dhulia made speeches on their jail experiences.

¹ A Gandhian and editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 6. Agitation is much on the wane throughout the district. Serving of notices on outsiders remaining in the district and prohibiting the local leaders from taking part in the movement is having a good effect.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 6. Agitation for the non-payment of land revenue was mentioned in Alibag and Mahad talukas. There were nine meetings with an attendance up to 900.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

January 3, 1931.

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33. *Thana*.—Week ending December 13. Prohibition propaganda and prabhat feris are mentioned.

Bombay Suburban District.—Weeks ending December 13 and 20. Agitation of minor nature and the collection of information regarding increase in land assessment. Weaving classes have been started.

West Khandesh.—Week ending December 13. Nine meetings, two with attendances over 1,000 in connection with municipal affairs.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 13. Twenty-seven meetings. The boycott of foreign articles was preached.

Nasik.—Week ending December 13. 11 meetings. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Nandgaon taluka. There was a gathering of 4,000 at Yeola city on December 7 to congratulate K. R. Vaishampaya on his release from jail.

Week ending December 20. 10 meetings, Two meetings with attendances over 2,000 each. Meeting of 1,000 at Nasik city (18th December 1930) to congratulate the released prisoners of Baglan taluka and Yeola. December 13; 2,000 to congratulate thirteen prisoners convicted in the local riot case ; volunteers are being collected for picketing cloth shops.

Ahmednagar.—Weeks ending December 13 and 20. Audience of 3,000 at Ahmednagar on December 14 in honour of Babu Genu. Government was accused of murder and the audiences asked if there was any difference at all between the deaths of Babu Genu, Mr. Lowman and Colonel Simpson ; December 19 (4,000) Motilal Nehru Day.

Poona.—Week ending December 13. Except for the meeting already reported in which Fr. Winslow presided over an audience of 1,500 to appeal to the Viceroy on behalf of the Sholapur Murderers, attendances have been small in Poona.

HCP—352-A-18

Week ending December 20. Babu Genu week was celebrated and produced a series of speeches by G. N. Kanitkar, N. V. Gadgil and other local leaders. The Poona City Municipality adjourned on December 16 and the District Local Board on December 18 in connection with Babu Genu's death. G. V. Ketkar, former President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, was welcomed back in Poona after six months in jail. A notax meeting attended by 1,500 persons took place at Saswad on December 17 while the District Magistrate was in camp there. It was got up by Shivram Vishnu Purandhare, President of the Purandar Taluka Congress Committee. Resolutions were passed demanding remission of seventy-five per cent of land revenue. In spite of this meeting the Saswad situation appears to have improved.

Satara.—Week ending December 13. 11 meetings. Propaganda for postponement of land revenue. Week ending December 20. 5 meetings.

Sholapur.—Week ending December 13. 2 meetings at Pandharpur. Week ending December 20. 2 meetings at Pandharpur. One against the commutation of the sentences of local murderers and the other to express sorrow at the death of the Martyr Babu Genu.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 20. 16 meetings, including 3 on account of Babu Genu's death.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 13. Non-payment of taxes is advocated in Poladpur taluka. In Alibag, agitation is in a more advanced state and is carried on surreptitiously. It is widely advocated that tenants should not pay rent to their landowners who refuse to promise non-payment of revenue to Government. A. V. Chitre and N. N. Patil are active agitators.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

January 10, 1931.

127 Agitation follows the usual lines and is devoted mainly to propaganda for non-payment of taxes and boycott of census.

In the South and in Thana district the anti-liquor campaign and foreign cloth boycott is strongly pressed.

Thana, East Khandesh and Satara show the spread of applications for the remission of land revenue. Kolaba district reports the continuance of agrarian unrest.

Towards the end of the week it became evident that there would be no reprieve for the Sholapur murderers and agitation with a view to increasing popular sympathy for them was on the increase.

HCP—352-B-18

Thana.—Week ending December 27. 14 meetings, six of which were in connection with request for remission of land revenue and a general revision of the recently increased land assessment. Bassein taluka is threatened with a week of prohibition propaganda.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending December 27. The Bandra Municipality resolved not to assist Government in Census work. Most of the agitation is in connection with Swadeshi and it is reported that an institution called the Navjiwan Sangh is opened for training volunteers in carding, spinning and the so-called village constructive work.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 20. 17 meetings. Mrs. Hansa Mehta visited the district for the opening of a Swadeshi exhibition at Jalgaon on December 14 when there was an audience of 2,000 Jawahar Day, December 16, had an audience of 1,000. Bhimrao T. Deshpande held six meetings and asked cultivators to sign a petition to Government asking for suspension of land revenue.

Nasik.—Week ending December 27. 9 meetings, audiences under 600. Yeola is still active.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending December 27. A few villages in Akola taluka are still refusing to pay grazing fees and police help was requisitioned. Two meetings in Ahmednagar (December 21 and 27) had audiences over 2,000.

Poona.—Week ending December 27. K. M. Ranade exhibited himself publicly as a hunger striker from December 20 to 27 in Poona city. The strike was broken with the announcement that 51 cloth merchants had promised to seal stocks of foreign cloth. Most of the merchants concerned are Brahmins. Big merchants are still holding out. H. M. Bhandare attempted to acquire notoriety by providing a similar spectacle of a hunger-striker and put up a placard saying we would hold out until 999 merchants gave a similar promise. He received no local encouragement.

Satara.—Week ending December 27. 9 meetings. Land revenue propaganda is active and is assisted by the prevailing low prices in agricultural produce. Sympathy for the Sholapur martyrs was also expressed at meetings.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 27. 18 meetings, largest attendance 300. Propaganda against the payment of land revenue.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 27. In Panvel, agitation is centred on the Chirner Case, 10 meetings are reported including one alleged agriculturists' meeting at Pen on December 25. A good deal of secret agitation is going on in the district.

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128.—Execution of the Sholapur Murderers :

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 15.—The execution of the four Sholapur martyrs took place in the Yeravda Central Jail, Poona, on January 12. The news of the probability of their execution spread in Poona city from the afternoon of January 10. In Poona itself, a small number of persons, about 100, with a large proportion of Bohras, went towards the jail on the morning of the execution, but returned in orderly

fashion on being told that the execution had already taken place and that the bodies had been disposed off. Later on, leaflets announcing this were issued by G. N. Kanitkar, N. V. Gadgil and V. M. Bhuskute and asked for hartal and a public meeting. The meeting attracted 5,000 persons and was far from orderly. G. S. Joshi asked the public to sacrifice their lives as the persons executed had done. N. V. Gadgil got a resolution passed that the accused who were executed were innocent and that sheer injustice had been done by Government.

In Sholapur, news of the execution arrived at midday the 12th January, and a hartal took place. The District Magistrate prohibited processions in connection with the annual Sankrant Siddeshwar Fair for which large crowds had gathered under Section 144, C. P. C., as a precautionary measure.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

January 7, 1931.

187. The Sholapur sentences were widely misrepresented and used to stir up feeling of audiences that injustice had been done. The leading article in the *Mahratta* newspaper for the 15th instant is of considerable interest—despite it being full of perverted sentiment and somewhat hysterical as showing the feeling aroused over the case in Māharashtra in particular. Such phrases as “four convicts who are bound to be regarded as canonised by all Indian”, “the conviction of those Sacchos and Venzetis of India”, “the four innocents despatched summarily from this world for fault or faults which not God himself but only the British Bureaucracy only knows” show the obvious intention to make martyrs of the hanged for many years to come. The article concludes the only feeble consolation to the lacerated Indian hearts in the present all-round distressful conditions is the religious belief that, in the just dispensation of providence, the holy blood of innocents cannot continue to be shed for long without fit retribution.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending January 3. Swadeshi Bazaar at Malad, flag salutation ceremonies and prabhat feris are reported.

West Khandesh.—Week ending January 3. 11 meetings. Dhulia, December 27 (3,000), offered prayers for the health of Vithalbhai Patel, December 28 (5,000), A. S. Kshire, M. P. Khaladkar and N. K. Vaidya were the speakers, N. K. Vaidya broke the prohibitory order served on him by the District Magistrate.

Nasik.—Week ending January 3. 8 meetings, largest audience 1,500. G. B. Bhutekar still moves about the district attempting to keep agitation alive.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending January 3. Large audience at Ahmednagar, on December 28. P. H. Patwardhan and A. S. Patwardhan were the chief speakers. 5,000 persons attended the Mali Conference held at Kopargaon and at Rahata, on January 1. 3,000 persons welcomed Swami Sahajanand and Jasraj Pemraj, Marwadi, on their return from jail.

Poona.—Week ending January 3. Poona is quiet. The Youth League published an inflammatory bulletin in connection with the Sholapur executions. It was issued by Shivajirao Phatak, Dictator of the Youth League.

Satara.—Week ending January 3. Printed forms of memorials to be submitted to the Collector for remission of land revenue are being circulated in the district.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 3. 7 meetings. Interest in the Civil Disobedience Movement appears to be on the wane.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 3. Agrarian unrest continues and at occasional meetings tenants reiterate their determination to pay reduced measures to landlords and not to occupy land vacated by other tenants. Mahad and Poladpur show some activity.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 4

January 24, 1931.

245. *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 29.*—Agitation received its principal stimulus this week from the death of Maulana Muhammad Ali in London. This was observed in most districts on January 6 and in a few cases combined with Gandhi Day (January 5).

In addition there were hartals in many districts including Thana, Bombay Suburban District, East Khandesh, Ahmednagar.

Agitation for the reduction of land assessment is still active in many districts including Thana, East Khandesh, Kolaba.

The following is the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending January 10. 10 meetings, the largest audience was 4,000 at Dhansoli under Thana Mahal to voice the grievances of villagers in connection with land revenue, forest, etc.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending January 10. Boycott of Census is active.

East Khandesh.—Week ending January 10. Warkhedi, Pachora taluka, had an alleged meeting of cultivators on January 9 (1,200) to discuss non-payment of land revenue.

Nasik.—Week ending January 10. 13 meetings, including several with large attendances as follows :—

Nasik, January 5, (2,000), Gandhi Day. *Satana*, January 10 (1,000), to congratulate a released prisoner and to express condolence at the death of Muhammad Ali. *Yeola*, January 6 (1,500), condolence meeting for Muhammad Ali. *Naitale*, January 4 (4,000), boycott of foreign cloth and tea.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending January 10. Attendance of 1,500 on January 5 (Gandhi Day), January 6 (2,000) on account of the death of Muhammed Ali.

Poona.—Week ending January 10. Cloth dealers are again threatened with picketing.

Sholapur.—Week ending January 10. Condolence meetings for Muhammad Ali took place at Sholapur, January 6, 500 and Pandharpur, January 7, 1,000. At the latter place local Hindu agitators took a prominent part and the Congress Flag was flown.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 10. 30 meetings, 15 of these were held at various places under Kankavli Police Station and were chiefly organised by Vithal Mahadeo Paranjape and Vasant Dattatraya Malandkar. Boycott of the Census mostly preached.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 10. 15 meetings, audiences up to 600. Agrarian unrest is becoming an item of major importance. The boycott of English goods remain strong particularly at Mahad, Pen and Alibag.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

January 31, 1931.

310. *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 3.*—The majority of meetings reported this week were held to express sympathy with the Sholapur martyrs. The view taken by the *Mahratta* and *Kesari* newspapers was the view widely spread by agitators in Maharashtra, that the persons executed were innocent political martyrs and brave patriots who had been sacrificed by Government in a spirit of revenge for the happenings in Sholapur. Meetings in this connection are reported from 17 districts.

Agitation in connection with the boycott of Census is mentioned in the reports received from the Thana . . . and Bombay Suburban District.

It is interesting to consider the type of propaganda which takes place at the so-called agriculturists' meetings and that held at Varkhedi, Police Station, Pimpalgaon, East Khandesh District, on January 9 is typical. Nilkant Ganesh Sane of Shendurni presided and told those assembled that they already knew of the existence of the struggle for Swarajya but of greater importance than this was the struggle for bread, which was the personal struggle of all of them. Government continuously raised land assessment in recent years. It was false to say that the depreciation in market prices was due to political agitation. These rumours were

circulated by Government to discredit those who had gone to jail for the sake of the Nation. During the Great War Government raised the market rates, and it has now lowered them by the same extent. It raised the rates to save itself and lowered it for the same reason and now blame the agitators. The Congress was working for the good of the country and the Civil Disobedience Movement itself had done, no harm to individuals. The so-called agriculturists' meeting also dwelt with extended use of Khaddar and prohibiting of liquor. (Sadashiv Shrikrishna Chitnis, also called Zipru Buwa of Poona, said that Government said that the revenue from liquor went towards education and they must therefore drink liquor to get education. Government would not reduce the number of liquor shops merely by being requested to do so).

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.—Week ending January 17. Anti-Census agitation continues.

East Khandesh.—Week ending January 17. 12 meetings, including one at Jalgaon, January 16, with an attendance over 1,000 in connection with the Sholapur executions.

Nasik.—Week ending January 17. 14 meetings, several with large attendances in connection with the death of Muhammad Ali or in connection with agitation.

Poona.—Week ending January 17. 8 meetings, 2 with attendances of 3,000 and 5,000 respectively on January 12, the day of the execution of the Sholapur martyrs. N. V. Gadgil and S. R. Phatak of the Youth League took a leading part. The Poona City Municipality adjourned on January 13 in connection with the executions.

Sholapur.—Week ending January 17. Agitation was confined to hartals on account of the executions which affected the Siddeshwar Fair and mills. Processions were forbidden by the District Magistrate by an order under section 144 C.P.C.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 17. 18 meetings, many of them in connection with the Sholapur executions.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 17. 10 meetings. Agrarian agitation continues to spread in Alibag taluka.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

January 2, 1932.

15. *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 2.*—The end of December showed considerable activity in Congress circles. Districts were visited by outside agitators, attempts were made to rally the Depressed Classes and Muhammadans to Congress and districts almost without exception report the advice of agitators to their audiences to prepare for a renewal of the struggle with Government. Its inevitability and its necessity was constantly stressed.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who visited Sholapur district in a rapid tour, continued to emphasise the fact that the renewal of the struggle was inevitable.

It would appear that the strongest pressure would be exerted on Mr. Gandhi on his return to recommence the struggle and this has apparently occurred.

Congress also continued to display a keen interest in the agriculturists. The formation of agricultural associations with agriculturists in a minority and Congress pleaders in a majority were a feature of the propaganda.

Stress is also constantly laid on the importance of the boycott propaganda, particularly with regard to foreign cloth. This will inevitably develop into the boycott of everything British. It appears likely that attempts will be made to use more of women in the future struggle with Government. It is doubtful, however, that women of good families will join in picketing activities to any great extent in Maharashtra.

An attempt will probably be made to celebrate the twelfth of January all over India as Sholapur Martyrs' Day, it being the anniversary of the execution of the four persons sentenced in connection with the Sholapur riots of 1930. This celebration is at the request of Dr. K. B. Antolikar, President of the Sholapur Taluka Congress Committee.

Bombay Suburban District.—The Ville-Parle Chhawani has been active in the following items of Congress work :—Publication of *Congress Patrikas* and other literature ; liquor prohibition ; foreign cloth boycott and Khadi propaganda ; organisation of Hindustani Seva Dal volunteers ; organisation of peasants' conferences and preparation for the no—tax campaign under the pretext of economic depression.

The work of the *Chhawani* is typical of Congress propaganda generally in other districts.

Ahmednagar.—Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and S. G. Ranade addressed two meetings at Ahmednagar on December 7 and appealed for funds for the Hindustani Seva Dal camp at Ville-Parle. They deplored the measures taken in Bengal and asked an audience of 3,000 to prepare for the coming struggle. They made the same appeal at Kopergaon on December 8. Similar speeches were made in this district by B. M. Gupte and D. V. Gokhale of Poona and other speakers from the district.

Pachalegaonkar addressed an audience of about 300 at Rahuri and appears to have evoked considerable enthusiasm. His speech, as usual, is difficult to follow, it being very disjointed and in parables. The general trend of it appears to have been distinctly anti-European, as the following extract will show :—“ We are getting eaten up by white ants, the measure against them is Salt Satyagraha—if purification is not made by sermons we are going to make it by weapons. ”

East Khandesh.—16 meetings for the week ending December 5 and 12 in the following week, mostly in connection with the suspension of land revenue.

Nasik.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—“ There are indications that the local Congress workers are making special efforts so as to be prepared in case they receive orders from the All-India Congress Working Committee to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement after Gandhi's return. ”

Poona.—The Poona District Peasants' Conference was held in Poona city, on December 13, with A. V. Kate presiding and 500 attending. A noticeable lack of interest in the proceedings was a feature of the conference.

Satara.—Nine meetings, three of which were convened by local propagandists paid by the Congress. At one meeting Atmaram Patil of Walwa told his audience not to bow to British tyranny but to make blood flow like water. They should destroy their enemies and be prepared to use weapons and wield lathis like the Police. Speaker after speaker indulged in objectionable speeches at this meeting.

Ratnagiri.—N. P. Pai speaking at Ratnagiri on December 12, prophesied a renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement within a short period. V. G. Apte speaking at Ratnagiri on December 14 advised boys to leave the schools and join the Civil Disobedience Movement despite the displeasure of their parents.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

January 9, 1932.

108. Jawaharlal Nehru's visit of Sholapur :

Sholapur, December 26, 1931.—On December 20, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a mass meeting at Sholapur. The audience was estimated at 15,000 but it did not seem to exceed 8,000. Most of the people present also appeared to be more of sightseers than real sympathisers. Before speaking Nehru was garlanded and presented with an address by Dr. K. B. Antolikar who presided. Nehru made a very guarded speech in Hindi, in which he recalled the part played by Sholapur last year and the hanging of the four innocent Sholapur men in January 1931. As regards the latter, he said that the death sentence passed did not concern him so much as the absolute refusal of Government to intervene inspite of the appeal of the whole Indian nation on behalf of the men sentenced. He then said that owing to the numerous tyrannies practised by Government, it was absolutely necessary to put an end to the present system of Government or die in the attempt, no other alternative was now possible. He emphasised the necessity of non-violence, saying that violence would only ruin their cause. Peaceful satyagraha, on the other hand, was sure to succeed. Even Government are beginning to realise this, and are therefore trying to create factions ; and as they have not met with much success in this direction, they have started repression. This however, is only an indication of their weakness, and will eventually lead to their downfall, provided Indians are firm in their satyagraha. If Indians fail, however, it will mean their destruction. He reminded the audience to the oath they had taken two years ago to free themselves, and told them that the present truce would soon end and the fight would be started again. He said that the Government had

already started the struggle again in Bengal, the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province ; but that, although no general decision regarding the renewal of the struggle could be given by Congress until the return of M. K. Gandhi, he himself had decided to return to the United Provinces and face the consequences there. He concluded by saying that he was pleased to see that last year's martial law had not disheartened the people of Sholapur. He felt sure that martial law would again be declared, and in the event of that he hoped that they would acquit themselves creditably. He said that the coming fight would be more severe than the last, and that in all probability all the leaders would be arrested at the outset. If such were the case every man would have to be his own leader.

112. Maharashtra Provincial Congress Conference at Panvel :

The open session commenced on January 2. 250 delegates attended on the first day and the total attendance was about 1,500, including only about 100 local agriculturists, who were admitted free of admission fee. The Conference was fairly representative and the delegates included N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, S. M. Joshi, Dr. S. V. Ketkar, D. V. Gokhale, N. V. Gadgil, V. V. Sathe, H. V. Tulpule, all of Poona ; Balubhai Mehta of West Khandesh ; V. V. Dastane of East Khandesh ; B. G. Kher, Dr. N. D. Savarkar and Gokulbhai Bhat from Bombay Suburban District ; Dr. K. B. Antrolikar and Ramkrishna Jaju from Sholapur ; S. K. Patil of Bombay ; Harirao Deshpande from the Berar ; S. G. Ranade, secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, and Vishnu Ramrao Patil, secretary of the Sholapur Youth League.

There was no Muhammadan element present except about five local Bohras who came as interested visitors. The conference did not deal with any local or provincial issue except the revival of the Civil Disobedience Campaign.

The following is the list of the resolutions passed :—

(1) Expressing gratitude to Mr. Gandhi for all his services. (2) Expressing the opinion that the reasons given by the Working Committee for restarting the Civil Disobedience Movement were sufficient and that the Provincial Congress Committee should immediately begin its work of organisation. (3) Expressing gratitude to P. M. Bapat, ex-president of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. (4) Congratulating Babu Subhash Chandra Bose on securing the honour of being the first offering in our war.

The speech of the President-elect Mr. M. S. Aney was to the effect that Maharashtra should play its part in the future struggle and help India to present a united front. Although the Working Committee desired to avoid the struggle, it was being forced upon it against its will by the acts of Government. He said " before the ink on the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was dry acts were being committed by the bureaucracy with the intention of scrapping it." He made a special appeal to youths to take part and to observe non-violence. The delegates showed anxiety to get the Conference over as quickly as possible so that they might return to their own districts and make arrangement in anticipation of arrests.

Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

January 16, 1932.

180. Sessions of Maharashtra Provincial Conference :

Kolaba, January 2.—The Maharashtra Provincial Conference was preceded by a Swadeshi Exhibition opened on December 27 by Gangadhar Balkrishna Deshpande supported by S. D. Deo, S. C. Bose (who paid a flying visit to Panvel for the purpose) and a number of local leaders.

The open sessions concluded on the morning of January 3, and the leaders hastily dispersed to their destinations. Throughout the Conference, there was an atmosphere of tension, owing to the rapid march of political events and as a result, the proceedings were more hasty and carried less importance, perhaps than would otherwise have been the case.

Extracts from the speech made by Atmaram Mahadeo Athavane (Atavane), chairman of the Reception Committee at the 8th Sessions of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Conference, held at Panvel on 2 and 3 January 1932.

"Leaving aside the Chirner affair, other forest satyagrahas in this district affected the administration of the Government and it may be as a result of this that the Chirner satyagraha ended in firing. The Chirner affair would require a separate chapter in the history of the movement in the country. I do not want to say anything about it as it is fresh in your memory ; but here I cannot but remember those seven persons who fell victims unnecessarily. The attention of the whole of the nation was then attracted to the criminal case under all horrible sections of I. P. C. against the Congress leaders who saved the lives of Government servants at the risk of their own lives. Today I want to make some suggestions. You should take into consideration the necessity of putting aside the disputable questions such as Hindus and Mahammadans, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, touchables and untouchables and landlords and tenants when the critical fight has begun between the Government on one side and its subjects on the other ; these questions will automatically be solved when the fight ends satisfactorily. The untouchables should bear in mind that this is not the time to show black flags to Mahatma Gandhi."

Extracts from the speech made by the president M. S. Aney :—

"The responsibility of carrying out the fight for independence lies on youths who obliged the Working Committee to adopt such a resolution (at the Lahore Congress Session). It is for the youths to settle to what extent they should carry on the movement. I am positive that they would not fall back. However, they should remain within the limit laid down by the Congress."

“ We have to defeat the enemy and to achieve the goal of independence without arms. Satyagraha is the only weapon for it which is non-violent. Those who would like to go by this path, must have some training in *shibirs* which were started last year at different places. *Ashrams* are necessary for giving such training to lakhs of persons. When such trained persons take part in the fight of Civil Disobedience Movement, then only will the way of achieving independence be easy. There is no other road but to stick to the principle of non-violence. The fight is not against a handful of civilians or the army of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of persons, but it is a fight between 33 crores of Indians with the 5 crores of British people in England. Today the power is not solely in the hands of the Governor-General but it is in the hands of 5 crores of people in England. This British rule is just like a demon with whose drops of blood many demons come into existence. The British rule is such as they would replace men every day till their population of 5 crores is over. This administration does not belong to cowardly persons but it belongs to persons who are selfish and bold. For the last 50 or 75 years so many persons are being killed in the Frontier Provinces but their places are filled and the administration is going on. Youths should understand the nature of the fight. The history of Ireland does not apply here. It is not possible for us to achieve the objective like Ireland with the help of arms. The people should not be afraid of the law. If this administration is to be done away with, the fear of the law, which exists in the minds of the general public, should be removed. I ought to have praised you first for the self-sacrifice you did at Chirner and Sholapur. ”

“ It is the duty of students to come to the rescue of the mother-country by leaving aside their studies. ”

“ I am of opinion that the Working Committee has been compelled to renew the fight against their wishes. They had also to pass the resolution against their wishes. It should be remembered that the Working Committee wanted to keep up the truce. But the Government did not like the Congress and hence they have challenged you for the fight. In three provinces ordinances have been promulgated on the lines for Martial Law. ”

“ Some of those who had been to the Round Table Conference are labouring under the impression that India has got 14 annas of Swaraj, but in my opinion it does not amount to even 4 annas. ”

“ The Working Committee has decided not to practise social boycott. The National Congress has asked the whole of the world to come to our help as the fight we have started is altogether different. The whole of the world is looking towards you. We are trying to defeat the enemy by our non-violent methods. ”

“ Without waiting for the reply from the Viceroy you may take this to be the signal for war and be prepared for the same. ”

182. Proceedings of the Indian Christian Conference :

Poona, January 2.—The 17th Annual Indian Christian Conference was held in the Empire Cinema on December 28 and 29 under the presidency of Principal N. Jordan of the Parkar High School, Muradabad. Resolutions were passed congratulating Gandhi on his safe return ; approving of the commission appointed by the Round Table Conference to work out India's future ; expressing dissatisfaction at the premature arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru ; demanding joint electorates with reserved seats ; requesting Christian youths to help the present movement and to undergo some sacrifices for the liberation of India ; and requesting Government to stop arrests and create a peaceful atmosphere for the smooth future working of the Round Table Conference ; demanding the withdrawal of Ordinances and the release of Jawaharlal Nehru, etc; condemning the terrorists for their murderous acts ; requesting the Congress not to start the non-tax and other aggressive movements immediately, but to maintain peace as there were certain hopes of a compromise ; etc. The attendance was 75 the first day and 100 on the second.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

January 30, 1932.

275. Nasik.— 13 meetings, important ones being Yeola, January 10 (15,000), January 12 (1,000), January 13 (1,200), January 14 (2,000) and January 15 (2,000) ; all organised to carry on Congress propaganda by either Congress Volunteers or members. The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The timely arrest and removal of the principal Congress leaders under clause 3 (1) of Ordinance II has proved very effective in nipping projected agitation in the bud and has been followed up by the prompt arrest and conviction of leaders, particularly in Nasik city, Niphad taluka and Yeola under section 17(1) of the C. L. A. Act and Section 18 of the Indian Press Act, 1931. "

Ahmednagar.—Six meetings with attendances in Ahmednagar city from two to three thousand.

The speakers urged Government servants to join the Civil Disobedience Movement and boycott British goods.

Poona.—Two women have been taking prominent part at meetings, Mrs. Yashodabai Bhat and Mrs. Laxmibai Thuse, dictator of the Congress Committee. Roy Day was celebrated by the Maharashtra Youth League by a meeting on January 16 (2,000). The speakers referred to the life and work of M. N. Roy and remarked that " though Roy differed from the Congress yet he worked towards the same end—the freedom of India. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 6

February 6, 1932.

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333. *Thana, January 23.*—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The situation in the district, as a whole, continues to be fairly quiet. While the talukas in the interior which are usually inhabited by ignorant and poor agriculturists show no activity in the coastal regions the Congressmen have slowly begun to recover from the effect of the first onslaught of the Ordinances.

Though they have not yet been able to decide upon any line of concerted action, they have begun to think that, in order to save the face of Congress, they must do something and with that in view several persons are now coming forward individually to defy the law in one form or other and to court arrest. The main idea underlying their action is to help as much as possible to create and maintain a high pitch of excitement, both local and All-India. That the excitement is not as manifest as they desire is due more to the fear of the Ordinances by the general public than to the lack of general sympathy towards the Congress. "

Bombay Suburban District, January 23.—Vigorous attempts were made at Vile-Parle to induce people to take part in demonstration but the public in general are not inclined to do so.

Almednagar, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes :—" Apart from an attempt at picketing at Belapur, which led to the arrest of two people, no activity has been displayed in the district. "

Nasik, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes :—" The situation throughout the district has considerably improved, with the exception of Wadner which is being dealt with and not expected to last long. "

Sholapur, January 2.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" It will be noticed that very few local people are taking part in the movement. The reason for this may be their heavy fines which are being imposed and collected immediately from local agitators or their relatives, when convicted. "

Satara, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" Five Political meetings were held during the week under review as against sixteen in the last week. This larger drop is due to the preventive measures taken by the Police at some of the large towns in dispersing the audience assembled, when it was definitely known that the meetings were going to be held in furtherance of the Congress cause. In consequence of these and other precautionary measures, there has been no political meeting held so far in the district since January 17. "

Kolaba, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes :—" The public generally still remain aloof from Congress activities. A few local agitators offered themselves for arrest and prosecution by means of speeches, distribution of bulletins, breaches of notices under Section 4 of Ordinance II, etc. " A few more arrests were also made under Section 3 of Ordinance II. There is an undercurrent of agitation at Panvel which has not so far taken any active form except for the daily circulation of objectionable bulletins. There are occasional feeble attempts to take out *prabhat feris* at Pen and Mahad. "

With very few exceptions, agitators have been observing the terms of the notices issued on them under Section 4 of Ordinance II. Such persons, however, are undoubtedly carrying on the agitation secretly and acting as wirepullers, e.g., D. K. Kunte's house at Alibag has become the rendezvous of persons with Congress tendencies. Similarly, T. N. Bedekar is undoubtedly carrying on his activities at Panvel.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 7

February 13, 1932.

386. Thana.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The policy of Congressmen in the district appears to be that of keeping up the show by putting forward people from time to time for arrest. But local people of any importance are unwilling to come forward as could be seen from the fact that for celebrating the Peshawar Day in Thana the Congressmen had to import one Fattechand Kothari, a Marwari, from Bombay side to stand as the dictator of the local Congress Committee. The attitude of the intelligent classes is one of sullenness. "

Bombay Suburban District.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" There is very little apparent local activity—the big idea now seems to be to try and import agitators from Bombay from time to time. This does not seem to be taking on, because there is no local support for them. There was only one meeting at Chembur on January 24 (60). "

Ahmednagar.—The only important celebration was Peshawar Day, January 29, which had an audience of 4,000.

Poona.—Meetings attracted audiences of about 400. Among other things the boycott of kerosene and petrol from British companies was proposed. A meeting of keepers of presses and publishers of newspapers was held on January 24, N. C. Kelkar presiding. Resolutions were passed criticising the enlargement of the Press Act by the addition of Section 63 of Ordinance II of 1932. The District Magistrate's circular to presses was also criticised and a resolution passed against it.

Satara.—Attempts were made to celebrate Independence Day January 26, at Wai and Karad but were dispersed by the Police. 13 satyagrahis took part in forest satyagraha at Shirala on January 21, a day earlier than their published date. The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" On the whole with the exception of a few political agitators who are proclaiming themselves as dictators and courting arrest, the movement continues to have practically no support from the public in general in this district. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 9

February 27, 1932.

490. S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 27 :

Thana.—Six meetings ; Maximum attendance 125. It is possible that in March there will be some attempt to recommence salt satyagraha, as it will be easy to pick up natural salt by then.

Nasik.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" Generally speaking there is no Civil Disobedience Movement in the district worth the name. Isolated efforts by individuals to convene a meeting or hold a flag salutation ceremony do occur occasionally, but there is no real organised effort behind these displays which are the work of either irresponsible youths or some crank who wishes to gain notoriety ".

Poona.—During the week there were no processions or meetings in defiance of the order under Section 144, C. P. C. Some youths and boys made sporadic efforts in various parts of the town to start meetings but these were stopped promptly at the outset.

Satara.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" Mention might be made of a cardboard poster exhibited at Karad on a temple post during the week. The poster contained a warning to the Magistrate that he will be murdered. The movement on the whole lacks support of the public and beyond the doings of a few agitators the situation is quiet. "

Ratnagiri.—Loyalty meetings are being organised with good results in rural parts of the district to enlighten ignorant cultivators on the policy of Government and the great harm the Congress movement is doing to the country. The only activity in Vengurla is the distributing of Congress bulletins. It is suspected that these bulletins are being cyclostyled at Savantvadi and brought into Vengurla.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 12

March 19, 1932.

657. Thana.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" People are sometimes brought in from outside who offered themselves for arrests under false names with a view to avoid realisation of fines and trace of previous convictions. Boycott of British goods is quietly gaining strength amongst educated people, inspite of the fact that there have been no demonstrations to advocate it. "

Sholapur.—A meeting attended by 300 was held in Sholapur on March 4 when R. G. Jaju presided and was the only speaker. Declaring himself the 24th dictator he said that he was about to be sent to jail for the fourth time. If Sholapur was to be powerful then the movement must be a non-violent one, even though there were lathi charges and firing. If men were not ready to suffer then they could not expect freedom. If the people of Sholapur wish to be real heroes they should go to jail.

Kolaba.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The public is keeping aloof of activities, although not altogether unsympathetic towards the Congress. There appears to be a lack of programme and lack of organisation or perhaps fear of the ordinances is responsible for this effect. On the other hand an occasional agitator here and there deliberately breaks the law and goes to jail. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 14

April 8, 1933.

319. *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, April 8.*—The *Maratha* newspaper dated the 2nd April has a leading article which offers outspoken advice on the continuance of civil disobedience. It comments on the sporting spirit in which both Congress and Government have carried on the fight with regard to the holding of the Congress session at Calcutta and says—" The fight is practically carried on in a kind of sporting spirit on both sides. It is free from the mysterious terror which accompanies the secret revolutionary movement in Bengal or elsewhere. Beyond the penalty of going to jail for a few days there is no risk involved to the Congress workers in carrying on the fight ; and there is no labour involved to Government beyond that of making prompt police arrangement to frustrate the opponent's designs. We have deliberately used the word ' opponent ' because the Congress propagandist is not looked upon as an ' enemy ' by Government , as is positively the case with terrorists and anarchists. " It continues " the Civil Disobedience Movement has arrived at a stage when its leaders should think of changing their tactics. Surely the Civil Disobedience Movement is not an end in itself. It must be regarded only as a means to an end The acceptance of the creed of council-entry by the Congress leaders will at once harmonise all the discordant notes that are heard in the country, some praising the Civil Disobedience Movement and some criticising it. What is really wanted is a broad platform of principle and programme, which will accommodate not only ardent spirits in the destructive movement but also those who are equally ardent on the constructive sides. "

These views appear to represent correctly the Maharashtrian attitude at present.

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Annexure I

TOTAL ARRESTED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Name of District	1932												1933				
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May.
Bombay Suburban	22	25	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	11	12	3	1	1
Bandra	27	8	9	19	11	14	120	..	..	2	14	..	..	3	..	..	..
Thana	15	52	34	28	32	24	3	11	2	3	1	4	2	2	..	20	..
Ratnagiri	29	19	20	10	7	14	1	13	..	16	3	4	4	8	3	1	..
Kolaba	26	10	15	20	21	11	21	12	11	9	..	..	..	4	..	1	..
Nasik	27	2	18	15	34	8	8	2	2	7	6	2	..	6	..	12	..
Sholapur	..	17	8	26	32	10	2	18	5	..	4	1	1	3	..	5	..
Poona	19	80	48	63	48	21	29	13	2	1	1	1	3	19	..	8	..
Satara	33	23	4	24	26	13	2	9	5	1	3	6	5	1	..	7	1
East Khandesh	23	..	6	7	14	8	11	..	18	2	..	3	4	4	2	10	..
West Khandesh	14	20	11	11	27	3	..	2	..	2	1	1	6	..	3	54	11
Ahmednagar	17	29	13	47	26	26	23	8	9	2	..	7	6	2	1	..	1

Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLV

No. 39

Nagpur, Saturday, 11 October 1930.

254. General Summary :

With the exception of the Robertson Medical School, the Government educational institutions reopened at Nagpur on the 6 and 8 October. The Congress left the matter of picketing to the student's union and eventually nothing was done. The attendance at first was well over 50 per cent and has since increased steadily. Sherlekar, dictator of the C. P. Marathi War Council, was arrested on the 4 October and has been succeeded by Mrs. Kale¹, ex-M.L.C., who is indulging in a good deal of intemperate speaking. Partial hartal was observed on the 9 October in protest against the killing of the two villagers at Gondia and the conviction of BhagatSingh and others in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. There was a drop of about 50 per cent in the attendance at the colleges, but the mills were practically unaffected and continued to work. A procession of about 7,000 persons, including 500 women, marched through the city and ended with a public meeting under the presidency of the new dictator, Mrs. Kale. Various speakers dilated in glowing terms on the patriotism of the Lahore convicts and pointed out that only a very thin line divided non-violence from actual violence. Though the Congress disapproved of violent methods, they and the revolutionary party both had the same object in view, and Congress could not but appreciate the great sacrifice which BhagatSingh and his companions had made. The Gondia incident was described as an unwarranted assault by the police on innocent villagers. A few speakers condemned the students for permitting the colleges to remain open. Vigorous action continues in the Chanda and Wardha districts, and a further general improvement is reported. There has been no further forest satyagraha in the Marathi districts.

Further considerable improvement is reported from Berar. Meetings have been much fewer and picketing is now generally ineffective. The only attempt at forest satyagraha was made at Yeotmal where, on the 5th October, six men broke the law in the presence of a handful of spectators and were arrested.

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¹ Anasuyabai Kale was a prominent lady worker from Nagpur who later became a Minister in C. P. and then a M. P.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 45

22 November 1930.

275. Congress activities have since then been concentrated on the boycott of the annual excise auctions. At a public meeting in Nagpur on the 20 November 1930, Harkare, the new dictator, explained that Congress policy was now to achieve results without incurring unnecessary losses. In consequence, there was very little serious picketing where sales took place, but strenuous efforts were made before hand to persuade contractors not to bid. At Nagpur, the War Council had a private meeting with about 80 contractors, and induced about half of them to sign an agreement not to bid. Many of these contractors went back on this agreement. Owing to this propaganda, and to losses in last year and to unfavourable economic conditions this year, bidding was below average.

Congress leaders have claimed that the poor percentage of voting at the elections and the low bidding at these auctions is proof of the fact that agitation is still vigorous.

Reports covering the 16th have been received from Nagpur, Akola, Yeotmal and show that Nehru day was celebrated in all those places. The attendance at meetings numbered 8,000 at Nagpur, and 2,000 at Akola. Extracts from the speech at Allahabad on the 12 October 1930 for which Nehru was convicted, were publicly read out at meetings in each of these places.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 46

29 November 1930.

280. Further reports about the annual excise sales indicate that owing to Congress propaganda and other unfavourable conditions there has been a drop of probably over 30 per cent in excise revenue. The actual picketing, was in most places ineffective and the Congress made itself felt in other ways. There is no doubt that Congress influence is still considerable. The public are asked to recognise one of two masters, and have been clearly told that they cannot serve both. Those who disobey Congress orders are threatened with ruin. The position of Billimoria & Sons in Nagpur is a case in point. Congress had settled with liquor contractors that any contractor who exceeded a bid of 25 per cent of last year's figure would be liable for a fine of Rs. 500 to Congress. Billimoria & Sons who are big contractors dealing in petrol, oil, motors, mill yarn and liquor ignored this settlement, and are now threatened with an intensive boycott. It remains to be seen how far Congress will succeed. Other contractors in Nagpur complied with the Congress order with the result that 80 per cent of the country liquor shops could not be sold. In the Katol tahsil there was no bidding.

At Akola about 400 volunteers picketed the sales, including ladies from Amraoti, Akola and Yeotmal. The loss at these sales was 50 per cent.

The boycott of foreign cloth is about the same. In Nagpur a conference between Congress and merchants on the 27th resulted in no agreement and merchants intend to restart the sale of foreign cloth from December 1st. Foreign cloth is now being sold in Gondia by several dealers and renewed picketing is anticipated.

On 23rd November, Harkare, the Nagpur Congress dictator, was arrested under Section 108 C. P. C. for his action on the 16th and has been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. He has been succeeded by Appaji Halde, ex-M. L. C., an old agitator whose record dates from 1907. Halde's place on the C. P. Marathi War Council was taken by Babaji Patel, dictator of Chanda. He was arrested at Chanda on the 26th and was replaced by Yadorao Deshmukh.

The pamphlet *The 8 Days Interlude* has been noticed only at Nagpur and Yeotmal.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 49

20 December 1930.

292. There are indications that attempts are being made to launch a no-tax campaign in the Akola district, and several speakers have referred to this subject in recent speeches. Speakers are taking the line which is likely to appeal to their audiences by advocating the refusal to pay land revenue on economic grounds. A circular advocating this view and containing violently seditious references to Government is being circulated from Malkapur in the Buldana district.

In Amraoti, there was a revival of activity due to the arrival of N. S. Hardikar, a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee and President of the Hindustani Sewa Dal. A belated attempt to take out the Garhwal procession against the District Magistrate's orders on the 12th led to the arrest, under Section 145 C. P. C., of Ozarkar, President of the Berar War Council, and several other leading members; this was followed by a demonstration in which the police were twice pelted with stones.

In Bhandara, the recent arrests seem to have effected an improvement. Only two small meetings were held. Wardha, Chanda and Yeotmal report less activity. Partial hartals were held at various places as a result of the arrest of V. J. Patel.

Foreign cloth.—Picketing has started at Khamgaon where some dealers had resumed sales. In Nagpur, the position seems about the same. At Gondia, an attempt is being made to work up a special boycott of refractory dealers.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

10 January, 1931.

1. There is an outbreak of lawlessness in the Buldana district directed against moneylenders and *sawears*, who are generally Brahmans or Marwaris. The main cause, however, is discontent of the agricultural population at the low prices of cotton and grain acting on the spirit of lawlessness fostered by the Civil Disobedience Movement. According to one account the preachings of an anti-Brahman party known as the Satya Shodhak is said to have been the immediate cause of the outbreak.

No-tax campaign.—The no-tax campaign continues in Berar. In the Akola district there has been increased activity, and three prominent local agitators, including the secretary of the War Council, have been arrested. The Malkapur circular mentioned in last week's summary was found pasted on the Congress noticeboard in Amraoti city. Yeotmal also reports similar activity by Ozarkar (President, Berar War Council) before his arrest.

In the Central Provinces (Marathi), the *zamindar* and *malguzar* element in the Congress do not appear to favour the movement for obvious reasons. Appaji Halde, President of the War Council, is of this party, but propaganda has started in Nagpur and the other two leaders of the War Council, Kamavisdar and Yadao Rao, have since been arrested and convicted. Propaganda in villages is also being carried on. Similar propaganda is going on in the Chanda district.

The week has been a quiet one in Nagpur city. A series of meetings were convened by the Congress Committee in an effort to revive waning interest, and at one of these meetings, Mrs. Radhabai Oke (Oak) of Akola made a most objectionable speech eulogising the sacrifices of political assassins. With the lapse of the Intimidation Ordinance, the picketing of cloth shops has been resumed and several shopkeepers have been blackmailed, by a threat of picketing, into paying fines imposed by Congress. Three Muhammadan shopkeepers who withstood these efforts were heavily picketed and their customers annoyed and obstructed, and eventually six of the picketers were arrested for being members of an unlawful assembly.

Volunteers from the Nagpur city have been touring in the interior of the district urging the cultivators to refuse to pay their land revenue. The line they suggest is inability to pay owing to the present economical depression.

The picketing of liquor shops continues in Nagpur city and in four villages.

In Berar, the boycott of Government servants is being persistently advocated.

All the 20 persons arrested on the 12th December 1930 in connection with Garhwal procession at Amraoti have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and fine under Section 145 I. P. C. Dr. Hardikar's attempts at Warur and Jarur to revive Congress agitation were unsuccessful owing to Brahman-non-Brahman differences in this area.

An increase in Congress activity is reported from the Sakoli circle in the Bhandara district.

No-tax-campaign.—Bardoli Day was celebrated on the 21st December 1930 at all principal places in the C. P. Marathi districts by hartals, processions and meetings to spread propaganda for non-payment of land revenue.

In Berar there has been increased activity. The Buldana District Agricultural Conference attended by about 10,000 persons was held at Nandura on the 31st December under the presidency of Jannadas Mehta of Bombay. Resolutions asking for revised assessments and remission of land revenue and *taccavi* in full this year were adopted. A committee of 13 persons was appointed to devise means to make the collection of revenue impossible unless Government agreed to these demands by the 20th January 1931. Jannadas expressed his readiness to come and lead the movement.

At Akola a public meeting of cultivators was held on the 4 January 1931 under the Presidency of B. G. Khaparde.¹ M. L. C. About 5,000 persons attended. Resolutions on the lines of the Buldana Conference were passed. A resolution opposing any new taxation was also adopted. Speeches on similar lines were made at other public meetings in the Buldana, Amraoti and Yeotmal districts.

Picketing of cloth shops.—The picketing of cloth shops in Nagpur city continues and nine persons including eight women have been arrested under Section 341 or 143. Negotiations are now proceeding between the Congress and the Merchants's Association.

Eleven foreign cloth merchants of Chanda did not agree to Congress seals and their shops were, therefore, picketed on the 3 January 1931. They caved in and stocks were sealed for another month.

Foreign cloth shops are being picketed at Wardha, Hinganghat and Arvi.

Shopkeepers in Amraoti city except a few Muhamādan merchants are reported to have decided to stop the sale of foreign goods. Picketing of one of the Muhammadan shops began on the 1 January 1931, but so far sales have not been affected.

At Khamgaon, a meeting of Muhammadans condemned the picketing of a Muhammadan cloth shop and it was decided to invite some Bombay Kachhi to open a foreign cloth shop in Khamgaon and deal with picketers as occasion should arise. It was also decided that all other Muhammadan cloth merchants should break their seals and sell foreign cloth openly.

Liquor picketing.—Picketing of Billimoria's concerns has not materialised for want of volunteers. His new liquor shop in the city is selling well. Ramtek in the Nagpur district and Hinganghat in the Wardha district report some obstruction to contractors removing liquor from warehouses. The offences are under investigation. Sales of Sindi liquor at Mul (Chanda) have dropped as a result of picketing started there on the 25 December 1930. Picketing of the liquor shop at Yeotmal was started on the 4 January 1931.

¹ He formed Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh in 1923. Edited a Marathi Journal *Udaya*. He was Minister for Education (1934-36) in the Central Provinces.

General .—There has been no recrudescence of lawlessness in the Buldana district.

Appaji Halde, Dictator of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee, who has been active lately in the Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara and Chanda Districts, was arrested on the 9 January 1931 under Section 18 of Ordinance No. X of 1930.

In general Congress workers on release from jail seem to be avoiding rearrest, but there can be little doubt that they are secretly active.

Nagpur observed complete hartal on the occasion of Muhammad Ali's death. There was a procession of 3,000. There meetings of sympathy were held, the largest attracting 5,000. Congress workers and Muhammadans participated.

Obliteration of Census numbers on houses is reported from Wardha and Arvi. Three boys who obliterated the numbers on police quarters at Wardha are being prosecuted. The local Congress Committee has disowned them.

In Bhandara the District Council schoolmasters are reported to be acting openly as Congress agents.

Probably to revive waning interest, a public meeting attended by 2,000 persons was held at Chanda on the 29 December 1930. The speakers included Appaji Halde, President, C. P. Marathi War Council. Inciting speeches were made with particular emphasis on boycott of foreign goods. Nothing permanent appears to have resulted from the proceedings.

At Yeotmal Professor Abhyankar of Poona Law College spoke at two public meetings on the form of Swaraj to be expected from the Round Table Conference and recommended the Swiss system of Government as a suitable model for India.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

17 January, 1931.

9. No-tax campaign.—Further meetings advocating non-payment of land revenue have been held in the Akola district.

In the C. P. Marathi and Hindi districts, cultivators are being advised to express their inability to pay land revenue and to petition the Government for remission.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops.—On the 8 January, 1931, three cloth merchants at Warora (Chanda) started selling foreign cloth but agreed to stop sales when approached by volunteers.

On the 10 January 1931, the cloth shop of a Marwari at Hinganghat (Wardha), who had begun to sell foreign cloth, was partially burnt. There was considerable damage. There seems no doubt that this was a deliberate act to punish the Marwari for disobeying Congress orders.

Census.—A few spasmodic attempts to interfere with Census operations are reported from Bhandara district.

General.—Appasaheb Halde, ex-President of the C. P. Marathi War Council, has been sentenced to 6 month's R. I. and a fine of Rs. 200. He has been succeeded by Pandharipande, of Betul, who has recently been acting as secretary of the C. P. Marathi War Council.

To protest against the Sholapur executions a partial hartal was observed at Nagpur on 15 January, 1931 followed by a procession and a meeting of about 2,500 persons. The speeches were on the usual lines.

Condolence meetings, hartals and processions on account of Mr. Muhammad Ali's death are reported from most districts.

M. S. Aney has been released from Seoni jail. He had a fair reception on his return to the Yeotmal district. The municipality presented him with an address at a meeting of 4,000 persons. Aney's speech was non-committal. He said he would decide the future programme after consultation with Biyani¹ at Amraoti and Motilal Nehru at Allahabad.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

24 January, 1931.

14. No-tax campaign.—Several villages in the Manora station-house of the Akola district have combined in an application to the Deputy Commissioner for Suspension of Land Revenue intimating that if Government insists on payment they will decline to pay in cash.

Action is under contemplation against agitators in the Buldana district who have incited cultivators, either by speeches or house-to-house visits, not to pay land revenue.

In the Nagpur district, stereotyped resolutions about inability to pay revenue are in circulation in several station houses. They are obviously the work of Congress.

All these three districts have since been declared by the Local Government Notified Areas for the purposes of the Unlawful Instigation (Second) Ordinance, 1930 (XI of 1930).

The villagers of Jalgaon in the Arvi station-house circle of the Wardha district, are being stirred by agitators and the District Superintendent of Police reports that "possibly the Congress wants to make it a starting point".

¹ Brijlal Biyani (1896-1968) strove hard for the growth and popularity of Congress in Central India. He was a member of the Provincial Legislature (1926-29) and President of Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee (1935-48).

Picketing of foreign cloth shops.—In Nagpur city, cloth merchants have compromised with Congress. That is, they have promised not to sell foreign cloth, but have refused to seal their stocks and sales continue. Nine picketers were arrested during the week. At Kuhi (Nagpur) a cloth shop was picketed for not observing a hartal and seven arrests were made.

Khaddar.—A Khadi Bhandar at Khamgaon (Buldana) and an ashram for khadi spinning and weaving at a village Nandura in the same district have been opened.

Liquor picketing.—Picketing of liquor shops in Nagpur city is nominal. In the interior of the district there were threats of molestation at Ramtek and at Umred a number of toddy trees were felled and sindi shop was forced to close down. Several arrests are about to be made.

Picketing has been slightly intensified in the Buldana and Akola districts after the death of Gore Pleader. At Akola purchasers are beginning to adopt a more resolute attitude.

General.—With the reintroduction of the News Sheet ordinance, Congress bulletins are being regularly seized in Nagpur city. Sakharam Joshi, an ex-student, who now figures as the publisher of the bulletins is being prosecuted. The Police have not yet been able to seize the cyclostyle machine used for producing these bulletins. On the 18th, a head constable seizing Congress bulletins was assaulted by a number of persons who rushed out of the Congress office. Arrests have been made under Section 147.

Pandharipande, President of the War Council, is being prosecuted under Section 108 C. P. C. for a strong speech made by him on Sholapur Day.

Independence Week was inaugurated in Nagpur on the 18th. This will consist in Nagpur, of a series of nightly meetings ending in a hartal, procession and meeting on the 26th.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 19

16 May 1931.

131. C. P. dated for the week ending 9 May 1931.—Meetings have been few and in most cases unimportant. More attention is being paid to other means of propaganda. Dr. Hardikar of the Hindustani Sewa Dal, attended the 10th anniversary of the Khamgaon National School with W. R. Joshi, Dr. Patwardhan and other leaders.

W. R. Joshi addressed a large meeting at Talegaon in the Wardha district on the 5 May 1931 and has revived anti-Government feeling in that area, where conditions had been improving.

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134. Arms Act Satyagraha : Nagpur, 9-5-1931.—On May 1st Awari¹ inaugurated intensive picketing of foreign cloth shops in the city. This has continued ever since, and on two occasions the movements of bales of cloth have been impeded. Threatening letters have also been sent by order of Mr. Awari to the City Superintendent and one Sub-Inspector, and to most of the merchants, reminding them respectively of the fates of Saunders, and Agha of Benares. On the 6th a dagger was found in the City Superintendent's quarters with a paper inscribed "By order of H. H. Mr. Awari". Nightly meetings have been held in furtherance of his activities, and on two occasions Awari has been publicly presented with a sword. He attends all meetings armed. On the 4th he was accorded a civic welcome, at which G. B. Parekh presented him with a silver casket.

The movement is not supported by Congress, and on 2nd M. V. Abhyankar had a long interview with Awari and tried his best to dissuade him from pursuing his activities which were not in accordance with the pact, but without avail. At a public meeting in honour of leaders and volunteers on the 4th, at which both Awari and Abhyankar were present. Abhyankar and Kanitkar roundly denounced Awari's activities.

Following the intense picketing, eight arrests of Awari's principal-followers were made on the 1st, including Abdul Rahman and Abhimanyu but Purshottam Mahajan absconded. On the 7th Awari and two others were arrested.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 22

13 June 1931.

166. C. P. for the week ending the 6 June 1931.—District reports make it still more clear that Congress is concentrating on stirring up agitation among the agriculturists. . . . Except for this there have been few political meetings.

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167. (V) Bhandara, 10-6-1931.—A conference of agriculturists was held at Sakoli on the 1 June 1931. The attendance was 2,000. The chief organisers were Tembekar, pleader of Sakoli, Pathak of Bhandara and Umrao Singh of Kaneri. Mr. Salve of Nagpur was to have presided but as he did not turn up. Chaturbhuj of Gondia occupied the chair.

¹ Manchersha Awari figured in the leadership in C. P. & Berar after Flag Satyagraha of Nagpur in 1923. He led the "sashastra andolan" in protest against Government ban on arms. When the Congress was outlawed, he took lead in organising Republican Army in 1932, and since then he was termed as General Awari.

Mr. Tembekar, the president of the reception committee, explained to the audience the object of this conference by stating that though Sakoli tahsil was backward in respect of politics, in the last satyagrah movement it has sent 30 to 40 persons to jail from 11 villages. He then spoke of the agriculturists' sad plight owing to crop failure and the fall in prices of the food-stuffs. Yet Government did not give remission. He accused Government servants of trying to impress upon tenants that Congress and its activities were responsible for this state of things. He said that on the other hand the Congress leader, Mahatma had demanded 50 per cent reduction in the land revenue. The fight was for the cause of the country and so they should suffer the misery with patience. Success was sure in the end, if they would unite like the Bardoli people.

The following are some of the resolutions passed :—

“ The Conference approves the truce, condemns the Government for failing to give remission ; requests the Government to allow free grazing, *nistar*, free right of use over mahua produce, etc. ”

The President then exhorted them to follow the example set by the Bardoli people in case the Government failed to fulfil the demand next year.

Last year Kaneri was one of the centres of civil disobedience and Umrao singh Johari, the leading agitator, arranged this conference at Kaneri to prepare the people of surrounding villages for future agitation. The conference was successful in enlisting the support of the people for the Congress.

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(1) *Buldana, 6-6-1931*. —The advertised conference was held at Khamgaon on the 1st and 2nd of June. About 5,000 persons attended the conference.

The proceedings started on the 1st after the usual national songs. Dr. Parasnis proposed and Waman Gopal Joshi seconded Vallabhbhai Patel, to the chair. Then Rao Bahadur K. J. Deshmukh, presented an address to him on behalf of the Municipal Committee of Khamgaon in his capacity as the chairman of that body. . . . The long and short of Vallabhbhai Patel's speech was that they should all observe the terms of the truce religiously and should not infringe them unless and until they were forced by the Government to do it. He advised them all to prepare themselves for the coming war which would be started if they did not get what they wanted in the Round Table Conference. Nothing short of Swaraj would satisfy them and the next war, if started, would be very severe. He then had a dig at the European merchants of Calcutta, saying that they wanted to rule over them with the help of arms and Musalmans but he warned them that no nation could rule over another by force of arms. If half the population of India were to die in the struggle, there would be more room for the other half to live in better conditions and the Government would also realise the value of ruling with bullets. He then deprecated the differences between the capitalists and labourers and Brahmins and Non-Brahmins of Berar and said that they should sink their misunderstanding for the cause of the country. He then blamed the Government for the Forest Laws and liquor shops and said that instead of having schools for the education of the children of kisans in every village, government was making money by the sale of liquor. He also advised people to use khadi and spin their own thread. He added that they had not made sufficient sacrifices in the last battle and they must be prepared to dishonourable deaths, if necessary, in future.

Korde then announced that a Swadeshi Bazaar had been opened.

In the evening on 2nd the proceedings were again started at about 7 p.m. Bobde, Pleader, presented an address on behalf of the Khamgaon Taluqa Board. Dr. Parasnis then read out following resolutions :

1. Condolence on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Gore pleader and others.
2. Appreciation of the bravery and patriotism of Bhagat Singh and others and indignation at the action of Government in executing them.
3. Appreciation of all who had taken part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and supported by Durgatai Joshi. They also spoke on the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, etc, and Patwardhan said that what they had achieved by the boycott, could be known by the speeches of Churchill.
4. Gandhi-Irwin pact to be respected by all and efforts to be made to observe the terms.
5. In this Province Gandhi-Irwin truce terms are not being observed as the Provincial Committee requests the District Committees to make enquiries about it, and send in their reports.
6. Demanding release of Ogle, editor of *Maharashtra*, Nagpur, as truce had been declared.
7. Demanding that the ban on entry of Panchlegaonkar into the Bombay Presidency, should be removed.

NOTE BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER.—The Berar Political Provincial Conference was an attempt to revive political agitation. In spite of the presence of a host of agitators from Berar and of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to preside at the conference, it excited little enthusiasm, and the convenors of the conference failed in their object in convening it.

Mr. Patel appears to have made some frank remarks which were resented by some agitators. The political situation was proof against the incitement which a conference of this type might have been expected to lead to and is now in no way worse than it was before the conference.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

9 Januray, 1932.

1. *C. P. for the weeks ending 19-12-1931, 26-12-1931 and 2-1-1932.*—There has been a general increase in agitation, in anticipation of Gandhi's return and especially since the arrest of Congress leaders from December 26th.

The Congress campaign against the payment of land revenue has been strong in Berar, where it has probably had considerable effect.

In general, speakers have been careful to insist that they are not advocating a no-tax campaign but are merely helping cultivators to vent a legitimate grievance in protesting against the scale of crop valuation by Government officials.

Hartals and meetings have been more or less general as a result of the arrests of Congress leaders, and there has been much activity especially in Nagpur and Berar. In C. P. Marathi and Berar, Congress Committees have been replaced by War Councils and in Nagpur merchants have been given till January 10th to burn or seal their stocks of foreign cloth.

It is understood that some of the students of the Science College, Nagpur, have left to join the movement but information is incomplete.

No great change in the number of recruits of Hindustani Seva Dal is reported. The Akola camp broke up automatically after the 27 December.

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5. *S. B., C. P., 5-1-1932.*—At a meeting convened on the evening of the 3rd instant, Punamehand Ranka¹ announced the receipt of information that Vallabhbhai Patel had been arrested at Bombay. It was thereupon decided to have a hartal on 4th ostensibly as a protest against the repressive policy of Government. The hartal yesterday was partial in the forenoon, but on receipt of information during the afternoon of Mr. Gandhi's arrest practically all the Hindu shops closed. Muhammadan shops, however, remained open. The Model Mills closed down, but the employees of the Empress Mills worked as usual even after being informed during the dinner hour of Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

During the afternoon there was a private meeting of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee. It was resolved to dissolve the committee and to form a War Council to conduct the civil disobedience agitation. Barrister Abhyankar was elected President. Punamehand Ranka, Secretary, Bhagwandin Sharma², Treasurer and officer-in-charge of volunteers with S. T. Dharmadhikari and R. V. Dangre as members.

A large meeting was held after sunset in the Chitnavis Park. The attendance is reported to have been about 10,000. Muhammadans were, however, conspicuous by their absence. Barrister Abhyankar, in his introductory speech, represented the fight as being forced on an unwilling Congress by Government. The challenge, he declared, had been accepted by Congress and the war would be a fight to the

¹ Under the spell of Gandhiji's call of boycott of foreign cloth Punamehand Ranka (1878-1973) closed down his business of foreign cloth in 1920. He lent financial support to Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur and actively participated in it. He successfully led Jungle Satyagraha in Berar. He was President of Provincial Congress organisation for 13 years.

² Bhagwandin, a Marwari ex-railway employee from Aligarh was appointed by Bajaj as a Supervisor of Nagpur Ashram.

finish. The first item in the Congress programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. A week would be spent in inducing shopkeepers to burn their stock of foreign goods. He appealed to shopkeepers to do this now voluntarily instead of being compelled to do so later on under the pressure of circumstances. If shopkeepers proved obdurate, picketing would be resorted to from the 10th instant. His speech on the whole was guarded. Bhagwandin likened the rule of India by ordinances to the sway of dacoits.

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5. (ii) *Yeotmal, 29-12-1931.*—Two Pargana Parishads were held in Patan and Pisgaon station-houses on 6th and 13th December and although the main subject was concerned with the agricultural distress, there were several objectionable remarks by local leaders of non-descript type, which may be considered as part of the no-revenue movement started by the Congress leaders.

NOTE BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER.—Such conferences are held all over the district by the agents of the Congress and the notorious district association. The object is to prepare the ground for an eventual campaign of non-payment of land revenue. The low outturn of cotton provides a fertile ground for this agitation.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

16 Januray, 1932.

22. (1) *C. P. for the week ending 9-1-1932.*—With the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement there has been a general increase in Congress activity. The centres most affected are Nagpur, Wardha, Amraoti, Akola, Counter-action in Nagpur prevented any serious developments so far, and the Congress has not yet successfully developed any of the lines of action chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee. In Berar, Congress leaders are moving slowly to the annoyance of some of the younger men. The older leaders seem to doubt if Congress is ready to renew Civil Disobedience Movement. In other districts, in particular in Wardha District, activities have taken the form of seditious meetings. In many cases the lead is being taken by younger men and it is these who now seem likely to the most trouble. In some places former leaders are not openly active,

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26. The Congress Office, the Tilak Vidyalyaya and the Gandhi Ashram at Nagpur were notified by the Local Government on 9 January 1932, as they were used for the purpose of unlawful associations.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

23 January, 1932.

41. *C. P. for the week ending the 16 January 1932.*—There have been no important developments. In Nagpur city picketing began on the 10th and ceased on the 15th after 44 arrests had been made. Volunteers are scarce. Hindu dealers are uncertain in their attitude towards the boycott. Muhammadan dealers oppose it. On 10th the Tilak Vidyalyaya was seized and 64 male and 10 female volunteers found inside were arrested. On the 14th the Asahayog Ashram¹ was seized. These two places had been used as local Congress headquarters. Most of the office records had been removed but some of the papers found indicate how Communist ideas are permeating Congress ranks. On the 13th the War Council issued a printed manifesto, reproducing the All-India Congress Committee's resolution of December 31st. A daily *Congress Bulletin* started on the 16th. The quantity and quality of dictators in Nagpur is falling off. Meetings are poorly attended. Congress leaders keep away and the audiences consist of Wanar Sena boys and riff-raff. In the interior there has been activity at Umred and Ramtek and the land revenue question has been discussed at four centres.

In Wardha district there has been vigorous agitation especially in Hinganghat where rigorous picketing began on the 11th and most dealers have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth. The local Hinganghat leaders have continued to make the most objectionable speeches.

Berar Division— Amraoti.—There were two large meetings on the 12th and 14th of about 3,000 people to urge boycott and to protest against the sentences passed on Abhyankar and Punamchand which have caused surprise. Dr. Patwardhan was arrested on the 16th.

Akola.—The District Superintendent of Police reports a much quieter week. However a number of meetings have been held throughout the district including large ones in Akola and Akot in which the usual speeches have been made.

Yeotmal.—On 15 January 1932, Aney and Damle, local members of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, at a public meeting, openly advocated the boycott of British goods. The position is uncertain. The Marwaris and monied classes do not seem keen on supporting the boycott and are trading as usual. On the whole the district has been fairly quiet.

¹ Bajaj extended Gandhiji's influence among students by founding Tilak Vidyalyaya and Asahayog Ashram at Nagpur. The Ashram trained students as agitators and volunteers. Bhagwandin was appointed as Supervisor of this Ashram.

Buldana.—There has been much activity especially in the Khamgaon sub-division under V. G. Korde, Dr. Parasnis and Kanade Shastri. Enlistment of volunteers in Khamgaon is brisk. Liquor shops have been picketed and foreign cloth dealers have been warned to seal their stocks. Speakers have recommended boycott, and either directly or indirectly the non-payment of land revenue. On 10 January 1932 an agrarian conference was held in Buldana. About 2,000 persons attended and resolutions about reduction of land revenue were passed. Congress agitators took no open part although they ran the whole show. Many meetings have been held.

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Ordinances.—The War Councils at Wardha, Hinganghat and Arvi were declared unlawful on 13th January 1932 under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The Asahayog Ashram, Nagpur, was notified under Ordinance No. IV as it was used for the purposes of unlawful association on 13 January 1932.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 4

30 January, 1932.

52. *C. P. for the week ending 23-1-1932 —Nagpur.*—There was ineffective picketing in the city on three days and 17 arrests have been made. The bulletin continues to issue and its source has not yet been traced. Wanar Sena activities have stopped. Prominent Congressmen are working behind the scenes. Hartals and other activities including picketing since the 5th instant are reported from ten centres in the district. Saraf bazaar, Nagpur, observed hartal from 19th/23rd owing to trade conditions in Bombay.

Wardha.—There has been much activity with meetings throughout the district. There was rigorous picketing of foreign cloth shops at Hinganghat on the 11th and 12th and all merchants there have now sealed their stocks. The liquor shop at Wardha was rigourously picketed from 12th. On the 19th Ghatwai, Choudhary, Bhimanwar and Muzumdar were arrested at Hinganghat in the face of a large crowd who had to be kept off the small Police party with canes. On the 20th Sheoraj Churiwalla, Shrawane and Thatte were arrested at Wardha. A seditious pamphlet, printed at Hinganghat, is in circulation.

Chanda.—Two speakers have advocated violence. The Congress accounts books at Chanda and Warora have been taken to Nagpur. There have been no open Congress meetings and picketing has not begun. In Chanda town merchants have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth. No arrests.

HCP—352-A-20

Amraoti.—Dr. Patwardhan and his wife have been arrested and convicted. This resulted in some protest meetings, etc., but the district on the whole is quiet.

Akola.—Congress activity is increasing. Picketing started at two centres on the 21st and 22nd. Propaganda is going on at all the centres and there have been many meetings including one of 6,000 at Akola. Many of the speeches have been objectionable. Application of ordinances is overdue. Congress leaders have been taking an active part, including M. S. Aney from Yeotmal.

Buldana.—Picketing began at various centres and all Khamgaon leaders have been arrested. District fairly quiet but difficulty is anticipated in the collection of revenue, chiefly owing to economic conditions.

Yeotmal.—Aney and Damle (President, D. C. C.), have been active and agitation is spreading. There have been no arrests.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

6 February, 1932.

66. *C. P. for week ending the 30 January 1932 Akola.*—There has been increasing activity in the city and throughout the district with women speakers prominent. All pleaders are beginning to attend meetings. Five leaders were arrested on the 25th. Public meetings were frequent throughout the district with many seditious speeches. Processions in the city were as large as 3,000 with 300 women and meetings upto 8,000. Non-payment of land revenue has been openly advocated. On the 28th a meeting of the Akola public was held to protest against the ordinances and the way in which they were being enforced. Rao Bahadur Mahajani presided. There has been picketing in some places.

Amraoti is probably the quietest district in Berar at present. The 26th and 29th, Independence and Peshawar Days, were both celebrated but on a small scale and with no real enthusiasm. Some objectionable speeches have been made.

Buldana.—Agitation continues inspite of recent arrests. There were meetings on the 26th and 29th in many centres with audiences up to 2,000. There have been some objectionable speeches and some picketing.

Yeotmal.—The arrests of Aney and Damle on the 28th were followed by demonstrations of protest. The 26th and 29th were celebrated and audiences numbered up to 3,500.

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Nagpur.—There has been increased Congress activity. Preparations for hostile demonstrations on the 26th and 29th were countered and squashed. However the crowd of 10,000 on the 29th was the most vigorous demonstration in the city so far, and women agitators were prominent. Activity in Umred which had got somewhat out of hand, was dealt with.

Wardha.—Agitation continues. There have been many meetings throughout the district and in Wardha town the audiences on the 26th and 29th numbered 3,000 and 8,000. Picketing continues. Activities are directed from the Wardha Ashram. A satyagraha camp was opened at Selu with 4 volunteers.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 6

13 February, 1932.

78. *C. P. for week ending 6-2-1932.*—Most districts report a definite decrease in Congress activity.

Akola.—There have been few large meetings and processions in the city, and the maximum attendance at any meeting dropped to 2,000. The application of Ordinance V from February 3rd resulted in the postponement of picketing. Women still take a prominent part. In the interior there has been activity in certain centres, and some objectionable speeches have been made. At three small meetings the non-payment of land revenue was advocated. There have been feeble attempts at picketing in a few places. About six arrests were made including that of Mrs. Kashikar, wife of a pleader of Basim, who has been leading the agitation in that area.

Amraoti district reports the quietest week for some time. There have been few meetings and the attendances were smaller than usual. A pro-Govt. meeting was held at Ellichpur on the 1st at which 350 people were present.

Buldana.—Congress at Khangaon. Efforts have been made to keep alive propaganda in the district but public enthusiasm is lacking. Congress is reported to be badly in need of volunteers and funds. Official action is reported to have had a good effect.

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Chanda.—Chanda district is quiet. Dealers in the Chanda town have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth, and a local *Congress Bulletin* has been issued from the 5th.

Nagpur :—The D. S. P. reports that the week has shown a distinct wane in Congress activity. Gandhi Day and Motilal Day celebrations were complete failures. Nominal picketing was resumed on the 6th and 7th and a few arrests were made. The *Bulletin* continues to issue. The interior of the district is quiet.

Wardha.—Picketing was started at three centres and continued at Hinganghat. Vigorous action has been taken in all these places and the D. S. P. reports that the situation is well in hand. Punitive Police have been recommended for six months at Hinganghat. A *Congress Bulletin* continues to issue.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 7

20 February, 1932.

83. C. P. for week ending 13-2-1932.—The improvement in the general situation continued. The number and size of meetings decreased. Picketing was irregular and ineffective. Propaganda against the use of British goods continued, its effect is at present difficult to estimate. Cyclostyled *Congress Bulletins* were in circulation in many districts.

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Nagpur.—The situation in the interior continues to improve. In the city activities are still kept under constant watch and counteraction. There has been no picketing. The bulletin continues to circulate in the city and a local bulletin has appeared at Katol.

Wardha.—Picketing continues in various centres, and there have been several meetings, audiences upto 2,000. Mrs. Jankibai, wife of Jamanalal Bajaj is trying to form an active group of female workers and has opened a satyagraha chhavani at Pulgaon. Vigorous counteraction continues.

Chanda.—The local leaders, Seth Khushalchand, has been arrested, and dealers have again resumed normal business. The Gandhi Sewa Mandal in Chanda town has now joined the main Congress party. Congress has no backing in the district. A *Congress Bulletin* is in circulation.

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Amraoti.—The district has been fairly quiet. The local Congress cyclostyled bulletin has reappeared and a boycott week is to be started from 15th.

Akola.—Activities were confined to fewer centres and three taluqas were quiet. Women workers continue to be active. The number and size of meetings has decreased and effective picketing has ceased. There have been several arrests. A Swadeshi League has been formed in Akola city. Cyclostyled bulletins have appeared in the city.

Buldana.—Picketing continued in Khamgaon, but there was less public support and propaganda in the interior has weakened. Agitation is now practically confined to Khamgaon town. A local bulletin is in circulation in Khamgaon. There have been several meetings but audiences are smaller. Two women workers have been prominent.

Yeotmal.—There has been less agitation. There were a few small meetings but local leaders seem to have no definite programme except boycott, and no arrests were made.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 8

27 February, 1932.

91. *C. P. for the week ending 20-2-1932.*—Congress agitation continues to slacken in most places. There have been some cases of rowdyism and threatening posters and letters have begun to appear.

Wardha.—Agitation continues with picketing at various places and many meetings with audiences upto 2,000 and some objectionable speeches. On the 14th after arresting picketers at the Wardha liquor shop, the police had to drive off a hostile crowd of 5,000 with canes and lathis. The police party was stoned and seven constables were injured. Small camps have been opened at Arvi and Deoli in addition to those at Pulgaon and Selu. At present they are not sufficiently vigorous to merit attention. Towards the end of the week the situation improved.

Chanda.—The district is quiet but there has been an increase of activity in Chanda town. On the 14th attempts to celebrate Garhwal day were prevented. Nine arrests were made. A crowd of 500 had to be pushed back with canes. On the 16th and 21st meetings of 1,000 and 4,000 were held. After the meetings stones were thrown at local officers on their way home. Merchants have again agreed to stop the sale of foreign cloth.

Amraoti district continues to be fairly quiet. Boycott Week came to an end on the 20th and aroused little public interest. Akola reports a definite decrease in Congress agitation which is now confined to Akola city and Basim sub-division. Picketing has ceased. In Basim (Washim) town. Congress agitation is increasing Hindu-Muhammadan tension. In Buldana district agitation is still confined to Khamgaon town where picketing continues but the supply of volunteers is gradually drying up. Yeotmal district has been quiet except for one objectionable speech. The collection of land revenue in Akola and Buldana is proving more easy than was anticipated.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 9

5 March, 1932.

97. *C. P. for the week ending 27-2-1932 :*

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Nagpur Division

The situation in Nagpur is about the same, except that a Swadeshi League has been started by Congress leaders who have been keeping in the background of the present movement. In Wardha district the situation has improved, although Hinganghat still shows signs of activity inspite of the measures adopted (arrests and punitive police). There has been some attempt to keep agitation going in Chanda town but the rest of the district is quiet. On the 28th a crowd of 300 had to be driven back with canes, in order to prevent demonstrations on Puri Congress Day.

Berar Division

Amraoti district has reported nothing. In Akola district there has been a slight increase in agitation by demonstrations throughout the districts on the two "Days" 26th and 28th. This is probably a temporary increase. Land revenue is coming in satisfactorily.

In Buldana district, Khamgaon town is still trying to keep agitation going. The rest of the district is quiet. Yeotmal district reports nothing up to date.

In Akola and Khamgaon a Swadeshi league has been started to use Indian made goods or foreign goods except British.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLVIII

18 March, 1933.

No. 11

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Berar Division

113. *Amraoti, 9-3-33.*—Only one meeting was held during the week at Amraoti. It started with an audience of only 10 and finished with about 100. Waman Rao Joshi made a rather remarkable speech in which he admitted plainly that the civil disobedience movement had failed and should be stopped as early as possible. He said the reputation of the Congress leaders and workers was a minor consideration in comparison with the general welfare of the country. It was very clear that Congress had lost all its strength and it was better to admit defeat. There was no shame in making such an admission. He said it was foolish to deny defeat, when such defeat was apparent to all sensible people. As Gandhi was in jail he had no right to impose his will on people who wanted to go to the council. If the council was boycotted in the coming elections, Government would get all its own supporters elected.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLVIII

8 April, 1933.

No. 14

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142. *Akola, 29-3-33.*—On 25-3-33, there was meeting of 400 Revolutionary persons to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, who was killed in the Cawnpore communal riots in March 1931. R. G. Pandit presided. He and K. V. Sahasrabudhe were the only speakers. Sahasrabudhe commenced by saying that the great patriots, Sukhdeo, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh, were hanged against the will

of the nation and that the efforts to observe hartal at Cawnpore resulted in a communal fight. G. S. Vidyarthi lost his life in trying to pacify the communities. He gave a life history of Vidyarthi and said he never hesitated to help revolutionaries and had given assistance to the accused of Mainpuri and Kakori Conspiracy cases. He eulogised the part played by Vidyarthi during the Cawnpore riots. The rest of his speech was an attack on government and a thinly veiled approbation of violent methods. He said that Government officers were responsible for the ruin of India a fact which should be borne in mind by the younger generation. Violence should not be tolerated by any community but should be paid back in the same coin. Government was itself responsible for the terrorist movement and itself exercised violence and used fire arms and lathis on innocent persons in order to terrify them. Government kept the leaders of India in jail so that their advice should not be heard by the people. They should find out the principles to be adopted to acquire freedom and each house-holder should learn up these principles and should explain them to their households and their neighbours.

R. G. Pandit said that the fight for freedom had already begun and they should have to work continuously until foreign rule was ended and even had to sacrifice their lives. The fight was in full swing at present and would not cease until they secured complete freedom. Everybody should participate in the work. Congress would never die and was the institution which works for nation's freedom.

* * *

Appendix 1

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS FROM 1-1-1932 TO 31-12-1932

District	I. P. C.		C. P. C.		Ordinances								C. I. A. Act.		Act XXII of 1922.		Other C. D. offences.		Total.	
	*		A	C	III		IV		V		X		A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C
	A	C			A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C								
Nagpur	125	106	—	—	—	—	—	—	126	95	3	3	277	222	—	—	223	105	754	532
Wardha	27	20	5	5	—	—	—	—	261	261	—	—	252	241	—	—	4	4	549	531
Chanda	26	25	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	14	—	—	6	5	59	45
Bhandara	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	75	72	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	72
Amraoti	8	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	62	59	—	—	—	—	70	67
Akola	68	62	—	—	—	—	—	—	171	171	5	5	98	95	—	—	30	28	372	361
Buldana	27	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	107	103	—	—	5	3	—	—	17	17	156	148
Yeotmal	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	15	—	—	—	—	17	15
Chhindwara	12	12	3	3	—	—	—	—	31	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	44
Betul	31	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	31
Jubbulpore	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	—	—	303	283	—	—	4	3	321	299
Saugor	5	5	—	—	4	4	—	—	16	12	—	—	88	63	—	—	—	—	113	84
Mandle	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	—	—	—	8	8
Balaghat	2	2	23	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	32	32
Hoshangabad	34	34	3	3	—	—	—	—	52	50	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	91	88
Nimar	24	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	13	—	—	5	5	—	—	5	4	47	39
Raipur	17	15	69	9	—	—	—	—	153	145	9	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	248	177
Bilaspur	12	12	—	—	1	1	—	—	59	58	7	3	4	4	—	—	—	—	83	78
Durg	9	9	8	1	—	—	—	—	84	82	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	101	92
Total	442	396	117	45	5	5	—	—	1,152	1,095	24	19	1,141	1,009	1	1	296	173	3,177	2,742

* A—Arrested, C—Convicted.

PART-III

**FOREST SATYAGRAHA AT
CHIRNER**

PART-III

Forest Satyagraha at Chirner

The initial thrust of civil disobedience was on salt satyagraha, but the salt phase of the agitation started petering out when the monsoon arrived. There was indeed no all-India blueprint for civil disobedience and the movement in practice took the form of loosely co-ordinated local conflicts. By 15 May 1930 Congress Working Committee realised that extensive flexibility was necessary to be granted to local satyagraha units, and that a time had come for new forms of civil disobedience, such as violation of forest laws, non-payment of land revenue, disobedience to the Ordinances, withdrawal of post office savings, etc. As Jairamdas Daulatram wrote in the Young India : " Each town, each village may have to become its own battlefield. The strategy of the battle must then come to be determined by local circumstances and change with them from day to day " (Young India, 17 July 1930). Accordingly the Maharashtra Civil Disobedience Committee opted for a series of satyagrahas against the oppressive forest laws. Forest satyagraha became a great rallying point and its strategy for Western Maharashtra was prepared by Shankarrao Deo. After the Shiroda Salt satyagraha, the next target was the forest satyagraha in Sangamner and Akola talukas of Ahmednagar district. A series of forest satyagrahas was enacted in almost all districts.

However, the satyagraha at Chirner in Panvel taluka attracted great attention not merely in Maharashtra, but also in India. A huge mass of people violated the forest laws simultaneously at Chirner, Kalhe and Chawane on 8 September 1930. But the most famous satyagraha, which was a grim non-violent battle, was fought at Chirner on 25 September 1930. " The Tahsildar equipped with a considerable police force was sent to curb the satyagraha. Indignant but non-violent satyagrahis were handcuffed without the order of the Tahsildar. The latter questioned the police officer for his action. The satyagrahis appreciated the good gesture of the Tahsildar. The police officer, however, took offence and on a slight pretext opened fire on the satyagrahis. The tahsildar was surprised why the police should have

resorted to firing. He came forward to stop the use of this brute force. Unfortunately the Tahsildar, the representative of British Government, himself fell a victim to a bullet shot from the so-called protectors of law. The satyagrahi women tried to save the life of the Tahsildar, but in vain. The satyagrahis, all of them Agris and Kunbis, even though they had lost seven of their colleagues in this battle, showed the magnanimity to decorate the dead body of the Tahsildar and to participate in the funeral procession. This led to a great consternation among the official circles. The bureaucracy instituted prosecution of many satyagrahis and perpetrated the worst type of harassment of those arrested". (K. K. Chaudhari, Maharashtra and Indian Freedom Struggle, p. 95)

The documents and the comments of enlightened persons and newspapers, furnished in this part, throw a searching light on the non-violent movement of Gandhian resistance at Chirner.

Editor

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Bombay Special to Home, Simla (Telegram)

S. D. 4212

26 September, 1930.

Following from Commissioner, Southern Division, dated September 26th Quote District Kolaba wires Begins Panvel Sipols telegram received yesterday night Begins Firing opened at the mob in Chirner Satyagraha Mamlatdar killed. No trace of Chirner partymen. Inspector and Ranger in difficulty wired for help from Karjat and Uran. Myself proceeding Chirner with possible men. Ends. Panvel Head Karkun wires. Begins Chirner forest Satyagraha Mamlatdar died gunshot wound. Ends. Myself with dispol and Prant Northern proceeding this morning Panvel Will wire further development later. Ends. I suggest Thana or Bombay reinforcements be offered to District Kolaba at Panvel and reinforcements be wired to stand by pending his reply Unquote.

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A. E. Caffin, D. S. P., Kolaba to I. G. P., Poona

Panvel, 27 September, 1930.

In continuation of my telegram of last night I have the honour to report as follows :

For the past week or so, an additional force of 20 armed policemen has been kept at Panvel in view of the frequency of forest satyagraha there.

On 25th Sept. 1930 satyagraha was to take place in Chirner forest. So the Mamlatdar, Inspector and 20 police (14 armed and 6 with lathis) went there. A large crowd had gathered outside the forest, but a number of people had already entered the forest. The police party went ahead and arrested a number of leaders or more prominent offenders. The Inspector ordered the prisoners to be handcuffed fearing an attempt by the crowd to release them. The crowd made a hostile demonstration and the Mamlatdar, in order to pacify them, ordered the removal of the handcuffs. This was done, but the crowd became more and more hostile. The police party were now in a small valley and the satyagrahis entered in from the hills on the three sides of the party and commenced throwing stones and logs cut from the forest. The Mamlatdar and a roundguard went ahead to try and pacify the crowd, but to no effect. A forest guard who was bringing sickles (attached from the accused) was beaten and the sickles

taken from him. Simultaneously the Inspector received a blow from a stick knocking him down, and his revolver and cartridges were snatched from him. Seeing the situation so serious, the police opened fire in self-defence. Unfortunately a stray bullet killed the Mamlatdar. One roundguard also was killed, but this cannot be definitely ascribed to a bullet until the post-mortem notes are received. Apparently some policemen strayed from the party and were cut off. One head constable returned yesterday after wandering through the jungle ; 1 head constable and 1 constable were found at a short distance from the scene, beaten to death and one unarmed head constable has not yet reported.

In all 9 deaths are so far reported including four Government servants. Fourteen policemen have received injuries mostly slight. About 15 satyagrahis are known to be injured, but there are probably many more satyagrahis injured to a less extent. The number of satyagrahis was estimated at 5,000.

One hundred and fifty-five rounds of ammunition are missing, i.e., including fired and lost. Probably quite a number of rounds were lost, without being fired.

The D. S. P. and D. M. received intimation of the occurrence at 10 p. m. on 25-9-30 and reached Panvel on 26-9-30 at 10 a.m. (approximately). It was found that the D. S. P., Thana, on receiving news, went to the spot in the early hours of the morning with his Dy. S. P. and 50 men, and rendered invaluable assistance in restoring confidence and setting afoot an enquiry. The D. M. and D. S. P., Kolaba, after making enquiries at Panvel proceeded to the spot and continued enquiries there. The D. S. P. is continuing the enquiry as the above is a rough outline of the happenings. The D. M. has returned to Alibag. Offences are being registered under the relevant sections. Two guns (.475 pattern), one revolver and a quantity of ammunition are missing in addition to other articles of Government kit.

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Panvel Merchants' Association to Governor of Bombay

Panvel, 26 September 1930.

'The Merchants' Association of Panvel strongly protests against police excesses, unprovoked, unauthorised and indiscriminate firing by the police on peaceful masses assembled at Chirner from several villages for forest satyagraha on twenty-fifth evening. The association expresses regret of the tragic death of the magistrate and other victims due to the police firing. It further demands complete inquiry by independent non-official committee and immediate transfer of officers concerned for impartial investigation.—President Panvel Merchants' Association.

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Panvel Municipality to Governor of Bombay

Panvel, 20 October 1930.

The Municipality, Panvel, resolves by resolution of 1-10-30.—The Municipality of Panvel invites the attention of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to the unauthorised firing by the police at Chirner on 25th September 1930 and begs that a committee of non-officials with a Judicial Officer as president be appointed to enquire into the matter.

The Prabhat

30 September 1930 (Extract).

Referring to the recent firing tragedy at Panvel, the *Prabhat* says that it is an admitted fact that the Police Inspector was new and had just come there from Sholapur, that he disliked at first the Mamlatdar's advice to remove the handcuffs from the arrested satyagrahis and also that the public became excited when the Magistrate fell a victim to the firing. In view of all these things, the paper demands a thorough enquiry into the matter. It says that though the Mamlatdar is not the head of the police, he is considered senior to the Police Inspector, but the paper had lately direct communication with the Home Member, and it tells that if this is not true, the misunderstanding should be removed.

The Bombay Chronicle

24 October 1930 (Extract).

The executive committee of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona at its meeting held on Sunday last, Mr. N. C. Kelkar presiding, decided to appoint a committee to inquire into the firing at Chirner in Panwel taluka (Kolaba) and the following gentlemen have consented to work on the committee :—

Jamnadas M. Mehta, President ; Husein B. Tyebjee, Ex. Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay ; M. C. Chhagla ; L. R. Gokhale, High Court Pleader, M. L. C. ; Narayanrao R. Gunjal, M. L. A. ; Narayan Nagoo Patil, M. L. C. ; and Dr. Motiram B. Velkar, L. M. & S. Corporator, Bombay. Madhavrao V. Godbole, has been appointed secretary of the committee and all communication should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Chirner Enquiry Committee, Asian Building, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

K. V. Koundinya, S. D. M., Kolaba to D. M., Kolaba

Alibag, 13 October 1930.

I have the honour to submit my final report regarding the tragic episode of Chirner after making a full enquiry into the matter.

2. As you are aware, I reached Panvel with the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police at midday on the 26th, the isolated situation of Alibag having rendered it impossible for us to reach earlier. I immediately proceeded to the tragic scene at Chirner and examined the place. The maidan at the foot of the tree-clad hills presented a ghastly scene of a battle-field. The place was strewn with stones and pieces of newly cut branch wood and two dead bodies, viz, those of the forest guard Shevde and of a villager were still lying there. The Mamlatdar's body had been removed to Panvel the previous evening. I was shown the dead bodies of two Policemen lying in paddy fields between the village and the scene of riot. I need not say more on the subject here as you have seen all the above-mentioned places and the dead bodies the same day.

3. My enquiry has been as thorough and open as it could be. For the first four days I camped in the adjoining village Vindhane and began my enquiry on the 27th. On the 29th I saw you at Panvel and as instructed by you, I caused it to be proclaimed both in Panvel town and Chirner that the evidence of persons who are desirous of giving first-hand information will be recorded by me at Panvel on 30 September and 1 October. The Congress at first seemed to be opposed to my holding the enquiry and I gathered that two days previously, it was resolved at a public meeting that Government should be requested to appoint a committee of non-officials for the purpose. On the first day (30th) none turned up till 4 p.m. On the other hand a few volunteers were loitering in a private property in front of my camp apparently to picket the enquiry. Strangely enough between 4 and 5 p.m. one pleader (Mr. Gangal) came with 5 witnesses. He volunteered an explanation that the Panvel Congress Committee was not opposed to the enquiry being made by me. I had already granted their request to allow two pleaders to be present to watch the proceedings. The D. S. P. also sent one or two subordinates for the same purpose. Throughout my enquiry from 30th September to 3rd October both sides were represented and even the statements of the Police Inspector and the Policemen concerned in the firing were recorded in the presence of the representatives on both sides.

I examined 14 witnesses produced by the Congress pleaders in addition to a Congressman of Chirner, examined by me in the village on the 27th. These witnesses include five persons of Chirner, one of Chirle and one Uran Peta village. They also include five Congress volunteers, 2 private Medical Practitioners deputed by the Congress for ambulance duty and the father of the dictator of the Congress. On the other side I have examined five Police officers and men directly concerned, three independent witnesses from villages on that side and 10 Government officers and servants who cannot but be disinterested in the results of the enquiry. The evidence of the two sides is kept in separate files.

4. The C. D. O. Movement in Panvel was at its lowest ebb during the salt campaign days of April and May. The movement grew intense since the settling in of the monsoon and the local Congress committee strengthened by the moral and financial support of landlords, merchants and pleaders began to tread in the steps of the B. P. C. C. They opened a satyagraha mandal corresponding to War Council of the B. P. C. C. They opened a camp of volunteers started a seva dal with the services of a drill-instructor secured from Bombay and held a vigorous campaign for picketing liquor shops in the first instance. As a result direct or indirect to anti-excise movement the Excise Inspector and his party were roughly handled by illicit distillers in village Kharghar. About the same time the Congress volunteers were diffusing propaganda against the Forest Department and two sporadic raids on forests were reported. In one case, 60 or 75 people of one village entered in a body in broad daylight in the teak forest of Karnala and cut 150 teak trees at a stroke. The wood was removed openly in broad day-light. This was in the month of June. The movement was further intensified in the months of July and August when Congress with the support of the leaders outside the district celebrated weeks under the name of Gandhi Week, National Week, Boycott Week, Peasants Week, *etc.* During these weeks especially during the last mentioned one, a vigorous propaganda was held in villages both by speeches and by the distribution of cyclostyled bulletins styled as *Satyagraha Patrikas* and printed leaflets known as *Shetakari Athavada Patrika* and so on. Secret instigations of a very mischievous character also formed part of the propaganda.

With the ground thus prepared, the first raids on forests were held on 8 September at four centres. The simultaneous raid at four centres was evidently calculated to baffle the arrangements of the local officers. I camped in the taluka from 8 to 13 and during that period jungle satyagraha was held on 8 and 11. The Police was strengthened by 36 armed men from Headquarters. On the 11th myself and the D. S. P. were present at Karnala (Bandhanwadi) centre which was to be their main amphitheatre, and where at the first raid of the 8th considerable damage had been caused to the forests. While, however, raids were held at other centres on the 11th, their programme of Karnala was cancelled at the eleventh hour on the pretext of rains.

Before leaving Panvel, I organised a scheme for enlivening a counter-propaganda amongst the villagers and this seemed to have led to tangible results. The raids on the 15th though announced did not materialise. By this time the Karnala centre was practically closed to the Congress activities as the people definitely declined to participate in the jungle raids. The Congress people then concentrated their attention upon Chirner centre which is on the borders of Uran Peta. The villages on that side, besides being populous have, I understand, a sad history of crimes to their credit. I have found out that 4 or 5 years back there was a serious riot roundabout Chirner which ended in two or three murders.

Nevertheless the satyagraha at Chirner on the 18th was a fiasco though it was their main amphitheatre of that day and the crowds did not enter the forest after two volunteers who made speeches were arrested.

These results while on the one hand made the local officers confident of non-violence, it seemed to have actuated the Congress agitators to leave no stone unturned to make their campaign a success. They even altered the *modus operandi* secretly as will be explained later.

5. Turning now to the incidents of 25th as the first act of deception, they declared on the preceding day that simultaneous satyagraha would be held at seven centres. Their object was evidently to hood-wink the Magistrate and the Police because while at 6 centres no satyagraha or anything of the sort took place, the forces of the raiders were mobilised at one centre viz., Chirner. The Inspector could not afford to take more than 20 Policemen to Chirner, of whom 14 were armed with rifles or guns and 6 with lathis. Against this small Police force, according to the evidence of the Congress witnesses themselves, 5,000 or 6,000 people, many of whom were armed with sickles and axes gathered at Chirner. The Magistrate and Police were further outwitted. While all previous raids commenced with a procession followed by speeches, this time while a procession was being formed in Chirner village, crowds entered the jungle for cutting trees before the arrival of the procession. No speeches were made and Congress volunteer Khare says that K. G. Gupte, the dictator's father told the Police Inspector at the entrance into the jungle that speech was omitted from the programme as it would lead to arrests in the beginning. Evidently this was a reference to the failures of the satyagraha at the very place on the 18th.

6. It will not be out of place to explain here the topography of the scene of satyagraha. A map drawn to scale accompanies.¹ The village of Chirner is 14 miles distance from Panvel with which it is connected by roads, partly Provincial and partly Local Board. The Local Board road, especially, the last three miles are in a very bad condition, being just passable for motor buses with difficulty. The forest in question is about a mile further to the east of the village and a zigzag foot-path leads to it over bunds of fields and Warkas land. The foot-path is at some places, especially the portion which emerges out into the scene of riot, is so narrow as not to admit passing even in rows of two.

There is a brooklet where the foot-path from the village ends and beyond it a maidan which is the scene of the riot. The maidan is situated within the limits of the reserved forest, but excepting for bushes, shrubs, and a few young teak plants on its outskirts, it is practically an open area, the real jungle being situated on the hills surrounding the maidan on three sides. I have shown in the map the situation on the hill where the trees were actually cut. Between that hill and the maidan there is another brooklet and beyond it a zigzag and steep foot-path leads up into the jungle where the trees were cut. The principal landmarks at the scene of satyagraha concerning this case are (1) the hill to the east where the trees were cut, (2) the brooklet at the foot of the hill, (3) the maidan next to it, (4) a banyan tree in the middle of the maidan with a platform built round it, and (5) the brooklet on the other side of the maidan where the foot-path from the village ends. In short the maidan with towering hills on its three sides has only a bottle-necked opening on the fourth side which is covered by the foot-path leading to the village.

¹ Not enclosed here.

7. I shall now dwell upon the main incidents. The maidan was made the base of raid by the satyagrahis. Because it is there that the people gathered and it was from there that satyagrahis entered the forest. It is proved by the evidence of witnesses on both the sides that the cutting of trees was commenced before the procession arrived after worshipping a cow in the village. The Magistrate, the Police and Forest Officers and their parties had, as a matter of fact, to go to the maidan before the procession on seeing masses entering the forest. It is in the evidence on both the sides that the Police Inspector and his men and the R. F. O. and his subordinates ascended the hill after the procession arrived at the maidan and after ascertaining that no speeches would be made. In relating the subsequent events, for the sake of convenience, I am dividing the story into the following parts : Occurrences on the hill ; occurrences on the maidan before the Inspector and his men arrived from the hill ; occurrences on the maidan after they arrived ; and events after fire was opened.

8. It is in the evidence on both the sides that the whole crowd did not enter the jungle, but much of the crowd stood on the maidan, while some portion of it ascended the hill for cutting trees. Even the Congress witnesses give the number of the latter to be about 500 to 700. The Magistrate was sitting somewhere on the maidan till he was invited to come up into the jungle as will be explained later. It is evident from the evidence of witnesses on both the sides, witnesses who were standing on the maidan, that sometime after the Police and Forest Officers and men entered the jungle, a row came to be heard from the hill.

Congress witness Baloo Ramji says that from the maidan he saw the Police and the people quarrelling with each other. Narayan Patil says that on hearing the row some of the persons standing on the maidan ascended the hill. Shankar and Shivaram, who are both independent witnesses, say that the people, when they heard the row, ascended the hill with the words that they would not return home without the persons arrested by the Police. After the row was heard according to the witnesses on both the sides a report came down that the Police are charging people on the hill with lathis. On hearing this a large number of people on the maidan ascended the hill, and even the Congress volunteer Thorve says that there was a great commotion in the crowd when they heard about the lathicharge. A majority of the witnesses state that 2 or 3 persons from the hill came down and told the people why they were still standing there when people were charged with lathis on the hill and that they do not know the names of the persons who brought the report. But Ganpat, Mamlatdar's orderly and Dattatraya Ganesh, Talathi state that it was Congress volunteer Narayan *alias* Nana Khare who brought the report about lathicharge and who took the Mamlatdar up into the jungle from the maidan telling him the same thing. The said volunteer admits that he came down from the hill to the maidan to call the Mamlatdar, as, he says, every prisoner was abused and slapped on cheek by the Inspector while being arrested, and as the inspector, while doing so, asked the Congress volunteers to go down as they had no business to remain in the jungle. The said volunteer also states that one other Red Cross volunteer whose name he does not remember also came down with him to call the Ambulance Doctors Phadke and Khare. Even Messrs. Phadke and Khare calling themselves Ambulance Doctors state that somebody from the hill shouted " Where are the Doctors, our people are charged with lathis on the hill. " They say then they went up to the hill. It is therefore evident that after the row on the hill the report about lathicharge was brought down by some including Congress volunteer Nana Khare to the effect that the people were charged with lathis which worked the minds of the crowds up.

Curiously enough, however, Nana Khare himself has not alleged that lathis were used. He has denied it even when particularly questioned and he even denies that he told people about lathicharge. He says that he only said people were subjected to *marhan*, which again means merciless beating. In the same breath he corrected even that word and says that he only said that persons were slapped and abused. Even his statement that the arrested persons were abused and slapped is believed by the evidence of the respectable Congress witnesses, Ambulance Doctors Phadke and Khare. Volunteer Khare says that he was with the Police Inspector and party from the beginning and he says that 6 or 7 persons first arrested were so abused and slapped when he went down to inform the people and the Mamlatdar. According to him the Ambulance Doctors also came afterwards. But the Ambulance Doctors say that they also were present with the Inspector till the first 10 or 11 offenders were arrested by the Inspector one by one and afterwards they came down because they found everything was going on peacefully. According to them they heard the shout of lathicharge sometime after they went down. It goes without saying that the evidence of the volunteers and that of the Ambulance Doctors falsify each other. Further, the Ambulance Doctors say that they did not see any person injured with lathi, though they made enquiries after they went up. Of course, being witnesses produced by the Congress they say that the Red Cross volunteers told them that the injured men ran away. Phadke says the volunteers said that only one was injured, while Khare says that the number given was 4 or 5. The fact remains that they did not see anybody injured with lathis either then or at any time afterwards. While writing this report I received the dying declaration of Krishna Anant Sawant, one of the wounded constables lying in a precarious condition in Alibag Civil Hospital. He states that disturbance arose after somebody created a scare about lathicharge which was entirely false.

9. The Police Inspector says that he did not even slap anybody and that he simply arrested offenders one by one while ascending the hill and left them in the charge of Police constables while ascending further and further. He says that 7 persons first arrested were so left in the charge of constables and arrested 9 more at the last stage. It appears from the evidence on both the sides that 6 or 7 prisoners first arrested were taken down to the maidan by the constables in advance. What happened to these prisoners will be said later. To revert to the happenings on the hill the Inspector says that while he was coming down from the last stage with the 9 prisoners for writing the *panchanama* at a convenient place at a lower stage of the hill, he saw crowds from below coming up towards him. On seeing them he feared that the prisoners with him might mix themselves into the crowd, and so in order to secure their custody he caused them to be handcuffed. He had only 4 handcuffs with which 8 were handcuffed, two with each, and one was loose. The crowd then demanded that the Inspector should either remove the handcuffs or to handcuff the whole crowd. At this juncture he says the Mamlatdar came there. It is thus apparent that this incident happened after the scare about lathicharge was spread below. Dadabhai Gupte, Congress Dictator's father, and the Mamlatdar are said to have tried to pacify the crowds, but they were uncontrollable and the Mamlatdar then asked the Inspector to remove the handcuffs. While this talk was going on 5 prisoners, 4 handcuffed and one loose, ran away. At this juncture one person from the crowd cut a tree in the presence of the Police. The Inspector caused *panchanamas* regarding them to be written and after the *panchanamas* were over, he removed the handcuffs as asked by the Mamlatdar. Then they all started going to the maidan.

These witnesses say that the crowds demanded the removal of the handcuffs and the release of the prisoners. The evidence of the Ambulance Doctors that nothing untoward happened while they were present till the first 10 or 11 persons were arrested gives strength to the Inspector's statement. The evidence of even the Congress witnesses and of the Ambulance Doctors also proves that the crowds demanded the removal of the handcuffs. Even Dadabhai (K. G.) Gupte, Congress Dictator's father, who says that he went up after hearing report about lathicharge states that he enquired who were injured with lathis but no response came. It is thus evident that neither lathicharge nor slapping has been proved. On the other hand the scare about lathicharge excited the fury of the crowds below and after they went up, created disturbance over the removal of handcuffs and in the resultant disturbance 5 prisoners escaped.

Here I must relate incident about the 6 or 7 prisoners sent down in advance. According to the evidence of the Policemen who guarded them, after the scare about lathicharge part of the crowd ascended the hill, the remaining crowd assaulted them with sticks and sickles and affected the release of the prisoners. That these prisoners were brought down in advance is an undoubted fact and is proved by the evidence on both the sides. Phadke, Ambulance Doctor, and a Congress witness himself says that he saw 7 or 8 prisoners on the maidan with Police escort surrounded by a crowd of about 1,000 men. Of course he is silent as to why it was so and what happened afterwards to them. Congress witness Balaram says he had seen prisoners with Police on the maidan, but after part of the crowds went up he saw only Policemen without prisoners. The Police constables state that after the prisoners were rescued they were obstructed from going to the hill to report the event to the Inspector. It is pertinent to observe that Congress volunteer Thorve who says he was on the maidan throughout states that once he saw 3 or 4 prisoners with the Policemen on the maidan but after about an hour he saw only the Police in the act of going to the hill without prisoners. These Congress witnesses, therefore, without saying distinctly in so many words make statements suggesting an inference that the prisoners either escaped or were rescued.

10. On the whole out of the 16 offenders arrested only 5 remained with the Police at the time when the Inspector and his men started from the hill. It is an undisputed fact that the 5 prisoners with their handcuffs removed were placed between Policemen and they were in the front, while the Inspector, Mamlatdar, Range Forest Officer and others were following them down from the hill. When they reached the foot of the hill, a very large crowd was facing them shouting and flourishing sticks and sickles. While this was so, the Congress volunteers on the other side of the brooklet were standing with a cordon formed, making a way for the prisoners and Policemen and officers to pass out. Here I must observe that the evidence on the two sides is diametrically opposite of each other, this being the principal item of the happenings of the day, viz., what led to the firing. The Inspector says that though the volunteers formed the cordon, the pressure of the mob from behind the cordon was too great for them and after proceeding a few paces in the cordon somebody shouted "Look at the Patil Shiva, don't leave him" and this was followed by blows of sticks on the head of Shivram Vithu, Police Patil of Chirner, who is said to have given the names of some

of the offenders on the hill. At this juncture Forest Guard Narayan was given a blow with a stick and was robbed of the attached sickles and pieces of wood in his custody. When they went a few paces onward and were approaching the banyan tree the pressure became so overwhelming that the cordon broke with the result that the Inspector and Policemen became exposed to the attacks of the crowds. The Inspector says that at this juncture stones and pieces of wood were also showered on them and he was dragged on one side and somebody struck on his head with a piece of wood and his turban fell down. When he stopped to pick it up, he received a blow of stick on his left shoulderblade. When he turned round to catch the assailant, he heard reports of gun shot. After this when he stepped two paces, he was given another blow which struck above the thumb of his right hand. It was then that volunteer Thorve held him in his clasp and he and Dadabhai Gupte, Dictator's father, conducted him to a bush at some distance and was given shelter, while on the one side firing was continued on the other side men in the crowd came upon him with sticks and sickles and the volunteers protected him by beseeching to the people not to injure the Inspector. I will stop here for the present and dwell upon the evidence of others leading up to the incident.

Narayan Patil Karulkar, Talathi, and Narayan, Forest Guard say that there were shouts of *mara mara* (beat) as soon as the Police party approached the maidan. These witnesses were then standing on the maidan. Karulkar and Dattatraya Ganesh Kelavane, Talathi, who was also standing on the maidan saw blows of sticks fallen on persons and the latter says that the blows were seen by him having struck the Policemen and the Police Patil. This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Policemen and the party. The Police Patil who received the blows first also corroborates and he says that he fell down as soon as he received the blow, but was helped up by a Policeman and to save his life he pushed his way along with the police leaning on a Policeman for support. The evidence of the Policeman shows that near the Banyan tree they saw the Inspector and the Mamlatdar dragged aside by the mob and the shower to stones and other missiles and the blows of sticks caused injuries to several of the Policemen and one Policeman even fell down with his lip torn, and he was helped up. This is the constable who is lying in the Civil Hospital in a precarious condition with his head also broken. His dying declaration also says that he was hurt while they were passing through the crowds in the maidan. They further state that they pushed their way amidst blows and missiles and as soon as they were out of the crowd, Budhaji, the Major Havildar finding mob still coming upon them and not seeing the Mamlatdar and the Inspector told his men to save their lives (*Jan Bachao*). Then they said they opened fire. In the meanwhile somebody shouted "they are blank shots, don't fear, attack the Police" and then the mob increased their shower of missiles.

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The Congress version is that after the party came down, the volunteers formed a cordon allowing a passage by which the Policeman etc., went out as far as the brooklet when firing was opened unnecessarily. Further to strengthen their version they state that the Mamlatdar hearing the gunshot reports stood raising his hands and asked who ordered firing but himself fell down shot dead. A further development has arisen in their story that just at the time the Inspector who was standing near him aimed his revolver at the Mamlatdar and shot him dead, one more shot of the revolver having struck an Agri (referring to one Hashiram Budhya who died in the K. E. M. Hospital and whose alleged version appeared in the issue of the *Free Press Journal* of the 28th September). The revolver incident will be dealt with in a separate para, and I shall first dwell upon the evidence of Congress witnesses as to the incident which led up to firing.

Firstly, regarding the cordon they say that the cordon was formed only for allowing a passage to the Police, as they could not find a way out in the thick crowds. If therefore it is to be believed that the Policemen passed out safely, the cordon must have extended from one end of the crowd to the other and the prisoners must also have passed with Police through the cordon. But the evidence of the Congress witnesses on this point is so discrepant that it goes to support the Police version.

Congress witnesses Meghanath, Dhanaji Joma, Narayan Khare, K. G. Gupte say that the cordon extended from the brooklet at the foot of the hill to the brooklet wherefrom the fire was opened. But their own witnesses Gajanan, Thorve, Khaja and Madan state that the cordon was only partial and even amongst them, while some say that the cordon extended from the brooklet at the foot of the hill wherefrom the fire was opened. Witness Baloo Thakur says that no cordon was formed at all. Madan says that the cordon was composed only of 5 persons, as short as that. This point is important because according to the Police version the cordon which commenced at the foot of the hill broke when they approached the banyan tree. The tree is midway between the two brooklets.

Further, as regards persons who passed through the cordon, the evidence is extremely discrepant. No man's statement on the point tackles with that of another. It is, however, significant that, Meghanath, Balaram Posha say that the prisoners were not seen with the Policemen in the cordon. But Gajanan Dhanaji, Ragho, Narayan Khare, Thorve, Khaja say that the prisoners also passed out of the crowd with the Policemen. Further, while all the witnesses except K. G. Gupte say that the Police Inspector passed out of the crowd with the Policemen, as regards the Mamlatdar they are not unanimous. This is a very important point as it has a bearing on the allegation that the Inspector who was near the Mamlatdar shot him with a revolver immediately after firing was opened. Dhanaji, Baloo Thakur, Ragho, Thorve, Khaja say that the Mamlatdar was with the Inspector and the Policemen while passing out of the crowd. But Meghanath, K.G. Gupte definitely say that the Mamlatdar was not passing through the cordon. According to K. G. Gupte even the Police Inspector was near him and the Mamlatdar behind the cordon. Meghanath says that after escorting the Police out through the cordon, he went to the well on the northern side of the maidan for drinking water and at that time he found the Mamlatdar near the well. He further says when both of them were near the well then heard the reports of gunshots and the Mamlatdar and himself both came to where the Policemen had been left. According to this witness, while he and the Mamlatdar were standing there, the Mamlatdar asking who ordered firing, the first shot struck the Round Guard Shevde who fell down and when, therefore, the witness was just about to run the Mamlatdar also was shot dead.

It is curious that while Meghanath claimed the Mamlatdar to be beside him near well when firing was opened, K. G. Gupte says that both the Mamlatdar and the Inspector were near him near the banyan tree till just when they were going aside towards the north, gunshots were heard and the Mamlatdar fell down when he had raised his hands asking who ordered the firing. According to him therefore the Mamlatdar did not at all go to the well. Some Congress witnesses have stated that the Police Inspector ordered the firing. Gajanan says that after passing the banyan tree Inspector said

something in English and then fire was opened. Dhanaji also says the same thing. Shankar Pandav, a Congress volunteer who admits his ignorance even of A B C D states that the Inspector said two words in English when firing was opened. Gajanan, another volunteer, says that the Inspector said loudly "fire" when firing was opened. According to these two last mentioned witnesses the Mamlatdar and the Inspector were standing close to each other when the Inspector ordered the firing and the fire was opened. If so, there would have been no occasion for the Mamlatdar to have expressed who ordered firing. But they say that the Mamlatdar said so and it was at that juncture that the Inspector shot the Mamlatdar with a revolver.

11. I must now dwell upon the revolver incident. Two Congress volunteers mentioned above are the only two witnesses who have made this allegation. Shankar Pandav locates the place of revolver shooting quite close to the brooklet from where the Policemen opened fire. But Gajanan says that this took place somewhere after passing the banyan tree on the maidan and he definitely says that only Policemen (not Inspector) and prisoners had gone to the brooklet from where firing was opened. Shankar Pandav says that the Inspector was immediately behind the Mamlatdar. He further says that there were about 20 or 25 Panvel people round about the place of whom 5 or 6 were volunteers of the Congress, his own Comrades. He mentions amongst the latter his companion witness Gajanan and one Khaja. But Khaja who has been examined has made no mention of the revolver incident. Gajanan on the other hand says that he did not see any acquaintance of his standing near the place where the revolver was fired. If as stated by Shankar 20 or 25 persons including 5 or 6 volunteers were round about the Inspector and the Mamlatdar several of them must have seen it and it is curious that Shankar says that none tried to catch hold of the Inspector red handed with the revolver either before or after the revolver was fired. On the other hand, according to the evidence of volunteer Thorve and K. G. Gupte who do not relate the revolver incident just when gun shots were heard, the Inspector was seen by them being beaten by persons in the crowd and they both conducted the Inspector to a place of safety which they would not have done, if Inspector had committed heinous crime. Again, the evidence of all these persons is falsified by that of Meghanath according to whom both he and the Mamlatdar came from the side of the well after hearing gunshots. No explanation is forthcoming as to the Inspector's motive in wilfully shooting the Mamlatdar and as to the disposal of the revolver after the alleged firing with it. Nobody says that he threw the revolver and if he had thrown it would not have escaped the notice of so many persons standing as said by Shankar. If it is to be assumed that the Inspector consigned the revolver back into his pocket or case, as he was entirely in the charge and under the care for the Congress volunteers till he was brought to Panvel at about 11 p. m. that night, his possession of the revolver would not have escaped the notice of the Congress people ; especially because according to the evidence of K. G. Gupte and Thorve the Inspector was even made to wear Khadi cap and Thorve's coat and the Inspector's uniform dress was tied in a bundle with the intention of disguising him.

Moreover the two eye witnesses of the alleged revolver shooting say that they opened their lips of this incident for the first time while giving their depositions before me on the 2nd October. Shankar says that after the firing ceased, he was on the maidan for some time and he met Ambulance Doctor Khare treating wounded men on the maidan and he did not communicate even to him the secret of the Mamlatdar's death. Both the witnesses state that since then till they gave depositions before me (full one week) they visited the Congress office often every day but never imparted the secret to anybody not even to the Dictator of the Congress. They further say that they did not even hear others talking over the subject. Here I must refer to the publication in the (*Bombay*) *Chronicle* of 28 September in which it is stated that one Miss Gupte¹ was standing close to the Mamlatdar when he was shot dead. She is said to be the sister of the dictator of the Congress and even witness Shankar says that the said lady was near the Mamlatdar when the Inspector shot him with the revolver. Hence in the ordinary course of things she would have come to know the real cause of the Mamlatdar's death and it would have reached the ears of her brother, the dictator, but both Shankar and Gajanan say that they did not hear anybody talking over the matter.

The first version which appeared in the Congress organs *Free Press* and *Chronicle* never mentioned the revolver incident. For the first time it appeared in the *Free Press Journal* of 28 September as the statement made by Hashiram Budhya in K. E. M. Hospital. It was also mentioned that his statement was recorded as dying declaration by Mr. Jangalwalla, Presidency Magistrate. The development in the version of the Panvel Congress people is traceable to the said publication in the newspaper. Hasha has not made any mention in his dying declaration of revolver nor of the Inspector. His words on the point are : " The police opened fire. One bullet hit Raosaheb (Mamlatdar). I was behind him, running after the Raosaheb, was hit ".

Evidently he meant that the shot fired by the policemen hit both him and the Mamlatdar. The *Free Press* publication further says that Hashiram has had a revolver shot passed right through his chest into the back. The Assistant Dean of the K. E. M. Hospital says : " From the post-mortem examination alone, it is not possible to state if the injuries were caused by a revolver shot. No bullet was found in the body of the deceased ".

On the other hand the Assistant Dean says that the patient was brought to the Hospital for treatment for two gunshot wounds, both of which were at the post-mortem examination found to be the result of one shot, ingress and egress. From this it is clear that the Panvel Congress witnesses fabricated the revolver theory relying upon the *Free Press* publication and the fact that the Inspector has lost his revolver. As regards the loss of the revolver the Inspector's explanation is that when he was at the last stage on the hill he gave the revolver and his waist-belt, which contained it, to his orderly, Shantaram for being kept as himself was perspiring through heat. Shantaram corroborates this and says he had kept the articles in his haversack of which he was robbed when he was near the Mamlatdar's dead body to help the Mamlatdar's orderly

¹ Miss Vimal Gupte was the sister of dictator Prabhakar Gupte. The Gupte family was in the vanguard of the movement in Panvel and Chirner.

Ganapat. Ganapat in turn corroborates Shantaram and says that he saw one person having taken away Shantaram's haversack after assaulting him. The haversack contained *panchanamas* regarding the forest offence, and it is said that the haversack was taken away in order to do away with the proof of forest offence against those who had been arrested and rescued. It is quite possible that some persons on the hill saw the *panchanamas* having been kept in the haversack after the *panchanamas* were written; that the people intended to do away with all traces of the forest offence with which the arrested men were to be charged is apparent from the fact that Forest Guard Narayan was robbed of the attached sickles and pieces of wood. That the people were on that look out also for the *panchanamas* is apparent from the statement of Talathi Karulkar who says that while he was coming down from the hill before the Police officer and men as he apprehended disturbance on the hill, some persons of the crowd who were ascending the hill stopped him and demanded him to hand over the *panchanama*. When the Talathi said that he had not the *panchanama* with him his person was searched and he was saved from further molestation This view is strengthened from the following statement in the dying declaration of Hashiram Budhya recorded by the Presidency Magistrate: "The Police brought the arrested men under a banyan tree not far from the hill. The people round about were looking fierce. The Raosaheb was with the people. The Police wanted permission to fire. Raosaheb would not give it. The Police opened fire. I cannot say what happened before the shots were fired".

This statement is evidently full of meaning. It precludes the idea that peace prevailed on the maidan then. It explains circumstances under which the Mamlatdar got mixed with the fierce-looking crowd, received a stray shot, stray as it must be. It also explains that good deal happened before the shots were fired which the dying man was unable to state.

Further proof is supplied by the 19 Government servants including the Policemen wounded with lathis or stones. One of them as already said is lying in a precarious condition in the Civil Hospital. The Congress organ *Free Press Journal* went to the length of publishing that the whole mortality in the affair and the injuries of all the survivors were the result of gunshot wounds. The Medical Officer of Panvel has stated that of the dead bodies of Government servants, the body only of the Mamlatdar showed the death to have been caused by shot. The bodies of the three constables and the Round Guard Shevde showed that they were murdered. All the wounded Government servants, according to the medical evidence, received injuries with hard substances, such as sticks or stones. It is not unlikely that some others also received injuries from the missiles thrown. But no such persons have stepped forth for treatment at any Government dispensary and I think they would not come forward lest they should furnish evidence of violence on the part of the mob. It is, however, significant that one Congress witness Pandu Dehu, a Kumbhar of Chirner, stated to me that a gunshot which graced his buttock caused a wound. I sent him to the Medical Officer for treatment and the Medical Officer in his evidence says that the wound was not caused by a gunshot. It is pertinent to observe here that Ambulance Doctor Phadke says that both the Ambulance Doctors with their volunteers gave first aid to

about 50 or 60 wounded men on the maidan after the firing had ceased. But only 21 wounded persons have been admitted into the Bombay Hospitals and the Uran dispensary for the treatment of gunshot wounds. I also caused detailed house to house enquiry to be made by village officers in the villages and have ascertained that no others have received gunshot wounds. I therefore think that the figure given by Phadke is either an exaggeration or the number included those who received injuries from missiles.

13. The proof of violence on the part of the mob is furnished also by the localities where the dead bodies of the Policemen and the Round Guard were found to be lying. I have shown in the maps the spots where the bodies were found. The two bodies of the policemen, which were found in paddy fields about midway between the village and the maidan, speak of violence after the firing. Obviously, as deposed to by the Policemen, the retreating Police were pursued by the mob upto the entrance of the village and the three constables met with their death at the hands of the pursuing mob. Even after the surviving Policemen entered the *chavadi* at the entrance into the village, they found the mob approaching them which led to the firing on the approaching mob by two of the Policemen who were not fortunately completely exhausted. This shooting led to one or two more casualties amongst the crowds and it is this matter which has been criticised in the Congress organs saying that the offensive (?) shooting was continued by the Police even upto the limits of the village.

But the fact that the dead body of the Round Guard lay on the maidan itself, clearly shows that violence was carried to that extent. The body of the third constable was discovered two days after the incident on the slope of the hill comparatively nearer to the maidan and within a short distance of the foot-path leading to the village. It is possible that this constable was also killed in the course of pursuit by the mob but the spot where the Round Guard's body was lying shows that he met with his death on the scene of riot itself. Unfortunately, controversy arose from the report that the Round Gurad also died of gunshot wound. Obviously, the cause of his death is very important in this case because the body was found lying within a distance of 50 feet of the brooklet from where the firing was opened. There was a bush between the two points. In view of the fact that the body lay within the range of shooting, suspicion would arise that the death was caused by gunshot wound. On the other hand by reason of the body found lying at the place where the disturbance which caused injuries to so many Policemen took place, it is possible that the Round Guard was killed by the mob. It is proved that the disturbance took place between the banyan tree and the brooklet to the west and the body was found lying within that area. While therefore the cause of death of the Round Guard is of vital importance, controversy arose from the report current that he died of gunshot wound. From the condition in which the body was lying, only one wound was prominently visible to by-standers and that was a hole-like wound on the forehead. Obviously none of the side of Government could have had first-hand information as to how the death occurred. The Magistrate is dead and the Police Inspector was himself being beaten, he was sitting under the shelter of Congress people, that both the Mamlatdar and the Forest Guard died of gunshot wounds. You might remember that when we visited the scene in the afternoon of the 26th, we expressed our suspicion that it may not be a gunshot wound and we remarked that the post-mortem examination would throw light.

While the body was lying, only the wound on the forehead was visible to by-standers. But the inquest held over the body at that very place later on 26th shows that on examining the body after turning it over and turning on sides it was found that the forearm seemed to have been broken and a *panch* expressed the doubt as to whether the wound on the forehead was caused by gunshot or by the striking of a stone. The post-mortem examination has revealed that there was no gunshot wound on the body but there were fracture of ribs, injury to the left lung, complete fracture of the lower jaw, dislocation of right elbow joint and haemorrhage from the wound of the left eye. Evidently the Round Guard was battered to death. The fact that he was battered to death at the very scene of riot speaks eloquently of extreme violence on the part of the mob. Further, as the body lay within 50 feet of the place from where firing was opened and with the range of firing the crime could not have been committed while the firing was in progress, nor could it have been committed after the firing ceased because the deceased would not remain on the maidan till then and he would have met with his death somewhere else while fleeing just as three Policemen met with their death at the hands of the pursuing mob.

14. It is proved by the evidence of the Medical Officer, Panvel and the 2nd Class Magistrate that some pleaders of Panvel were very impatient about the result of the post-mortem examination of the bodies of the Round Guard and the Magistrate. They approached both these officers to be permitted for keeping a private Medical Practitioner present as the representative of the public rather of the Congress people at the time of the post-mortem examination. Their request having been refused by both the officers they approached me at my camp in Vindhane on the 27th, and you are aware that I declined their request and referred them to the Civil Surgeon on the ground that there was no reason for suspecting the dishonesty of the Government Medical Officer. The deputation of 10 or 12 pleaders came to me for the purpose. In the course of their discussion with me, they said that the Inspector himself has given out that the Round Guard died of gunshot wound. I told them that the Inspector seems to have held the same belief and that it shows his honest belief in what he was informed. This discussion has led to a petition submitted to you on the 6th October. Therein they say that the medical post-mortem examination report in respect of the Round Guard's body was wrong in view of the Inspector's own belief that the Round Guard died of gunshot wound. This argument does not hold any water because it is clear from the evidence of the Congress witnesses themselves, viz., Thorve and K. G. Gupte that the Inspector could not have had a first-hand knowledge of the cause of the Round Guard's death because at least from the time when fire was opened till the Inspector was brought to Panvel, he was entirely in the charge of the Congress people. The Inspector's knowledge was therefore either hearsay or derived from the Congress people themselves. As the inquest held before the post-mortem examination also mentions other injuries, the truth of the post-mortem report which could not be disbelieved except for strong and valid reasons, is established. The Medical Officer has lately come to Panvel on transfer and is a person having no concern with the local politics.

The impatience and anxiety exhibited by the pleaders about the Mamlatdar's body was in connection with the astoundingly false theory about the revolver. The evidence of the 2nd Class Magistrate who held inquest over the body in Panvel dispensary, where the body had already been brought, shows that 8 respectable *panchas* were chosen for the inquest. They included 2 pleaders, one private Medical Practitioner, the very person who was present at the scene of riot as Ambulance Doctor. Besides, there was a large crowd of Panvel people gathered. Nevertheless nobody raised even a word of suspicion about the nature of the bullet which hit the deceased. The bullet was not found in the body but only a piece of brass or nickel like metal was found in the shattered portion of the liver. The D. S. P. is of opinion that piece is definitely of 0.303 bullet i.e., of rifle.

15. I have dwelt fully on the evidence on both the sides. The total mortality and the casualties are mentioned below :—

Died—

(a) *Government servants* : (1) K. M. Joshi, Magistrate (shot wound) ; (2) Hari Narayan Tavate, Policeman ; (3) Kashinath Shevade, Round Guard ; (4) Jayaram Babaji, Policeman ; (5) Narayan Pandu Kadam, Policeman.

(b) *Non-Officials* : (1) Raghunath Moru Nhavi ; (2) Anandya Maya Patil ; (3) Dhakya Gavalya ; (4) Parsha Rama ; (5) Alya Bemtya ; (6) Rama Bama ; (7) Hasha Budhya.

Note.—Nos. (1) to (5) died on the day of riot. No. (6) died in J. J. Hospital, Bombay on 27 September and No. (7) in K. E. M. Hospital on 30th.

(Names of wounded not included here)

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16. Finally, I must remark that the scene of satyagraha, situated as it is, could well be compared with a trap and a small posse of Policemen with a posse of volunteers could not have been able to control the situation. The fact that so many Policemen, Police Patil, Forest Guard and other Government servants received injuries coupled with the murder of the Round Guard on the spot leave no room to doubt that the situation was extremely grave before fire was opened. The dying declaration of Hashiram recorded by the Presidency Magistrate, while the man was amongst the Congress, people in a private hospital, confirms the view. Not finding the Inspector and the Mamlatdar when the Policemen were struggling to save their lives, the Major Havaladar seems to have given orders for fire in the right of their private defence. I am of opinion that the trouble began originally from the scare about lathicharge spread by some persons.and it was this scare which excited the fury of the mob. I do not think that the mere hand cuffing of prisoners would otherwise have excited the fury of the mob to such an extent. The difficulty of controlling a furious mob of 5,000 to 6,000, the greater part of which was armed with sickles and axes, had better be imagined rather than described. The fact that the persons in the mob carried away the attached sickles, *panchanamas* etc., throws light upon their intention. It is proved by the evidence on both the sides that 6 or 7 prisoners, first arrested and sent down ahead, were not handcuffed. It is evident therefrom that handcuffing of the prisoners was not originally the intention of the police and the fact that they had only 4 handcuffs with which they handcuffed 8 or 9 prisoners of the last batch confirms the view. The witnesses support the Inspector's statement that handcuffs were used only when the crowds were approaching.

17. It would not be entirely wrong to pass a verdict of lack of wisdom and prudence against the Police Inspector. He seems to have been overconfident of non-violence on the part of satyagrahis and his organisation of the Police arrangements was not sound. Even the posse of constables taken with him was divided and scattered as the result of his own action. He ought not to have left constables with each prisoner individually at scattered places. His act of parting with the revolver was no doubt indiscreet. The situation was not well maintained. His act of trying to secure the arrested men at any cost in the heart of the jungle, when his forces were scattered, was obviously rash.

18. The Congress Committee of Panvel on the other hand is guilty of having played with fire. Responsible members of the Congress Committee stayed behind and sent only a posse of irresponsible boys and volunteers to control the fury of mob of 5,000. As matter of fact one of the volunteers and probably a few more by spreading the scare further excited the fury of the mob. After having thus let loose the forces of the mob against a posse of Policemen, they subsequently made a futile attempt to save the Policemen from the hands of the infuriated mob. The whole affair is nothing but the self impeachment of the *modus operandi* of the Congress Committee. Their attempt to have it believed that the entire mortality and all the casualties were caused by the shots fired by the Police is obviously calculated to save the movement from the ignominy. This explains why their story was developed from day to day and they went to the length of insinuating that the Mamlatdar was assassinated by the Inspector.

Hamid A. Ali, D. M. Kolaba to Secretary to Govt. Home Department

Camp Matheran, 24 October 1930.

I have the honour to offer the following remarks on the report of the S. D. M., N. D., regarding the disturbance in the Chirner forest, forwarded with this office letter dated 16-10-1930. Mr. Koundinya's report is so complete and detailed and so well reasoned as to leave me little to say.

The procedure of inquiry described in para 3 ought to remove all misgiving as to fairness and all suspicion of the inquiry being one-sided. I had doubts about non-officials, especially Congressmen, coming forward to give their statements, but, as a matter of fact, only too many were anxious to have their statements recorded with the result that many had to be sent away disappointed.

The violent propaganda carried on by the Panvel Congress Committee through meetings, *patrikas* etc., prior to the disturbance has been described. The material which this propaganda worked on was highly inflammable. The Agris are known as an ignorant, excitable and irresponsible community. The riot near Chirner mentioned by the S. D. M. in para 4 is an instance of these characteristics. About a year ago, the Patil of Chirner and another man, trying to settle a local dispute, were beaten by the villagers. It is not surprising that the satyagrahis failed to control the excited mob of Agris in the present disturbance, and the likelihood of such failure ought to have been foreseen.

The immediate cause of the disturbance is not quite clear. Some link seems missing. I attach a copy of a report to the D. F. O. by the Range Forest Officer, which makes mention of the Police Inspector slapping one of the arrested men. This is also mentioned in the statement given by beat guard Sathe before the D. F. O. The R. F. O. was not found by the S. D. M. in a state to give a coherent account of what had happened, while the beat guard failed to mention the slap before the S. D. M. Whether a slap was actually given or not, a rumour arose that the Inspector had beaten one of the arrested men ; this had been exaggerated into a lathi charge by the time the news reached the maidan, and then the mob got out of hand.

It is clear that; of the Government servants, only the Mamlatdar died of a gunshot wound. Also that the bullet that killed the Mamlatdar was of a .303 rifle and not of a revolver or a musket. None of the villagers carried firearms. The other officials were brutally murdered by the mob.

I think that the action of the Police party, separated from the Mamlatdar and the Inspector and attacked by a menacing crowd, was justified. Many of them were wounded, they were twenty against several thousands. The protection of their own lives must have seemed to them the supreme need. The conduct of the Police Inspector is more open to criticism, though I expect it is comparatively easy to be wise after the event. His position was extremely difficult. However, his parting with his revolver and ammunition and his making arrests on the spot instead of merely recording names, and his sending the Police party down in ones and twos with prisoners certainly do not seem acts of discretion. I am afraid the R. F. O. lost his nerve completely and remained dazed for several days after the incidents.

I fail to see anything wrong in the procedure followed in the post-mortem examinations. It is clearly impracticable to have a committee of doctors sitting over corpses and risking a conflict of opinions, which may or may not be influenced by pre-formed views.

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Hamid A. Ali, D. M. to Dy. Secretary to Govt.

Home Department

Alibag, 5 November 1930.

With reference to your Express letter No. S. D. 4876, dated 31 October 1930, I have the honour to state that Mr. Koundinya did not refuse to examine any specific witnesses but, with my previous approval, merely stopped the inquiry after all points of importance had, in his opinion, been sufficiently elucidated and the prescribed dates, for presentation of witnesses extended by two days, had passed.

I have not taken any action in regard to the invitation of the non-official committee. The inquiry itself has been banned under Section 144, Cr. P. C., within the limits of Panvel taluka including Uran Mahal. I can of course, not give any information to the Committee, before the cases, to be filed soon, are decided.

* * *

The Bombay Chronicle

7 January 1931 (Extract).

A representative committee of Bombay citizens has been formed for giving all possible legal and financial aid to the accused who are facing trial at Panvel in what is known as the Chirner Firing Case. The Committee propose to extend help to victims of the Chirner firing as also the dependents of the victim. The committee appeal to the public of Bombay to subscribe to the fund. The Committee consists of Mr. K. M. Munshi, Advocate, President, Mr. B. G. Kher, Solicitor, Vice-President, Members :—Messrs, Lalji Naranji, Raja, Narayanlal Bansilal, L. B. Bhopatkar, Nagindas T. Master, Solicitor, Treasurer, Bhausaheb Puranik of Panvel, Secretaries :—Messrs, S. C. Joshi, Advocate and H. M. Joshi.

The Bombay Chronicle

2 February 1931 (Extract).

The curtain was rung down on the Chirner Firing Case at Panvel when Mr. R. R. Sonalkar, the special Magistrate, committed all the 47 accused to Sessions on Friday.

The case, it will be recalled, arose out of the forest satyagraha that was practised at Akkadevi Hill, near Chirner, on September 25 when the Police resorted to firing and as a result Mr. Joshi, the Mamlatdar of Panvel, two police constables and two employees of the Forest Department were killed. The accused came from Panvel, Chirner and several surrounding villages. The accused are charged under various Sections of the I. P. C. for forming an unlawful assembly, assaulting Government servants, obstructing them in their lawful activities, murder, theft and dacoity, etc.

Dr. M. B. Velkar of Bombay was present in the court and interviewed the accused. Miss Vimal Gupte, the young daughter of accused No. 17, Mr. Keshav Ganesh Gupte, was also present in the court.

In committing the accused to Sessions the Magistrate observed that there was evidence to show that all the accused except Nos. 25 and 46, Mr. Vedak and Mr. Bedekar, were present at Chirner on September 25 and that they were members of unlawful assembly, they attacked Government servants and obstructed them in their lawful work. They had assembled to commit murder, and dacoity and obstructed the Police Inspector ; Patil Shivram, Police Patil of Chirner ; Sathe, Beat Guard ; S. G. Desai, Daulat Sakham, B. L. Kadam, Ghosalkar and Antu Ganpat, constables in their work and caused them injuries. They also caused injury to Krishna Anant and murdered Jayaram Savant, Kadam, Tavate and Shevade, the Forest Round Guard. He therefore, held them guilty under Sections 147, 148, 332, 333, 379, 395 and 382 I. P. C., the last five Sections read with Section 109 I. P. C. and he, therefore, committed them to Sessions.

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N. C. Kelkar, President, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to Sir Fredrick Sykes

Poona, 23 March 1931.

I have the honour, on behalf of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, to submit for favourable consideration by Government, the following representation for the release of those prisoners who are committed for trial before the Sessions Judge at Thana in connection with the events that took place at Chirner in the Panvel taluka of the Kolaba district on 25 September last and which are popularly known as the Chirner Tragedy.

The Sabha is aware that it is not usual to make representations about matters awaiting judicial trial and inquiry ; nor has the Sabha any intention directly or indirectly to comment on matters which are *sub-judice*. I am not, therefore, entering into the merits of the trial that is about to commence on the 23rd inst. at Thana.

Under the terms of what is known as the Irwin-Gandhi agreement, thousands of persons, who were technically guilty of offences not involving violence or moral turpitude, have been already released or are being released, and the Sabha submits that on a fair interpretation of that agreement, the accused concerned in the Chirner tragedy should be regarded as coming within the political amnesty.

It will be remembered that the events of 25 September 1930 at Chirner arose out of what is called the forest satyagraha, an item in the programme of the Civil Disobedience Movement, which has now been discontinued in pursuance of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement. It, therefore, follows that those who were convicted or are undergoing trial for offering this civil disobedience should be released. I may state that out of the 47 undertrial prisoners in the abovementioned case as many as 37 are charged with only technical offences ; the alleged theft, if any, the alleged dacoity and the alleged conspiracy were all a part of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and, therefore, the accused are, I submit, entitled to the benefit of the political amnesty. Among the thousands of prisoners who are being released a large number were convicted either for selling or manufacturing salt or for raiding salt depots. The Sarvajanik Sabha respectfully submits that no distinction can be justly drawn between the salt satyagrahais and the forest satyagrahais.

Of the remaining, four are charged with assaulting the Police during the forest satyagraha. I submit that under a generous interpretation of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement these also are entitled to the benefit of the amnesty.

Only six out of 47 charged with murder. The Sabha does not countenance any violence and cannot plead anything in extenuation of those who may have committed murder ; but I would respectfully submit that the whole object of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement is to create an atmosphere favourable to the success of the Round Table Conference, and that object cannot be better secured than by giving free pardon even to those who may be suspected of having resorted to violence. This submission of mine is strengthened by the recent speech of the Hon'ble Home Member exhorting the public to forget and to forgive. The Home Member's appeal is applicable as much to the excesses committed by the public as to those committed by Government Officers, and the Sabha pleads that even these six accused at Thana might be given the benefit of a pardon.

The Government have nothing to lose and everything to gain by stretching the spirit of the agreement much further than they have done ; and the good-will that will result therefrom will have a wholesome effect on public opinion during the eventful months that are ahead. I submit that in these circumstances the best interests of the Government and the public will be served by the immediate release of the 47 undertrial prisoners in whose behalf this representation has been made.

As Government are aware in deference to a strong public opinion in Maharashtra this Sabha had appointed a committee of inquiry into the Chirner incidents sometime ago. The committee consisted of public men of long standing undoubted probity and great ability. The chairman of the committee has informed me that the committee has made a unanimous report. If and when the said report will be published, the committee's conclusions on the question of violence will be found to be widely different from the case for the prosecution, now pending at Thana, and there is every probability of the faith of the public in the acumen of the judiciary being shaken ; and on this ground also I submit that the pending prosecution may be withdrawn and the accused released forthwith.

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R. N. Mandlik to Secretary to Govt.

Political Department

Poona, 23 March 1931.

I have been authorised as a president of the public meeting held at Karjat, District Kolaba, on 19th March 1930 to forward the following two resolutions unanimously passed at the meeting.

That this meeting of the residents of the Karjat taluka in the Kolaba District humbly request the Government to commute the death sentences passed on Bhagatsing, Rajguru and Sukhadeo in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, in view of the Gandhi-Irwin settlement.

That this meeting of the residents of the Karjat Taluka in the Kolaba District humbly requests the Government to withdraw Meerat and Chirner cases, with a view to create peaceful atmosphere for settlement of the political problem at the Round Table Conference.

The proceedings of the meeting were conducted in Marathi, the above is the substance of the two resolutions passed at the meeting.

I trust that the Government will be pleased to pay its earnest attention to the above resolutions.

HCP—352-B-22

The Times of India

24 March 1931 (Extract).

The trial of the accused in the Chirner Forest Satyagraha Case commenced before Mr. B. N. Sanjana, Sessions Judge, Thana, on Monday morning. A large crowd of spectators who had come to witness the proceedings was held up by the police outside the court premises as there was no accommodation in the court room. All the 47 accused appeared in the dock with Gandhi caps on.

Mr. W. B. Pradhan of Bombay conducted the Prosecution, while Mr. R. P. Karandikar and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar defended the accused.

* * *

The Times of India

3 July 1931 (Extract).

Judgment was delivered by Mr. B. N. Sanjana, Sessions Judge, Thana, on Thursday, in the sensational case known as the Chirner Forest Satyagraha Case in which forty-seven persons were charged with various offences which included murder, dacoity, unlawful assembly and rioting. The jury returned unanimous verdict of not guilty against all the accused on all the charges, both as jurors and assessors : but the Judge, disagreeing with the verdict, convicted twenty-nine accused and sentenced five of them (accused Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) to an aggregate of three years rigorous imprisonment.

* * *

Eighteen accused were acquitted.

As regards accused Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 who were also charged under Section 149 read with Section 302 (murder), the Judge being satisfied that there was sufficient evidence against them referred the matter to the High Court.

In passing the sentence His Honour took into consideration the prolonged period for which the accused were under trial and observed that there was no statutory law for him to take judicial notice of the pact between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, but it rested with the Government to interpret and apply it. His Honour also gave thirty days, time for the accused to pay up their fines.

The names of the accused were—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) L. G. Narangikar | (2) V. A. Narangikar |
| (3) T. V. Mokal | (4) M. K. Patil |
| (5) H. B. Kharpatil | (6) N. C. Mokal |
| (7) A. S. Patil | (8) A. M. Povale |
| (9) J. S. Vani | (10) M. B. Povale |
| (11) S. K. Povale | (12) P. A. Mhatre |
| (13) A. N. Narangikar | (14) J. K. Pote |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (15) B. P. Patil | (16) P. K. Mhatre |
| (17) K. G. Gupte | (18) D. J. Mhatre |
| (19) G. B. Chirlekar | (20) R. D. Narangikar |
| (21) B. G. Bhojekar | (22) R. M. Mokal |
| (23) T. K. Thakur | (24) G. A. Narangikar |
| (25) V. M. Vedak | (26) K. Z. Patil |
| (27) K. R. Patil | (28) M. H. Mhatre |
| (29) P. K. Pote | (30) D. N. Gondhali |
| (31) N. D. Khare | (32) S. N. Pandav |
| (33) M. G. Mankame | (34) B. A. Chirlekar |
| (35) T. G. Mhatre | (36) H. P. Saikar |
| (37) U. H. Mokal | (38) N. H. Patil |
| (39) D. H. Patil | (40) S. G. Thakur |
| (41) S. B. Patil | (42) H. G. Mhatre |
| (43) G. T. Thakur | (44) T. N. Bedekar |
| (45) Chango Patil | (46) Kamlya Sandhu |
| (47) Manya Kamlya Mhatre. | |

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M. K. Gandhi to R. M. Maxwell, Private Secretary to Governor of Bombay

Bombay, 10 July 1931.

You will recall the Chimer case. According to the judgement of the Sessions Judge, 20 accused were held not guilty of any violence. . . . These accused were fined according to the sums marked against their names with varying terms of imprisonment in default of payment of fine. As you will observe from the footnote to the list of the names, the Judge has allowed 30 day's time to pay up the fines on proper security being furnished. These men have given security. As you will observe, judgment was given on the 2nd inst. As these cases clearly come under the settlement I ask for the remission of their fines. I hope that the matter will receive early attention.

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G. F. S. Collins to M. J. Dikshit, D. M., Thana

D. O. No. 8252/2-II.

Poona, 26 July 1931.

As you are probably aware, the Sessions Judge sentenced several of the accused in the Chimer case to fines only and said that while he had no judicial knowledge of the Delhi Pact, Government would no doubt decide how far their cases came within its limits. Since then, Government have received several applications to remit the fines

according to that Pact, but as they have under consideration the question of appealing against the Sessions Judge's decision, they have not been able to take any action on the petitions. The Sessions Judge allowed one month to pay the fines and took security from the accused accordingly. This period will, I understand, elapse on the 1st of August. If Government decided not to appeal and the sentences stood as they are, the fines would have to be remitted under the Pact. Presumably the accused will have to appear before the Court on August 1st. As therefore, it is unlikely that the decision on the question of appeal will be reached by that date, I am to request you to instruct the Public Prosecutor, or whoever, appears on behalf of Government, to state that Government will have no objection if the proceedings for recovery of the fines are adjourned.

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Government of Bombay, Home Department

Resolution No. T. 19.

Poona, 1 August 1931.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 401, Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to suspend, without conditions and until further notice, execution of sentence of fine and imprisonment in default, passed by the Sessions Judge, Thana, on the 2 July 1931, against the persons mentioned in the accompanying list.¹

Bombay Chronicle

25 November 1931 (Extract).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Patkar and the Hon. Mr. Justice Barlee delivered judgement on Tuesday in the reference and appeals in the sensational Chirner Forest Satyagraha riot case. Their Lordships gave separate but concurrent judgements dismissing both the reference and appeal. In the result the four persons who were accused of the murder of three police constables and of being members of an unlawful assembly were acquitted of the charges and the convictions and sentences passed by the Sessions Judge on nine persons, including the four charged with murder, on charges of rioting and causing hurt were confirmed.

Their Lordships found in regard to the Sessions Judge's reference that the evidence on behalf of the prosecution, unless it was stretched against the accused by a process of inferential reasoning bordering on surmise, was not sufficient for their conviction on charges of murder and being members of an unlawful assembly. The four accused in the reference who were brought to the court every day during the hearing were not present when judgement was delivered.

* * *

¹Not reproduced here.

The Sessions Judge disagreeing with the verdict in respect of 29 of the accused convicted them and sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment and fines. He also found that four of the accused, namely, Vithu Ambaji Narangikar, Tukaram Vithu Mokal, Maya Kanya Patil and Hasha Balu Kharpatil were guilty of offences under Section 149 (being members of an unlawful assembly) and 302 (murder) and referred their cases to the High Court.

These four accused along with five others were also convicted on charges of being members of an unlawful assembly, rioting and causing hurt and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 15 months to three years. Against these convictions there were appeals.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Patkar in delivering judgement dealt first with the reference made by the Sessions Judge. In regard to the death of the Round Guard Shevde, he observed, it was suggested by the defence that he was killed by a bullet wound and not by mob fury. Having regard to the evidence on that point it could not be said that if the jury came to the conclusion that Shevde died of gunshot wound, it was a conclusion which could not be reached by reasonable men.

It was, however, unnecessary to go into the question as accused No. 7 who was implicated in connection with his death had been acquitted both by the jury and the Judge. As regards the deaths of the three constables, Kadam, Savant and Tavte, there was no doubt that they were caused by mob fury.

The question then was, continued His Lordship, whether the four accused had been shown beyond any reasonable doubt to be members of the unlawful assembly whose common object was to murder the three constables. There were in all 15 witnesses on the point of the assault on these constables. Ten of these witnesses were villagers and five belonged to the official party. Taking the evidence as a whole and disregarding the comments made in cross-examination of the several witnesses and believing the prosecution evidence as a whole, it appeared that there were two attacks on Kadam and Savant and two on Tavte.

There seemed to be different parties attacking different persons at different times. It would, therefore, follow that accused Vithu Ambaji Narangikar, Tukaram Vithu Mokal and Maya Patil, if they took part in committing an assault on Kadam and Savant, were not members of the unlawful assembly which committed the murder of the two police constables. Further, if the evidence of two other prosecution witnesses was to be believed, accused Hasha Baba Kharpatil took part in the first attack on Tavte, but the constable was not killed by the party of which the accused was a member.

It was urged by the Advocate General that if those discrepancies in the evidence on behalf of the prosecution led to the inevitable conclusion that the accused were not members of an unlawful assembly who committed the murders of Kadam, Savant and Tavte, they should be held guilty of a minor offence, namely being members of an unlawful assembly and causing grievous hurt to public servants in the discharge of their duties. If Posu and Balaram, two of the important prosecution witnesses, were to be believed it would inevitably follow that the accused could not be held guilty of being members of an unlawful assembly and murder.

The question whether they should be convicted under the lesser offence of being members of an unlawful assembly and causing grievous hurt was a matter of inference and unless it was clearly proved that Kadam, Savant and Tavte received grievous hurt at the time of the first attack made on them by the batches of the assailants of which the accused were members, it would be difficult to hold that they were guilty, of those offences.

"Having regard to the circumstances," added His Lordship, "It is difficult to say that the jury was perverse in acquitting the four accused of the offences under Sections 149 (Unlawful assembly) and 302 (murder). The evidence on behalf of the prosecution, unless it is stretched against the accused by a process of inferential reasoning bordering on surmise, is not sufficient for their conviction on those charges. I think that the reference should be dismissed and they should be acquitted on the charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and murder."

As regards the appeals filed by the above four accused and the original accused Nos. 12, 15, 16 and against their convictions on charges of being members of an unlawful assembly, rioting and causing hurt, his Lordship thought there was sufficient evidence of their guilt and confirmed the convictions. It was urged on behalf of accused No. 15 who was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, and accused No. 1 and the four accused in the reference, who were sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment each, that the sentences were excessive and should be reduced. Having regard to the circumstances of the case, the Judge did not think that there was any ground to reduce the sentences.

Mr. Justice Barlee delivered a concurrent judgement and both judges expressed their thanks to the learned Advocate General and Mr. H. C. Koyaji (Counsel for the appellants) for their able and clear arguments which considerably assisted their Lordships in going through the voluminous records of the intricate case.

Free Press Journal

28 November 1931 (Extract).

The secretaries of the Chirner Defence and Relief Committee have sent the following statement to the Press for publication.

It is over a year since the Chirner tragedy was enacted. The judgement in the Chirner Case has now been delivered by the High Court. The Reference made by the Sessions Judge in respect of four accused, charged with being members of an unlawful assembly having the common object of committing murder, and the appeals filed by nine accused against order of conviction passed against them were both dismissed. Though the sentence of three years' imprisonment passed against five accused and the sentence of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years' imprisonment passed against one accused are confirmed, it is a matter of great satisfaction that no one has been found guilty on a charge of murder.

There was firing on the 25 September 1930 on the occasion of the forest satyagraha at Chirner and as a result seven persons from the public and five Government servants were killed while a number of persons were wounded. The Government immediately started investigation into the offences alleged to have been committed by the people in this affair and arrests of persons began from the 12 October 1930. In all 47 persons were prosecuted under various Sections of the Indian Penal Code. The case commenced on the 23rd December 1930 before the Special Magistrate Mr. Sonalkar at Panvel. After taking the evidence of the prosecution he committed the case to the Sessions on 2 February 1931.

Thereafter Government ordered the case to be tried by Mr. Gundil, Assistant Sessions Judge at Alibag with the aid of Assessors. The accused, however, applied to the High Court for setting aside the order and the High Court passed an Order directing the case to be tried at Thana before a Jury. The case was accordingly tried at Thana before the Session Judge, Mr. Sanjana and a Jury from 23 March 1931 to 2 July 1931. The Jury gave a verdict of not guilty for all the accused on all the charges. The Sessions Judge, however, sentenced five accused to three years' imprisonment, one accused to one and half years' imprisonment. Three accused to six months' imprisonment and twenty accused to a fine from Rs. 100 to 200 each, and made a reference to the High Court in respect of four accused on the charge of their being members of an unlawful assembly having the common object to commit murder. The High Court has now given its decision as mentioned above. Our Committee was formed and a fund was raised for conducting the defence of the accused and for giving relief to the relatives of the accused, the persons wounded in the firing and the relatives of the persons killed. The public have contributed liberally to the fund, with the result that satisfactory arrangement for the defence of the accused could be made and some relief could be given to the afflicted persons. We therefore heartily thank all who contributed to the fund and gave other assistance to our Committee.

We also offer over heartfelt thanks to the following lawyers who worked at Panvel, namely, Mr. K. N. Dharap, Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Bar-at-law. Messrs. R. K. Pandke, R. B. Vaishampayan, G. R. Shringarpure and Shankarrao Patki, those who appeared at Thana, namely, Dadasaheb Karandikar, Dr. Ambedkar, Messrs. B. R. Damle, K. N. Dharap, Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Bar-at-Law, Messrs. V. A. Rege, K. R. Godbole, S. A. Tendulkar, V. G. Karmarkar, D. K. Sathe and V. R. Gupte; and those in the Bombay High Court namely Messrs. H. C. Koyaji, and K. N. Dharap and Karandikar for the great pains they took, the valuable time which they spent and the sincerity with which they worked in defending the accused. It is equally necessary to give our hearty thanks to Mr. Haribhau Joshi, the secretary of the Committee for the unceasing efforts he made for raising the fund and otherwise arranging for the defence.

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Weekly Letter from D. M., Kolaba

7 January 1932 (Extract).

The same afternoon Hari Moreshwar Joshi brought Mr. Vithalbhai Patel from Bombay for the opening ceremony of the obelisk at Chirner. The ceremony took place at 4 O'Clock in the presence of about 500 people. Besides Vithalbhai, there were present Jannadas Mehta, Karandikar, Bedekar, K. G. Gupte, Chapsi Purshottam and R. A. Patwardhan. T. N. Bedekar, introducing Vithalbhai, referred to his sacrifices of health and position for the national cause. He said that the bad treatment given to Vithalbhai in jail put his life in danger and government were compelled to release him in order to avoid disgrace. Referring next to the Chirner incident, he said that the report of the non-official committee presided over by Mr. Jannadas Mehta clearly showed that Government (meaning the police) were responsible for the firing. Mr. Vithalbhai Patel in his speech attached much importance to the report of the non-official committee and expressed the opinion that there had been no provocation on the part of the people and that the police were not justified in opening fire. Joshi, Mamlatdar and four other Government officials who lost their lives in carrying out orders and were innocent should be considered as five volunteers of the swarajya. When he was not allowed to meet Gandhiji he was convinced that the Irwin-Gandhi Pact had died. The more non-violent they were the better they would succeed. If, on the other hand, they resorted to violence in protecting themselves, they would dig their own graves. Every man and woman must boycott British goods.

Karandikar, in winding up the function, said that the names of all those that had fallen had been inscribed on the obelisk—the names of the police in front and those of the villagers at the back—and that he would call the obelisk the "Peace Obelisk".

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Order of S. Aminuddin, D. M., Kolaba

No. 172 of 1932.

4 June 1932.

The District Magistrate is satisfied that the inscription on the stone obelisk (standing in a plot in the Chirner *gaathan* belonging to one Antaji Mahadev Powale) in question is of such a nature as to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India and falls within the purview of Sections 4(1)(d) and (f) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act XXIII of 1931. It is, therefore, a newssheet within the provisions of the Act and an unauthorised newssheet within the provisions of Section 2(10).

The District Magistrate hereby orders the Police Sub-Inspector, Panvel under S. 16(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, to seize the said obelisk as an unauthorized newssheet and produce the same before the Magistrate 1 class, Panvel under Section 16(3). The execution of the order should be communicated to the District Magistrate, for taking action by him under Section 16(4) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

Weekly Report, 12 June 1932, from D. M., Kolaba

10 June 1932 (Extracts).

The destruction of the Chirner obelisk was effected without opposition and has evoked no criticism beyond mild comments in the *Kolaba Samachar* and the *Prabhat*.

The Pratiyogi, 8 June 1932 and the Konkan

10 June 1932 (Extracts).

Referring to the demolition of the Chirner Satyagraha Memorial the *Pratiyogi* writes :—No explanation has so far come from Government as to under whose orders and under what authority the Chirner Memorial was pulled down by the District Superintendent of Police, Kolaba. We think that such conduct on the part of the Government is not authorised by the present Ordinances. It is necessary for the Government to explain under what authority the memorial standing in a private place was suddenly pulled down. If any infringement of authority has taken place in demolishing the memorial the officer responsible for it ought to be punished. The *Konkan* remarks that the Government did not approve of the Chirner forest satyagraha but that fact had nothing to do with the memorial because the satyagrahis were prosecuted and sentenced. The paper expresses regret that Government did not exhibit the balance of mind in regard to the Chirner Memorial which they ought to have exhibited.

Bombay Chronicle

8 March 1935 (Extract).

“As I hold that the writing complained of falls under the definition of newssheet, the Plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration and injunction.” With these remarks Mr. L. C. Sheth, the First Class, Sub-Judge at Thana, dismissed with costs this afternoon the Chirner Minar Demolition case.

The Sub-Judge came to the conclusion that Court had no jurisdiction to try the suit in view of the Section 30 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. The defendants proved that the inscribed stones were unauthorised newssheet within the meaning of Section 4(1) (d) and (f) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act read with Section 77 of the Special Powers Ordinance 10 of 1932, but the defendants did not prove that their seizure under Section 16(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act was legal, and that the entry by the defendants on the plaintiffs' land and demolition of the obelisk were necessary and legal.

The Sub-Judge held that it was not necessary to give his finding whether the court had power to grant relief or not.

The court found that as the plaintiffs did not prove that loss was caused to them by the acts of the defendants, they were not entitled to claim the amounts of damages from the defendants or any of them. The second and third defendants could not be held liable. The plaintiffs were not entitled to declaration and injunction sought.

* * *

The Sub-Judge, in dismissing the suit, ordered that the plaintiffs and the fifth defendant (Mr. Ramchandra Anant Patwardhan, a member of the Chirner Memorial Committee) to pay the costs of the first three defendants and bear their own. The fourth defendant (Mr. Anant Mahadeo Powale) to bear his own costs.

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J. M. Sladen, Secretary to Govt. of Bombay to T. N. Bedekar, Secretary, Chirner Memorial Committee

S. D. 2151.

Poona, 26 August 1938.

In continuation of this Department letter No. S. D. 2010, dated 8 August 1938, I am directed to state that orders have been issued today waiving the recovery of costs awarded to Government by the Courts of the First Class Subordinate Judge, Thana, and the District Judge, Thana, in the Chirner Memorial case. The District Magistrate, Kolaba, has been directed also to return the stones of the Memorial if there are any still remaining undestroyed.

* * *

Bombay Sentinel

26 September 1938 (Extract).

* * *

Soon after taking meals, a score of buses started for Chirner, about 14 miles off from Panvel, the scene of the forest satyagraha.

The stones of the Chirner Minar, restored recently to the Panvel Congress Committee were taken in a procession to the accompaniment of bands. Mr. Munshi was accompanied by Mr. H. M. Willis, Collector of Kolaba, Mr. S. V. Tilak, President, Kolaba District Congress Committee, Mr. Azad, D. S. P., Mr. H. M. Joshi of *Lokashakti* and others. He was received at the meeting place in great excitement and with unprecedented enthusiasm. The meeting place was decorated. Mr. T. N. Bedekar briefly told the whole Chirner story and requested Mr. Munshi to lay the foundation stone.

Having laid the foundation stone, Mr. Munshi began his inspiring address in simple Hindustani. He paid an eloquent tribute to the heroism and sacrifice of the satyagraha martyrs as well as the officials who had done their duty, and proceeded to observe that by the magic of the old man of Segaon satyagrahi convicts like himself and his Chief Mr. B. G. Kher, had become the Government of the Bombay Presidency and he had to face the difficult task of adjudicating between the cases of his subordinate police officials and Congress volunteers.

“What you have to remember is to stand upright, stand by what you consider right, act fearlessly and truthfully and if you do that no power on earth can deprive you of your heritage, by which I understand Poorna Swaraj.” These were Mr. Munshi’s concluding words to the crowd of over a thousand villagers who had gathered to hear him at Chirner.

Mr. Munshi was then introduced to about 40 people, who were accused in the big riot case which followed the forest satyagraha. Two of them are dead, whose memory was recalled by all with due respect.

* * *

Bombay Chronicle

4 January 1939 (Extract).

“The column just unveiled is to my mind an emblem of the obedience and self-sacrifice of the martyrs and a clarion call to the Nation to cultivate the unfailing virtues of fearlessness and stern character.” In these stirring words, the Honourable Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier, unveiled last evening at Chirner, the Chirner Memorial in the presence of a large gathering of about 5,000 persons, mostly agriculturists from surrounding places. The audience included almost all district officers and Congress workers of Panwel.

* * *

Amidst deafening cheers the Honourable Mr. Kher unveiled the column and delivered an impassioned oration in Marathi. The Premier said that the lesson of Chirner was Ahimsa and Peace, and that in future it would be a place of pilgrimage for the soldiers of freedom movement. Proceeding, he explained the Congress aims and ideals and assured the vast concourse of agriculturists that the Congress Ministry was doing their best for their uplift and that various schemes were under consideration. The Congress, he averred, is non-communal in character and the swaraj we would bring would not be a swaraj of this class or that, but swaraj of all and for all.

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PART-IV

REPORT ON INDIAN NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

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Report on Indian Native Newspapers

Selected extracts from various Indian Native Newspapers in Bombay Presidency, commenting on the events and happenings during civil disobedience movement are furnished below. These extracts would enable the students of the civil disobedience movement to study the documents, furnished in the earlier parts of this volume, in a proper perspective.

Editor

Report on Indian Newspapers Published in the Bombay Presidency for the Week ending 25th October 1930

**Comments on the Police action against the
Flag Salutation on the Esplanade, Bombay.
*Bombay Chronicle, 27th Oct. 1930.***

Speaking at a dinner given by the Governor of Bombay to the retiring Ministers, Diwan Bahadur Desai appealed to the Governor and the Home Member "to avoid any course of action that was at all likely to leave bitterness behind, as Englishmen and Indians would still have to continue to live and work together". A similar warning was uttered by Sriyut Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a non-Congressman and one of the leaders of the Indian mercantile community.

Bombay had Government's response within two days in Sunday's tragedy. It was not only an intensification of old methods; the lathi-charges were more severe and drew a greater amount of blood than ever before. But a grossly ugly novelty was also introduced on this blackest of all days that Bombay has had to witness for the preservation of its public peace. Out of the ladies arrested at Azad Maidan 14, 4 of them girls of 14 years, were taken to a jungle 16 miles from Bombay made to get down on the road and left stranded there. But for the fortunate arrival of a motor car with two Indian gentlemen in it what would have been their fate? What is that code of moral ethics or Law of British India, under which the ladies were so treated? Are all obligations of courtesy to women to be set aside where the bureaucracy has to deal with satyagrahis? Mr. Desai appealed to the Governor and the Home Member, Sir Ernest Hotson has already been an eye-witness to a lathi-charge. Does the revival of old methods mean that he continues to bless them?

What about Sir Frederick Sykes? Does he believe? We wish he had been present on Sunday in gruesome lathi-charges against non-violent satyagrahis and in leaving women in a jungle as specifies for honourable opposition to repression.

There is the experience of so many lathi charges, and their inevitable reactions culminating in those of morning and evening. Is it still hoped to beat down and suppress a Nation?

HCP—352-A-23

For the Week ending 1 November 1930

Free Press Journal, 28th Oct. 1930.

The forces of reaction and revolution clashed on Sunday as was anticipated. Revolution won the day. There was no mistaking the fact. The Congress executive deputed in all about two hundred volunteers to carry out its behest and to hoist the national flag on the Azad Maidan. But, thanks to the blundering and bungling methods of the Bureaucracy, not two hundred but twenty thousand citizens, men and women, found their way to the Azad Maidan, took the risk of suffering the lathi-charges and testified publicly to their voluntary allegiance to the National Flag and the outlawed Congress. The reason why the citizens of Bombay had no hesitation in proclaiming their allegiance to the flag and the Congress is simple, although the bureaucracy will never understand the simple truth. The citizens were confronted on Sunday not with questions of respect for Law and Order or defiance of Law and Order. Nor were they confronted with questions of the abstruse rights and wrongs of the question. What the citizens accepted as confronting them was the brute force of an alien administration doing violence to person and property because Congress volunteers dared to assert the elementary right of citizenship, namely the salutation of the National Flag became an insult to the manhood and womanhood of India. The flag stood for the conception of a free India in enjoyment of Swaraj. That flag was made the target of attack of the Empire's might and young boys and girls who dared to assert their right to honour the emblem of the nation's aspirations were brutally assaulted. Viewed from this point of view, the citizens had no alternative, at least that is significance of Sunday's events. In tens of thousands, citizens of all communities of all ages, of all education and both men and women hastened to the Maidan and testified to their allegiance to the flag. The bureaucracy bungled badly enough when it declared as unlawful an association which whatever its anti-British activities, functioned openly and directly under the officials eye. But the ban on Sunday's ceremony made matters worse. And the manner, in which the ban was enforced, condemned the executive to ignominious defeat from the beginning. The official volunteers of the Congress, both men and women, made no attempt at masquerade at all. They were in their uniform and flaunted their badges. The strictest requirements of the law would have been fulfilled if the authorities had been content to arrest the volunteers who sought to defy the Police ban and who made no resistance to arrests. In fact, when the police did content themselves with arresting only the first two batches of volunteers without resort to lathi, the citizens were content to remain spectators. There were no cries of shame, no flaunting of the flag. Psychology is certainly not the strong point of the bureaucracy. If it were, the bureaucracy would refrain from pursuing methods which threaten to lose the allegiance of all citizens for the existing system of Government. The subsequent developments like the spiriting away of some of the arrested ladies outside the city and leaving them in the midst of a jungle, the unfortunate incident complained of, in respect of a sergeant and the severe sentences have only aggravated matters. No bureaucracy can successfully fight a whole nation. Sooner the bureaucracy learns the simple truth, the better for its masters.

For the Week ending 8 November 1930

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the President of the Bombay Municipality on the subject of lathi-charges by the Police.

Bombay Samachar, 8th Nov.

The reply received by Mr. Husainbhai Abdullabhai Lalji, the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, to the letter which he had written to His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes to ascertain what Government thought about the police atrocities on October 26th before the Bombay Municipal Corporation discussed that subject and arrived at a decision, will hardly be considered satisfactory. While the people believe that the police exercised terrible atrocities on the 26th October, we are extremely surprised to hear that His Excellency the Governor says that the force used by the police was the minimum and we cannot resist the temptation of wishing to be told what sort of a thing the exercise of the maximum force on the part of police would be. If, after the statement issued by medical men and the description of persons who personally witnessed the beating by the police, His Excellency the Governor says that the minimum force was used, what more can we say than this that the officers have been taking advantage of his goodness? The public have come to know as to how low and meaningless has been the defence of the treatment meted out to women. The public are very much surprised to learn that Sir Frederick Sykes does not consider it any way inhuman to leave young women and girls of tender years alone and unprotected on a lonely road. His Excellency the Governor declares that the methods adopted by the Bombay police are less severe than those adopted towards women in other countries when they violate the laws. But we are afraid that if the inhuman conduct which the Bombay Police have exhibited towards women were adopted in any other country and if the Government then defended it, people would surely overthrow that Government within a moment. The demand which the Bombay Municipal Corporation has made for an inquiry into the conduct of the police and the punishment of those who may be found guilty is quite in consonance with public feeling and opinion. The police had furnished a further proof on the night of the 5th of November, the Gandhi day, as to how unrestrained they are becoming day by day through taking advantage of His Excellency the Governor's goodness, of the sympathy and tolerance of Government. We still hope that the Police, Government and His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes will realise as soon as possible that this state of affairs is undesirable in the interests of the future relations between the Government and the people.

Nava Kal, 8th November 1930.

The *Nava Kal* refers to His Excellency the Governor's reply to Mr. Husainbhai Lalji in connection with the treatment given to women by the police on the flag salutation day and writes—His Excellency's reply shows how indifferent the high officials of the provincial Governments are to the feelings of the public. The explanation given by His Excellency about the desertion of certain women volunteers in a jungle is as irritating as that given by the Director of Information. It will not satisfy the public but will on the contrary encourage them to try to effect as speedily as possible a radical change in that administration wherein every official is indifferent to public opinion. It appears from His Excellency's letter that the officials do not feel any remorse for the conduct of the Police but are on the contrary proud of it and that they are disposed to give an assurance that such a thing will not recur simply because there is a loud outcry against it. Already the humiliation to which the Police subjected the citizens of Bombay in defiance of law and sense of humanity is beyond endurance and to add to it the Governor has written this provokingly insulting letter.

Comments on the sentence passed on the Dictator of the Poona City Congress Committee.

Dnyan Prakash, 5th November 1930.

The *Dnyan Prakash* refers to the sentence passed on Kashinathbuwa Pashankar on the charge of being the Dictator of the Poona City Congress Committee and writes—Lawyers and judges should consider whether sentences passed on such a charge are lawful and just. It is necessary to ascertain from the view-point of justice whether there is any provision for the appointment of a dictator in the constitution of the Congress Committees, whether a person nominated by a president of committee declared unlawful after he is sentenced becomes a *bona-fide* office-bearer of an unlawful association and whether even the ordinary behaviour of such a dictator can be considered to be objectionable and unlawful. The satyagrahis will naturally remain indifferent in such matters. But we think that the Magistrate should conduct such cases more carefully and subject the evidence brought forth by the Government to a testing examination. More than two months have elapsed since Mr. Pashankar was appointed dictator. If the Government thought it necessary to prosecute him only because he was a member of an unlawful association, he ought to have been prosecuted earlier. If the Government contends that he was guilty of objectionable and unlawful conduct in the capacity of dictator evidence to that effect ought to have been produced before the court. But no such thing was done during the course of the prosecution of Mr. Pashankar. We therefore think that it is necessary to send a petition for revision of the decision given by Mr. Israel. Taking the whole situation in Poona into account any one will conclude that there was no necessity to prosecute Mr. Pashankar and that the sentence passed on him was unjust.

For the Week ending 15 November 1930

Civil Disobedience Movement and Parallel Government

Mahratta, 9th Nov. 1930

It is now seven or eight months since the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched and has been proceeding on a scale that has staggered the world and in manner that is as unique as it is effective. The people of India have exhibited, without the shadow of a doubt, wonderful courage, spirit of unprecedented sacrifice and readiness to suffer hardships even of the most brutal nature. And the Government, on its part, has revealed itself in its true colours during that period. Indians are well-acquainted with all the heinous doings of the Government for crushing the movement and it is absolutely unnecessary to recapitulate the dark history here. There is no limit where the Government stops. Nothing is sacred; neither private property nor individual life. Even the fair sex is treated in a wild way, hardly becoming a modern Government. What the Government is doing with the agriculturist class in Gujarat, with its belongings, with its crops and its fields and cattle, is too dismal and harrowing to be adequately described. Of treatment given to satyagrahi prisoners the less said the better. Prisoners hailing from the villages and enlightened Graduates of Universities are kicked and beaten and, what is most astounding and offensive, are yoked like bulls to carts heavily laden with luggage in. In brief, the youth, the manhood and the womanhood of India too, is sought to be broken in spirit and none can at present imagine to what length the Government will go in future to extirpate the movement, if not the frightfully assertive feeling of nationalism and patriotism itself It may be posited that in Ireland and other nations that secured their liberty in the past, side by side with other comparatively more destructive forms of political agitation, the constructive conception of parallel government was constantly kept up before the eye of the nationals of every country and its institutions were being silently built up brick by brick and stone by stone, with the effect that in Ireland the ruling power paled into abject insignificance before the parallel Government institutions developed by the people of that wonderful small nation. The idea of parallel Government has, indeed, been engaging the public mind of India since long, but for some reason or other it did not materialise to any appreciable extent. That there are grave differences of opinion on the subject may easily be conceived. Yet we are inclined to think that, though it may not be practicable to execute the idea in its integral features all at once, it may not, in the least, be found difficult to take up one item in it, say of National Arbitration Boards, and try to set them up in various centres with a view to giving a local habitation and a name to the spirit of patriotism that can be preserved and made to function through such bodies, both in rural and urban areas. This question of Arbitration Boards has two aspects, political and economic. And even those who have no other motive than that of saving poor people's money for themselves from the insatiable maw of the Law Courts, may, without fear, lend their co-operation in the development of these

institutions. How effective politically the establishment of parallel Government is, was indicated by the wrathful outburst of the *Daily Herald* too when Mr. K. F. Nariman, after his release and before his rearrest, broached the subject of National Arbitration Boards for the formulation of plans in that behalf. The work of construction of parallel Government, we know, can proceed only by degrees. Nonetheless, we think that a time has come in the prosecution of the movement for India's freedom when a beginning in that direction should be made. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the successor of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Congress Presidentship, has recently come out of jail and he might consider the possibilities of giving a new orientation, on these lines, to the movement. We hope the leaders of the Congress and even other parties participating in the struggle for freedom in general, will adopt the above suggestion and devise means to put it into practice "

For the Week ending 15 November 1930

Comments on the circular letter of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to Bombay newspapers regarding Civil Disobedience.

Kesari, 11th Nov.

A novel idea has emanated from the fertile brain of the new Commissioner of Police and he has revived the Press Act which has not lapsed in a different form. (The paper then refers to the warning issued by the Commissioner of Police against publishing news, etc ; about the activities of bodies declared to be unlawful.) The Press Ordinance while it was in operation could not successfully gag the press but the Commissioner of Police aims to achieve that result by his present order. But what does he hope to gain by issuing such an impossible order ? Does he hope to get the credit of stopping the activities of the Congress, the Youth Leagues, etc ; by muzzling the press, a result which he could not obtain by his lathi-charges ? But this is a vain hope. It is unwise to try to create a belief that the movement has died out by suppressing all news about it. Perhaps the object of the Commissioner is to screen the misdeeds of the Police. Probably he believes that if the papers are silent about the activities of the civil resisters, they will at the same time refrain from making any mention of the lathi-charges by the police on them. But this will spread greater misunderstanding about the Police. In short, the authorities cannot hope to kill such movements by gagging the press instead of improving their conduct in keeping with justice.

Bombay Samachar, 10th Nov.

The *Bombay Samachar* refers to the circular issued by Mr. Wilson, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the editors of newspapers in Bombay and remarks—It does not appear clearly from Mr. Wilson's letter to the newspapers whether he has of his own accord ventured upon the risky talk of intermeddling in the work of the newspapers only under the exercise of the powers vested in him as a Police Commissioner or whether he has invited this further discredit upon himself only by way of executing the

orders of the higher authorities. In any case, looking to the way in which this bombshell of his has been thrown amongst the public it cannot be considered to be an injustice to him if the inference is drawn that he wants to take into his hands the reins of Bombay and its newspapers by setting aside the Governor and his council. If this is not a tenth ordinance following close upon the heels of the ninth ordinance, still in the eyes of the press and the people, it will certainly appear as filling the place of a tenth ordinance. We hope that just as a spirit of moderation was exercised in Bombay out of regard for the strong protest raised against the black Ordinance relating to newspapers in spite of its having been issued, so also by keeping their head cool, the Government of Bombay will consider it advisable to have such a change introduced in the new policy as would provide facilities to the independent nationalist press to discharge its duty fearlessly. What other purpose can these new orders serve except imparting more strength and impetus to those who have come to the decision of not withdrawing from the final struggle without fighting it out to the finish ?

For the Week ending 22 November 1930

Appeal to Government to inquire into the affairs at Sholapur and other places.

Vijayi Maratha, 17th Nov.

Commenting on the Government's attitude in regard to the inquiry into the martial law regime at Sholapur and other episodes of a like nature, the *Vijayi Maratha* writes : A resolution had been moved in the last session of the Legislative Council about making an inquiry into the Sholapur affair but the Government did not allow it to be passed. And if the committee appointed by the Congress had proceeded with the inquiry, the Government would have prohibited it just as in the case of the Ranpur Inquiry Committee. The report on the situation at Kudchi published by the Hindu Sabha has also been confiscated. Again, the Chirner Committee has been forbidden to carry on its work on the spot and it is to be seen if its report too will be forfeited. It will also be seen before long what attitude the Government takes up in regard to the Inquiry Committee appointed in connection with the riot at Bilashi. But it is extremely deplorable that the Government itself is defeating the purpose of justice by this sort of repression.

For the Week ending 29 November 1930

Comments on the refusal of the Privy Council to admit the appeal in the Sholapur case.

Hindustan and Praja Mitra, 28th Nov. Sanj Vartaman, 28th Nov.

The *Hindustan* and *Praja Mitra* refers to the refusal by the Privy Council to admit the appeal in the Sholapur case and remarks : It has not been definitely stated whether the Privy Council refused to admit the appeal after examining all the causes relating to the petition in the Sholapur appeal case or for the sake of observing the practice of not admitting criminal appeals. There is no doubt that the sympathy of the people of the

whole Presidency is with the accused. The hearts of all persons have been agitated by the suicidal decision of the Privy Council. However if His Excellency the Governor finds a way out of the impasse the people will feel thankful to him. The *Sanj Vartaman* remarks : The information about the result of the case in the Privy Council will be considered only disappointing by the people of this country and we hope that His Excellency the Governor will use his prerogative of showing mercy to the guilty persons, save them from capital punishment and grant them life.

Mahratta, 30th Nov.

“Anxious eyes were fixed on the decision of the appeal lodged with the Privy Council by Mallappa Dhanshetti and three others of Sholapur sentenced to be hanged in the Police Murder Case. The Privy Council sees no reason to alter the decision of the Bombay High Court. This decision, we have no doubt, will rend the heart of Maharashtra in twain, in profound sorrow and in unmitigated anger at the most heinous injustice which can masquerade as justice in this world. Only last week we wrote about the injustice done to Mr. K. G. Ranade whose son fell a victim to a shot at Sholapur. But that injustice is nothing when compared with the piece of injustice done to these four prodigiously unfortunate convicted persons. In the first place, it is absolutely incomprehensible how these four persons of high social status could be all connected with the brutal murders of policemen, when the fact of some of them having saved the panick-stricken District Magistrate himself from the fury of the mob had been proved. The judge who conceived the possibility of these persons being murderers must indeed be in possession of some non-human powers of imagination. But the judge who could conceive a medical practitioner like Mr. Antrolkar and a pleader like Mr. Mahajan to have conspired for burning the Court buildings could not find it difficult to conclude the four leading persons of Sholapur to have been murderers. Apart from this point, many others too have to be properly taken into account. The Bombay High Court differed at least in the case of three of the accused and then in the reference of their appeal to another High Court Judge, the three had their death sentences confirmed. Now the Privy Council too has refused the appeal of the accused and justice has run its full course. Before this we have many a time appealed to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to exercise the privilege of mercy in favour of the convicted. We had then drawn His Excellency's earnest attention to the case of Kabulkhan of the Patwardhan murder fame, in which, in spite of unchallenged and absolutely undoubted evidence before the Court and in spite of the sentence of death passed on him His Excellency thought fit to exercise his privilege of mercy. If it was fit to grant mercy in that case, it is far and away the fittest act to do in the present Sholapur case. Already Sholapur has become a byword to civilised savagery practised by the Government, its police and its military. And if now the four persons are hanged, it will be permanently impossible for Maharashtra to forget the excruciating memory of the dark deeds devilishly done by the Government at Sholapur.”

Nava Kal, 28th Nov.

The *Nava Kal* refers to the rejection of the appeal made by Mallappa Dhanshetti and others condemned to death in the Sholapur riot case and writes :—Such cases are occurring practically every day and everywhere with this difference only that in this particular case the punishments appear to be far more terrible than in others. The object of meting out such severe sentences in this case is not to deter people from terrible crimes like murder but to crush their political aspirations. The ruling powers resort to repression in order to produce this sort of effect on the people. Repression seeks to create this feeling in the minds of people that as the rulers can attribute any motive to the most cautious action it is better to stand aloof from all political agitation. We are led to draw this moral because serious flaws in the evidence came to light in this case with the result that there was a difference of opinion among the High Court Judges themselves. The Government will of course get the accused hanged and the matter as it is not responsible to public opinion, but it rests with the people to show whether the sacrifice of the accused proved fruitful or otherwise. And hence, though Mallappa and others have been compelled to depart from the world because of their being accidentally involved in the riot, the national service which brought them to the forefront ought not to suffer a break.

For the Week ending 13 December 1930

Comments on the punitive police imposed on Shiroda and Redi (District Ratnagiri).

Balvant, 10th Dec.

Referring to the alleged repression in Shiroda, the *Balvant* remarks :—But on reviewing the circumstances there it is doubtful how far the plethora of sentences can prove successful. The Government also seem to entertain the same doubt, for otherwise the new move of imposing a punitive police cannot be explained. Even women and children having lost all fear of the prisons, the Government seem to have adopted this strategic measure with an idea that people would be cowed down under the new taxation for the punitive police. The annual expenditure of this additional force will be about Rs. 11,500 and that is to be recovered from the residents of Shiroda and Redi, so that this *Jiziya* is to be levied at the rate of rupees two per head. Does the Government expect to recover this heavy tax in the circumstances prevailing in the Ratnagiri District ?

Comments on the alleged lathi-charges by the Police in Bombay on the Gandhi Day.

Bombay Samachar (Weekly), 7th Dec.

Commenting upon the alleged lathi-charges made by the Police on the people in Bombay on the 5th December 1930, the *Bombay Samachar* remarks : Cannot the guardians of law and order offer a more decent and better oblation ~~than~~ broken heads to the prophet of peace ? Even if Government have declared the **Bombay** Provincial Congress Committee to be unlawful, still the Congressmen are **not** enemies but

subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, and even if they are committing a breach of the law, still they deserve to be protected under them. The police are bound to safe-guard this constitutional right of the people, but it is really deplorable that, instead of doing so they have taken the law in their hands. If the guardians of law and order do not wish to put the patience of the people to terrible test, then they ought to refrain from such misbehaviour. The bureaucracy of no country in the world has ever reaped good fruits by trifling with the feelings of the people. The blind worshippers of law and order should bear it in mind that the lathi is the shortest cut for forcibly dragging non-violent India on to the path of violence. This step of leading knowingly or unknowingly such non-violent people on to the path of violence by inflicting beatings on them will prove fatal for both India and Britain.

For the Week ending 20 December 1930

Comments on the death of Babu Genu, a Congress Volunteer, in Bombay.

*Hindustan and Praja Mitra, 13th Dec., Bombay Samachar, 15th Dec.,
Sanj Vartaman, 15th Dec.*

The *Hindustan and Praja Mitra* referred to the death of Babu Genu, a Congress volunteer, on 12th December 1930 which occurred as a result of his having been run over by a motor lorry and remarks : Who can today solve the riddle whether this martyr would have proved to be of greater use to the country by remaining alive or whether he has rendered greater service to his country by voluntarily inviting death ? In any case it is certain that by sacrificing his life, Babu has stirred the hearts of the entire people and the worshippers of British cloth have certainly become ashamed as a result of the offering of his life. The Government Publicity Department has at once come forward to furnish an explanation in regard to this incident and the Director of Information states that the death of Babu Genu was accidental and that the Sergeant or the chauffeur had not intentionally driven the motor lorry over him, but as a result of this explanation the grandeur of the sacrifice offered by Babu (Genu) does not become lessened in the slightest degree. The *Bombay Samachar* remarks : The great sacrifices which people have offered up in all parts of the country since the time that the Saint of Sabarmati began his memorable march will be recorded in golden letters in the history of India : but the sacrifice which the young man named Babu Genu has offered up on last Friday is really extraordinary. Babu Genu has left behind him a memorial pillar on Friday on the high road of Kalbadevi. This inscription on that pillar tells the people that if there is the stigma of foreign cloth still on their bodies, they should now cast off such clothes from their bodies and wipe it out for ever. That inscription that the merchants not to cast even a glance now on bales of foreign cloth, and to set fire to this foreign cloth with their own hands and do penance for the sin

committed by them up to now. Only a few days ago a Magistrate had indulged in very cruel criticism as to whether the volunteers who lie down in front of motor lorries would dare to do so if the lorries were passed over their bodies. The *Sanj Vartaman* remarks that the press note issued by the Director of Information, explaining the distressing heart-rending and unfortunate circumstances under which the death of Babu Genu occurred will be considered to be quite incomplete, and that it will not win the confidence of the people because the people will naturally form their own opinion in this connection only after the Coroner's inquest has been held. The paper further makes an earnest appeal to all the people of India and to the citizens of Bombay that if they desire to see the soul of Babu Genu enjoying everlasting peace, then they must take a solemn vow about boycotting foreign cloth and using only Swadeshi cloth.

Appeal for mercy to the Sholapur Police Murder case convicts.

Bombay Chronicle, 18th Dec.

"We published the other day the text of a telegram sent by Mr. Hussainbhoy Lalji on behalf of the Indian Merchants Chamber appealing to the Viceroy to exercise his prerogative of mercy in the case of the four Sholapur convicts and commute their sentence of death. We also published yesterday the appeal of the Sholapur Municipality and the telegrams sent by Lady Laxmibai Jagmohandas to the Viceroy and to Lady Irwin in this behalf. We also understand that similar appeals have been addressed by the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce and several Women's Associations in Bombay. It is evident from this that public opinion is strongly in favour of the humanitarian appeal for commuting the death sentence on the convicts, who are very prominent members of the mercantile community. It could not be otherwise. It will be recalled that when the case came in appeal before the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Madgaonkar of the Bombay High Court there arose a difference of opinion between their Lordships regarding the guilt of three of the accused. Thereupon the case was referred to a third judge, the Honourable Mr. Justice Baker. Mr. Justice Baker, although he reached the same conclusion as that of the Honourable the Chief Justice, did so on essentially different grounds. Add to it the fact that the situation at Sholapur, when their case was tried there, was peculiar and could not but handicap them in their defence. The case of these unfortunate men becomes one of the most deserving subjects for the exercise of the Viceroy's prerogative. Principles of modern penology also point in the direction of clemency. Britain herself is reconsidering her attitude towards capital punishment. Only the other day a select committee of the Commons reported in favour of legislation at least to suspend capital punishment for five years as an experiment. In view of these considerations and in view of the special circumstances of the case we trust that Lord Irwin will not fail to consider representations on behalf of the condemned men favourably. We are glad to learn that Lady Laxmibai has received acknowledgment of her telegram assuring her that it is receiving consideration. We understand that Mr. Narayanrao Gunjal and other M. L. A.'s intend to wait upon His Excellency in this connection. We earnestly pray for the successful outcome of their human mission."

For the Week ending 27 December 1930

Comments on the levy of punitive tax on the citizens of Sholapur.

Karma Vir, 19th Dec.

Referring to the punitive tax, imposed on the Sholapur city, the *Karma Vir* writes— Government have decided to impose upon the citizens of Sholapur the amount of Rs. 90,000 for making good the loss suffered by them during the recent Sholapur disturbances. We have shown in the past how the muddle-headed authorities were mainly responsible for the sufferings of Sholapur. If the Collector had not gone along with the lathi police to arrest the youths cutting the toddy trees, the Police would not have been stoned, and there would have been no possibility of the Police being killed. Subsequent evils could also have been averted. This tax should, therefore, have been imposed on those authorities who were responsible for all these troubles. In the alternative, a committee of inquiry should have been appointed and compensation recovered in accordance with its findings. But how can this just method be acceptable to those who care nothing for public opinion ?

PART-V

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN
MARATHWADA

PART-V

Freedom Struggle in Marathwada

The freedom struggle in Nizam's Dominion was indeed an uphill task which was complicated not merely due to the servile attitude of the Nizam towards the paramount power, but also due to the communal forces. Hyderabad was the largest among the Princely States in India, and it included the five (now seven) Marathi speaking districts of Marathwada. By and large it was a semi-feudal State patronising the communal forces and thereby deprived the majority of the population of even elementary civil liberties. Hence the freedom struggle therein was an infinitely hazardous task, more so than that in British India.

As I have stated in my Editorial Note to this Volume, the leaders of public opinion formed a Provisional Committee for working out modalities for the foundation of the Hyderabad State Congress. However the Nizam government declared the Provisional Committee as an unlawful body and put a ban on the Hyderabad State Congress. Notwithstanding the ban the Hyderabad State Congress formulated a Committee of Action for launching a Satyagraha.

In view of the situation created by the Government ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the Committee of Action reiterated that it was the birthright of the people to organise political associations and declared that the ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress had been defied. Keeping the situation created by Government in view, membership of all primary members was suspended, absolving them of any responsibility whatsoever. A Working Committee, consisting of the following members, organised the State Congress activities and adopted measures to face the situation created by the ban :—President Govindrao Nanal, General Secretary Ramkrishna Dhoot, Members Ravi Narayan Reddy, Shrinivasrao Borikar and Janardhan Desai.

The Committee declared that it did not bear hatred or malice towards either any community or individuals. They were second to none in their loyalty to the Nizam and the country. But they wanted to live as self-respecting free citizens.

The Satyagraha was to be individual in its character, and Congress-minded persons in particular were told to avoid public meetings and demonstrations for the présent. The creed of non-violence and truth were the sheet-anchor of the State Congress and nothing contrary was to be done. The State Congress declared more than once that it was purely a non-communal political organisation having nationalism as its very basis.

Despite this assurance the members of the Working Committee were arrested by the State police in front of the Imperial Telegraph Office, Hyderabad, where they had all assembled.

Judging from a statement issued by the Working Committee of the banned State Congress, the movement was confined for the present to Satyagraha by the leaders. In other words, there was no intention yet to organise mass disobedience of laws. Primary membership was suspended thus absolving ordinary members from responsibility. "The Working Committee will carry on the activities of the State Congress and adopt such measures as it thinks necessary to meet the new situation The Satyagraha will be of an individual character for the present, and public meetings and other demonstrations will be avoided. Nothing will be done contrary to the principle of truth and non-violence, which are the sheet-anchor of the State Congress". The statement advised Satyagrahis to inform police the time and place of their proposed Satyagraha.

The Hyderabad Government, in an issue of the "Gazette", declared unlawful, under Section 13 of the Public Safety Regulation, the Hyderabad State Congress and Committee of Action of that body.

The Government alleged that the State Congress and the Committee of Action aimed at interference with the administration of the State and were subversive of the maintenance of law and order. Further their existence would be dangerous to peace and harmonious relations between the various communities in the State.

Now that the first Working Committee was arrested, Swami Ramananda Tirtha was chosen Dictator of the State Congress. He launched the Satyagraha in Hyderabad City on 27th October 1938 with prior intimation to the Police Commissioner of Hyderabad.

*The story of Hyderabad freedom struggle, which can better be called a **Mukti Andolan**, is a peculiar one. It is unfolded through documents culled from the National Archives of India at New Delhi, the Maharashtra State Archives at Bombay, Police Commissioner of Bombay, Director General of Police of Maharashtra State, the Andhra Pradesh Archives at Hyderabad, numerous contemporary newspaper files and the Transfer of Power documents. An attempt has been made to arrange the documents chronologically from 1934 to April 1942. But the necessity of arrangement of the documents subject-wise has put constraints upon us to follow a strict chronology.*

—Editor

HCP—352-B-24

Mahatma Gandhi Visits Hyderabad

Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Hyderabad in March 1934 was a shock to the autocratic and bureaucratic forces. They were afraid that the repressive administrators would be exposed to the critical observation of the Mahatma. The Executive Council of the Nizam became astir to discuss how Gandhiji should be allowed to visit. The Political Member Mehdi Yar Jung and the Revenue and Police Member Sir Trench were chiefly concerned, but they differed with each other. It is of profound interest to see what were their attitudes towards the Mahatma's visit, which was mainly for inculcating the necessity of fighting for the cause of the Harijans.

Editor

My dear Trench,

6 Feb, 1934.

I put this forward, however, for your consideration.

The more I think over the matter, the more I am convinced that it would be a very good gesture and an act of courtesy if we let Gandhi give his lecture on the uplift of the depressed classes and also permit a procession. It would show our interest in our own depressed classes, and I cannot imagine that we have anything to fear from such a lecture. The procession would "let off steam" as it were.

But once Gandhi is here, I see great danger of serious public discontent arising if processions and public speeches were to be suppressed in such exciting circumstances when the enthusiasm of the public was at its height. Agitation based upon actual incidents happening at such a time would be all the more formidable and difficult to allay as it would be based upon the people's actual experience and inspired by very deep feelings.

If we cannot treat Gandhi with the courtesy due to him or give him the amount of reasonable liberty that should be accorded to a man on a mission which, ostensibly at least, accords with our own aims, then it is far better that he should not be allowed to come at all. In a word I do not like half measures.

I would like the Kotwal to see this letter and also my dissenting Note in Urdu on the Council resolution. His views would be interesting and valuable.

Mehdi Yar Jung.

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Secret

POLITICAL MEMBER
7 February 1934.

Dear Sir Akbar Hydari,

Kindly read and return the enclosed papers. You will observe that the Hon'ble Revenue Member is willing to refer the matter again to the Council regarding the proposed visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Hyderabad.

I hope you will be able to support the idea of ordinary courtsey being shown to Mr. Gandhi and liberty of speech being given to him in regard to the uplift of the depressed classes. I am sure this will do no harm, but will have an excellent effect both in the State and outside.

If this cannot be done, then it is best to prevent Gandhi from coming to Hyderabad at all.

My views are more fully expressed in the letter which I wrote to Trench on the 6th February, 1934, which is on this file, as also in my formal note of dissent, a copy of which is also on the file.

Mehdi Yar Jung

The Bombay Chronicle

16 June 1938.

When the over-enthusiastic Congress-minded population of Hyderabad made rather an indiscreet and premature noise about Mr. K. F. Nariman's impending visit and even announced public meetings and receptions in anticipation, it was feared that it would unnerve the already panicky State authorities and, perhaps, his entry may be banned.

It seems that a Hyderabad State Police Officer was awaiting the return of Mr. Nariman from the Malabar tour ; immediately on his return, the following polite letter was delivered to him :—

“ I am directed to inform you that H. E. H's Government have heard that you propose to visit Hyderabad in the near future. If so, I am instructed to let you know that in view of the complications and disturbances of the peace which ensued after your recent visit to Mysore, the Government of Hyderabad regret that they are not prepared to allow you to enter the State whether in your professional capacity or otherwise. ”

It seems that the Mysore happenings have scared these State authorities and having become wiser, they adopt the advice contained in the maxim “ Prevention is better than cure. ”

Mr. Nariman is addressing a strong protest against this uncalled for unjudicious and arbitrary ban.

In serious cases, involving capital punishment to deny the accused the right of selecting their own Counsel is tantamount to denial of justice. This interference of the Executive is all the more outrageous because on an application to the High Court of the State, it is stated that special permission was given to Mr. Nariman to appear in the case. In spite of that judicial order, the executive has thought fit to deprive the accused of a fundamental right to defend.

It is further authoritatively stated that even before the commencement of the trial the Nizam has already issued a ‘ Firman ’ to the Tribunal to deal with the alleged miscreants severely ; that amazing interference with the Judiciary is enough to shake the confidence of the public and added to that, this needless obstruction in the way of defence particularly for the party that apprehends prosecution and victimisation is bound to reduce the supposed trial to a farce.

The Bombay Chronicle

17 June 1938.

Strongly protesting against the orders of the Nizam's Government in prohibiting Mr. K. F. Nariman from proceeding to Hyderabad to defend the cases of the Hindus charged with the murder of two Muslims during the recent communal riots in Hyderabad City, the Secretary of the International Aryan League, New Delhi, has sent a telegram to Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister and President of the Nizam's Executive Council.

The Secretary further states that, apart from the question of Civil Liberties, this ban deprives the Hindus of their right of self defence and suitable legal help.

The Prime Minister is also requested to withdraw the ban and to assure the Hindu community that full justice would be done to the accused.—United Press.

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Confidential

No. 2338/34-A
Political and Services
Department, Bombay Castle,
22 June 1938

From :

Sir Gilbert Wiles,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Services Department.

To :

The Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad

Subject.—Communal propaganda on the part of certain
newspapers in the Bombay Province.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 456-C, dated the 7th May 1938, I am directed to state that the Government of Bombay agree generally that the articles in the *Musawat*, *Vaidik Sandesh* and *Marathwada* newspapers forwarded by you, and also certain later articles in these papers on the same subject which they have seen, particularly those in the *Vaidik Sandesh*, are such as are calculated to create communal ill-feeling between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities and to bring His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Administration into

hatred or contempt and excite disaffection against it. In view of the fact, however, that these three papers are comparatively new ones of little importance, the Government of Bombay have decided for the present not to take action against them under the law. They have, however, instructed the District Magistrate, Sholapur, to administer a severe warning to the editor, printer and publisher of the *Vaidik Sandesh* to refrain from publishing such articles in future, and are issuing instructions that a strict watch be kept in future on the writings of these three papers, with a view to taking suitable action against them if they continue to publish objectional matter.

G. Wiles

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Hyderabad State Congress Declared Unlawful

(*State's People's Monthly Bulletin*, Dec. 1938.)

For over a decade public opinion in Hyderabad has been slowly but steadily gathering round political progress. The Provincial Conferences and various social, literary and educational activities reflected the deep seated desire for an advance. Politics, due to lack of means and opportunities, has been in the nature of inhibition more than expression. However, efforts at political expression were not lacking, and as long back as 17 years ago the Hyderabad State for constitutional Reforms in the State. Its attempts for holding a Political Conference were disallowed. In 1931 a Political Conference was convened in Akola, in Berar. The Conference requested the introduction of responsible Government in the State. Later the Nizam Subjects' League was formed with the same ideal, but the Government insisted on the deletion of the ideal of responsible Government from its creed and proscribed a book *Whither Hyderabad* written by the Secretary of the League explaining the League's political programme. The 53 Ganthi Repeal Committee was ceaselessly carrying on a propaganda for the abolition of the Restriction on free speech. The Hyderabad District Congress Committee took up the agitation on the eve of the appointment of the Constitutional Reforms Committee in 1937. It led to a controversy whether the affiliated District Committee of the Indian National Congress could undertake such an agitation. The controversy had not ended when on the very heels of the announcement of the Constitutional Reforms Committee the Hyderabad Peoples' Convention was convened to submit the popular demand. It submitted a Report for the establishment of a Diarchy with a scheme of partial responsible Government.

The Constitutional Reforms Committee and the Convention released the pent up political feeling and the urge sharpened by current events outside the State and world conditions expressed itself in the shape of the State Congress. An attempt was under progress since a couple of years for the formation of a common platform on a national organisation. A Committee was appointed to explore the avenues for it. The Peoples' convention foresaw the necessity of a non-communal political organisation even if it be to work the Reforms on a national basis and not to leave them in the hands of political busybodies and communal opportunists, and decided by a unanimously accepted Resolution to start the State Congress with the achievement of Responsible Government as its object. The inroads of communalism into the public life necessitated the hastening of its inauguration to 'combat the communal rancour' and to develop a 'patriotic movement on national lines.' 'The focussing of all minds on a non-communal ideal was not an easy task and many a battle had to be fought before an agreement could be reached.' A Provisional Committee was appointed at a meeting of all the prominent public workers of the State to draft the Constitution and form the body. What happened further is a tragic story which needs a little elaboration.

* * *

STATE CONGRESS DECLARED 'UNLAWFUL'

The formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been prohibited by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam by means of notification in a Gazette Extraordinary issued on September 8th. It states *inter alia* : His Exalted Highness' Government has no objection to the establishment of political organisations in the State provided that these are on a strictly non-communal basis and have no affiliations outside the State.

It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the Constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves and thus create a common, national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive of no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise, absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance.

Despite the ostensible objects of the organisation, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organisation being effected and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government is thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive, communal activities to which the prestige of the name "Congress" has been deliberately attached for misleading the public.

Government is satisfied from its own enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State.

Government has, therefore, decided to prohibit the formation of any organisation so named or so constituted and the Hyderabad State Congress is, if formed, declared to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation.

* * *

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Hyderabad State Congress' Reply

(*State People's Monthly Bulletin, Dec. 1938*)

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After a heated discussion the members of the Provisional Committee released the following statement to the press :-

Assuming that the members of other communities have not as yet joined the State Congress in sufficient numbers, the committee fails to understand how an institution with the open political object of achieving Responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam in the State and open to all communities without distinction of caste, creed or community could on this account be called communal organisation. The Committee feels that it is the aims and objects, programme, nature of work and actual working of the institution that would make an organisation communal or non-communal and not the number of its supporters belonging to a particular community. It is impossible to agree with this doctrine of judging communalism which, if carried to its logical conclusion, is bound to result in absolute stultification.

Government have charged the workers interested in this movement with deliberate duplicity and stated that they are using the name of the Congress as a cloak to further their destructive and communal activities. This charge is entirely unfounded and the Committee feels sure that Government will, on proper enquiry, find themselves grossly misinformed. There is absolutely no justification for predicting the communal nature of an organisation which has still to come into existence on unfounded surmises and then banning it as an unlawful association. The public will remember that even previous attempts made in this direction of forming a "Common National Platform under the name of the Nizam's

Subjects League and under the able guidance of no less a personality than Sir Nizamath Jung, ex-Political Member of the State, met with similar treatment at the hands of the Government. In spite of the fact that the promoters of that body belonged to all communities in the State and consisted of nobles and the elite from among the people they were compelled to delete from their aims and objects the clauses regarding Responsible Government, popularisation of Hindustani and preservation of the Sovereign rights of the State so that the institution could not come into existence at all.

The Committee, therefore, feels certain, despite the assurance to the contrary, that Government do not desire the formation of any political rights of the people and that is the reason for their adopting these extraordinary measures of repression under cover of suppressing communalism.

People will scarcely consider the meagre constitutional reforms which Government promise to grant as being more valuable than their civil liberties which have been completely suppressed. The Committee in conclusion, makes a further appeal to the Government to reconsider their decision in the best interest of the people and State and to withdraw the Ordinances recently promulgated and lift the ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress which is purely an indigenous body with constructive and common political objectives and peaceful programme of work. That would be an act of statesmanship which the people can expect from Sir Akbar Hydari and above all from their beloved and enlightened Ruler. H. E. H. the Nizam who was graciously pleased to re-affirm in his birthday speech, the traditional policy of the Asafjahi King's rule by winning the hearts of the subjects rather than by the sword.

* * *

BOMBAY CHRONICLE

Making an important statement in the Hyderabad Legislative Council on His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government's policy, Sir Akbar Hydari denounced communalism in no uncertain terms. He went so far as to declare that "there is no crime against society or the State worse than communalism, no treason higher than it." We completely agree and we congratulate Sir Akbar on the categorical terms in which he has described this abominable curse of India." But having said that, may we suggest that a Government owes another fundamental duty to society in addition to one of fighting communalism? If communalism is a canker, civil liberties are the life-blood of, at any rate, a living society in the modern world. To foster civil liberties is an equally sacred duty of a Government. What has Sir Akbar's administration done about it?

* * *

Mahatma Gandhi on Ban on State Congress

(*Harijan*, 17 Nov. 1938)

"If the State persist in their obstinacy and hug their ignorance of the awakening that has taken place throughout India, they are courting certain destruction. I claim to be a friend of the States. Their service has been an heirloom in my family for the past three generations, if not longer. But I am not ashamed of the heirloom. All the States may not live. The biggest ones can live only if they will recognise their limitations, become servants of their people, trustees of their welfare and depend for their existence not on arms, whether their own or British, but solely on the goodwill of their people. Frightfulness will feed the fire of violence that one feels smouldering everywhere. If the States are badly advised and they rely upon organised violence for resisting the just demands of their people, *ahimsa*, so far generated in the country as a means of redressing social injustice, will not protect them. If it had grown into a Himalayan oak, it would have passed any test, however severe. But, sad to confess, it has not gone deep enough into the Indian soil."

"The Hyderabad communiques have, therefore, come upon me as a painful surprise. Sir Akbar is a great educationist. He is a philosopher. It was a pleasure to read his recent convocation address to the Deccan University. It is passing strange that he should have lent himself to the reactionary declarations which condemn an organization even before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion? What can communalism mean in, say, Kashmir or the Frontier where the population is predominantly one faith? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least numerically a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field. When a person belonging to an insignificant minority mounts to power he does so not as a representative of his group but by sheer merit. The State Congress in Hyderabad can never be communal in the sense in which the word is understood in India. An institution in the Frontier Province need not be dubbed communal merely because it has no Hindu member. Of course an organization may be frankly communal in outlook. But the Hyderabad communiques make a subtle distinction and aver that there is presence in the State Congress of persons predominantly communal in outlook. What is more the State Congress has come out with a statement totally repudiating the suggestion of communalism."

"Whatever happens in the three States named or in any other, let the people of the States recognize that their salvation depends wholly on their own strength whose generation in turn depends upon an exhibition in action of complete non-violence and truth. They must realize that it is utterly impossible openly to organize along violent lines large masses of mankind deprived of arms and almost from time immemorial brought up as a non-military nation."

* * *

The Hindu on Ban on State Congress :

27 Oct.

Political agitation for Responsible Government is a perfectly legitimate thing, and no Government has yet found it possible to prevent the exercise of that right for long. It would have been far better if the Hyderabad Government, profiting by others' experience, had allowed the State Congress to function as a political organisation. If they found that in fact it was trying to foment communal trouble or discontent or busy itself in subversive activities it would then have been time enough for them to interfere and put down such activities. We do not, of course, overlook the fact that the activities of the State Congress, themselves perfectly legitimate, might yet provoke the violent opposition of communalists or others opposed to its tenets. But the Government cannot, merely by reason of this possibility, deny to the State Congress the exercise of its just rights. It would be their duty, on the contrary, to prevent improper interference in the exercise of those rights by any body whatever may be its motive in doing so. We hope that the Government will yet see their way to lift the ban on the Congress and make it possible for political organisations to function normally. Meanwhile, it is the duty of the people to conduct themselves in the true spirit of non-violence, as State Congress leaders have rightly emphasised.

Long and chequered as has been the history of Hyderabad, never before did a situation fraught with potential suffering for the people and anxiety for the Government, arise as during the week, when the Committee of Action appointed by the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress decided to defy the Government ban on the formation of the Congress by accepting its draft constitution and electing a Working Committee.

In the course of a statement issued just before the dissolution of the Congress Provisional Committee members are second to none in their love for the King and the country. The Satyagraha to be launched should be individual in its character, keeping Truth and Non-Violence as its sheet anchor, and aiming at Responsible Government as its goal. Civil and political liberties are the birth rights of every citizen, it is for them that the State Congress stands.

The members of the Working Committee were arrested on Monday 24th Oct. morning. Just before their arrest, they issued statements explaining their creed and clarifying their position.

Pandit Govind Rao Nanal, the President, characterised the present Government as "feudal and autocratic" in its nature, and in a moving appeal, emphasised that in the evening of his life all that he wanted was the establishment of Responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty.

Vishwanath Ranganath Tuljapurkar on Satyagraha

(Translation of his Marathi pamphlet of 15 Nov. 1938)

The statement issued by the Hyderabad State Congress makes it clear that the background for the Satyagraha movement presently launched by it is not based on its ideals and principles but on the principle of asserting the right of "association and organisation" due to the ban imposed by Government on its formation under the name State Congress. This fact is also corroborated by the statement made in the court by Swami Ramananda Tirth, the first Dictator, who was prompted to break the Government order banning the formation of the said Congress after his arrest. This founder has also made it known publicly by issuing many statements that the aim of this organisation will be the "attainment of Responsible Government" and that it will be free from restrictions of caste and religion. Considering these aims of the Congress, it will not be out of place here to explain the utility of this institution to the public and the attitude they should hold towards it. The important point which demands consideration is that there is not a single organisation whose object has been declared in clear words to be the attainment of "Responsible Government". As an exception, the Hyderabad Political Reform Association is the only important old organisation which, as long back as 17 years ago, demanded that political reforms leading to the realization of Responsible Government should be introduced in the administration in pursuance of its aims while submitting a scheme for political reforms. After this, very recently besides the Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak Provincial Conferences which have been founded with similar aims, the People's Convention Committee is a central organisation which is recognised by all sections of the people. Besides these, the Nizam's Government have appointed a special Committee known as the Iyengar Political Reforms Committee to formulate a constitution which will be responsible to the people. It has also been notified by Government that these reforms will be announced shortly. It is thus improbable that Government is averse to the establishment of public organisation whose aim would be the realisation of "Responsible Government." Therefore, the question arises whether the Civil Disobedience Movement that has been started neither with the purpose of making a demand for political reforms for the realization of Responsible Government nor for keeping Responsible Government as their ultimate goal but simply for the purpose of establishing an organisation under the name State Congress whose formation has been banned by Government, should be allowed to continue or not. And whether the movement should be actively supported by the majority of the people at various places. The public is neglecting the consideration of these dry-cut issues. At this juncture if one thinks of boldly attempting to enlighten public opinion, the tendency to scoff at it in a dry and slighting manner increases due to aggressive and

infuriated passions. But as this problem is connected with the welfare of the people, I think it to be my primary duty even at the pain of incurring their displeasure to place before them that logical aspect of the problem which, if followed, would tend to attain maximum public welfare as a member of that society. The ban imposed by Government on the formation of the State Congress is not due to its having "Responsible Government" as their ultimate aim, but particularly because its composition is characterised as communal. But the connotation that communal organisation is either necessarily a body propagating anti-Muslim spirit or an exclusively pro-Hindu body is not correct. If we leave aside this disputed question, the different groups from amongst the different communities that are embodied in it like the Sanatanis, Reformists, the untouchables, capitalists, workers and agriculturists etc., though having identical aspirations, will strive to form political units and with a view to attain political supremacy foment discord. This will tend to increase class-war rather than promoting the cause of public welfare. It is my conviction that Government have used the word communal with a view to prevent such a class-war. Even in British India today under the Congress regime the existence of such diverse groups is responsible for the absence of cordial relations amongst these groups in every day life and the ever increasing estrangement between them. The movements of these sectarian groups have been characterized as 'communal' and legislation has also been enacted to stop further estrangement. This fact becomes evident from the recently enacted legislation entitled, the Trades Disputes Conciliation Bill (by the Bombay Government). In my opinion one should not think that Civil Liberties like freedom of association and organisation have been deprived merely because an institution under the name "State Congress" could be (Lawfully) formed in obedience at least to the suggestion of the All-India Congress that in the States, organisations having the name Congress should not be formed. The question of naming the organisation as State Congress only should be considered as of secondary importance. Out of the two political central organisations viz., the Political Reform Association and the People's Convention Committee which are recognized by peoples of all sections, one should be maintained and all should unitedly work under it for political unity. This will achieve the double purpose of avoiding public calumny for establishing new political organisations with identical political aims and at the same time genuine public welfare will be achieved along with the revival of old political organisations. It will be great statesmanship on the part of the exponents of the State Congress to end this fight. The people should also after due deliberation inform them their honest opinion publicly whether the controversy should be closed in this manner or not. Similarly new organisations under the names of Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the Aryan Defence League have been formed and are independently offering Civil Disobedience by breaking prohibitory orders of Government for attainment of political and religious rights. But till now the Hindu Standing Committee and the Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak Conferences which are considered as central responsible organisations have neither announced their amalgamation with the State Congress nor expressed their approval to the programme of Civil Disobedience by passing a resolution to that effect. At such a juncture is not the policy of observing silence and not giving expression to their authoritative and guiding opinion to the public, which has been adopted by those people who are responsible for conducting these leading organisations, reprehensible from the view point of public welfare?

As a matter of fact the basis of Civil Liberties on which the present Civil Disobedience Movement is conducted comes under the purview of maintenance of law and order of an administration. The degree of freedom enjoyed in any form of civil liberties depends on the extent to which fundamental rights are protected in an administration. From this point of view, the recourse to breaking of laws which govern the holding of public meetings, forming of organisations, liberty of speech and press for the attainment of enhanced civil liberties cannot be considered as legitimate. The most constitutional and effective method would be to demand mainly the reform of the system of administration, whose laws are responsible for imposing limitations on the fundamental rights of the people ; and alongwith this political demand for ' Responsible Government ', protection for language, life, religion and industry should also be demanded. The people have adopted this course only. The solution of the demand for Civil Liberties is included in the solution of the question of political reforms. To attain these reforms, the subjects will adopt constitutional methods and if the Government issues prohibitory orders, it will not only be illegal but tyrannous and aggressive. Under these circumstance people will be justified in opposing them.

The Government also should with a view to making the administration more beneficial to the subjects make the provision in the first instalment of political reforms to be granted, to give 2/3 of the seats in local boards administration and 2/5 of the seats in the legislative council to the elected representatives of the people. And for the protection of fundamental rights of the people in regard to language, life, religion and industry, the Government should make provision for the creation of a council of elected Hindu members one from each district with whose co-operation the administration of every department and enactment of laws concerning them should be carried on. The adoption of this progressive policy will be helpful in maintaining the cordial relations and unity between the Government and the people. In the end, I hope that both the Government and people will consider these suggestions.

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Arya Samaj Movement

Intelligence Report of Director-General of Police to Home Member

10 Sept. 1938.

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We have ascertained from the Punjab C.I.D. that the book entitled " Oppression of Hindus in Hyderabad State " which Vyas Deo is engaged in compiling, is not yet ready for publication. We have also heard from another source that the title of the book may be changed. As we are not certain of the title, and as we have not examined the book itself, we cannot ask for the prescription of the book in advance. We have made special arrangements however by which we hope to be able to obtain an advance copy of the book. If we can secure a copy in advance, we will then take up the question of proscription.

As regards the All-India Arya Congress—The *Vedic Sandesh* (which is a purely Arya Samaj Journal) published in its issue dated the 8th May 1938, a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Arya Sarvadeshak Sabha, Delhi. This Resolution set forth fourteen demands regarding the redress of alleged grievances on the part of Hindus and Arya Samajists of the Hyderabad State. The Resolution then went on to State—

“ This Sabha also considers it necessary that all the Arya Samajists should be included in the matter of deciding this important question. Therefore, the Sabha decides that within a period of five months an Aryan congress should ” be held in the Central Provinces or any place in the Maharashtra nearer to Hyderabad in which Hyderabad affairs should particularly be considered. The Sabha is also of opinion that if the State officials are not prepared to effect immediate changes in their principles the entire Arya Samaj should be prepared to adopt all suitable means including Satyagraha to fight for their claims

In the same connection we have in our possession a document which purports to be a copy of a letter written by V. D. Savarkar addressed to Ghansham Singh Gupta dated the 22nd July 1938. This letter has also been widely published in the press and has never been denied either by the author or the recipient. Savarkar’s letter after referring to the grievances of Hindus in Hyderabad State and emphasizing that the Hindu Mahasabha would give every assistance to the Arya Samajist Organization, went on to deal particularly with the proposed Aryan Congress on the borders of the State, which he suggested should be held near the time of the Christmas vacations. The resolution passed by the Aryan Congress, he further suggested, should be sent as an ultimatum to the Nizam, and if the Nizam failed to satisfy the demands, then a campaign of civil disobedience should be taken up forthwith by both organizations (*i.e.*, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj Organization.)

In addition, Shivchandra, the well known Arya Samajist, who is Secretary to the Aryan Defence Committee, Delhi, and who recently visited the Dominions, published an article over his signature which was printed by the *Mahratta* of Poona in its issue dated the 8th July 1938. Shivchandra after detailing various alleged grievances of the Hindus in Hyderabad State, went on to refer to the proposed Aryan Congress as follows :—

“ The Aryan League therefore decided to convene a session of the All-India Aryan Congress at some suitable place in the Central Provinces or Maharashtra, somewhere on the border of Hyderabad State to start an extensive agitation against the vagaries of the Nizam’s Government and to secure our legitimate rights. The entire Hindu community is with us. ”

It will be seen therefore that the resolution which initiated the Aryan Congress speaks of “ all suitable means including Satyagraha ” ; Savarkar’s letter refers to a “ Campaign of Civil Disobedience ” ; and Shivchandra’s article speaks of “ extensive agitation. ”

In addition, we have numberless reports showing that Arya Samaj speakers within the dominions, in connection with the proposed programme of the Aryan Congress, have openly referred to the necessity for launching Satyagraha and have actually recruited volunteers for this purpose.

Director-General of Police.

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Very Secret

No. 5/PUBS/36

Office of the D. I. G. P., C. I. D.,
Bombay Province,
Poona, 12 September 1938.

My dear Anderson,

Please refer to your very Secret D. O. letter No. 824/39F addressed to Abernethy.

I have been considering the matter and regret that I cannot assist you for the following reasons :—

There are Bombay Government orders to the effect that there should only be reciprocity between the Police of this Province and Indian States in purely routine matters. In the present case you are asking us to obtain documents or their photographs by secret means and it is likely that if they could be at all obtained they might be used as evidence against Narender Pershad. This individual, it appears, is active in fomenting disaffection against Hyderabad State through the medium of newspapers which have their origin in this province. You will I am sure agree with me that the promotion of disaffection against Hyderabad State by persons in this province might easily become a first class issue between the two Governments and the action of the Bombay C. I. D. in securing the documents under reference in a clandestine way and thereby precipitating the issue would at once be called in question. I therefore, think that, if the matter is considered sufficiently important and the literature objected to continues to be published in newspapers emanating from this Province, the Bombay Government should be approached by you through the usual channels.

F. E. Sharp.

G. A. Anderson, I. P.,
Deputy Director General of Police,
C. I. D., Hyderabad (Deccan).

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Confidential
No. 5/PUBS/36

Office of the D. I. G. P.,
C. I. D., Bombay Province,
Poona, 27th Sept. 1938.

My dear Sladen,

I send you a copy of a letter addressed to the Deputy Director General of Police, C. I. D., Hyderabad (Deccan) and also a copy of my letter No. 5/PUBS/36, dated September the 12th.

The issue in short is that the Hyderabad State authorities are extremely sensitive to certain criticisms which have recently been appearing in local vernaculars and that as fast as these newspapers which are published in Poona and Sholapur are banned they return to the charge under a different name. Hyderabad State is an autocratic monarchy and it is a moot point whether or not the Hindu community within H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions has of late been fairly treated in certain matters affecting their interests. For this reason I consider that it is no business of the C. I. D. to assist in curbing the activities of those Bombay newspapers which seek to redress certain grievances of the Hindu community in Hyderabad State through the medium of their columns.

I, therefore, think that I should apprise you of this matter and I should be glad of your instruction in the same.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

J. M. Sladen, I. C. S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Special), Poona.
A. R. P.

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Confidential
No. 5/PUBS/36

Office of the D. I. G. P.,
C. I. D., Bombay Province,
Poona, 27th September, 1938.

My dear Anderson,

Please refer to your letter No. 29/PUB/47, dated 22nd September 1938 and to previous correspondence that has passed between your office and mine on the subject of certain papers which are published in Sholapur and Poona under various names and contain criticisms on communal matters which are disapproved of by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. I have as yet received no reply to my letter No. 5/PUBS/36 dated September the 12th, which is also concerned with the same issue.

HCP—352-A-25

I am now asked by you to give telegraphic information if any of the publications in question are issued under a different name, presumably with the idea that your Government may at once proscribe them. It is likely that the view which your Government may take of this matter may differ considerably from that of the Bombay Government if it were brought to their notice. The Bombay Government is a Congress Ministry and predominantly Hindu and it is their avowed policy to permit all reasonable freedom of speech and press. It would appear that your Government is equally determined to permit no such liberty of criticisms especially in matters concerning the interests of the Hindu community in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions. For these reasons I feel that it is no function of the Police in this Province to assist you in curbing the activities of newspaper which are published with the full knowledge and permission of the Bombay Government. I am therefore, prepared to answer only such question of a routine nature as you may care to ask regarding the provincial newspapers. I regret that I cannot send you telegraphic information on my own initiative when any newspaper changes its name with the intention that its sale may be permitted within the limits of Hyderabad State. If your Government feel that the criticisms are unwarranted and are likely to foment communal feeling within Hyderabad State the natural course in my opinion would be for H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to approach the Bombay Government in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
F. E. Sharp.

G. A. Anderson, I. P.,
Deputy Director General of Police,
C. I. D., Hyderabad (Deccan).

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P. M. Bapat's Satyagraha

(Mahratta, 30 September 1938)

(Senapati P. M. Bapat was contemplating Satyagraha against the unjust and autocratic rule of the Nizam. For several days he was thinking over it and the fact was known to many of his friends. He at last decided and started from Poona for Hyderabad on 23rd. On the eve of his departure he has issued the following statement for the press and the public. Senapati Bapat has a large following in Maharashtra, and it is very much likely that his action may be followed by others and a regular Satyagraha movement supported by all Maharashtra will take shape in the wake of his individual Satyagraha. Senapati Bapat after reaching Hyderabad was served with an order from the Nizam Government authorities to leave the territory and as Mr. Bapat refused to leave on his own accord he was taken into police custody and taken out of the Nizam's territory. Mr. Bapat reached Poona back on 25th morning. Whatever further steps he takes in the matter will be awaited with interest. —E. M.)

HCP—352-B-25

"To-day I am on my way to Hyderabad, the Capital of the Nizam, whose Government is just now engaged in wantonly overriding the civic birth-rights of its subjects. Several other prominent States are acting similarly in a greater or less degree. Now, India is made up of the British State plus the Feudatory ones, which tender allegiance to it. This India cannot be owned by the British State, nor can it be claimed by its feudatory States as their private property. It is the supreme duty of us Indians to force these States to admit, both as a matter of principle as well as of practical politics, the fact that it is not they but the Indians, namely, the Hindus, the Musalmans, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews, and others, who bow down to India as their birth-land are her real masters. For the Britishers to consider the State subjects as foreigners and for the States' Government to look upon the khalsa people as foreigners is nothing but a game of legal clap trap, based on pure and simple self interest. We, Indians, can never be foreigners unto ourselves and to one another. We all of us belong to one, undivided Mother-land. There must be an absolute and homogeneous uniformity of life and form running through our political life as a whole. It is the primary and supreme duty of us all Indians to be united among ourselves and to embark upon constitutional and passive resistance (satyagraha) movements, insisting on truth and non-violence in order that our indigenous as well as foreign rulers should admit the fact of the political, economical, cultural and religious civic birth-rights of us all, being the same throughout the length and breadth of our country, both in theory and in practice and that they, after putting this principle in the statute book, should translate it into action in their every-day dealing, as their sacred duty.

The Nizam's Government, having outdone all other States in oppression and repression, has first attracted my attention and inspired my activity. My efforts may have not remarkable results. But my humble efforts are intended to bring the tyranny of this State to the notice of better people, likely to produce better results by their more effective labours.

We want to see that responsible democratic Governments are established every where both in purely British-owned India and in India of the Feudatories like the Nizam, who are protected by the British sword. That all these Governments must be organised into one undivided Indian Republic goes without saying. The Nation is chiefly made up of hard-working have-nots, including those who work the land, and those who follow other vocations and also the proletariat, without whose labours both agriculture and industry cannot thrive. So, by "a Republic" we mean the Government worked mainly by representatives of the labouring masses, who are the majority in the Nation. The establishment of a Republic, of this type, is our goal.

"The rule of the religion?" or "the rule of labour?", "national organisation" or "inter-national organisation?" — those are the questions fiercely discussed on all sides to-day. There is the party of the "Hindu Raj-wallas" which entertains the ideal of India being ruled by the Hindus alone. I prefer the idea of the rule of labour to that of the rule of a particular religion, because the former to my mind is the more worthy idea. Again I lay emphasis on national rather than inter-national organisation,

because I believe in the urgency of the utmost possible unity of all the interests in the Nation for getting rid of British Rule. There are disputes due to divergent interests between the Captains of Industry and the workers and between the land-lords and the tenants. There are also sharp divisions between the Hindus and the Musalmans and between the touchables and the Harijans, due to religious differences. I hold that we must be very careful and endeavour to prevent these differences from taking an extreme form and to liquidate them by mutual good-will and understanding.

We cannot afford to differentiate between Khalsa and State territory, if we want to create the national organisation, indispensable for doing away with the British Rule. The British Raj tries to perpetuate its hold over India with the co-operation of the Princes. So there is nothing unnatural or unconstitutional in the British subjects wishing to free themselves from the British yoke (injurious both to the States and British subjects) with the co-operation of the State-subjects. The Co-operation of the State Indians and British Indians is mutually beneficial. The nationally self-conscious State-subjects and Khalsa-subjects have got an identical end in view which is "a united Indian Democratic Republic."

A very large number of the Hindu and Musalmans are fighting in unison to establish such a Republic. Those who count in the Congress, are trying their best to increase the number of these Musalman friends. The Congress is an organisation believing in nationalism and the equal status of all religions. Some Musalman and some Hindu Associations believe in per-fervid religionism and call the religionism by the name of nationalism, believing them to be identical (?). I think, we must be uncompromising followers of the cult of true nationalism and labour if India is to be up-lifted from foreign as well as indigenous slavery. Religionism can either help or oppose the cults of nationalism and labour.

It behoves the religious preachers of the different communities to so regulate the nature and colourings of their religious preachings that the Musalmans, the Hindus and other communities with their respective communal beliefs, help the cults of nationalism and labour instead of coming into collision with them.

It is a matter for satisfaction that amongst the Hindus, Musalmans and other communities in India, there are some religious preachers, who believe in the national as well as labour outlook and who while addressing the masses see that their religious preaching is quite inconsonance with the national and labour way of thinking.

The advent of the day of Indian Independence depends on the speed with which the class of wise people, trying to arrive at a pro-national co-ordination of proletarian national and communal belief, gains in numbers. Such people alone can bring about the unity, necessary for establishing Indian Independence. The Native States in India can facilitate the accomplishment of our ideal if the Princes are inclined to be a little reasonable. But the wind does not seem to blow that way.

Not a single Prince shows the least inclination to grant responsible Government. The Princes move Heaven and earth to put down with a heavy hand all the reasonably inclined servants of the masses, whenever the latter try to add to the intellectual calibre of the masses with the object of making them fit for working such a constitution. They put restrictions upon the popular activity, they disallow liberty of speech, meetings, organisations, reading, association, etc. and thus take care to perpetuate the ignorance, stupidity, fanaticism and cowardice of the masses. This process is in operation in a greater or less degree in all the States. It has assumed particularly exasperating forms and dimensions in the Nizam's dominions. What is the antidote for this disease? How will it be possible for us to free our country-men in the Nizam's Raj from the bondage of these prohibitions? They themselves must move in this matter and we must help them. This ought to happen and ought to be done in the case of every State.

There are some States, that are bound up with the Provinces and others, that are subservient to the Central Government. The Nizam has to bow down to the latter. So, in order to make the Rule of the Nizam agreeable to the people, there must be such a Satyagraha movement as will bring pressure upon the Central Authority. Today, the Nizam's Raj is not agreeable to the people. To-day it does not give protection to civic birth-rights of the people. On the other hand, it totally obliterates them out of existence.

We, citizens of Hindusthan, inhabiting the Khalsa territory, outside the State, must set at naught the prohibitory orders of the Nizam and enter his dominions and must actively yet peacefully oppose whatever restrictions there might be upon the liberty of speech and other rights in the Raj.

I think that we must also have recourse to the peaceful picketing of Government Offices and such other Satyagraha remedies in Delhi, the Capital of the Central Government, in order to bring pressure upon that Agency.

I believe that processions with such slogans as "Restrain the Nizam's activities," "Victory to civic birth-rights," "The States people must enjoy all the Khalsa peoples' civic-rights" and picketing of Government Offices will lead to effective results. These movements will be possible and useful in all great cities. But in Delhi, these steps will be particularly desirable and useful.

I appeal to all the people in all Maharashtra to look upon the question of civic birth-rights of the Hyderabad people as particularly their own and to do the needful. Satyagraha Camps should be opened in prominent cities, Satyagraha Volunteers should be mobilised therein and they should be systematically sent to the Hyderabad Raj and to Delhi.

I hope, Satyagraha Committee of prominent, experienced workers and of enthusiastic youths will be formed and will leave no stone unturned to give a fitting burial to the oppression and repression in the Nizam's Raj. In conclusion, I request all those friends, with whom I have made appointments and engagements, whose fulfilment has been or will be made impossible by my proceeding to Hyderabad, to excuse me, which I am confident, they will do.

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Report of District Magistrate, Poona

7 October 1938.

On 29-9-38 a meeting presided over by P. M. Bapat was held in the Tilak Mandir to discuss Satyagraha in the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. Bapat related his recent experiences and said that he was going to launch Satyagraha on the lines of the C. D. Movement. It would include defiance of orders prohibiting freedom of the Press and speech etc. Satyagraha Mandals would be started and volunteers would be provided. College students were preferred and women were advised not to take part. Men and money would be needed and members of the Mandals were asked to be prepared for death, but the fight is to be non-violent. The Satyagraha would not be given up until wounded, arrested or jailed. Defence would be provided in the event of prosecution. This would bring pressure on the British Government and the state so that the State subjects would be given all the civic rights which are enjoyed in British territory.

Mr. Khadilkar criticised the Hindu Mahasabha while Mr. N. Godse criticised the Congress which resulted in a stir but Bapat intervened and order was restored.

Mr. V. M. Bhuskute supported Bapat and requested the Congress to take up the problem as the peasants and Hindus were being ill-treated.

* * *

Mr. P. M. Bapat has published his plan of Satyagraha in the *Mahratta* of 30-9-1938.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar has supported Bapat's move and appealed to every patriot to follow the heroic lead given by Bapat irrespective of party considerations and continue C. D. Movement without letting it lag even for a moment.

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P. M. Bapat's Speech at Poona on Hyderabad Satyagraha

11 Oct. 1938.

"Some days ago I had given you an idea of my views about Hyderabad Satyagraha. I am anxious to hear Savarkar's views. I differ a little bit from Savarkar regarding this Hyderabad question. I had been to Hyderabad on 23rd September 1938. I wanted to go earlier but owing to various reasons I could not do so and I had to wait till 23rd September 1938. As soon as Sir Akbar Hydari began to issue communiques I was invited by the Hindus there.

"I came to know that Shankarrao Deo had a talk with Sir Akbar Hydari at which it is learnt that the Hon. Mr. Munshi and Hon. Mr. Noories were present. The consultations are reported to have resulted in a fiasco. Then I went to Hyderabad and learnt that consultations were in progress between one Ali Yar Jung and Narsingrao over the question of banning the Hyderabad State Congress. Sir Akbar Hydari had promised that the State communiques would not be executed so long as these consultations were in progress. I wanted to break these laws but was prohibited by local Hindu leaders. I was further told that Hindu youths were ready for satyagraha while the old leaders were engaged in consultations. I thought it better to wait until the consultations were finished. Then I read a State communique dated 2nd October 1938 in which it was declared that no satyagraha was to be carried on until 17th October. I was taken to the higher State Police authorities and was asked to go back. I was detained in Police custody for one night and was sent back.

"Before I went to Hyderabad I had determined not to come back or, in case I returned, I would carry on propaganda for one month over this question. I shall go back to Hyderabad on 1st November 1938 and at that time I wish all political groups to participate in this satyagraha and save the State subjects from harassment. We do not wish our State brothers to lag behind where political rights are concerned. We do not want the existence of these States wherein the subjects are harassed and are not allowed even to exercise the rights of citizenship, freedom of speech and press, holding of meetings etc. I am of opinion that we should be ready to make any sacrifice for the protection of the rights of citizenship of our State brothers."

"I have selected Hyderabad State as an experimental measure as it is a fairly big one and at the same time adjoins Bombay Province. I can tell you from my personal experience that the Princes are outwardly democratic whereas they are at heart dictators. The Princes generally side with British Imperialism and are shrewd in maintaining their own existence. We have to carry on peacefully this struggle of democracy Vs. dictatorshi p."

"There is absolutely no scope for prosperity among the State subjects in Hyderabad who are pinned down by various State bans. I have composed a verse stating what we should do in order to protest against the injustice done to them. We have to protect the harassed and protest against injustice and for that we shall have to move from place to place. While I was at Hyderabad I met many high State Police authorities to whom I said that I did not want to achieve my goal by bloodshed. I promised them not to return before one month.

"After I returned from Hyderabad I carried on propaganda at Shahada (W. K.), Dhulia, Erandol, Jalgaon and Ahmednagar where I was greeted by the public including Congressmen who assured me that they would supply volunteers for the Hyderabad Satyagraha.

A Satyagraha Mandal of Hindu Maha Sabhaites has been formed here today consisting of the following persons : G. V. Ketkar, G. M. Nalavade, V. B. Davre, S. L. Karandikar and Nathuram Godse.

The local congressites have not so far decided anything about this affair. I had seen N. V. Gadgil who promised to let me know after consulting S. D. Deo, K. M. Jedhe, etc. I have not yet received any reply from him. I have published a statement showing how this satyagraha movement should be carried on. All parties are free to carry on this movement without clashing. There should be two separate camps, one for Congressites and one for Hindu Sabhaites. Necessary funds for the satyagraha should be collected. Satyagraha camps should be established at different centres to carry out the programme which would consist of holding meetings, processions *etc.* Satyagrahis should have their own uniform and be given proper instructions to maintain discipline.

“ Congressmen can also personally join in this movement. Both Congress and the Hindu Maha Sabha should carry on this satyagraha peacefully without a hitch. The public should therefore help this movement and also enlist as volunteers for this satyagraha. ”

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V. D. Savarkar's Speech

“ Bapat has outlined to you his plan for carrying on the movement of non-violent resistance regarding Hyderabad affairs. I now advise all youths to come forward as willing workers to join this Hyderabad satyagraha movement instead of asking Senapati Bapat to do everything. It is no use troubling him any more as he has already suffered a great deal for the nation during the last 40 years. He is weak and if youths trouble him any more they will lose an experienced veteran leader. It is therefore advisable that all Hindu youths should organise under his leadership and join this movement by thousands.

“ Personally I see no harm in Congressmen, Congress Socialists or members of any other political group carrying on this movement separately. The Hyderabad State subjects are harassed and are deprived of the rights of citizenship, freedom of press and speech, *etc.* which would not be tolerated by any self-respecting man irrespective of the political group which he belongs. ”

“ I had consulted the Arya Samajist leaders at Delhi and it has been decided to hold a conference of Arya Samajists in December next year at Sholapur to decide this question and also to get redress from the ban on the keeping of sacred fires in their houses. After this conference the Hindu Maha Sabha will have its annual session at Nagpur where the resolution passed by the Arya Samajist Conference will be supported. 10,000 Arya Samajists are ready for this satyagraha and are willing to co-operate with the Hindu Maha Sabha. The Varnashram Swaraj Sangh has also decided to participate in this satyagraha. ”

“ A day will be observed as Hyderabad Day later on when black flag processions should be taken out simultaneously all over India, and meetings to protest against the injustice done to Hyderabad citizens should be held. A letter will be sent 15 days before hand to the Nizam informing him about the starting of satyagraha and after that batches of satyagrahis will be sent one after the other from the camps to Hyderabad. Marathawada has prepared for satyagraha, while Kannadwada and Telguwada are not yet ready. The Hyderabad State subjects of Latur, Kalyani, *etc.* have started satyagraha movement and the students had gone on strike to protest against the prohibition of the Vande Mataram. ”

“ Every citizen irrespective of political faith must be willing to join this movement. He then made a reference to the Shiv Temple Satyagraha at Delhi and pointed out that the ancestors of the Nizam had been well aware of the power of Poona and were defeated at several places by the Peshwas. He also narrated an historical incident wherein a Vazir named Masharur Mulk of Nizam was brought as a slave to Poona as a result of the insulting treatment meted out to Govindrao Kale who was Peshwa's representative at Hyderabad. Lastly he appealed to the audience to enlist as satyagrahis and help this movement. Every village must supply at least 5 volunteers and funds for the same. All the batches should work jointly or separately as found convenient but should be careful not to clash. Maharashtra should take the lead in this satyagraha under the leadership of Bapat, and try to protect the rights of Hyderabad State subjects. ”

* * *

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Home Department (Special) On Hindu Maha Sabha

The agitation which Messrs. V. D. Savarkar and P. M. Bapat and others have been working up for some time now over the question of the necessity for protesting against the alleged repression of the Hindus in Hyderabad State and getting their grievances redressed, appears to be coming to a head. It will be seen from the Dy. I. G. P., C. I. D.'s foregoing letter that at a private discussion which took place in the *Kesari* office on the 11th instant between P. M. Bapat, V. D. Savarkar and others interested in the question, it was decided to make preparations for launching a satyagraha within the Hyderabad State limits in the near future. A Committee consisting of members of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Varnashram Swaraj Sangh has been appointed to make the necessary arrangements in this connection including the collection of funds and the enrolment of volunteers for the movement. The technique of the proposed satyagraha will be that batches of volunteers will enter Hyderabad State limits, in contravention of any ban, hold meetings there, read

proscribed literature and newspapers, perform religious ceremonies and generally oppose every obstacle that is placed in the way of ordinary civil liberties. At the public meeting which followed the private discussion, P. M. Bapat announced the formation of the Committee (or Satyagraha Mandal) and appealed to the public to help the movement by enlisting as volunteers, and claimed that in the East and West Khandesh and Ahmednagar Districts he had been assured by Congressmen and others that they would supply volunteers. V. D. Savarkar also appealed to the audience to join the movement in thousands and to assist it with subscriptions.

2. The exact date on which the satyagraha will start does not appear to have been finally decided yet but from Savarkar's speech it seems that warning is to be given to the Hyderabad State authorities 15 days before the commencement of the satyagraha. If the satyagraha does come off, there is the possibility that the Hyderabad State authorities may, through the Resident, approach the Govt. of Bombay for assistance in combating the Satyagraha movement by, e. g., preventing the batches of volunteers from proceeding from British India into Hyderabad State territory. If such a request is received and Government desire to comply with it, it seems that preventive action could appropriately be taken under sections 4 and/or 5 of the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934. It is observed, however, that only secs. 1 to 3 of the Act are at present in force and that the remaining sections come into force in any district or area only when and for such time as the Provincial Govt. may direct by notification in the local official Gazette. It would therefore be necessary to bring into force secs. 4 to 7 of the Act in the districts affected by the satyagraha movement, if it was decided to take action under the Act to prevent satyagrahis from this Province proceeding to the State. This matter may, however, be considered further if and when a request is received from the Resident at Hyderabad for the co-operation of the Government of Bombay in dealing with the satyagraha movement. In the meanwhile, D. I. G. P., C. I. D., and the D. M., Poona, may be asked to keep us informed of further developments. The papers may then be shown u. o. to P. & S. D. for information.

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Confidential
No. 2/I. S./26

Dy. Inspr. Genl. of Police,
C. I. D., Province of Bombay, Poona.
14 October 1938.

My dear Sladen,

I send you herewith copies of two speeches delivered by V. D. Savarkar and other at meetings held in Poona on Tuesday last (Not incorporated here).

No comment is necessary on Savarkar's speech "India and Czechoslovakia", and it will be seen that he took the opportunity further to dilate upon the Hyderabad question.

The speakers while stressing the need for a determined opposition on the part of Hindus of the Maharashtra both within and without the Nizam's territory to the State Authorities did not explain to their audience the nature of the grievances that Hindus have against the State. These are shortly that some months ago there was a communal riot in which the State seemed to have sided with the Muhammedan party and to have placed great obstacles in the way of a fair defence being prepared for those Hindus who stood their trial as a result of the riot. Eminent lawyers were banned from entering the State territory to defend the accused. A protest meeting at Latur had to be abandoned because the State Authorities forbade the passing of any resolutions which appeared to criticise the State Government. Again it would appear that Arya Samajists are forbidden and were possibly prevented from keeping the sacred fire within their homes and temples, and this persecution is supposed to arise from the fact that Arya Samajists have been successful to a considerable extent in converting Muslims to their religion.

More important than these two public meetings was the private discussion that took place in the *Kesari* Office from 5 to 6 p.m. on the 11th. P. M. Bapat, S. L. Karandikar, V. B. Davre, G. V. Ketkar, G. M. Nalavade, V. M. Bhuskute and others were present. It was decided to make all possible preparations for launching Satyagraha within the State limits in the near future. Savarkar recommended that those offering Satyagraha should go in large and well organised batches, each under their respective flags whether Hindu Maha Sabha, Congress, Communist, Socialist, Arya Samajist or Sangh members. A Committee was appointed to this end, consisting of members of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Varnashram Swaraj Sangh. G. V. Ketkar was appointed president, G. M. Nalavade, V. B. Davre, S. L. Karandikar, M. L. A., Vice-Presidents and N. V. Godse, secretary. The Committee was also directed to collect funds and enrol volunteers for the movement. It is also proposed to hold Students' conferences to discuss this Hyderabad question in all districts before Christmas. The technique of the proposed Satyagraha is to enter the State limits in contravention of any ban, to hold meetings there and read proscribed literature and newspapers, to perform religious ceremonies and generally oppose every obstacle that is placed in the way of ordinary civil liberties.

F. E. Sharp

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D. S. P., Poona to District Magistrate, Poona

31 October 1938.

To assist the Hyderabad Dn. State Congress in its Satyagraha movement, the local Congress workers have appointed a provisional Congress Satyagraha Committee, consisting of P. M. Bapat, R. B. Sharma, S. M. Joshi, C. A. Tulpule, R. N. Abhyankar, S. K. Limaye, M. S. Khan, N. G. Gore and K. R. Ghaisas, in Poona on the 28th instant.

A batch of 7 headed by P. M. Bapat will leave Poona for Hyderabad today evening by Madras Express. They will be given a public send-off at 5 p. m. at the Shanwar Wada Maidan and then they will be taken out in a procession to the Poona Railway Station.

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Jamnalal Bajaj to Sir Akbar Hydari

14 Sept. 1938.

When we met at Pondecherri, we had a very frank talk about the state of affairs in Hyderabad State. You told me definitely at that time that you were only out to crush the communal activities of certain associations or persons in the State and had no objection to activities that would conduce to the growth of Responsible Government. You were also good enough to invite me, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other responsible workers to pay a visit to Hyderabad in order to be convinced how false the reports regarding mal-administration in the State were. I had related the substance of our talk to Mahatmaji, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, C. Rajgopalachari and Babu Rajendraprasad, and we were planning so that some of us at least might take advantage of your kind offer and visit Hyderabad. But the Ordinance that you have felt called upon to issue had disturbed me. But I must also hold my breath and ask you kindly to explain why the Ordinance has been passed. Meanwhile I suspend my Judgement.

With kind regards.

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Jamnalal Bajaj to Sir Akbar Hydari

1 October 1938.

It was good of you to send me so promptly and so full a reply to my letter. You have in the Working Committee many true friends. Gandhiji is never tired of mentioning you as a philosopher. He remembers your attending his prayer meetings in the steamer that brought you and him back to India. Smt. Sarojini Devi is like a member of your family. Sardar remembers your invitation to him. Instead of entering into any argument with you, I would like some of us to come to you and study things for ourselves and have the benefit of a mutual conversation. Somehow or other your recent measures have given a shock whose effect has not been diminished by your letter.

I hope you have appreciated the mildness of the reference to these measures in the A. I. C. C. resolution.

With kind regards.

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Jamnallal Bajaj to Akbar Hydari

18 October 1938.

I returned to Wardha on the 16th inst. after a rather strenuous tour of about a month. I had answered your letter of the 21st Sept. on the 1st Oct. 1938 and have been expecting a reply to my letter.

I had shown your letter to Mahatmaji, Sardar Patel, Mrs. Naidu and other members of the Working Committee ; and we had all, including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, felt almost sure that the ban on the formation of the State Congress would be lifted without avoidable delay. The Provisional Committee of the State Congress have issued some statements followed by a manifesto to define their policy and attitude. I, for one, cannot see anything communal about either. Therefore, the delay in lifting the ban on the part of the Government is difficult to understand. As a well wisher of the State, allow me to point out, in all humility, but emphatically, that prudence requires that the ban should be lifted without further delay. The policy of the State Congress as laid down in its manifesto and a statement, is such as is likely to command sympathy in other parts of the country also and I feel that the Government will not be well-advised to refuse the State Congress a fair chance.

I understand that the provisional Committee of the State Congress contemplate some sort of direct action in the immediate future. This will only complicate matters. I think it should be the concern of every well-wisher of the State to avoid any such complications. If you feel that my services could be of any use in preventing matters from coming to a head I shall try to render such help as I can on receiving intimation from you.

You are yourself well aware of the policy of the Indian National Congress with regard to the States. As I told you at Pondicherry, that policy has all along been of helping to avoid a conflict. I am sure that you also do not at all relish the prospect of a conflict which inevitably results in laceration of feelings on both sides.

You made it clear in the of course our talk that the policy of the Government was and would continue to be one of conciliation in the matter of political reform. I shall, therefore request you to lift the ban as soon as possible. If you deem it necessary I am prepared to go to Hyderabad and meet the organisers of the State Congress with a view to understand their point of view and explain to them the position of the Indian National Congress. I shall be willing to start even if I receive an intimation telegraphically.

An immediate reply is expected.

Akbar Hydari to Jamnalal Bajaj

4 Nov. 1938.

Many thanks for your two letters of the 1st and 18th October 1938. I regret I have been unable to answer them on account of my preoccupation.

Since I last wrote to you explaining to you the reason underlying the recent Regulation passed, a Regulation, I assure you, which would have been enacted by any Government placed in a similar situation and the danger of the communal disorders spreading-much of my own hopes in regard to the ultimate prevalence of reason has been shattered by the action of the State Congress in deciding to start Satyagraha in the belief that they were defying an established ban. No such ban existed and, as was made clear in a communique, the previous notification regarding the State Congress was only a warning ? I am particularly sorry that they decided to do so as I know that they had every knowledge of the fact that final consideration was being given to an extensive scheme of reforms and there was every intention on the part of Government to implement what was very deliberately stated by me officially before the Legislative Council when declaring that in the view of Government it was committed to constitutional advance and that Civil Liberties were implicit in such an advance. I also regret that they took this decision despite their offer, made to different parties and even brought to the notice of Government, that no Satyagraha would take place while the Unity talks between the communities were taking place. My ultimate feeling is one of disappointment in as much as I see no real or live issue just now between the Government and the people, given that they know that reforms are coming, such as to have induced recourse to unconstitutional measures likely to get out of their own hands and lead to violence where even today, in marked contrast to the restraint and behaviour of the State Police, it has already resulted in abusive language, stone throwing and other unseemly acts.

As a Government, there is nothing for us to do now, in face of the attitude adopted by the State Congress, but to take the usual action under the law. There can be no going back on the course adopted so long as this attitude continues. That it has alienated many of your own friends here will be clear to you from a perusal of recent statements issued by some of them which may have come to your notice. You say about the manifestoes and statements of the State Congress that you cannot see anything communal about them ; if professions of policy and attitude made in such statements are to be taken at their face value, I hope you will intend the same courtesy to Government statements issued from time to time as well as to statements issued by persons at one time belonging to the Indian National Congress and still its friends.

With kind regards,

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**Interview of Akbar Hydari with Jamnalal Bajaj on
Ban on Hyderabad State Congress**

11 Nov. 1938.

In accordance with the telegram he sent from Wardha, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj came and saw me last night (11th November) at 9.30. He was accompanied by Mr. Chuniram Motilal, son-in-law of Dalmia, who is negotiating with the Associated comment through Sir Sultan Ahmed and also through Seth Jamnalal Bajaj to come to some terms with the Associated comment so as to prevent cut-throat competition.

I made it clear that our talks must not be construed to mean that we are inviting any outside help in dealing with our situation. We were competent to deal with our own people. What I wanted to say was that any outside interference would merely create violent communal reaction, leading probably to bloodshed, for which the responsibility would rest on the people outside. There was no necessity for such outside interference in view of my official pronouncement before the Legislative Council, the appointment of the Reforms Committee, and (what has been repeatedly made known to every body) the anxiety of Government to pass orders on the Committee's report within a very short time. The present unity talks that were going on would also be prejudiced by any local excitement leading to conflict between the two communities. If anyone desired to come in his personal and private capacity, strictly eschewing all public demonstrations, speeches, etc., it would perhaps be different.

With regard to the ban on the State Congress, I made it clear that it had been imposed after due warning, the warning having been given through a Gazette Extraordinary which definitely made clear the communal character of the proposed organisation and the objection to the name "Congress". Seth Jamnalal Bajaj said he was himself opposed to such a name and would have advised against its adoption had he been consulted. I said it was impossible to raise the ban against the State Congress so long as its communal constituents continued. If it started another political organisation with representatives of all the communities and without the name "Congress" or "League" I had made it clear that would be allowed as the State was not averse to political organisations which were not communal and had no affiliation with outside bodies. My advice, therefore, was that if the Indian National Congress was really a national organisation and did not want to help communal ill-feeling, it should keep out of Hyderabad and see what developments took place there in the next few months.

Seth Jammalal Bajaj said that it was now understood that we parted as personal friends, but each would be at liberty to act as he thought best because I had not agreed to lift the ban nor agreed to his coming over. I said it was entirely a matter for him to decide. I expressed regret that our conversation had not led to his realising that there was no question now of raising the ban on the State Congress unless it altered its name and made itself more broad-based. In the meantime, the so-called Committee of Action had itself suspended the primary membership of the proposed organisation and dissolved the provisional Working Committee. I laid emphasis on the fact that there was absolutely no ground and no live issue for any agitation or for the breaking of laws at the present moment when, apart from the unity talks and the pledge that Satyagraha would not be resorted to pending their continuance, the State was known to be giving final consideration to a scheme of reforms which might well be a lesson not only to other States but also to the British Indian Provinces inasmuch as we were trying to solve our problem by erecting a political structure on a non-communal basis, where Hindus or Muslims would not be represented by special percentages or separate electorates or reservation of seats.

Seth Jammalal Bajaj also referred to the proportions of Hindus and of Muslims in the Services, and I said that they were not based upon any deliberate or calculated desire of Government to have people of one community in preference to another. The preponderance of Muslims in the higher Services was an accident of History and the outcome of historical causes. Hyderabad was conquered by a Northern race, in their train came Hindus, like Maharajah Kishan Pershad's family which even now held positions of trust and enjoyed the same superior and dominant status. Neither at that time nor at this was it a question of Muslims or Hindus or of people of one particular religion or another being specially selected and the attitude of looking at the problem from the communal point of view and ascribing communal motives was mainly the result of consuming indiscriminately the manufacture of biased history written with an obvious political motive.

What I said towards the end appeared to have appealed to Seth Jammalal Bajaj and he promised to have a talk with his friends explaining the matter. He said his difficulty was that there would be a meeting of the Congress Working Committee where the question of Hyderabad would be brought up. It was with the greatest difficulty that he had held back the extremists on the last occasion. I said I was sure he could use all the above arguments and hold back their hands for a few months to see what we were doing by way of introducing reforms; in the meantime, it would be advisable to prevent anybody like himself, Jawaharlal or Pattabhi Sitaramayya from coming to Hyderabad and thereby complicating the issues.

Seth Jammalal Bajaj then left at about midnight.

He saw me again this morning (the 12th November) at about 11.45 when I reiterated all I had said last night. He has promised to speak to Jawaharlal on his arrival, though he said he could not promise anything.

He said it would considerably strengthen his hands if he received a communication from me before the Working Committee met which would be about the 25th November and enable him also to let me know his reactions.

Just before he left he said that Dr. Zakir Hussain of the Jam-e-Millia was a great friend of his and he could give him a blank cheque as he agreed with him completely. He asked me to have talk with him before he left Hyderabad and to tell him of my interview.

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Akbar Hydari to Jamnalal Bajaj

16 Nov. 1938.

When, in pursuance of your telegram of the 9th instant, you came and saw me in Bombay on the 12th instant, you pressed me to give a reply to that part of your letter in which you had expressed the desire to pay a visit to Hyderabad for the purposes there stated.

I have on occasions, both in my letters and in our talks, pointed out the essentially communal nature of the State Congress despite all that it may profess and despite its name which is deliberately designed as a mask to win sympathy. We here are fully aware of the persons who have inspired it throughout and are inspiring it today ; despite the semblance of having separate movements in the case of each, we fully know that they are at the same time guiding the parallel activities of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. You also know that the State Congress precipitated the situation, took the law into its own hands and has defied it on several occasions, besides committing other provocative and unseemly acts and engaging hirelings for the purpose. While it made no move to purge its ranks of persons with a distinctly communal record and convert itself into a national instead of the communal organisation, it broke its own word that there would be no Satyagraha during the continuance of the Unity talks. It was perfectly well aware that Government was at the moment, having just been presented with the report of the Iyengar Committee, giving final consideration to a scheme of the reforms embracing legitimate civil liberties and representative institutions for the furtherance of the political ideals of the people and their more effective association with the Government. What was the occasion for it to have picked up this quarrel at this particular juncture ? With such a body, and the idea of lifting the ban now imposed on it—a ban throughout accompanied by the assurance that the State is not adverse to political organisations provided they are non-communal and have no associations with outside bodies—I feel you can have no sympathy, unless it is the name which attracts. Yet, if I understood you rightly, you yourself told me that you had from the outset thought that the use of that name was inappropriate for the State organisation and that your advice would have been that the name should be changed.

HCP—352-A-26

We believe a belief to which I gave expression when I met you —that, apart from the Mulki Sentiment and pride which is hurt by any suggestion of mediation or interference in the internal affairs of the State by persons or bodies owing no allegiance to the State, there is a still more fundamental objection, namely, that it is inconsistent with the basic idea of the sovereignty of the State that such persons or bodies should come between the Ruler and his subjects. It is inconceivable for us to think of our interceding or allowing our people to intercede in such a manner, for example, between the strikers and the Government which recently fired on them in Bombay, as to permit similar intercession by others in our affairs. Differences between us and our people can be better resolved and must continue to be settled as hitherto between ourselves. Interference of this nature would be alien to the traditions of the State and be resented by our people. Not having lived in the State and, therefore, relying on insufficient information supplied by interested persons, you may be convinced that you are helping what you deem and what may sound to be a national cause, but you will in reality be assisting and associating yourself with communal agitators and communal aspirations and ambitions of an unworthy type. As such, any visit of yours, even though it can in any case be only in your private and personal capacity, will have the effect of encouraging communalism and associating you and the organisation which you represent with communal activities ; it is bound to increase the prevailing tension and tension and cause a set-back in the work of restoration of the traditional relations between the communities on which all the energies of the Government are concentrated. It may lead to far graver consequences for which I am certain neither you nor anyone else in your position would like to assume responsibility. Above all, at a time when the unity talks between the two communities are proceeding, it may create controversies and be used by either party for the adoption of an extremism which may prevent the attainment of a solution of the communal problem on the only possible basis of mutual agreement and compromise.

For these reasons I considered that this particular time would be most unsuitable for you to pay a visit to the State which, in circumstances other than those in which we now find ourselves, I might have welcomed. As promised, however, I consulted my colleagues upon my return to Hyderabad and they agree with me in advising you for the same reasons to postpone your visit for the present, even though they appreciated the assurance you gave that you would not deliver public speeches or permit demonstrations or processions of any kind.

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VERY SECRET
No. 39/PUB/47

Criminal Investigation Department,
Hyderabad - Deccan,
5/6 November 1938.

My dear Sharp,

Will you kindly refer to your confidential letter No. 5/PUBS/36 of the 31st October 1938. As you say, you have sent me two previous letters on much the same subject dated the 12th and 27 September. At the time your previous letters were received, I happened to be on leave but they were shown to me on my return and I deliberately delayed a reply as I knew that the State Government was on the point of addressing the Bombay Government regarding the whole issue which is raised in your letters.

HCP—352-B-26

2. Before I state my views, I must express my regret that we did not send you the usual intimation before despatching one of our officers to attend the Hindu Maha Sabha Conference at Nandgaon. The omission was a pure oversight, as it has been our invariable practice in the past both to inform you when we send our officers into Bombay and also to give the officer deputed a letter addressed to the local police authority. We obtained information of this particular Nandgaon meeting only 2 or 3 days before it was due to take place and I can only imagine that in the hurry of sending our officer off we forgot to send you the usual intimation. I will see that this does not occur again.

3. Now, as regards your letters. There are two main points :—(1) Our requests for information regarding the *Vedic Sandesh* and other similar newspapers published in the Bombay Presidency which make a regular practice of attacking the administration of this State. (2) Our requests for information regarding speeches and other activities of individuals within the Bombay Presidency who are attempting to work up agitation against Hyderabad State administration, particularly regarding the collection of money and enlistment of recruits for the despatch of 'jathas' into the State.

As regards the first point, in your letter of the 27th September you say that the avowed policy of the Bombay Government is "to permit all reasonable freedom of speech and press" and you go on "it would appear that your Government is equally determined to permit no such liberty of criticism". So far as the policy of the State Government is concerned, please allow me to tell you that this is a complete misstatement of the facts. Far from stifling reasonable criticism, the State Government has allowed and continues to allow all kinds of criticism to be urged against it both at meetings within the State and the press generally. What we are objecting to in the *Vedic Sandesh* and similar newspapers cannot be dignified by the word criticism—it is a continuous stream of false and lying propaganda designed to arouse communal passion and create disaffection against His Exalted Highness and the administration. We have all had much experience of anti-Government propaganda in the last 20 years but I must say that the stuff printed by the *Vedic Sandesh* and kindred newspapers for sheer dishonesty and untruth beats anything I have known. No lie is too bad for them to publish. Some two months ago the State Government made an official remonstrance to your Government on this very matter forwarding a number of cuttings from the newspapers in question and asking your Government to take action. I have seen the reply from your Government which stated clearly that having taken legal opinion it had been found that many of the articles were such as to create disaffection against H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and arouse communal hatred. Your Government went on to say that as the newspapers in question were of minor importance it was considered that a severe warning to the editors in the first instance would be sufficient, and that this warning would be given. The conduct of the papers, however, grew worse and there was no alternative left to us but to ban them. We had already warned Bombay Government that these papers had made arrangements for substitutes to start and our information proved correct, as all the papers banned started substitutes soon after proscription. The fact that they were all directed solely against Hyderabad is proved by these papers and their substitutes ceasing immediately on their entry into Hyderabad being forbidden, and their starting fresh substitutes. To make the ban effective and to impose it in time as each substitute

appeared, it was expected that we would have the co-operation of the Bombay Police and it was merely with that object that we sought information. I might also mention that the substitute papers are far worse than the originals and I am certain that if you were to get extracts from them you yourself would be convinced that they could not be said to be indulging in "legitimate criticism". In asking you, therefore, to supply us with prompt information about the activities of these newspapers and particularly regarding the appearance of substitute newspapers when orders of proscription against them are passed by the State Government, I cannot imagine that the Bombay Government would call into question any assistance you give us. You are, however, the best judge of what attitude your Government is likely to take and I can only ask you to give us the maximum assistance possible.

4. As regards the second point, I suggest that more serious matters are in question that (to quote your letter of 31st October) "the activities of individuals who are inclined to sympathise with the Hindu subjects of your State". This is indeed a mild description of the open advocacy at public meetings within your Province and in your Press generally for the collection of funds and recruitment of satyagrahis in order to despatch 'jathas' into Hyderabad to defy the laws of the State. I understand that an official representation regarding this matter will be sent by the State Government within the next few days to your Government. I do not know what the attitude of your Government will be, but I cannot imagine that they will officially countenance activity within their own borders which is subversive to a neighbouring administration. In any case, pending the consideration by your Government of the representation which the State is sending, I can only ask you to give us as much assistance and information as you consider legitimate and possible. I on my part will endeavour to confine my requests for information etc. to movements and activities which we regard as subversive to the State administration.

5. There is one last point. You are, of course, aware that P. M. Bapat with 5 Satyagrahis journeyed from Poona into Hyderabad State on 1st November. I think we might legitimately have expected a little further information from the Bombay Police and C. I. D. than was given us. All that we got was a telegram despatched at 19-20 hours on 31st October from the Sub-Inspector, Railway Police, Poona, addressed to Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad (Deccan) which read as follows :—"Bombay No. 2 by Madras Express to Hyderabad."

6. As the address of the telegram was incorrect, it did not reach my Special Branch till 5-30 p.m. on the 1st November about 12 hours after P. M. Bapat and his party had been intercepted and arrested. I mention this case as P. M. Bapat had made no secret of his intentions. In fact, he had advertised them and I am sure both the police of the district concerned and your C. I. D. must have been very well aware that he intended to bring a party of satyagrahis into the State. We should have liked earlier and more complete information of the despatch of such a party and if on reconsideration you could arrange to let us have it should similar parties descend on Hyderabad State, then I should be very grateful.

7. I realise of course that you must have certain difficulties of your own in handling these questions, but I hope you will, after considering the points raised in this letter, give us the maximum assistance possible. Will you kindly let me have your reconsidered views on the subject?

G. A. Anderson

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Confidential
No. 5/PUBS/36

Office of the D. I. G. P., C. I. D.,
Bombay Province, Poona,
15 November 1938.

My dear Anderson,

Thanks for your letter No. 39/PUB/47, dated 5th or 6th November 1938. Now that your letter has been received things are clearer to me. It would help much if we could meet and discuss the matter but the distance is great and I myself am being relieved by Bailey on the 19th when he returns from leave. Before I give over charge, I am however, endeavouring to bring you up-to-date with what are my views and those of the Bombay Government.

2. I saw the Home Minister only this morning on this question. He told me how he had discussed the matter with Sir Akbar Hydari some time ago and had told him that the Bombay Government would only step in where direct incitement to communal violence was being preached and when any overt acts were contemplated which would affect State administration. These views of the Home Minister correspond very nearly to my own and are now in the nature of an order to me.

3. The *Vedik Sandesh* has a small circulation and we in the C. I. D have not seen any copies ourselves, though the Home Minister has done so. You however obtain copies of this and other papers from time to time and if these papers deliberately attempt to provoke communal violence within your jurisdiction, your best line of action would seem to be to address the Bombay Government. Short of this there seems no need to give you information of the change of name of a newspaper or the articles it publishes from time to time criticising the State administration.

4. There is certainly a tendency to hold meetings, to collect funds and organise 'jathas' which will proceed into Hyderabad territory. I shall arrange to give you direct from the District Superintendents of Police, all possible information as regards the departures of such 'jathas'. The reason why the departure of P. M. Bapat was not communicated to you, was the fact that it was known that he himself had already sent you telegraphic intimation of his intention. The Sub-Inspector, Railway Police, Poona, seems to have meant well but when my circular is issued, I will intimate your correct address to all District Superintendents of Police.

5. I think you have put the wrong interpretation upon my intended meaning of "legitimate criticism". All I meant to convey was that the Bombay Government permitted a very wide freedom to newspapers and public speakers so long as they did not directly advocate violence. Therefore any exaggeration or travesty of the truth or scurrilous indictment of the Hyderabad administration is quite legitimate in the literal sense of the word. I am sorry if I have given offence when I said that "it would appear that your Government is equally determined to permit no such liberty of criticism". I do not profess to know the rights and wrongs of the political issue developing in your State, but since the position is that people in this Province are espousing the Hindu cause in Hyderabad and your Government is proscribing newspapers which are sympathetic towards that cause and is arresting satyagrahis, I think I am right to the extent of saying that your Government is on the whole not prepared to permit liberty of expression.

6. I think for the time being it would be sufficient, if I let you know as soon as possible of the departure of any 'jathas' for Hyderabad State. (Portion not legible) There is no direct action that the Police *suo motu* can take to stop this nuisance. I note that your Government will shortly be addressing the Bombay Government on the other activities which are going on in this province in connection with the collection of funds and the recruitment of satyagrahis and the Bombay Government will doubtless issue orders for my guidance.

7. You have stated that information regarding the holding of the Hindu Maha Sabha Conference at Nandgaon was received only two or three days before it was due to take place on the 15th and 16th October. Actually we have your letter dated 27th September, No. 5/P. A./46 which asks for a report on this meeting. I have also been informed and an article has appeared in some Sholapur paper to the effect that Hyderabad Police Officers were prominent in Sholapur very recently when some meeting of protest against Hyderabad State administration was being held. I have asked the D. S. P. to let me know what is the truth in the matter.

8. Finally, I have to say that I am quite prepared to give you all assistance and information within the limits defined above but the matter is a somewhat difficult one and generally the Bombay Government will not be inclined to restrain unduly the views and speeches and writings of the people of this Province on this State issue.

F. E. Sharp
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
Bombay Province, Poona.

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Confidential
No. 5/PUBS/36

Office of the D. I. G. P., C. I. D.
Bombay Province, Poona,
16 November 1938

My dear Anderson,

Please refer to the penultimate paragraph of my letter No. 5/PUBS/36, dated 15th November.

I have now received a report from the District Superintendent of Police, Sholapur, of which I send you a copy. The development reported by him is a very strange one and I should be glad to hear from you early in this matter. It is likely however that this action is being taken by the Usmanabad Sub-Inspector without your knowledge and may be due to the zeal outrunning the discretion of some other officer superior to him.

In this connection please refer to the second paragraph of your letter No. 39/PUB/47, dated 5th/6th November from which it is clear that you do not approve of any officer subordinate to you visiting this Province on duty without the usual intimation first being given to us.

F. E. Sharp.

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Confidential

No. 271.

Office of the District
Superintendent of Police,
Sholapur, 14 Nov. 1938

Dear Hobson,

A Police Sub-Inspector of I. B. from Usmanabad has arrived at Sholapur and is camping here off and on since 1st November 1938, and is working without my knowledge. It is learnt that he came over here to keep a watch over the Arya Samaj leaders along with the various Hyderabad Satyagrahis who may arrive in Sholapur from time to time. He is sometimes aided by the Police Sub-Inspectors of the adjoining Police Stations of Hyderabad State *i. e.* Kati and Naldurg Police Stations. He apparently sometimes returns to Usmanabad.

M. LaBouchardiere

J. Hobson,
A. D. I. G. P., C. I. D., I. B., B. P., Poona.

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Report of Director-General of Police, C. I. D., Hyderabad

(Date unknown)

We are obtaining much detailed information from Osmanabad District regarding the agitation now being carried on in Sholapur, Bombay presidency, in preparation for a Satyagraha campaign against Hyderabad State. As is well known, Bansilal, Arya Samajist of Udgir and Gopal Rao Vaid of Nander, both have taken refuge in this town in order to escape action being taken against them in the State. It is also well known that Narayanswami, the Dictator appointed by the Arya Sarvadeshak Sabha, Delhi, to organize a Satyagraha campaign has also taken up residence in Sholapur and has opened an office there for this purpose. These individuals are discussing their plans in co-operation with Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj and Congress workers of Sholapur. And Sholapur has now become a centre which is continually visited by agitators from our own Maharashtrian Districts in order to seek advice and assistance to carry on their work in the Dominions.

The latest report received from Osmanabad states that on one day alone, 2nd of November 1938, the following individuals, all well-known agitators working in Hyderabad State, visited Sholapur and consulted local leaders including Narayanswami, the Arya Samaj Dictator :—(1) Dr. Nilkant Rao of Latur, (2) Anant Govind Kulkarni of Hipparga, (3) Phoolchand, Pleader of Osmanabad, (4) Chandulal Marwari of Osmanabad, (5) Bhaskar Rao, and (6) Kishen Rao Moramkar, Pleaders of Naldurg, and (7) Nagarsogekar, (Joint Editor of the Mahratwada and also of more than one substitute—all of which have been banned entry into these Dominions).

The fact that these individuals are openly endeavouring to organize a satyagraha movement against the State will be found from the translations of two printed circulars issued from Sholapur by Bansilal and Narayanswami (dictator), respectively, to all Arya Samajist. A further proof will also be found in a translation of a notice which has been found posted up the Tuljapur in the Osmanabad District. This notice is issued over the name of G. V. Ketkar, President, Hindu Satyagraha Mandal, Poona, and calls on Hindus of Hyderabad State to observe satyagraha to remedy their grievances.

It is further reported that on 2-11-1938 a private meeting is held in the Prabha Talkies in Sholapur from 7 to 8 p.m. Prominent amongst those who attended the meeting were Bapat with his party, Raghvender Rao Sharma, Rambhau Rajwade, Bhai Vinayakrao Bhuskute and Joshi, Honorary Magistrate of Sholapur. At the time of the meeting congress volunteers were posted on guard duty and outsiders were not allowed to enter. It is learnt that at this meeting the audience were made to take a vow that they would afford all possible help in satyagraha and that every one of them would provide at least 10 volunteers. It was stated that there was accommodation for 5,000 persons, at the most, in the State Jails and that they should fill the jails. It was further decided that in future the date, time and place of despatch of the satyagraha parties should be kept a secret and that parties should be sent suddenly.

From 8-30 to 11 p. m. a public meeting was convened at Tilak Chowk, Sholapur, which was attended by the leaders of the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj and the Labourers Association called 'Lal Baota' or Kamgar Union. At the place of the meeting Congress flag was also hoisted. Audience numbered about 2,000 including about three to four hundred from H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions from the Districts of Gulbarga, Osmanabad, Bidar and the Paigah. Waman Rao Govind Kulkarni, President of the 'Lal Baota' Union, Sholapur, presided at this meeting and the marginally noted persons delivered speeches. Of these the speeches delivered by Nos. 4 and 5 were spirited and most objectionable. Vinayakrao Bhuskote was excessively foul-mouthed and spoke insolently against H.E.H. the Nizam. These speeches have created much excitement in Sholapur.

1. Waman Rao Govind Kulkarni, President of the meeting.
2. Raghavendar Rao Sharma.
3. Senapati Bapat.
4. Vinayak Rao Bhuskote, Secretary, Prantik Congress Committee, Ahmednagar and Poona.
5. Ramkrishen Ganesh Ram Jaju.

A note on the speeches is as follows :—

The President said that all individual organisations should unite against Hyderabad and he would personally afford all possible help and was himself ready for satyagraha. They should cease talking and carry on practical work.

Raghvender Rao Sharma said : " When compared to the jails in the whole of India, we will be subjected to great hardships and maltreatment in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Severest torture will be inflicted. This would be for our good. We will certainly be rewarded for it. Nizam Sarkar is like a moth which is flying near a lamp and is on the verge of death. We do not want such an antiquated king. British Government is a big Government but the injustice exercised in the Nizam's State is not all to be found there. The condition there is according to the proverb " whatever we do is law ". He dealt with the changes undergone by the Congress from 1920 to 1938 and showed how in the past they bore hardships and are now ruling. Continuing he said : " To secure our rights in the Nizam's State we will have to bear greater hardships. Times have changed. " Describing the civic rights he said all this is being done to prevent us from making progress.

" We should invariably contravene these laws ".

" The ban on Akharas is imposed because the Nizam is afraid that if our children take physical exercise and become strong they will face him and sit on his chest. By refusing permission for schools they want to stop our progress. Newspapers are banned with a view to deprive us of our source of information and enabling them to do whatever they liked. Hundreds of Urdu papers are published. Financial help is afforded to them. By bribery the English papers are made to eulogise them. Nizam is clever, he has much money of which he is proud. "

He related the facts dating back to the regime of Sir Ali Imam. He also related the affairs of Mysore, Travancore and Kashmir and said that there was no communal discord in those places. They were simply fighting for civic rights. The same was the case in Hyderabad.

Senapati Bapat Said : " We have come back, not out of fear but to inform you of the state of affairs in the Nizam State and to prepare you. We have undertaken to go to jail. Within two months four to five hundred volunteers will be collected at various places. I have commenced the work from today. The Nizam is proud of his ' Peshwa ' (Minister) ". He then referred to the satyagraha of the Municipality and said that they (satyagrahis) returned thrice but the fourth time they achieved their object. " In this way I will make preparations for Hyderabad and then go (visit Hyderabad). We are already prepared. I want to unite all the organizations in this respect. I have also prepared the Congress and I hope :.....but it is necessary that we should begin our work so that Gandhi and Nehru might help. They should know this. I request you to participate in this without any differences. At least so many persons should go that it might take several hours and several men to make them alight from the train. Much money will be spent and the train will be late. The business of the people will suffer. When an uproar will

be made in the world, it would remove the rubbish from the head. When I went (visited Hyderabad) Crofton and Hollins served on me a long notice as long as the distance from Sholapur to Hyderabad. This time it was short and an importunate request was made to go back. The notices served are in Urdu. We do not know Urdu and they do not know Mahratti. It is very difficult to understand and make them understand." Continuing he said that in the meantime subscriptions might be sent.

Bhuskote Vinayakrao, Secretary, Prantik Congress Committee, Ahmednagar and Poona, pointed out that the expenditure incurred by H. E. H. the Nizam was more than necessary. It was Rs. 50 lakhs and was spent as if it was his father's property. The peasants were dying. They were forced, money was amassed and spend on luxury. The same was the case with the Jagirdars, Deshmukhs and Nawabs. In other States such expenditure was not incurred. Referring to the Bijapur Jail he said that he used to get 7 pies daily. "We used to speak lies, receive 3 pies more and eat sweets. Thus it will not take us long to oust the Nizam. I am fully aware of the ins and outs of the State." Referring to the exorbitant expenditure (incurred by H. E. H.) he called H. E. H. mad and said that he was not at all using his senses. Continuing he said that "we do not want such Asaf Jahi, Sultan Shahi King. He should now take pension. He should take Rs. 50/- or Rs. 100/- for his expenses and sit quiet. We are not afraid of an Englishman like George V of Ireland and England; what do we care for a soldier? We need not go to places like Hyderabad, Vikarabad, Aurangabad, Mominabad. We should rush into small villages and carry on our work." He supported the views of Bapat and said that they should go in 50 batches each consisting of 100 persons. "From 1920 to 1934 thousands of persons went to jail. In this State at least 100 persons should go to jail. The officials became officials by merely reading a few books. We have not seen such restrictions anywhere. All of you should be prepared for Satyagraha. I have started an office today for this work and will open several offices. (He delivered a very spirited speech and was several times cheered). After attaining success in this State the conditions obtaining in other States will automatically improve. The king should think that on account of the officials who are greedy and dishonest thefts are committed. Bribery is not rampant in other places to such an extent as it is hers."

Ramkishan Ganesh Ram Jaju referred to the Congress at Sholapur and pointed out, how it carried on its work from the date of its inception. "I have promised to help the Congress in the Nizam's State. I will afford all possible help and send (volunteers for) Satyagraha. There is much wealth in Nizam's State. It ranks sixth in the whole world. I have a letter from the individuals at Latur (vague).

On 7th November 1938 members of the Hindu Maha Sabha will go for Satyagraha. We will ask them not to bring less than 100 persons and offer Satyagraha at any place in the State." He supported the views of the above speakers and said that he and Bhai Bhuskote will shortly publish a book concerning Hyderabad State which will furnish full information regarding the State.

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Home Delhi to Home Secretary, Bombay

28/29 November 1938.

I am desired to refer to paragraph 4 of the Bombay Government's fortnightly report for the 2nd half of October, 1938, and to forward, for information, a copy of the papers cited in the margin. In view of the evidence of preparations within the limits of the Bombay Presidency for organising and sending Jathas to the Hyderabad State with the object of offering Civil Disobedience, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have requested that action be taken under the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934, or otherwise to stop such activities.

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Resolution of the Arya Sarvadeshak Sabha, Delhi. (2) Note on some press cuttings. (3) Letter from Mr. Savarkar of Poona to Mr. Gupta dated the 22nd July, 1938. (4) Report from the Director-General of Police, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government dated the 13th October 1938, with enclosures. | <p>2. There are cogent reasons for believing that the activities in question are calculated to cause obstruction to the administration of the Hyderabad State. I am accordingly to enquire whether the Government of Bombay are prepared to extend Section 4-7 of the Indian States (Protection) Act (XI of 1934), 1934 to the Province</p> |
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and take action under it to prevent the organisation of jathas in the Province for the purpose of going into Hyderabad or to prevent the deputation of the jathas by some other means.

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Home Bombay to Home Delhi

9 December 1938.

In reply to your demi-official letter No. 6396-D/38-Political, dated the 28th/29th November 1938, I am desired to say that while it is admitted by this Government that jathas of Satyagrahis are organised in this Province for the purpose of going into Hyderabad State and that these activities are calculated to cause obstruction to the administration of that State, yet the Bombay Government do not consider themselves under any obligation to take action under sections 4 and 5 of the Indian States (Protection) Act (or otherwise) in order to prevent these incursions into Hyderabad × × × Indian State, so long as the intentions of the Satyagrahis are non-violent and their activities in the province do not create hostility between communities activities under Sec. 150-A of the I. P. C.

The odium of dealing with those who protest against what they allege to be repression and injustice in Hyderabad State must fall upon the State authorities.

I am to add that the Government of Bombay will give any information of routine assistance to the Hyderabad Government to the extent that good neighbourhood demands, but will go no further than that.

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Hyderabad Agitation

Nizam Government's Report to Government of India, May 1939

[Home Poll (I) File No. 42/3/39, 1939]

The travesty of facts and prejudiced views of the Nizam administration are noticeable.

Editor

1. Background of the Agitation :

The agitation is of exotic growth. The tradition of good relations and toleration existing between the two major communities in Hyderabad State received a shock from the inevitable result of the provocative activities of Tabligh enthusiasts and Arya Samaj propagandists on April 6th 1938 when two Muslims (relations of Nawab Yar Jung Bahadur) and three Hindus were killed. The trouble was attributed to outside interference. With a view to prevent religious preachers from outside entering the State and indulging in communal propaganda and inciting the Hyderabad is to disaffection, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government has ordered that such preachers should in future obtain permission before entering the Nizam's Dominions. The "International Aryan League" of Delhi gave a warning to the Nizam's Government in the latter part of May 1938 that, unless their 12 demands including removal of restriction on free speech, religious processions, flying of the Arya Samaj flag, etc., and the setting up of an impartial tribunal consisting of members of neither the Hindu nor the Muslim community to consider the riots at Hyderabad, Nizamabad, Gulbarga and Osmanabad, are conceded, resort would be had to satyagraha. Being emboldened by their success in their agitation in Mysore State in May 1938, the Congress attempted an inroad into Hyderabad State and tried to establish the Hyderabad State Congress. The Hyderabad Administration, however, imposed a ban on the formation of the Congress on September 7th, on the ground of communalism. This was resisted by a formal campaign of civil disobedience, and to meet the situation a Public Safety Regulation was promulgated.

2. Agitation Started :

From the end of October 1938, civil disobedience of the State laws and subversive propaganda against the State had been carried on by the three organizations simultaneously, namely :—the Hyderabad State Congress ostensibly operating from within the boundaries of the State, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj operating from British India. By April 15th, 1939, the total number of arrests of Arya Samaj and Hindu Maha Sabha agitators had reached 2,358. During the week ending April 30th, 1939, 1,225 volunteers were arrested, including 882 arrested on April 22nd, “Hyderabad Day”, about 75 per cent of whom were from British India. In addition numbers of demonstrators apologised and were not arrested. Apologies by convicts in jails have been increasing, 115 being reported in one single jail alone : they have been released.

State Congress : The State Congress movement on its inception maintained some pretence of dissociation from British India Congress influence. The State Congress leaders paid incessant visits to Congress headquarters in British India to seek inspiration and advice and almost all the subversive literature broadcast by the State Congress was printed and prepared at British Indian centres under Congress guidance. British India Congress leaders organised meetings in their respective provinces for the collection of men and enlistment of volunteers to further the movement, numbers of volunteers from British India actually entered the State to take part in the demonstrations and as time went on, it became quite clear that the inspirations and guidance to the movement came directly from Congress headquarters in British India. By December 23rd, 1938, when on Mr. Gandhi's advice satyagraha on behalf of the State Congress was suspended, because of the communal colour of the other parties practising it, the number of State Congress demonstrators had reached a total of 535. Of this total, not one single individual was Muslim, which is a sufficient comment on the State Congress's claim to be a non-communal body working for political reform on behalf of all sections of the population. The real objective of the State Congress and of the men in British India under whose guidance it worked, is, and has always been, Hindu political dominance. In advising the suspension of the campaign, Mr. Gandhi, it is understood, instructed the delegation of State workers who sought his guidance that all possible efforts must be made by them to gain contact with the masses so that the campaign, if resumed, could be carried on with greater strength. According to reliable information, the interval of suspension is to be utilised to put this advice into practice, and the plans include a non-payment of revenue campaign on a wide scale. By April 10th, 1939, all the State Congress prisoners had been released unconditionally.

Arya Samaj and Hindu Maha Sabha : Both these organizations started joint work, and it was agreed that the Maha Sabha should primarily supply volunteers, whereas the Samaj should finance the movement. This has, however, not been followed out. Sholapur was the venue of an Arya Samaj conference held in December 1938 when wild enthusiasm was displayed and fiery speeches delivered to stimulate interest in the agitation. The Maha Sabha was responsible for similar activities at Nagpur at about the same time. They condemned the Congress for withdrawing itself from the agitation, criticised Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for her apathy and decided to continue the Satyagraha till their objects were fully achieved.

Alliance between the Congress and other Hindu organisations : Though the Congress withdrew itself from the agitation, yet its sympathies were with the other communal bodies. Individual Congress leaders like Dr. Khare, Deshbandhu Gupta, Dr. Satyapal and others openly supported the communal agitation and contributed to its funds. On April 7th, 1939, in the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee meeting, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru bluntly refused to listen to the arguments against the participation of Congress in Hyderabad agitation.

3. Methods of Agitation and Intensification : Having been prevented from entering the State, the agitators decided to hold meetings on the border of the State wherefrom inspiration could be sent to the people within the State and their consciousness aroused. Volunteers are to be recruited to offer satyagraha in the State and 'dictators' are to be appointed to guide the agitation. Public meetings are held where inflammatory speeches are made on the alleged religious, social and economic disabilities of the Hindus in general and of the Arya Samajists in particular, in the State ; condemning the Muslims with reference to their alleged past barbarous rule and oppression on the Hindus ; comparing the administration of the Nizam with that of Aurangzeb ; suggesting that ' Hindusthan ' belongs to the Hindus and as such the eight crores of Muslims should either be converted to Hinduism or drowned in the Arabian Sea, or driven out of India ; advocating demolition of all mosques situated within 500 yards of any Hindu temple ; stating that for each Hindu killed in the Nizam's State three Muslims should be slain in British India, and that the State of a tyrant like the Nizam should be destroyed [?]. Processions are taken out sometimes (as in Bombay) accompanied by motor lorries provided with loudspeakers—shouting anti-Muslim and anti-Hyderabad slogans. Ballad songs are sung, prabhat pheries are taken out and with the help of magic lantern slides cases of oppression on the Hindus and outrages on Hindu women in the State are disclosed to the public, to intensify the agitation. Booklets such as " Nizam Defence Examined and Exposed, " " The Case of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad State, " Pandit Vyas Dev Shastri's pamphlet entitled " What I have seen in the Hyderabad State, " etc. hand-bills, news-letters and bulletins in different languages, are printed and circulated, and series of lectures (in Bombay) on the condition of the Hindus in the State are organised, to stimulate interest among the public. Volunteers before proceeding to the State visit the districts to do propaganda and spread disaffection among the people and they are paraded in the towns before an organised send-off is given to them in farewell meetings. Camps have been started at Ahmednagar and Sholapur on the west, at Bezwada on the south-east, at Pusad on the north and at Manmad on the north-west, for the reception of volunteers prior to their departure for the State and for organising anti-Hyderabad propaganda and activities from these centres. " Hyderabad Days " are observed on the 22nd of each month to keep the interest alive in the public mind. Hindu papers, some out of sympathy and others in consideration of remuneration, are carrying on a virulent campaign against the State. The " *Kesari* " of Poona, the " *Lokamanya*, " the " *Riyasat* " and the " *Sarvadeshak* " of Delhi are a few of the worse type of propagandist papers.

A further recent development has been the dividing of volunteers into two categories—the first, those deputed to offer public demonstration, and the second, those deputed to travel secretly into the State to carry on propaganda subversive to the administration in the villages. This latter development is in accordance with Mr. Gandhi's advice that contact must be established with the masses. It has also been suggested that the success of the agitation depends on its prolongation and that, as such, a large number of jathas should not be sent at a time.

His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya observed that ordinary people could not help this movement personally, and suggested to the Hindu leaders to issue appeals through the press to the innumerable sanyasins (mendicants) who are fed by public charity, to join this movement.

The last stage of the movement will be signalled by the appearance of women volunteers on the scene which, however, will be preceded by a large-scale propaganda that Hindu women are not safe in the State and when women volunteers are arrested great stress will be laid on their alleged ill-treatment by the Police and jail authorities, and every attempt will be made to bring the State into as much disrepute as possible. A start has been made with the sending of women for this purpose, but it remains to be seen whether it will be followed up.

Senapati Bapat, one of the ring-leaders of the movement, has recently discovered that the present method of offering satyagraha in the State by outside Aryas, Hindus and Congressites coming from such distant places as Lahore, Karachi, etc., is a very expensive game and suggested that it should be replaced by his plan according to which Government offices (one or two post offices to start with) in one big town in each province should be selected for peaceful picketing. The idea behind this scheme is to move the Viceroy by breaking the law in British India on a sufficiently big scale as the Nizam's Government needs pressure from the Viceroy before it wakes up to do its duties properly.

On March 22nd, the third 'dictator' was arrested at Gulbarga with 160 satyagrahis accompanying him. The total number of demonstrators arrested in connection with the movement up to March 24th, 1939, is 1203. More than two-thirds of these demonstrators came from British-India. The figures for February show that out of a total of 284 arrests, 212 came from British-India and 72 were classed as residents of the State. 928 persons had been arrested during the first half of April 1939, of whom 421 were residents of British-India and 284 of the State. The balance could not be accounted for yet. Even in the case of the residents of the State, it should not be assumed that they came forward spontaneously from within the State to join the movement. Many of them had visited Sholapur at the time of the Aryan Conference in December 1938 as much from curiosity as from instinctive hostility to the administration and, while there, fell victims to the Arya Samaj propaganda after which

they were sent back with jathas to the State. The actual number of demonstrators who came forward on their own initiative from within the State owing to some feeling of grievance against the State Government has been extremely small, and of this the men of status have been nil [?]. As a result of holding meetings and extensive press propaganda organised all over India, increasing number of volunteers are being recruited and large sums of money collected. Many of these volunteers make no secret of the fact that they have been hired [?]. On April 22nd, Rajguru Dhurendra Shastri, the fourth 'dictator' was arrested along with 527 volunteers of whom 26 apologised and were released.

On April 26th, at an Arya Samaj meeting attended by about 1000 to 1500 persons in Bombay and presided over by Sjt. Vedavritji, the fifth 'dictator' it was given out that the names of 66 'dictators' have been chosen, and that their present scheme contemplated four classes of volunteers, viz : (1) Volunteers ready to go to jail at their own expense, (2) Volunteers whose railway expenses were paid by the local committees, (3) Volunteers whose railway expenses would be borne by the central committee of the Aryan League, and (4) Volunteers whose families were required to be maintained by the Arya Samaj. At present, volunteers of the first two classes only were being sent. The Aryan Conference at Sholapur and Hindu Maha Sabha meeting at Nagpur gave a good fillip to the movement. Bombay Province and C. P., the home of the Maharashtrians, and the Punjab, the home of the Arya Samaj, are the principal recruiting areas ; Sind, Delhi, U. P., Calcutta and part of Madras contributed not a very large number.

4. Policy of the Agitators : The leaders of the movement are not believers in the policy of non-violence for achieving their objects.

In order to terrorise the State Government and its Muslim officials, some Hindus of Poona, such as Dr. Gore residing in Rasta Peth, G. M. Nalavade, Khadivle, Vaidya and others, are considering plans to prepare bombs and send them to Hyderabad for use in the agitation.

At the beginning of February this year, while speaking at a meeting of the Hindu Maha Sabha Working Committee in Delhi, Barrister Savarkar, the President, was reported to have allowed full and unrestricted discretion to individual workers to pursue any plan in furtherance of the struggle without even making any fetish of non-violence. Savarkar was said to be contemplating the launching of secret subversive propaganda amongst the State subjects and spreading the cult of terrorism.

In connection with the Hyderabad agitation meeting were held at Nagpur, Amraoti, Akola and Yeotmal districts of the C. P., and speeches were made stating that the launching of the satyagraha amounted to a declaration of war which could not be carried on through non-violence. The processionists were armed with lathis, a large knife was displayed in the meeting, and the conduct of the Arvi Hindus in the riot of 1925 was praised.

On February 11th 1939, at a meeting at Nasik, B. V. Devre of Poona said that without armed opposition the Hindus could not possibly obtain their rights in a State like Hyderabad. On March 29th, at a meeting at Poona to give farewell to a jatha of volunteers bound for Hyderabad, B. V. Devre declared that he himself was no believer in non-violence and that the next campaign would not be non-violent, and that for each Hindu murdered in the State three Muslims would be slain in British India. In this connection he referred to the alleged efficacy of the use of bombs for the annulment of the partition of Bengal.

On February 19th, at a farewell meeting for 11 Satyagrahis who left Nagpur on February 20th for Hyderabad, Balaji Venkat Hardesh Shastri made speeches advocating violence and demanding the boycott of Muslims. He was warned, but during the second half of March 1939 he made similar speeches, and the question of his prosecution is under consideration on April 6th, at a farewell meeting before he left Nagpur for Hyderabad, Shastri said that if they were not allowed to fly their 'bhagwa' Flag, the flag and the countryside would be dyed red with blood, and that the unarmed struggle of today would be converted into an armed revolt of tomorrow. Shastri made another inflammatory speech at Wardha, where he said that the Nizam had to be destroyed like other tyrants in history. Dr. B. S. Moonje who presided also asserted that this unarmed struggle might well become violent if circumstances demanded it and he expatiated on the delights of death in battle.

At the beginning of March 1939, while addressing meetings, Senapati Bapat expressed his conviction that blood alone would solve the problem and requested the people to lay down their lives without doing harm to any one else.

Expecting the release of political prisoners in the near future on the occasion of the introduction of reforms in the State, the Democratic Swaraj Party leaders have recently been hurrying to offer satyagraha to secure the crown of martyrs by suffering incarceration in the State jails for a few days.

The Arya Samaj leaders who interviewed Mr. Gandhi in the later part of March 1939 and refused to suspend satyagraha, revealed that they had no faith in the efficacy of purely non-violent methods in the conduct of satyagraha.

5. The Use of Bombs : This policy of violence on the part of the leaders seems to have been carried out partially by the followers. Khadivale, Vaidya, Dr. Gore of the Poona Arya Samaj, and G. M. Nalavade of the Hindu Mahasabha discussed a plan to prepare and use bombs in Hyderabad State in November last at Poona. On February 20th, 1939, two bombs explosions occurred in Hyderabad City as a result of which one person lost his life and another was seriously injured. A short time previous to this incident, two similar bombs were found lying in the city thoroughfares which failed to explode on being picked up. Other bombs exploded in the city on the 11th, 13th and 14th March injuring nine persons. Another was found in a cinema house at

Nizamabad. A further explosion took place on March 26th injuring a woman who was sweeping in front of her shop and who struck the bomb accidentally. An unexploded bomb of a crude kind was found placed on a bench in a cinema house at Nizamabad on March 17th. A local gang has been found responsible for the bomb outrages in Hyderabad city and all the members of this gang have been arrested and sent up for trial. Certain members of the gang are connected with the Arya Samaj, and it is probable that it is the spirit engendered by the Arya Samaj campaign that has introduced the cult of the bomb into Hyderabad. During the first week of April, the Arya Samaj leaders at Sholapur are reported to have issued instructions for stopping the use of bombs and similar other terrorist methods in connection with the satyagraha.

6. Attitude of the Hindus in the State : In the face of this intensive campaign, the general Hindu population of the State has so far remained quiet and unaffected.

On the occasion of the recent Hindu-Muslim riot at Aurangabad, the Hindu students of the Aurangabad Middle School went on strike and about 75 per cent of them absented themselves from their class for two days. A few students picketed the school and prevented other Hindu students from attending their classes. The picketers were expelled from the school and the absentees were fined by the school authorities. Some local Hindu agitators and a teacher are said to be at the bottom of this unrest. Hindu students of the Osmania University were encouraged and incited on the issue of the singing of "Bande Mataram" song from outside the State. Narendar Dutt, leader of the strike, recently visited the State to get the strikers re-admitted to the University on certain conditions, but the authorities were not prepared to yield to these conditions.

Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad denounced in a lengthy statement the agitation of the Arya Samajists and Hindu Maha Sabhaites and refuted their arguments. On examination some State Hindus denied the allegations of oppression alleged to have been committed on them by the Muslims. On April 28th, a mass meeting of the citizens of Hyderabad and Secunderabad was held and the recent message of communal harmony and political progress by constitutional means given by Sir Kishen Prasad was moved by Raja Jaswantrao Bahadur and seconded and supported by representatives of Hindus and Muslims, including Baji Krishna Rao, an Arya Samajist.

7. Reaction of Muslims in the State : To combat the anti-Muslim activities carried on by the Arya Samajists, the Hyderabad Muslims decided in February 1938 to do their utmost to make the Anjuman-i-Ithad-Mussulmeen into a central Muslim organization for the purpose of organising the community and protecting its political, economic and social rights. There is an over increasing danger of communal clashes throughout the State and particularly in the city of Hyderabad. A crowd of satyagrahis which managed to drive into the city on March 5th, 1939, and shouted slogans on alighting from the bus, was set upon by irate bystanders, three being severely injured. But for the prompt interference of the policemen on point duty and others who rushed to the scene from the vicinity, a serious situation would have quickly developed. In fact, if outside satyagrahis were not promptly arrested, they would have been given short shrift by the Muslim public. The dangers inherent in the situation and the depth of bitter feeling which the present campaign from without has engendered are daily becoming more and more apparent.

On November 26th, 1938, about 2,000 members of the Nader (Hyderabad State) Khaksar Party took out a procession with swords, guns and other weapons and shouted such slogans as "Nizam Zindabad", "Hindu Sabha and State Congress Satyagraha Murdabad", etc. Police Officers and Muslim leaders also joined the procession. Speeches faciting communal riots were delivered at various places. A similar procession was also taken out the following day and the Hindu population became terror-stricken.

A lot of Muslims from the State were reported to have been concentrating their attention on the activities of the Hindus at the Sholapur Conference which was held in December last.

At the beginning of February 1939, the Muslims of Hyderabad submitted a memorandum to Sir Akbar Hydari pointing out the indifference of the State towards the agitation started by the Arya Samaj and warning that if the movement was not suppressed within a fortnight they would come forward to combat the agitation on behalf of the State and the Ruler who belonged to the Muslims, irrespective of the consequences that might follow.

On April 22nd, a batch of 102 volunteers from Sholapur, while being escorted after their arrest by the police at Tulajapur, were assaulted by some Muslims who had previously prepared themselves for an attack.

During the observance of the fourth "Hyderabad Day" at Sultanshahi, Muslim goondas attacked the satyagrahis and-injured one seriously.

A Muslim goonda assaulted a satyagrahi at Vaijapur and caused serious injuries to him.

The recent State Communique on constitutional reforms was promptly taken up by the Majlis-i-Ithad-i-Mussulameen. They proposed to stage a large demonstration but in consideration of the present political atmosphere they were required to abandon it, confining themselves to interviews with Sir Akbar Hydari. The Majlis suggested for the postponement of reforms, but the Nizam's Government refused to accept the suggestion ; on the contrary they decided to expedite their announcement to inaugurate them with as little delay as possible. The Nizam's Government is reported to have postponed reforms to the middle of May, 1939 and Gandhi informed.

8. Muslim Reactions in British-India : The agitation aroused the ire of Muslims of all shadow of opinion. In their meetings at various places, the Ahrars expressed grave concern, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind denounced it in unmistakable terms, and the Muslim League and the Ittihad-i-Millat offered active help and assistance to the Nizam's Government, if and when required to counteract the agitation against the State. Muslims unattached to any political party were not free from anxiety for the agitation as uneducated Muslims were more excited and many of them used to attend the Arya meetings in Bombay to watch what was happening there. Muslims expressed great indignation at the intemperate speeches and anti-Muslim and anti-

Nizam slogans shouted in Hindu meetings, and resented the despatch of jathas from British-India to the State. They held meetings and sometimes counter-meetings denouncing to agitation, warning the Hindus of the serious consequences and assuring the Nizam's Government of Muslim help from British-India. Under the auspices of the Hyderabad Arya Satyagraha Samiti, Bombay, a public meeting of about seven to eight thousand people, which in the end dwindled to two thousand, was held at Chowpatty, Bombay, on April 19th, to give a send-off to 300 satyagrahis who came from Ajmere by special train. There were at least 500 Muslims in the meeting and one of them wanted to speak but was disallowed. A large number of police officers and men were kept near the meeting for the purpose of preventing any untoward incident.

On December 1st, 1938, a procession of about 2,000 Muslims was taken out through Sholapur City shouting such slogans as "Long Live the Nizam", "It is our Duty to help the Nizam", etc., and leaflets in Urdu were distributed calling upon Muslims to guard themselves against the persons who started the agitation and fomented communal trouble.

On December 4th, 1938, at a well-attended meeting of the Muslim League Youth Association at Nagpur, speeches were made criticising the British Government for supporting the Congress in its efforts to destroy the Muslim State of Hyderabad and resolutions were passed requesting the Government to stop the entry of outside volunteers into Hyderabad State. Similar resolutions were passed at Bombay, Karachi and Sholapur to stop the Arya Samaj agitation against the State.

Bangalore Muslims decided in a meeting to send volunteers to the State. The Mujlis-i-Nawajawan Islam of Amritsar offered the services of 500 Muslims who pledged themselves to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the State. A National Guard has been formed at Karachi and 50 volunteers have been recruited under the auspices of the Sirat Committee in the C. P. to counteract the agitation. At a Muslim League meeting on March 19th, a suggestion was made to lead a jatha to the Lahore Railway Station to prevent Hindu satyagrahis from proceeding to Sholapur. A bus-load of satyagrahis proceeding to the State was attacked by Muslims at Karachi on March 30th, 1939, and many were injured. They were escorted to the Passenger pier by the Police. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was appointed a 'dictator' by the Ittihad-i-Millat to take the necessary steps against the agitation, and he was reported to have been collaborating with Maulana Irfan of Bombay (now deceased) on this subject.

With the development of the agitation, Muslims became more aggressive and came into conflict with the agitators in Delhi, Bareilly, in serious riots on the observance of the "Hyderabad Day" on January 22nd 1939. Clashes at some other places were averted by the timely intervention of the police.

For delivering a highly inflammatory speech on March 30th, at Pusad (C. P.), an Arya Samaj leader was threatened by a party of Muslims.

Hindu-Muslim riot occurred at Pusad in C. P. on April 4th when two Arya Samajists passing by a mosque beating drums to advertise a show in aid of satyagraha, were attacked by small party of Muslims with lathis.

On the night of April 17th, for retaliation a crowd of 200 Muslims collected in Ahmedabad (Bombay Province) in front of a building where some satyagrahis were lodged, for assaulting a Muhammadan youth who had previously protested against the satyagrahis passing in a procession before a mosque. Armed police rushed to the scene and eventually escorted the satyagrahis to the railway station.

Communal feeling in Sholapur is very much strained and several isolated attacks both against Hindus and Muslims have been reported. Stone throwing at the Arya Samaj and Hindu Maha Sabha meetings by Muslim hooligans is growing very common. It is reported that even knives are sometimes thrown at persons attending meetings. It has been arranged to take out a Muslim League procession through Hindu Localities on May 3rd and trouble is apprehended as Muslims are definitely on the war path and are reported to have stored up weapons of offence for such an occasion.

It appears that as a counter-blast to the Arya Samaj activities at Sholapur, the Bombay provincial Muslim League is going to hold a meeting at Sholapur on May 5th and 6th to be presided over by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, and it is apprehended by both communities that communal rioting might break out on that occasion. Apprehending trouble, Bhai Parmanand has issued a warning to the Arya Samajists not to send any jathas to Hyderabad State during the period of the Conference of the Muslim League at Sholapur. But the Aryan League has decided that the fifth 'dictator' Pandit Vedavrit of Bihar should offer satyagraha with a large contingent of volunteers from Pusad centre on May 5th.

9. Attitude of Other States : According to Jagatguru Shankaracharya who interviewed a good number of Hindu Princes, none of them except two was willing to help the agitation against the Hyderabad State. Meetings were however held by the Arya Samaj in Kashmir and subscriptions were collected.

On April 2nd, 1939, in Miraj State (Deccan), at a meeting held for the reception of satyagrahis, rioting on a large scale was reported to have taken place and about 30 volunteers injured.

10. Attitude of Bombay and C. P. Governments : The disinclination of the Bombay and C. P. Government to take action against violent speakers was an indirect incentive to the agitation and a cause of annoyance to the Muslims. On the representation of the Nizam's Government in December last, the Government of Bombay explained their policy that they would allow the Press in their Province the same liberty of criticising the administration of Hyderabad State which the Press enjoyed regarding the Bombay Government administration ; that incitement to or preparation for violence would be dealt with, and that the Government of Bombay would, if required give the Nizam's Government such information as a friendly State was bound to give ; but would not stop persons from proceeding to Hyderabad territory with the intention which if carried out there might amount to a breach of Hyderabad State laws. The C. P. Government refused to keep the Nizam's Government informed of the development of the agitation in C. P. or of the possibility of the despatch of jathas to the State.

Later, the Bombay Government seem to have demanded security from a newspaper *The Angad* and very recently sanctioned the prosecution, under Section 117/302 of B. V. Devre for his objectionable speeches. He has already been arrested in Hyderabad State and is awaiting trial there.

11. Present Position : It was reported in March last that the Arya Samaj leaders were rather afraid that they might have to restrict the satyagraha or to stop it altogether soon. Some of them emphasized the necessity of collecting men and money.

Jagatguru Shankaracharya is now on a peace mission in the State, holding discussions with various religious leaders and the members of the Government, and the Home Minister, Bombay, also wrote to Sir Akbar Hydari expressing his eagerness to act as intermediary. If the Movement is called off, the Nizam's Government is prepared to appoint a "Religious Grievances Committee" to save the face of the Arya Samaj. The latest information is that, on account of the monsoon, the Arya Samaj will suspend the agitation from the 15th June 1939, and resume it in September next, by which time many persons will be released from jail and detained at Sholapur for further satyagraha duty.

While the Muslim population of the State is showing signs of intense resentment at the unprovoked attacks launched against the State from outside its borders, the expressed intention also of Muslims in British India to rally to the assistance of the State and to take retaliatory measures against Hindus, is adding to the tension. If the agitation continues to grow, there is the possibility of a most serious communal conflict arising in the Nizam's Dominions leading to widespread disorder both in the city and in the districts, and repercussions may follow in British India.

Sd/-

6-5-39.

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Hyderabad Struggle and Hindu Maha Sabha and Arya Samaj

[Home, New Delhi's Note for Report to Secretary of State, Home Poll. (I) File No. 42/3/39, 1939]

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The agitation started ostensibly, and to an appreciable extent genuinely, as a movement to secure redress of restrictions on the free practice of their religion by Hindus in the Hyderabad State. It was, therefore, controlled by the militant Hindu religious organizations, the Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj. The influence of the Arya Samaj has been greatest in Northern India and that of the Mahasabha in the Central Provinces and Central India generally. The International Aryan League of Delhi has been the centre of organization, though actual control of recent months has been in the hands of a 'war council' at Sholapur. Subsequent to the starting of the religious—i.e. communal—agitation, Congress agitation was started with tactics

similar to those of the general Congress movement launched against State—*i. e.* a State Congress nominally distinct from the All-India Congress but receiving the latter's scarcely disguised support. When, however, as was inevitable, this Congress agitation for constitutional reforms became indistinguishable from the Arya Samaj and Mahasabha communal agitation, Congress withdrew its support and the State Congress has relapsed into obscurity. Nevertheless, as Congress leaders, Congress Ministers and Congress rank and file are almost entirely Hindu, there is widespread sympathy in Congress circles for the Hindu agitation against Hyderabad. The Arya Samaj and Mahasabha more or less frankly pride themselves on attacking a major stronghold of Islam in defence of an oppressed Hindu minority ; this aspect of the case also arouses widespread sympathy in Hindu Congress circles. In the political field, the fact that the Hyderabad Government has from the start followed a rigorously repressive policy against the agitation, adds, however, justifiable that policy may be, to the difficulty of their obtaining any support from the neighbouring Congress Governments in Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces. Madras has, in fact, co-operated well, and the trouble from that side has been comparatively slight. Bombay stated their attitude clearly at an early stage ; they would co-operate with the exchange of information and in repressing forms of agitation amounting to incitement to violence, but were not prepared to act contrary to their own principles of freedom of the press and public speaking. The C. P. Government, in spite of the peculiar position of Berar and of that sub-Province being made one of the most important bases for agitation against Hyderabad, have been completely non-co-operative, refusing even to give the Hyderabad authorities information about *jathas*, *etc.* The agitation is not without its embarrassing side to the Congress organization and Congress Governments. The Hindu Mahasabha in particular, and the Maharashtra movement in the Central Provinces, which is closely associated with it in this agitation are increasingly hostile to the orthodox Congress policy, and they are enhancing their influence greatly through this Hyderabad agitation. The difficulty of all Provincial Governments in taking firm action against the raising of funds, *satyagrahis*, *etc.*, in British India, is that they all lay themselves open to accusations of repression and, if they are Congress Hindu Governments they are accused of aiding and abetting Muslim repression of Hindus, and if they are a Muslim non-Congress Government they are accused by the Hindus of communal bias. An aspect of the situation to which perhaps sufficient importance has not been given either in reports prepared by this Bureau or other official reports, is the attitude of Muslims in Hyderabad State. They have made it clear to their Government that if the latter shows any signs of complacency and weakness towards Hindu demands, they (the Muslims) will rise against their Government ; for they are determined that Muslim rule in State shall not be jeopardised. I have it on very good authority, including that of the Resident and the Home Minister, Hyderabad, that, particularly about last November, it was this aspect of the situation which was causing the Hyderabad authorities far more apprehension than the Arya Samaj—Mahasabha agitation itself.

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I suggest that Political Department, S. G. G. (public) and P. S. V. all ought to see this case before a reply is actually sent, since all of them have information and correspondence relating to it.

Sd/-

Satyagraha in Hyderabad

(Hindustan Times, Delhi, 10 June 1939)

What The Arya Samaj is Fighting For :

The Arya Samaj Satyagraha in Hyderabad has by this time sufficiently attracted public attention. But correct understanding of the position, even in high quarters, is wanting and people seem to think that it is a brand of agitation commonly resorted to in bravado and without sufficient reasons. It would be desirable, therefore, to give some salient features of the movement which is likely to assume serious proportions as days go by.

The Arya Samajists have been feeling for the last six years that they are labouring under various sorts of restrictions in the Dominions of His Exalted Highness. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Nizam Rajya (the representative body of the Arya Samajes in the Nizam's Dominions) and the Sarvadeshik Sabha (the International Aryan League) adopted the usual policy of prayers and petitions in order to get redress. On March 20, 1936, a deputation of prominent persons, including Messrs. M. S. Aney and G. S. Gupta waited on the, then Prime Minister, Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad Bahadur, and laid before him their grievances. But all this evidently bore no results. The matter was vital to the Sarvadeshik Sabha and it decided to summon an All-India Aryan Congress to discuss this question, and find out a remedy for it. Accordingly, the All-India Aryan Congress was held in Sholapur during Christmas 1938 where the matter was discussed threadbare. It is evident that the Arya Samaj has not lightly launched the movement. Although the grievances of the Hindu in general and Arya Samajists in particular cover a very wide field, the Aryan Congress confined its demands to purely religious and cultural matters. Other matters were scrupulously ruled out as beyond the scope of the Arya Samaj—a religious church.

SHOLAPUR DEMANDS : Out of the total nine, the following are the important demands formulated therein :—

- (1) There should be full freedom for due performance of religious rites and ceremonies.
- (2) There should be full freedom for religious preaching, reciting of Kirtans, delivering of sermons and lectures, taking out Nagar Kirtans and processions, building of Arya Samaj Mandirs, Yagnashalas and Havankundas, hoisting of Om flags, opening of new Arya Samajes and publishing of literature bearing on vedic religion and culture.
- (3) The State should neither take part nor encourage and the State servants should be forbidden from taking part in *Tablig* (proselytizing) movement. No conversion to Islam of Hindu Prisoners inside the jails and Hindu children in schools be allowed. Hindu orphans should not be handed over to the Muslims.
- (4) The Ecclesiastical Department should be abolished, or at least it should have no control over the temples of and affairs concerning the Hindus and Aryas.
- (5) There should be no ban imposed on the entry of Arya missionaries and the existing bans should be removed.

(6) The education of Hindu and Arya boys and girls in primary and secondary standards at least should be in their mother tongue, and not necessarily in Urdu.

(7) There should be no restriction imposed on the starting by the Hindu and Aryas, of private gymnasiums (Akhadas) and private educational institutions, such as schools for boys and girls, libraries, reading rooms, *etc.*

RELIGIOUS RIGHTS : It would be seen from this that the demand of the Arya Samaj is for neither political nor communal rights and privileges, nor even for full civil liberty. It is purely religious and cultural. Those who continue to brand these demands as either communal or political or as directed against His Exalted Highness the Nizam or against the Muslims, betray either ignorance or perversion. The Arya Samaj is not claiming percentage in service, weightage or any other type of political or communal rights. The demands are clear in themselves and need no explanation.

IRKSOME INTERFERENCE : The Arya Samaj has from time to time, issued pamphlets and books explaining their case and justifying these demands. They give specific instances of irksome interferences of various sorts.

In one case an explanation was demanded why a marriage which took place in the month of Muharram was not stopped.

In another a house-owner was asked either to erect a *Pakka* wall so as to hide certain portraits or to obliterate them on the ground that they were visible from a mosque.

The following notice No. 150/55, dated 26 Aban 1344 Fasli, issued by a Naib-Quazi may be read with interest :—

“ You Bakaiya, are hereby informed, that your wife—Gaindi, has embraced Islam on the 14th Aban, 44 Fasli and she has been given the Islamic name “ Rahima Bi ”. You have also been several times invited to embrace Islam, but you are keeping silent. Therefore, let it be known to you that if you will present yourself in my office, within a week and willingly embrace Islam, your connection as husband, with your new Muslim wife may be maintained. Failing this your relationship with her will cease and she will be married to some Mohammedan and no objection from your side will be entertained. ”

But illustrations from the Aryan Samaj pamphlets may be left alone.

2,000 SCHOOLS CLOSED : The following is taken from the White Paper issued by the Government of H. E. H. in the form of a book entitled “ The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad ”, Annexure XII page 60 (1st edition) and Annexure XI page 48 (2nd edition) :—

1. Educational institutions having fifteen or more pupils on their registers, which are neither in receipt of any grant-in-aid from Government, nor are recognized in any way by the Educational Department, will be considered as private institutions.

2. In future, no private institution will be started by any person or persons unless the sanction of the officers mentioned below is contained for the purpose :—

(a) In the case of Primary School for boys the sanction of the Divisional Inspector concerned.

(b) In the case of Middle and High Schools for boys and girls the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction.

(c) In the case of Primary School for girls the sanction of the Inspectress of Girls' Schools or the Divisional Inspector of the Subah.

10. If any private institution is opened after the promulgation of these rules, without previously obtaining the permission required by these rules or if any existing private institution falls to submit the annual returns required by Rule 8, or violates these rules in any way, the Director of Public Instruction or the Divisional Inspector of Schools will take the necessary steps either through the First Taluqdar of the district concerned, or the Police Commissioner of the Hyderabad City to have such schools closed.

As a result of this 2,971 private schools had to be closed, out of a total of 4,053 thus leaving only 1,082 private schools.

HINDU FESTIVALS : Annexure VIII, para 9, page 40 (2nd edition).

The following rules apply whenever Hindu festivals coincide with Muslim festivals :—

(1) All Hindus in the city and districts should perform their religious ceremonies inside their own houses.

(2) Those who desire to go to gardens to perform the *silangan* ceremony may do so without the accompaniment of music or and other eclat.

(3) Bhatakamma should not be taken out and Hindus should not play music even in the small *devals* (walls) within their own houses.

(4) Within large and special *devals* which have a compound wall around. Hindus can perform their worship with ordinary music but on no account should they come out of the *devals*. Muslims are not to interfere with the performance of worship within the *devals*. Any person—Hindu or Muslim—guilty of the breach of this order shall be liable to criminal prosecution.

Under one of the existing rules (requiring previous permission for religious buildings and their repairs) no Arya Samaj can be started or can hold its weekly (*Satsangas*) meetings, even in a private house, without previous permission from the Ecclesiastical Department. This has rendered the normal functioning and expansion of the Arya Samaj difficult.

MINIMUM DEMANDS : Now coming to the immediate fight it would be seen that by Resolution No. 5, it is concentrated to the following two items only. This has been emphasized by Mahashe Krishan (?) also in his speeches :—

(1) Absolute freedom for the practice and preaching of the Vedic religion and culture, with due regard to the feelings of the followers of other faiths.

(2) Full freedom for starting new Arya Samajes and building of new Arya Samaj Mandirs, Yagnashalas, Havankundas and the repairing of the old ones, without obtaining any permission from the Ecclesiastical or any other department of the State.

It is easy to see that there is clear distinction between the Arya Samaj movement and the State Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha movements. The Hindu Mahasabha demand, as formulated in their Nagpur resolution, covers a very wide field. So is the case with State Congress movement (now suspended). To identify the Arya Samaj movement with the State Congress movement or the Hindu Mahasabha movement is clearly a mistake. The Arya Samaj movement is confined only to the securing of religious and cultural liberty—which, of course, if secured, will ensure for the benefit of all religions.

INTERFERENCE OF OUTSIDERS : One more question is often asked. Why should outsiders interfere in the internal affairs of, an Indian State ? The Congress policy in this respect is sometimes quoted. They say the movement should be conducted by the people of the State and outside help should be only advisory. This may be true in the case of political rights which primarily concern the inhabitants of a particular State, but the right of Prachar (religious preaching) is one in which outsiders are as much interested as insiders. In fact, if any State without any Arya Samaj, were to forbid preachers from outside, it would surely justify purely outside interference. This aspect of the case is forgotten by such questioners. But the fact is that majority of the Satyagrahis are from Hyderabad. On examination of the records in the first week of April, it was found that 79 per cent were from Hyderabad only 21 per cent from outside.

DEATHS IN JAIL : It would be seen that the rights claimed are so elementary that no sacrifice should have been necessary to get them. But the Arya Samaj has to stake its all for it and so far more than 8,000 persons have gone to jails and there have been no less than nine deaths there. These deaths would show the nature of treatment meted out to the Satyagrahis in jails. In the Congress movement involving about a lakh of people for many months there were not so many instances of deaths inside jail. The Arya Samaj has, in the past made valuable sacrifices at the altar of Vedic Dharma and from the enthusiasm of the Aryas it is evident that there will be no dearth of men and money to carry on this struggle.

Religion—even now—is a vital most factor to an Indian. Agitations based on religious grievances (very petty and small in the beginning) have brought about quite unexpected results of no mean significance in Indian history. It would, therefore, be in the interest of all thinking persons of position to try to find a just and early solution of the problem.

Why State Congress Suspended Satyagraha

(State People's Monthly Bulletin, Jan. 1939)

The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress has suspended the Satyagraha movement which was launched in the State two months ago. It had for its purpose the attainment of Civil liberties and the withdrawal of the ban against the State Congress. The suspension has come as a surprise to many sympathisers and supporters of the popular struggle, both inside and outside the State. Interested parties have begun to spread rumours of defeatism and surrender. It is, therefore, urgently necessary to appreciate the causes which led to the present suspension and formulate directions of future advance.

The present suspension is under no circumstances as concession to those people who wanted to stick to merely constitutional modes of approach and therefore deprecated direct action. The State Congress has not wound up the weapon of satyagraha for ever. It is merely put in the sheath now to use it at a later date with greater effectiveness. The movement has not been suspended now because of any lack of mass support or because there was any danger of its fizzling out in the near future.

On the contrary, at the end of the two months' Satyagraha, it is infinitely more strong, more rich, more popular than ever before. The people have recognised the State Congress as their organisation, voicing their civic and political aspirations. Tens of thousands have heard the message of the State Congress during the last two months. Thousands have flocked to the meeting organised by the Congress in defiance of the Government ban. Hundreds have courted arrest and imprisonment under its inspiring banner and today there are still 2,500 volunteers willing to go to jails and suffer tortures to vindicate the status of the State Congress as the only popular political organisation in the State. In the course of the last two months the movement has widened its base and frontiers and instead of one, there were three zones from which satyagraha was being offered when the movement was suspended a week ago. The movement has not been confined to the urban areas only. Volunteers have gone to the villages and interpreted the message of the State Congress in terms of the need of the masses. Batches of sayagrahis had just begun to penetrate the interior and offer satyagraha there when the stop came. Villagers too specially availed themselves of the railway concessions to visit the towns where the ban against the Congress was being defied. The widespread discontent, desire to resist the Government oppression, became evident when the call was given to defy the ban on an all State scale on the Congress Days and on the Anti Ordinance Day. Hundreds were arrested on a single day and the call of the State Congress was responded to in all places. These certainly were not signs of a flagging, unpopular movement. If anything, they showed that the movement could continue for many more months with increasing vigour and popular support and would ultimately be victorious. The reasons which led to the present suspension were entirely different.

The State Congress was forced to launch the present satyagraha to vindicate its character as a non-violent political organisation in the State voicing the political and economic demands of the people. The Government had banned its formation dubbing it a communal organisation. Statements and negotiations making the position of the State Congress clear were of no avail with the Government which had made up its mind to crush a political organisation on the plea of communalism. The Government took its stand on the fact that the majority of the office bearers of the State Congress Provisional Committee were Hindus. The enrolled membership was also preponderantly Hindu. These were facts which were undisputed and undeniable. The organisers of the State Congress did not make any secret of them. In a State whose population is preponderantly Hindus 87 % and where the Government shows a marked bias in favour of the Muslims, it was but natural and inevitable that the 1st expression of political discontent should come from mainly the Hindus. By careful propaganda, instilling in the minds of the credulous listeners the ideal of a Muslim Raj and by granting a preponderant influence to the Muslims in the State Services the Government had and still has effectively silenced any murmur of discontent that may rise from the Muslim masses. The educated middle class which finds its fortunes and future settled in some Government post or the other has at present no interest in a political struggle and has, therefore, kept aloof with a few honourable exceptions from the State Congress whose membership at this stage is predominantly confined to the educated classes. Nevertheless, there have been a few noble examples of even the Muslims and Sikh having joined the satyagraha. There is a Muslim who occupies a leading position in the organisation. Given the time and an unhampered field to work the State Congress would have proved to the hilt its *bona fides* as a non-communal organisation interested mainly in the major problem of civil liberties and responsible Government. But that was not to be. The whole issue was clouded and confused by the action of the two other organisations, outspokenly communalist, which also sought to fight for their sectional demands by resorting to satyagraha almost contemporaneously.

Satyagraha is a weapon new to the people of Hyderabad State. They have not seen before such open yet peaceful defiance of Governmental authority. They have not witnessed before this readiness to sacrifice for a noble cause. And the demand for religious freedom for which the Hindu Mahasabha and the Aryan Defence League are fighting strikes a responsive chord in their hearts, for the people—the oppressed people—let us repeat, happen to be predominantly Hindu. Naturally, therefore, in the public mind the State Congress and other communal organisations begin to be confused. The distinctive character of the State Congress seems to be lost sight of. The popular mind confuses its purely political programme with the religious demands which the other organisation have put forward and which they support. This is not only the case with the mass of the people but such ideological confusion reigns in the minds of some State Congress workers also. It was necessary and urgent, therefore, to remove the confusion before the movement took in a more grim and

determined character. The suspension might give us the breathing spell during which this educative task could be carried out. The suspension might also give the Government a chance to reevaluate its position in the light of the events of the last two months during which the two tendencies, the highly communal and the purely political represented by the State Congress, have begun to be polarised for anyone to see. The Government may realise the mistake of its former judgement and lift the ban against the State Congress. If this is not done soon and if our comrades behind the bars are also not released immediately, there is no doubt that the movement shall be revived with greater vigour and determination.

The Aryan League conference at Sholapur, the Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Nagpur and the Muslim League at Patna have all come close upon each other and have proved the wisdom of suspending the State Congress movement at this stage. If the Hindu communal organisations and the Muslim communal organisations make Hyderabad State their battleground to fight out their communal quarrels the outlook for the State is very gloomy indeed ! Communal riots will break out and the loss of men and money and the disorganisation of the normal life can better be imagined than described. This will neither help any understanding between the two great communities, will it redound to the credit of the 'premier' State of India. By conceding to the demand of the State Congress the Government will be allowing to function legally the only organisation in the State which stands above all communities and whose declared purpose is to bring about communal harmony. If once an organisation of such type is allowed to grow it will build up a healthy public life round which the enlightened of all communities will gather and give their best for the development of the State.

The State Congress has taken a bold step in suspending the movement at this stage. It requires courage to stop fight in which one is doing well for larger considerations. The State Congress has suspended the present struggle with a view to minimise any tension which may arise due to the interested and false propaganda of agencies which glorify in heightening the communal differences. Even though the appeal and programme of the State Congress is entirely on a political plane, misunderstanding and confusion regarding its actual role and objective are rampant in the minds of the ignorant people which cannot easily distinguish between the two or three satyagrahas that are going on in the State. This lack of clarity regarding the programme and purpose of the Congress are to be found in the minds of some workers also. The period of suspension shall be used primarily to remove this confusion and reassert the position of the State Congress as the only political organisation in the State.

How long will this period of suspension continue? The working committee of the State Congress which suspended the movement has not put any time-limit. But the objective conditions do set a limit. We have a heavy weight on our conscience. Hundreds of our comrades are behind the bars today at the call of the Congress. The State Congress cannot allow them to riot in jail indefinitely. Further the present halt is called primarily to give the Government a chance to revise its decision. If the Government does not see the wisdom of doing so the State Congress cannot on waiting limitlessly. It will have to restart the satyagraha for the assertion of its position and the consequences will rest on the shoulders of the Government. Meanwhile, we cannot rest on our oars but have to rebuild our ranks, take stock of our situation, muster and increase our strength and remedy those weaknesses which the movement has exposed. We have to be ready at all times to receive a blow or to offer a fight.

The two months of struggle have impressed upon us the need of organising a base of our struggle in the villages. Without peasants in our fight our movement has no backbone. A mighty State with vast financial and military resources with press and propoganda machinery in its hands cannot be forced to concede anything in the way of responsible Government, without the insistent pressure from all stratas of society. Those stratas have to be united, brought under one banner of the State Congress and the economic and political needs of each class incorporated in the programme of the Congress. This task must be undertaken right now during the month or so of suspension so that if the fight has to be renewed after this short period of suspension we shall not be found wanting.

STATE CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

A proposed suspension of Satyagraha of the Hyderabad State Congress the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress has released the following press statement clarifying the situation and pointing out why suspension was decided upon.

“The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress after great deliberation has decided upon a temporary suspension of Satyagraha, which was launched recently and which has already resulted in the imprisonment of more than 400 satyagrahis. The sentences range from 1 month to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.”

The public would like to know the reasons that have prompted this decision. The State Congress has come in for a great deal of misrepresentation. It has been called a communal body. Its activities have been confused by others with those of the Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. Unfortunately the movements of the Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union synchronised with the civil disobedience of the State

Congress. The decisive cause in suspension has been the advice given by Mahatmaji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders, that in order to make our position absolutely clear it was essential that we should suspend civil disobedience. They say that suspension would give the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam an opportunity to review the situation. We could not disregard the advice of the leaders whose sympathy and support are always a valuable asset in the conduct of the struggle for Swaraj within the State.

We suspend civil disobedience in the hope that it will not need to be revived. But whether it will have to be revived and if so when, will depend wholly upon the State authorities. It is not without a wrench that we are suspending the struggle when more than 400 of our comrades are undergoing imprisonments varying from 2 months to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. We have more than 3,500 person on our list as volunteers for civil disobedience. The list is daily increasing. Every fresh arrest brings in an addition to the list. We have had embarrassing offers of the volunteers from outside. We have been obliged to decline the offers as we realise that the movement in order to remain strictly non-violent must depend internal strength and support.

But we have no desire to use our strength and undergo suffering ; we can achieve our end through negotiation and entreaty. We hope thereby that the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam will recognize the wholly peaceful and loyal motive underlying the suspension. We hope that they will release the Civil Disobedience prisoners and lift the ban on the State Congress and its activities and pave the way to the inauguration of a scheme of Responsible Government consistently with reasonable safeguards for the rights of the minorities.

Here we wish to draw the attention of our people that there are two arms to a non-violent Swaraj movement. The remedial and the constructive Civil Disobedience is remedial and therefore in its nature temporary. The other is constructive and permanent. We hope that the people will never lose sight of the permanent arm. Indeed our fitness for Civil Disobedience increases in the same measure as the intensity of our constructive programme. The constructive activities include hand-spinning, hand-weaving and like productive pursuits, activities promoting heart-unity between the different communities composing the subjects of H. E. H. the Nizam, removal of untouchability, total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and kindred reforms. For a non-violent movement for gaining freedom must necessarily be a process of purification and of social and economic reform.

No one should run away with the idea that suspension of civil disobedience is suspension of the movement for responsible Government. Indeed, its constructive nature should be doubly strengthened because suspension of civil disobedience frees the mind for constructive work.

In conclusion, we hereby thank all those friends who have helped us with advice and material assistance.

* * *

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**K. M. Ansari to A. C. Stewart, Under Secretary to
Resident of Hyderabad**

(Date unknown)

I am directed to request that the attention of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar may be invited to the situation which has arisen as a result of the establishment at Pusad of a centre from which Jathas are being despatched into this State.

The statement enclosed gives particulars of the various Jathas, recently arriving from the Central Provinces from which it will be seen that the largest Jathas have been based on Pusad.

I am to point out in the first place that in none of these instances in previous intimation known to have been received from the authorities of the Central Provinces either by the Government or locally and that His Exalted Highness' officers have to pick up information as best as they can. His Exalted Highness' Government feels that, as a matter of comity, such information should be given to it. If elaborate arrangements, such as were made by the Yeotmal district authorities on the 5th May, were necessary for the despatch of a Jatha of over 500, how much more were arrangements necessary for the reception by the State authorities of so large a number.

His Exalted Highness' Government is informed that on this same occasion a gathering of some 10,000 people took place on the north bank of the river Penganga, the scene resembling that of a jatra; that a tent had been pitched for the district authorities and one for the leader who was staging a send off for the Satyagrahis. Although it is understood that none of the ten thousand advanced beyond the boundary line in the river bed but remained massed behind the line of Berar police, it needs no emphasis that such a gathering holds serious potentialities for trouble, and that for instance had His Exalted Highness' Government given orders that the Jatha should be prevented from entering its limits, if necessary by the use of force a situation might have arisen in which both the people and police of Berar might have been involved, a result which the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar would no doubt deplore as much as would the Government of His Exalted Highness.

The political or other motive which may actuate the movement of these Jathas is not relevant to the matter at issue. But in the opinion of His Exalted Highness' Government the organised movement of would be Satyagrahis on this scale, most of them complete strangers to the Deccan and totally ignorant of its people's customs and language, is a travesty of non-violent agitation and an immediate danger to the tranquillity of the countryside of these Dominions. Were such Jathas credulous that members of which have been worked up to a pitch by propaganda in their own provinces and by violent speeches in Berar of which the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar no doubt has records, were they allowed to proceed and, as would necessarily happen were they to scatter, there is little doubt that serious breaches of the peace would occur, as has already happened where Jathas have eluded the vigilance of the police.

Nor does His Exalted Highness' Government feel it necessary to emphasis that such demonstrations in force accompanied by harangues by political leaders aimed at the administration of His Exalted Highness' Government, must tend to disturb the relations existing between the people on either side of the boundary. It is unnecessary to remind the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar that the people of Berar are also the subjects of His Exalted Highness.

But His Exalted Highness' Government does not wish to base this letter on the fact that in this case the two units are a Province and a State, or that the law has provided special protection for a state or that in view of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, special considerations arise. The principle at issue exists quite apart from these factors and it is this, that the units of which India is composed whatever theories of administration they may follow, must co-operate in maintaining law and order. The violation of boundaries by these Jathas belongs to the technique of coercion, and, if such precedents were widely followed, chaos would result. His Exalted Highness' Government for its part will not permit its territory to be used for such purposes, but it expects reciprocal treatment.

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Lala Khushalchand's Statement

Sholapur, 22 March 1939.

Lala Khushalchandji Khursand, Third Dictator, Arya Satyagraha, has issued the following statement, before proceeding towards Hyderabad (Dn.) to offer satyagraha :—

“Three thousand and five hundred brave Arya Volunteers have courted the jails in the Moghlai State, and today on the holy Lunar New Year Day, celebrated throughout Maharashtra as an auspicious day of rejoining and reunion, I go to join them with 200 more satyagrahis, to demonstrate to the Nizam's Government the determination of the Arya Samaj not to rest content till it has secured its religious demands. No cajoling and to coaxing ; no sweet promises of coming “Reforms” will deflect us from our struggle. No threats of increased repression, no acts of violence will ever keep us back from the non-violent fight. I reiterate that nothing except the complete and full acceptance of our demands will satisfy us. And I take this opportunity to declare that we shall cease our battle when we have won our fight.”

“Malicious propaganda against the Arya Samaj is being carried on obviously under State inspiration. Handbills in the Indian languages of the State the selfsame languages which the State is chary in recognising in its schools—and over signatures of patently fictitious Hindu names, are being broadcast at Hindu religious fairs and Jattras at many places. To the insinuation that the Arya Samaj is antagonistic and inimical to Hindus and Hindu interests, a fitting reply has been given by Shri Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath, Badrinath, who not only refutes such a statement but also has been pleased to issue a communique assuring the Arya of his sympathy and help in the Satyagraha. Further to prove, if proof were needed, that the sanatanists and other Hindus are one and belong to one indivisible fold, he has blessed the movement and identified himself and his order with the movement and has also deputed his followers to join us.”

“The suppressed voice of the oppressed millions of Hindus of the Nizam’s State is now being but feebly heard. It has just become audible in the rumbling protests from every corner of the State against the tyranny of mediaeval theocracy and it will not be long before the voice of the people is raised in thunderous unison, demanding their long denied rights, and it can never be silenced hereafter.”

“Yet another surprise awaits the officialdom of the Hyderabad Freedom movement is merely “an engineered agitation” by outsiders. Hundreds of State subjects have, after successfully evading the ubiquitous spies of the Nizam’s Govt., joined the Satyagraha. Thousands inside the State are preparing themselves and are keeping themselves in readiness.”

“Denial of elementary civil liberties, and religious and political rights, has indeed brought the Nizam’s State to the forefront among the irresponsible autocracies in India. But an awakened and resurgent people will not be denied their rights for long now. While the Provinces of India are progressing towards democracy and independence, the State cannot expect to continue their feudal autocracies. The State must come into alignment with other parts of India. There is and can be no other future for them. Sooner this is realised the better it is for the States and their rulers.”

“Hindus of every caste and shade of opinion from every corner of India have extended their support to the Hyderabad movement, as it affects the Hindu community as a whole. Already the State jails are filling, and to the hundreds that are now in there, will come thousands from every corner of the State borders and crowd out the jails of the State. They will come hereafter, old and young, student and Sanyasin, by rail and road—not in scores but in thousands to demonstrate that the Hindus of India are with their brethren of the State in their fight for freedom. We will win and that sooner than many imagine ; for, our cause is just and right. We fight with non-violence our weapon against the organised might of religious oppression. We fight with full faith in the success of our mission. We fight for the establishment of the Vedic Dharma and we shall win because God is on our side,”

KHUSHALCHAND.

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Satyagrahis from Central Provinces

(Note by K. M. Ansari)

(1) On 31-3-1939 a batch of 47 Satyagrahis from Pusad offered Satyagraha at Kothala, P. S. Hadgaon, Nanded District.

(2) On 3-4-1939 a batch of 8 Satyagrahis from Amraoti and Nagpur offered Satyagraha at Rajura, Asifabad District.

(3) On 7-4-1939 a batch of 10 from Nagpur offered Satyagraha at Sirpur, Asifabad District.

(4) On 14-4-1939 a batch of 77 Satyagrahis from Pusad offered Satyagraha at Kothala, P. S. Hadgaon, Nanded District.

(5) On 19-4-1939 a batch of 30 persons from Nagpur visited Asifabad District via Balharshah offered Satyagraha.

(6) On 22-4-1939 a batch of 127 Satyagrahis from Pusad visited Nanded via Hadgaon and offered Satyagraha.

(7) On 1-5-1939 a batch of 19 Satyagrahis visited Rajura, Asifabad District, from Balharshah and offered Satyagraha.

(8) On 5-5-1939 a batch of 515 from Pusad entered the state near Hadgaon and offered Satyagraha.

(9) On 22-5-1939 a batch of 211 by the same route.

Total—1,044

Vande Mataram Agitation

The "Vande Mataram" agitation arose because the Hindu students in the Osmania University hostels were prohibited from singing the **Vande Mataram** song on the ground that it was 'of a political and controversial nature'. It 'hurt the feelings' of non-Hindu students even though sung in a closed prayer hall. The Osmania University issued an order prohibiting the recital of the song. The prohibitory order was bound to be violated by the students. Consequently the students were thrown out of the hostel and they were suspended from attending the college classes and scholarships and freeships granted to them were cancelled. About 1,200 Hindu students were struck off the rolls of their respective institutions in the State. A wave of indignation spread all over the territory. There were demonstrations and sympathetic strikes. But the merciless Government did not yield. The majority of the students had to migrate to the Nagpur University to prevent one year of their life being wasted. Actually the students were prepared to subject themselves to reasonable conditions. Almost all political organisations and educationists in India protested, and even Mahatma Gandhi threw his weight in favour of the demand of the students. But the Hyderabad Government dashed all hopes to the ground.

Govindbhai Shroff had a strong hold on the student community in Aurangabad. He possessed strong political views with Communist leanings but was a protagonist of the Gandhian ideals in politics. It was he who had sown the seeds of **Vande Mataram** agitation in Aurangabad. He had among his collaborators Purushottam Hari Patwardhan, a well-known political agitator from Ahmadnagar; S. K. Vaishampayan and Achyut Ganesh Deshpande who was once deported from the Bombay Presidency for revolutionary political activity. When the **Vande Mataram** agitation was at its height, the Collector of Aurangabad was obliged to consult Govindbhai Shroff on the issue. The latter very emphatically advised the authorities that it was in the best interests of the students as well as the Government to withdraw the ban on **Vande Mataram**, to undo victimisation of students and to redress the various grievances of students. Many students went on hunger strikes and suffered tortures and humiliation. This wrangle became protracted and many students had to migrate to the Nagpur,

Madras and Bombay Universities. Even the high school students were obliged to go out of the State. But the Government did not budge an inch from its stand and insisted that unless the students express regret for their conduct they would not be re-admitted. The migrating students were denied migration certificates. The Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Akbar Hydari, went to the extent of requesting the Governor of Central Provinces and Berar to expel the students who had migrated to the Nagpur University. Fortunately the Nagpur University refused to oblige him. This battle continued for long. (K. K. Chaudhari, Maharashtra and Indian Freedom Struggle, pp. 109-10).

Editor

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Vande Mataram and Nizam's Government*(V. R. Tuljapurkar's Bulletin, 18 Jan. 1939)*

It is nearly three months since three different Associations have launched Civil Disobedience Movement in the Hyderabad State, in order to achieve Civil Liberties. I have already placed before the public and Government, through three pamphlets regarding the defects underlying the launching of this movement in a haste. Similarly I deem it my duty to place before the Government and public clearly the circumstances created on account of the ban placed upon the *Vande Mataram* song sung by the Hindu students as a prayer in the Hostel attached to the College by the University authorities and also on account of the strike called by the students. A consideration on the point will show that Government have been faulty in putting a ban on the *Vande Mataram* song and that is the opinion I have formed when we glance at the history that has happened in that connection.

In fact, although the Hostel is managed by the University, but it does never come under the control and educational programme of the University. The Hostel is purely managed by the funds collected by the students residing in it. The furnishing of students for the College, depends upon the number of students coming from outside towns. Guardians of the students fear that in case they send their children to the City for College education, their morals will be affected if they are allowed to remain independently, and in order to accomplish this end and also to get sufficient number of students for College education, the system of running a Hostel on behalf of the University under the supervision of a Professor of the College had been brought into vogue.

The internal management of the Hostel is being carried on by the Board of the Selected Members independently selected from the students of the Hindu-Muslim Unions, and in order to carry on their mental, physical, social and every day routine programme, there is a play-ground, Library and a prayer Hall independently attached to it. It is the moral duty of the Professor appointed to supervise over the Hostel to see that the above programmes are smoothly and correctly carried on. He should also see that the morals and fraternal feelings among the students are well developed.

In short, the whole programme of the Hostel is a part of the private life of the students. The University has no authority to interfere with this moral and private routine. Under these circumstances, the attitude adopted by the University authorities in placing a ban upon the *Vande Mataram* song sung by the Hindu Students in their independent Prayer Hall, in honour of their motherland and also not giving any consideration when requested by the students that the order passed banning them from singing was unreasonable, but on the other hand, asking them to leave the Hostel and the College on the charge that the order banning them to sing, was not carried out, and they did not put forth their apologies brings disgrace to the University and at the same it is undoubtedly unreasonable.

The important feature of this is that recently the Hindu students of the Aurangabad College Hostel were prohibited from singing the same *Vande Mataram* song, but the ban was immediately withdrawn by Government on account of the representation made on behalf of the students. In spite of this fresh example being before the Muhammadan students of the Hostel and the University authorities, the Muhammadan students of the Hyderabad Hostel have again taken objection to the *Vande Mataram* song, and in order to gratify their whims and fancies, the University authorities also have given a political colour to such a simple affair as that of a *Vande Mataram* song sung in the Hostel, although this action of theirs does not come under the category of administration or policy but it smacks of autocracy *i. e.* what we do, is law. To ban a song of prayer that was once permitted and to support it against the fact that it was once permitted is a practical proof to show that the tendency of the head of the Educational department who holds its portfolio is not endowed with virtue of impartial feeling towards Hindus and Muhammadans alike, and Government also is wavering in its policy to support such tendencies. It is my firm and honest opinion that the policy adopted by Government will sow the seeds of suspicion in the minds of the future young generation regarding its partial policy towards the Hindus and Muhammadans and will create a sense of disrespect towards them.

In order to run the above Educational Institution, the Local Fund cess collected by Government includes the educational cess also which has been collected for the past fifty or sixty years and it is being collected now also. Funds in the shape of College fee also are being collected. Under such circumstances such an indifference adopted by Government with regard to the public proves the want of justice and far-sightedness on part of Government. On such an occasion the want of public representation in the Osmania University Board similar to that of the British administration to ventilate all the grievances of the public and matters calling for justice is very keenly felt. In future, it seems essential that such a demand should be made from Government by the public to introduce this reform.

In conclusion, it is requested that Government should take immediate steps to lift the ban on *Vande Mataram*. At the same time Government should also declare to re-admit something like four to five hundred students in the College unconditionally who have been rusticated by the Osmania University and who in spite of their bitter economic conditions had to leave their State and take refuge in the Nagpur University of another Province in order to continue their further studies. Not only this, it will also be in conformity with justice to allow them the expenses they have borne in going over to Nagpur due to the unjustifiable attitude adopted by Government. At the same time I suggest to the public that in case Government gives a deaf ear to this case public should make a constitutional representation to the Government to appoint a Judicial Commission in order to get justice. I sincerely hope that both the public and Government will give a due consideration to this suggestion of mine.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Vande Mataram Students*(Harijan, 22 July 1939)*

Some students in Hyderabad complain that my note on *Vande Mataram* has created confusion in their minds. They read an extract from it in some local papers from which the words 'at a mixed gathering' were omitted so as to leave the impression that it was not to be sung even in gatherings of their own, though such an interpretation was absurd. I was being quoted in support of the contention that the students should not be allowed to sing *Vande Mataram* in their own rooms or their prayer hall set apart for their section who had not only 'no objection' but who regarded it as part of their prayer to sing it. My note is quite plain. If at any mixed gathering any person objected to the singing of *Vande Mataram* even with the Congress expurgations, the singing should be dropped. But it was never intended to apply to gatherings in which there was no objection raised. Such an objection would amount to interference unlawful and intolerant. If objections could be carried to such lengths, even the performance of religious worship would become impossible. And I know that for many patriots the singing of *Vande Mataram* amounts to a religious duty.

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Vande Mataram Movement

Syed Mohinuddin, Principal, Intermediate College, Aurangabad Dn.

Telegram

17 Nov. 1938.

Your telegram dated sixteenth, any action you propose to take in the interests of your College will be strongly supported. Government cannot allow *Vande Mataram* to be sung in hostel or boys to remain on hunger strike on premises after due warning and persuasion. Taluqdar being instructed to give you all assistance in his power.

Mehdi Yar Jung

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Barkatrai, First T. tuqdar, Aurangabad Dn.

Telegram

17 Nov. 1938.

Hunger strike reported in Aurangabad College, Government have sent instructions to Principal, please give him all support in your power particularly regarding advice to parents of boys living in villages not to allow their sons careers to be ruined by persistence in hunger strike or other acts of indiscipline DSP to be informed to keep in touch.

Crofton

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Azhar Hasan's Reply to Students' Appeal

With reference to the application dated the 4th January 1939 submitted to his Excellency the President, on behalf of the old boys of the Osmania University, I regret to inform you that after the careful consideration of the points raised in the application, the University authorities find themselves unable to enter into any compromise about the singing of the Vande Mataram owing to its being a recent innovation and to its controversial nature. They are also averse to the proposal for the provision of separate hostels for Hindu-Muslims as this is likely to weaken the harmonious relation existing between Hindus and Muslims in the University, the existence of which has attracted the attention of many visitors to the University and which have now been disturbed by activities engineered by parties not loyal to the State.

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Secretary, People's Educational Conference to Akbar Hydari

28 July 1939.

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Standing Committee dated 24th July 1939, I have the honour to lay before your Excellency the following few lines for kind consideration and prompt action.

The members of Standing Committee of the People's Educational conference of Hyderabad regret to find that the deadlock in the Osmania University and other Government educational institutions in the State has not come to a happy end, although long time has elapsed. Whatever be the immediate causes for the Hindu students, which led them to resort to the extreme method of protest and whatever be the motives of the authorities concerned in banning the prayer, the affair has now to be judged, in all its bearings, from the point of view, viz., how to achieve harmonious working in the Government educational institutions in the State, by engendering a proper spirit, so that self-respecting citizens might be brought up in free, healthy academic atmosphere. The students have so far shown remarkable unity, restraint and courage and they have kept an open mind for amicable settlement and they have themselves suggested various alternatives by which their right to sing a prayer of their choice, in their exclusive gathering might be assured to them ; without giving any opportunity for reasonable complaint. But the Committee regret to find that no agreed solution has as yet been arrived at, perhaps the Government are not inclined to come to terms with boys, as such, as long as they are out ; and the boys on their part, sincerely believe that by rejoining the University unconditionally, they will not only be accused of giving up a just cause, but they will indirectly be instrumental in encouraging unequal treatment, and disregard for Hindu sentiments and Hindu culture in future. The recent communique issued by the Government in this respect, is not encouraging as the Committee is constrained to observe that, the Policy of the Government in educational matters has not been satisfactory and sympathetic in general so far.

The appointment of a Statutory Committee, conceived and carried out in the spirit of the present Secondary Education Board, cannot be expected to lead to the desired results and it would not at all be just and proper that the present glaring defects in the educational policy should continue any longer, till the new order of things is actually set in motion. The members feel that it would not be proper to collude the real issue on political or administrative grounds and the Vande Mataram episode, if not amicably settled, will go down to history as a glaring example of discriminatory treatment, based on superiority and inferiority complex, and thus hamper the goal of unity, by widening the gulf between the two communities. The Committee notices with grave concern the reported assaults on Hindu students, on their way to or in the very premises of, the Government schools, at Nizamabad, Hingoli and Parbhani and the manner in which they were dealt with by the Government.

In view of the declaration of the Statutory Education Board the members of the Committee appeal to the Government to create a proper atmosphere for co-operation by removing the ban on Vande Mataram and by immediately removing glaring defects and thereby assuring justice and equality. The members feel it their duty also to appeal to the Council of Action of the Hindu students, not to take any further direct action in this matter, till the matter is in the present atmosphere, kindly reconsidered by the Government. The Committee prays that the matter should be carefully and sympathetically considered and the deadlock should be brought to a happy end.

Students of Aurangabad College to Their Principal

3 Dec. 1938.

We the students of Osmania Intermediate College of Aurangabad wish to put before you for kind consideration the following few facts.

It was a shocking news to us to note that 130 student-brethren have been rusticated from the Osmania University, Hyderabad. Never in history of student life of any country such an incident has happened. Also 120 students from Mahaboobnagar have gone on hunger-strike. Students of City College and other Colleges have gone on a sympathetic strike.

In face of these circumstances we consider it our bounden duty to express our sympathy with those students who have been effaced out from the student-life by such an action as this. We must express our solidarity with those 130 students who have been removed from the educational institutions and with those Mahaboobnagar students who are on hunger-strike.

In consideration of these facts we are going on a sympathetic strike tomorrow Sunday 4th December. Nothing can deter us from taking this step because it is a cause of student community in general. It is a lot of 130 students today, tomorrow it may be that the same stroke of pen may seal the fate of the whole student community of Hyderabad State. We wish to protest against this uncalled for drastic step taken by the educational authorities. Let it be clear that our strike is mainly a sympathetic strike.

An Appeal Issued By The Students of Aurangabad

130 students have been rusticated from the Osmania University. Has it ever happened in the pages of history that with a stroke of pen the fate of so many students have been sealed? Is it not a great disaster on our student-brethren's life?

At Mahaboobnagar 130 students are on hunger-strike. Their life is at stake. Students of different colleges numbering to 1000, have gone on a sympathetic strike. Is it not our time to act?

Will you allow the ruination of the life of 130 students? Can we allow our Mahaboobnagar brothers to end their lives through hunger-strike? We cannot allow the freedom of speech and action to be smothered in this fashion. It is an insult on humanity's love of self-respect if we allow this injustice to pass off.

If we through our weakness allow the desires of so many students to be put down by irresponsible authority, it would be impossible for a student to ventilate his individual grievance. On the other hand this action of degeneration in our ranks shall give the irresponsible bosses to steamroll the student community on masses.

"It is not life that matters but the courage we bring in it". To redress the grievances of our brothers we should give our active support by observing one day sympathetic strike on Sunday the 4th December 1938. Request your friends to boycott the schools and Colleges on Sunday because it is not the cause of one or two but a cause of a whole big number of 130. Further action shall be thought over after due developments.

It is understood that the general strike of students in sympathy for our brothers is taking place throughout the State.

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Confidential Letter of Qazi Muhammad Hus, Pro-Vice Chancellor of Osmania University to Secretary, Education Department

27 Jan. 1940.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter Nos. 778, 779, 780 dated the 6th Isfandar and No. 803 dated the 10th Isfandar 1349 F. forwarding to me copies of the reports of the Commissioner of Police regarding activities of various groups of Hindu students and others and to observe that the behaviour of such students is being carefully watched and disciplinary action will be taken whenever found necessary, so that the contagion may not spread to others. I have also to state that two of the men, Narendra Dutt and V. D. Deshpande, whose names are repeatedly mentioned in these reports are no longer on the rolls of this University and as their machinations are likely to have an undesirable effect on the students, due action should be taken by Govt. to circumscribe the activities of these men and also of others such as Swami Ramanand Tirth *etc.* who are trying to make tools of the students in furthering their political propaganda.

Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University Admits Expelled Students from Hyderabad

(Hindu, 17 January 1939)

Four hundred and seventy-two students from Hyderabad have so far come to Nagpur and the question of their admission in the several colleges of the province is under the consideration of the authorities. It is learnt that the Provincial Government have expressed their full sympathy and extended their co-operation to the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University in dealing with the question of admission of these students.

The Executive Council of the University has appointed a Committee to examine the course of study of the Hyderabad students and it is likely that they will be examined in their own course this year about August or September.

VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS : Addressing the students from Hyderabad Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, paid a tribute to the Executive Council of the University for the worthy step taken in consenting to admit these students.

It could not be connived, said Mr. Kedar, that the song, *Vande Mataram*, meant any offence to any community or implied any annoyance to those who followed other creeds. From personal experience he could say that, during the last twenty years, people of all shades of opinion and following other creeds had shown respect for the song. It was only in the last two years or so that objection had been taken to it on the ground that it encouraged idolatrous belief. Mr. Kedar asserted that he had read the song carefully and could emphatically declare that it did nothing of the kind. Assuming that it did, continued Mr. Kedar, there was no reason why people professing other faiths and creeds should not respect such beliefs. He remembered distinctly that Sir. Hyde Gowan, late Governor of the Central Provinces, stood up with the audience when the song was sung. Showing respect to others' sentiments was not the same thing as sharing them.

Continuing, Mr. Kedar said that the problem before the University was whether the singing of song, which was not an offence in this Province should be treated as an offence for the students expelled by another University. This University had no room for political or religious persuasions. It had considered the case of these students from the academical stand-point, free from any political or communal considerations. One thing which appealed to the University, was the genuineness of the desire of the students to acquire knowledge and prosecute their studies. The University could not refuse admission to them, consistent with the purpose for which it existed.

Concluding, Mr. Kedar appealed to the students to be not only worthy products of their Alma Mater but worthy citizens of their own native State, with tolerance for all and hatred for none.

* * *

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Registrar, Osmania University to Registrar, Nagpur University

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 2232, dated the 1st April 1939, and to state in reply that the authorities of Osmania University have noted with satisfaction the enquiry in the last paragraph of the letter, which seems to suggest that the admission of these expelled students to the Nagpur University is still an open question. I am to point out, however, that this enquiry would have been more appreciated had it been made when the expelled students or their sympathisers approached your Vice-Chancellor for their admission to the Colleges affiliated to your University, or even before the meeting of your Executive Council on the 17th January 1939, when their provisional admission was decided upon and several important measures were adopted to facilitate their admission.

The circumstances in which the names of such of these students as were in residence were removed from the rolls of the Osmania University have been fully stated in the official Press Communique issued on December 1, 1938, to which it may be added that the parents and guardians of these boarders were informed that unless their wards expressed regret for their conduct and returned to the hostels within a week, their names would be removed from the rolls of the University. It may also be added that as a result of intensive picketing by the boarders and their sympathisers' most of the Hindu day-scholars also went on a sympathetic strike immediately afterwards. Their parents and guardians were also similarly informed and the names of those who did not return to the University within the period fixed were removed.

From the facts stated above it will be observed that the students in question were expelled for a gross breach of discipline in defying the explicit orders of the authorities which were passed in the interests of maintaining communal harmony in the University.

It will be now for the Nagpur University to decide if in these circumstances these students should be admitted by them and in doing so to weigh the effects of their decision on the future of these students.

At the same time this University has not closed its own doors against their return.

HCP-352-A-29

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Report of Superintendent of Special Branch on *Vande Mataram*

27 Oct. 1939.

I understand on a reliable authority that the Hindu students of the Osmania University who had struck on the issue of *Vande Mataram* and who recently had decided to rejoin the Colleges, consequent to patching up of differences, have given currency to the rumour that despite the promise of change of heart and no victimization or subjection to any humiliation given by the College authorities and the Government, the pro-Vice-Chancellor is insisting upon individual written apologies by the students before they rejoin the Colleges. This mischievous rumour has, I learn, led to hesitancy on the part of many Hindu students who had decided to rejoin Colleges. The more dissatisfied and agitative section of the students are said to be contemplating to exploit this as a means to rally up agitation once again. This time, it is said, they will resort to a 'stay-in' strike, *i. e.*, will not leave the College premises or the Hostel, until forcibly removed. Some of the extremist students are said to be envisaging the possibility of resumption of agitation at no very distant date, if the present humiliation by the College authorities continues.

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V. R. Tuljapurkar on Bahadur Yar Jung's Memorandum on the Independence of Nizam

(Date unknown)

"The memorandum sent by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung on behalf of the Ittehadul Muslimin to Sir Akbar, H. E. H. the Nizam's Chief Minister, has just been published. It contains certain constructive suggestions regarding measures that H. E. H. the Nizam's Government should take in order to achieve independence for Hyderabad soon after the present Great War and to maintain it for all time to come. His suggestion is as under :—

"The rule of the Asafia dynasty in the Hyderabad State was established in the year 1724 A. D. by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the principal ancestor of the said dynasty, as a result of his military achievements and conquests. The independence of Hyderabad has been accepted on all hands ever since. Later, when the British Empire came to be established, the Nizam entered into certain treaties with the British as an equal and in consistence with his independent status. Notwithstanding, the Nizam's Government

today is treated as a dependency. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have also been asked to demand recognition of independence firstly by removing the British Forces stationed in the State and to retrocede all those territories that were handed over to them in this connection. It has further been suggested that if the British Government was not prepared to recognize the independence of Hyderabad and thus remove the blot of vassalage, the Government of Hyderabad was not bound to help the British with the sinews of war and military resources. Ridiculously remarking that the war in which the British have been involved is a penalty that the British are paying for their democratic ideals and extensive imperialistic possessions, it has been suggested that assistance could be rendered to the British Government by the Nizam's Government only in the capacity of an independent State. With that end in view, countless arms and ammunition factories for the manufacture of war implements should be established in the Nizam's State. The Ittehadul Muslimin undertakes to supply experts *etc.*, for it in requisite numbers. As for joining the fighting forces, every Indian Muslim is spurring for it. The Ittehadul Muslimin agrees to undertake this responsibility and see it through. The Ittehadul Muslimin proposes to place at the disposal of the British Government till they need them and then to utilize them for the defence of the independence of and maintenance of peace in Hyderabad. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has stated as much very clearly and has asked that the amounts being paid by the Government to the British Government for assisting in their war effort and also the amounts in lakhs collected from the ryots should be handed over to the Ittehadul Muslimin Association for the purpose of establishing war implements and ammunition factories in the State. At this critical juncture when revolutionary forces themselves are crying to the Muslims "be independent, be independent" and every Muslim in India is awake and ready enough to respond to it, if the Nizam's Government will not stir themselves to avail of the golden opportunity, the Nizam's Government will have deserved condemnation by the entire Muslim world".

As a matter of fact, the treasury out of which the Nizam's Government are contributing lakhs to the war efforts is replenished by taxes, 90 per cent of the taxpayers being Hindus only. Further, not even a pie out of the rupees collected by way of war purpose funds such as the Hurricane Fund *etc.*, which run into lakhs, is paid by the Muslims. Does Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung imagine that if the Nizam's Government will hand over to the Ittehadul Muslimin, as demanded by them, all such amounts which are collected for war purposes principally from the Hindus for the purpose of raising Muslim armies and of manufacturing arms and ammunitions, the Hindus in the State will keep mum? Let me warn him that he will be disillusioned. Such action would involve treachery not only against the Hindus but against the British Government also. Let Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur not imagine that the Hindus and the British are not able to see through his game of making Hyderabad a strong military station and centre of Muslim power. The Nizam's Government will never succeed in their attempt to make of themselves an independent Muslim power. Their endeavours in this direction will only land them into further troubles. Let me warn Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur of this with all the emphasis at my command.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur maintains that an independent kingdom of Hyderabad was established by the principal ancestor of the Asafia dynasty in 1724 by sheer dint of his own prowess and military successes. We would like to draw his attention to a glaring act of history. History will bear me out when I say that in consequence of the weakening of the central Moghul power, the Governors of various Provinces assumed independent gubernatorial functions and began to govern as such. Taking advantage of the same state of affairs, Nizam-ul-Mulk also shook away his liveried robes and became independent of the Moghul. To defend his independence against the Moghuls, Nizam-ul-Mulk paid on his own behalf the Sardeshmukhi Chowthai tribute to the Marathas, in the same way as the province was doing previously. Moreover, to win the sympathy and support of the 99 per cent Hindus of the Deccan Province, he conferred Watans and Inams on various learned Hindus and their centres of religion. The Jagirs *etc.*, that many intrepid Sardars, Jagirdars *etc.*, enjoyed were, with a view to secure their assistance in maintaining peace and order in the State, enhanced. Later during the establishment of the British Empire, the sovereignty of the British was accepted in the year 1796-97 A. D. by agreeing to accept a British Resident in their State and to maintain contingent armies and hand over certain territories to them towards payment of their expenditure. But even then the prevailing state of affairs referred to above was in no way altered. Far from that, instances of Jagirdars enjoying the said rights are available up to date. It is obvious therefore that the Asafia rule of the Hyderabad State is not indicative of Muslim power alone. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur must bear in mind that it was a joint state established on the basis of Hindu-Muslim co-operation and unity.

What strikes us most is this. Despite the aforesaid facts, Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, inspired by the ideal of turning Hyderabad into an independent Muslim State, is spreading disaffection leading to disturbance of the peace by creating Hindu-Muslim cleavage and openly challenging the British and H. E. H. the Nizam and yet the Police and the Defence of India Act are taking no notice of it. We are sure that H. E. H. the Nizam and the British will some day deal with Bahadur Yar Jung's rebellious preaching. Ye Hindus of the State ! You too must beware of the harmful consequences of such rebellion and prepare to safeguard yourselves against it.

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First Taluqdar of Aurangabad to Subhedar

20 Ard. 1348 F.

On the 13th Ardibhist, I had the honour of having an interview with H. Excellency the President of the Council. His Excellency inquired about the Hindu-Muslim fracas at Aurangabad and desired that a substantial proposal for the Bande Mataram problem may be sent.

Hence on my return the matter was referred to you and the principal of the College was consulted. It was proposed that Mr. Govinddas (Govindbhai Shroff) who holds a great influence over Aurangabad students, may be consulted. In your presence Mr. Govinddas gave the following proposal to the affair :—

- (1) Withdraw the ban.
- (2) Committee of action (Hyderabad) may be persuaded to give up the song in the Prayer Hall.
- (3) They should be allowed to sing in the Hindu social function of University.
- (4) No victimisation of students.
- (5) Grievances of the students to be inquired into by Government.

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Activities of Govindbhai Shroff and His Colleagues

(A Government Report, Undated)

Govind Das son of Mannu Lal, Gujarati Bania, aged about 30 years, is a resident of Kharakunwan, Aurangabad. His father was a Sahukar and has left him considerable property. He received his early education in the Intermediate College, Aurangabad and passed his Matriculation from the Chaderghat High School, Hyd., where he was awarded Gokhale Scholarship. After passing his F. Sc., from the Nizam College he went to Calcutta and took his B. Sc. (Hons.) Degree from there. He passed his M. Sc. and LL. B. examinations from the Ferguson College, Poona. In May 1937 his marriage took place at Moradabad (U. P.).

He is a man of strong political views with communist learnings and exercises great influence over the students. As a sequel to the execution of Bhagat Singh in 1931 he brought about a strike of the Saraswati Bhavan School, Aurangabad, which lasted for a week. Late he collected about 25 local boys at his house and organised a NAU JAWAN BHARAT SABHA at Aurangabad with the object of picketing Liquor and Foreign cloth shops and carrying on Khadi propaganda in the neighbouring villages. He advised the young men to bear silently all the hardships to which they might be subjected by the Government and its officials. In 1935 he met certain students of the Aurangabad College, exhorted them to discard western fashions and use Khaddar and remarked that Mr. Gandhi gave such a lead to Indian industries that the textile factories at Lancashire and Manchester received a several blow. He is in touch with Achyut Ganesh Deshpande of Ranjani, district Aurangabad who was once deported from the Bombay Presidency for his objectionable political activities.

After watching his objectionable activities for a considerable time, the Educational authorities finally dispensed with his services as a teacher in the Aurangabad College, on 9th November 1938.

On being dismissed from service he continued his activities with great enthusiasm, secretly identified himself with the Vande Mataram agitation and was found to be the guiding spirit in the following activities of the Hindu students of Aurangabad College in connection with Vande Mataram.

According to his instigations, the Hindu resident students of the Aurangabad College sang Vande Mataram on 14-11-38 in spite of having been warned not to do so, and on being ordered by the Principal submitted agreements to the effect that they would not sing Vande Mataram thereafter. On being instigated by Govind Das again they broke their promise by observing a hunger strike the next day only and broke their fast with great difficulty, on being advised by the Lecturers of the college.

State Congress satyagraha was started at Aurangabad on 20-11-38 and some of the students took part in it as instigated by Govind Das.

Satyagraha being stopped in December 1938, Govind Das again directed his attention towards Vande Mataram movement and began to persuade the students to observe a strike and absent themselves from their schools and College, with the result that the students commenced the strike from 17-12-38 and 300 out of a total of 375 students of the High School Section absented themselves. He also persuaded the students to go over to British India and join the Schools there. He was instrumental in bringing Purshottam Hari Patwardhan (a well-known political agitator of Ahmednagar and a Congressite who figured prominently in the civil disobedience movement in the Bombay Presidency) to Aurangabad and making him address a meeting of the students on 17-1-39 assuring them of necessary assistance in the matter of their education at Ahmednagar and Poona and advising them to stick to the bold stand they had taken.

In collaboration with Purshottam Hari Patwardhan he decided as a tentative measure that of the students of the High Schools Section, Aurangabad, those connected with the H. S. L. C. be sent to Yeola and those of the Osmania University High School to Ahmednagar. Accordingly 45 students left for Yeola on 22-2-39. Another batch consisting of 31 students left for Ahmednagar on 3-3-39 and were seen off by Govind Das and Achyut Ganesh Deshpande. They left amidst shouts of "Hindu tigers Zindabad," "Vande Mataram and Strikers' cause Zindabad".

In June 1939 he and S. K. Vaishampayan published a memorandum which they claimed to have prepared at a representative meeting of the citizens of Aurangabad. The memorandum made the following suggestions to Government :—

- (1) To lift the ban on the State Congress immediately and to welcome and seek the co-operation of the State Congress in regard to constitutional advancement.
- (2) To lift the ban on the Vande Mataram song and to assure the affected students that they would be readmitted in the various schools and colleges unconditionally and without any victimization.
- (3) To make an immediate declaration of the reforms with an assurance for the redress of all religious disabilities. The reforms should contain a declaration that Responsible Government on the lines of the proposals of the Hyderabad People's convention, with suitable modifications, would be the ultimate goal for the State.

(4) To grant freedom of speech and press and liberty, to repair or extend any religious building without permission and to preach freely the religion of his choice with due regard to the feelings of other communities.

(5) Conversions to be immediately stopped in view of the present atmosphere of distrust and illfeeling between the communities.

(6) To clear misunderstanding in certain quarters, Government should clearly enunciate that it is above all religions and has no religion of its own.

(7) To replace the present Ecclesiastical Department by a Committee of representatives of the different religions of the state to administer the properties of the different religious endowments.

(8) To form a Public Services Commission with a majority of non-official members, to select candidates on merit, so that the present malpractices such as nepotism *etc.*, be stopped.

(9) To make retrenchment in the services and a cut in the salaries of gazetted officers as the present administration was too costly which neither the services rendered nor the general economic condition of the people warranted.

(10) To assess the land revenue at half its present scale in view of the intermittent failure of the crops and fall in the prices of agricultural commodities.

(11) To remove the restrictions on private schools and to make primary education free and compulsory.

The Karnatak students, inspired by the expelled students of the Osmania University, decided to hold a Karnatak Students' Conference at Bidar on the occasion of the Hyderabad State Karnatak Conference which was to be held in January 1940. A provisional committee of this conference was formed and at its meeting held on 30-12-39 in Hyderabad city, Govind Das was elected president of the Conference, but eventually permission for the Karnatak Students Conference was refused by Govt. The intended Conference was in fact a conference of the Hindu students of the entire Dominion.

He distributed handbills exhorting the people to purchase Khaddar at a meeting held at Aurangabad on 26-1-40 under the auspices of the Girni Kamgar Union.

He visited Parbhani on 7-3-40 and addressed a meeting of about 150 students the same evening. He pointed out that so many students went to jail without any result and exhorted them to prepare themselves for future emergency and to learn the art of public speaking.

In accordance with the decision of the Hyderabad National Conference to chalk out a programme for carrying on agitation for Responsible Government in the Dominions, for which purpose the Dominions were divided into different zones, Govind Das Shroff was placed in charge of Aurangabad and Nander Zones.

At a meeting held in his house in April 1940 at which Swami Ramanand Tirtha spoke explaining the circumstances which led the State Congress to change its name and to its subsequent disbandment, he pointed out that the change of name of the State Congress was not calculated to infuse confidence in the public, that no satyagraha should be launched before the ground had been prepared by constructive work for at least six months and that it was essential to win over the ryots to make the agitation a success.

In the first week of April 1940, he visited Hyderabad and asked D. H. Desai and other student agitators to help the national conference in their programme of work. It was after this interview that D. H. Desai left for Raichur and having toured several villages in that District carried on the national conference propaganda and enrolled volunteers for satyagraha.

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Akbar Hydari to Mahatma Gandhi

4 Apr. 1940.

Thank you for your letter of the 21st March 1940.

There is only one problem before us all and that is the removal of communal tension. Herein Hyderabad we are working in face of great obstacles to bring contending parties together so that they may move jointly in a truly national endeavour. Our attitude towards the National Conference has been determined by this more than by any other consideration. You can do a great deal to bring such co-operation nearer in India, and the condition precedent for such co-operation is a programme providing common ground for all men of mutual goodwill.

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Mahatma Gandhi to Akbar Hydari

14 Apr. 1940.

You have given me stone where I had asked for bread.

I fail to see the slightest connection between a simple performance of a promise and the big question of communal unity. And how can unity be brought about in the face of events like Bidar if the papers are to be believed? As you know I have put a gag on myself regarding Hyderabad, but I feel that I must not do so now if I am to do my duty by the people of Hyderabad. This treatment of the State Congress and the reported happenings in the Bidar have filled me with misgivings.

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Mahatma Gandhi to Akbar Hydari

9 May 1940.

Dear Sir Akbar,

Your letter makes strange reading. Communal unity would never come by generalizations or glossing over serious disturbances. I do not know what Bihar incident you refer to. But if there was a denial of justice in Bihar, it is no precedent worthy to be copied.

And why should public criticism of a big disturbance prejudice judicial proceedings against individuals ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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Mahatma Gandhi to Akbar Hydari

7 June 1940.

Dear Sir Akbar,

I have slept all these nights over your unkind letter of 28th ultimo. I see I have lost caste with you. I thought you would take my word for it that I knew nothing of the Muzaffarpur violence by Hindus. I am now trying to find out what it was. For that matter, I knew nothing of Bidar till parties wrote to me and sent papers.

I had hoped that you knew me sufficiently to know that whenever occasion had arisen I had not spared Hindus. So far as Hyderabad is concerned, I have been particularly careful and avoided public reference to Hyderabad when I might have. I thought you had given me credit too for my reticence. Even as it is I am guiding the Hyderabad State Congress (now defunct) and restraining them. But I must not plead for myself. Only I feel sorry that you can think so unkindly as to write that last sentence in your letter.

I hope Lady Hydari's improvement has continued.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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Mahatma Gandhi to Akbar Hydari

12 September 1940.

In the course of a letter written to Sir Akbar Hydari, Gandhiji says that satyagraha has been suspended by the State Congress under his advice. However, he thinks that the time is come for some action to be taken and he has picked up only four satyagrahis out of a long list to offer satyagraha at Aurangabad tomorrow. After they are arrested, none else will offer satyagraha, but if they are released, they will again offer satyagraha.

Those four satyagrahis left Wardha last night for Aurangabad.

The Hindu, 12-9-1940.

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Mahatma Gandhi to Akbar Hydari

10 Oct. 1940.

I have not worried you for sometime about the now defunct Hyderabad State Congress. You know that its members have been acting under my general guidance.

Broadly my advice has been that redress by negotiation having become well nigh impossible they should adopt an immediate form of direct action, which while not causing any embarrassment to the State, would give satisfaction to individuals who acted in the name of the people. I had advised that Civil Resistance should be confined to very few selected individuals who believed in non-violence not merely as a policy, but as a creed and who believed in and practised the thirteen-fold constructive programme, a copy of which I append hereto for your information. [Copy not available] I draw your attention to the fact that communal unity is one of the items in the programme.

At first a list of 250 satyagrahis was produced. On cross-examination it was found that they could not fulfil the test laid down by me. Finally when Swami Ramanand Tirtha went to jail he had informed you that he had selected about 15 besides himself for courting imprisonment. He had nominated no leader after him. I therefore

intervened and found that they could not stand my test. Finally I have selected the following four for offering Civil Disobedience :—

- (1) Achyut Ganesh Deshpande—worker in Hyderabad State Congress, Aurangabad.
- (2) Hiralal Kotecha, B. A. , Osmania University, formerly Manager Hyderabad Khadi Vastralaya—Beed.
- (3) Motilal Mantri, Pleader, Aurangabad.
- (4) Devaram Nanaji Chauhan, Khadi worker Latur.

I must admit at once that I do not know them personally. Those who know them tell me that they can pass my test. I have myself talked to them. I have taken them at their word. And this is for the time being the only and final list.

It may be asked what is the political or any purpose to be served by such restricted Civil Disobedience. My answer is that the action is based on pure but unchangeable faith on my part and adopted by those who have accepted my guidance that the pure immolation of even one Satyagrahi is bound to produce incalculable results. Thus I believe that the immolation of these very four men should ultimately move the authorities to recognise their *bona fides* and concede their just demands and that it should also affect the people in whose name they offer Civil Disobedience and for whom they have worked by moving them to do constructive work and qualifying them ; if need be, for self-immolation. This will be indisputable non-violent action.

There will be no public agitation behind this movement. I may write in *Harijan* if I find it necessary.

I have told these friends that there will be an agitation for their release or otherwise. They must believe in the unseen effect of their silent action. Till they are arrested these four resisters who are here just now will proceed to Aurangabad and continue to carry on their quiet propaganda by way of distribution of leaflets till they are arrested. They are in no case to collect crowds.

Of course nothing will please me better than to find that the authorities were moved without the contemplated immolation to do the elementary justice that is asked for.

I hope you are keeping well.

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Hyderabad State Congress changes its name

25 March 1940.

Whereas differences had arisen between the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the Hyderabad State Congress regarding the name, and objection had been raised on behalf of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to the name, this Standing Committee hereby resolves to change the name of "Hyderabad National Conference" by which name the Hyderabad State Congress shall be hereby known, provided that the Constitution and the Rules of Organisation shall otherwise remain intact, subject to the changes that may be made hereafter in the usual manner, and that the original books shall remain subject to verbal alteration being made therein.

**Home Secretary of Hyderabad Government to
Kashinathrao Vaidya**

29-5-1349 F.

Please refer to your letter dated the 28th Dec. 1939 in which you express the hope that the wording of the resolution adopted by your organisation and submitted to Government with your letter will be found to be satisfactory.

I am desired in this connection to invite your attention to the following, namely, to my letter No. 308-P dated the 25th December 1939 in which it was stated that on a suitable change in the name the order made under Section 13 of the Public Security Regulation would not be held to apply by reason of section 14, provided your organisation had no affiliation or association with any outside organisation, and to the reasons for the order made under Section 13 published in the Gazette dated 19th Zur 1348 F. under which your organisation was declared to be unlawful.

Government has since examined the above resolution and desires me to say that the anomaly still remaining of the name signifying a mixed composition, representative of all the communities, while the composition itself is not so. Government is not aware of any attempt made in the meantime by your organisation to secure the support, by mutual understanding, or representative members of other communities in the state, although the organisation appears to have been invited publicly to do so. Government feels, therefore, that in the absence of such an attempt and of the conditions which alone could warrant the use of the term national the proposed name would be a misnomer.

I am also desired to refer you here to my letter No. 771, dated the 5th Isfander 1349 Fasli in reply to your letter enclosing the above resolution. I had stated therein that your letter was under consideration of Govt. and I had told you also in person, even before its issue, that pending decision by Government no steps should be taken to bring into being the organisation under its new name or to start activities, like enrolment of members, either here or in the Districts. Government regrets to find that despite the case being still under consideration, the organisation under the new name has already in fact begun to function and enrolment of members in proceeding, although it is clear that such activities continue to be unlawful. The precipitate step thus taken in spite of the President's appeal last year for a common platform and the terms of my above letter has roused not only bitterness among certain classes but also the apprehension in Govt. that the spirit underlying the organisation is the same which invited the existing ban.

In view of the above and of the results that may accrue from such an organisation functioning without the common support of the two major communities, more especially as it has an object of far reaching significance to the future of the communities as well as the constitution of the State, Government desires again to emphasise the need for securing a measure of agreement which may justify the new appellation. The responsibility for consequences that may otherwise ensue and for the suspicion which the activities of the National Conference, so named and so constituted, are bound under the above circumstances to engender, must rest on its promoters. Government has recently, through the President, drawn attention to the fact that the needs of war and of security must influence its policy in all matters and must be the concern of every citizen, and it is hoped that, particularly at a time when a calm atmosphere is required, nothing will be done which may jeopardise the chances of mutual agreement between the two communities or lead to a fundamental conflict with the State.

Since your organisation aims at a form of Government deriving authority from the majority in the Legislature, it is directed against the principle, recently made the subject of an official pronouncement, that the needs of the people must continue to be determined by the undivided responsibility of the Ruler for the welfare of his subjects.

Lest Government's attitude in the matter should require further clarification, I am desired to say that the terms of the resolution sent with your letter are not satisfactory, that the existing ban still continues and that, therefore, the activities of the organisation are unlawful.

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Azhar Hasan to Kashinathrao Vaidya

(Date unknown)

With reference to your letter of the 19th December, I am desired by Government to inform you that on a suitable change in the name of the State Congress being effected, the order under Section 13 Public Security Regulation shall not be held to apply by reason of Section 14, provided that it has no affiliation or association with any outside organisation.

Home Secretary.

Kashinathrao Vaidya to Azhar Hasan

24 March 1940.

* * *

Your letter of the 25th December last and quoted by you in yours under reply is unequivocal. Your letter of 5-4-49 F. acknowledging my letter and saying that the letter was under consideration did not raise any suspicion in my mind about the certainty of the ban being lifted.

But I now see that technically your objection is right. I must apologise of myself and for my friends for having hastily read into your letter a meaning, I see we were not justified in reading. I hope the authorities will accept this apology.

Immediately on receipt of your letter of 29-5-49 Fasli, the Working Committee met on 4th March 1940 and decided to discontinue enrolment of Primary Members and in a subsequent meeting on 12th March 1940 the committee has disbanded the newly formed association. A public declaration to that effect is now being made.

You object to the use of the word National on the ground that the "Government is not aware of any attempt made in the meantime by your organization to secure the support, by mutual understanding, of representative members of other communities in the State, although the organisation appears to have been invited publicly to do so. Government feels, therefore, that in the absence of such an attempt and of the conditions which alone could warrant the use of the term National, the proposed name would be a misnomer. A permit me to say that the condition you impose is not possible of fulfilment. A body composed in the manner indicated could hardly be called national. By National I mean non-communal in the sense that the association is open to all communities who subscribe to the object and the means. As a matter of fact too the defunct association contained members drawn from all communities.

If the Government is at all prepared to reconsider its decision I can say on behalf of my companions that we shall be willing to make any members whom the Government induce to join us subject to the conditions named above.

But you further object to a Government deriving its authority from the majority of the Legislature. I suppose it means objection to Responsible Government even under the aegis of the Asafjahi Dynasty. If so, the objection cuts at the root of civil liberty and freedom of expression of opinion. We claim that the permanence of the Dynasty can best be secured by the free co-operation of the people of the State. I hope the Government does not put the meaning I have put upon the paragraph in question. I shall be glad to know, if my meaning is not right, what exactly is the meaning of the paragraph.

I should also tell you that the activities of the association were purely constructive such as Khaddar, Hindu-Muslim Unity, drive against illiteracy and Harijan Uplift. As to Responsible Government the object was only to formulate public opinion in the matter.

May I hope for a reconsideration of the whole matter and an honourable settlement between the State and those who represent the erstwhile Association ? I wish to use my best endeavour to remove what threatens to be an impasse between the State and certain members of the public. I offer my services for what they may be worth.

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Kashinathrao Vaidya to Azhar Hasan

6 May 1940.

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 287/49 of 3-7-49 F. (7 Apr. 1939)

You have given to the apology a meaning it cannot bear. My friends and I have, thereby, merely corrected a technical error into which we were betrayed by the letter of 25th December 1939 which was a clear promise to recognise the State Congress under its changed name. We had no notion, whatsoever, that the promise was not intended to be fulfilled or would be withdrawn. But we saw that we were wrong in acting upon the promise and as the correspondence left no room for the hope that justice will be done. We, not only tendered the apology, but disbanded the association. But the bitter taste has been left that promises made on behalf of a big State cannot be relied upon. My friends and I would have appreciated a straight answer that the Government had changed their mind and that they could not recognise the association as a free body at all. Instead, reasons have been given which had already been thrashed out. Your letter under reply makes a regrettable position still more so. It misrepresents the attitude of the defunct body. It was never contended that a body composed of representative members of all the communities could hardly be National. These are the words of my letter. "The body composed in the manner indicated could hardly be called National. By National I mean non-communal in the sense that the association is open to all communities who subscribe to the object of the association." It fills me with shame and sorrow that in order to support an untenable decision you should have seen fit to resort to misrepresentation. I suggest that a packed body cannot be called National. I suggest further that a body which has all the communities represented on it may conceivably be anti-National or non-National. The National character of an association can only be determined by its objective. Its behaviour may either confirm or deny the character. The composition of a body is surely the least part of its quality. A body composed entirely of selfless and impartial Muslims may well represent all communities and one composed of members of all communities who have joined it from selfish motives will hopelessly fail to represent any part of the Nation. But it is useless to appeal to reason when considerations outside reason regulate action.

Events of Bidar are an eye opener. They put the coping stone on what has been going on in the State for sometime. There is no security of life or property in the State for those who will not be practically slaves. Bidar in our opinion makes the case for responsible Government irresistible. But the immediate object of a good citizen in such a case is to do every thing in his power to secure redress and make a repetition of Bidar impossible. Some of us are convinced that violence is no remedy for securing redress and that non-violence is the only remedy. In the circumstances, we propose in the near future to adopt such means as may suggest themselves to us.

You have invited us to consider communal unity the first consideration. May we suggest that no unity is possible unless justice is done in the case of Bidar and a sense of security felt by the injured community? It will never come by ignoring ugly facts.

Unless you have any objection, we propose to publish correspondence between us for public information.

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Azhar Hasan to Kashinathrao Vaidya

(Date unknown)

With reference to your letter dated the 6th May, I am desired to say that Government does not feel called on to reply point by point to a communication couched in the tone and terms you have seen fit to employ, but that it has been compelled to note the threat it contains and the statement that "Some of us are convinced that violence is no remedy".

As regards your proposal to publish the correspondence between us for public information unless Government has any objection. I am desired to say that Government has objections, not because there is anything in the several communications to you which Government would not be prepared publicly to uphold, but because the correspondence has throughout not been on an official basis, Government's object being to help in clearing the way for an understanding between parties on a truly National basis. Further, the opening of controversy in the Press will make that object, which Government is still pursuing, even more difficult of attainment and will aggravate communal feeling.

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Ali Yavar Jung to Azhar Hasan

4 Apr. 1940.

* * *

As you are aware, the Constitutional Affairs Committee discussed the draft reply to Mr. Vaidya and to Mr. Gandhi at its meeting on the 1st April, 1940 and the drafts as there agreed were submitted to the Council today, jointly by us, and approved with slight alternations. A Resolution to that effect may kindly be drafted by you and sent to the Council Secretary to whom I am sending in any case a copy of the draft replies to Mr. Vaidya and to Mr. Gandhi. Since an informatory Arzdasht was sent to His Exalted Highness with regard to the previous letter to Mr. Vaidya I presume the Home Department will similarly send another informatory Arzdasht regarding the present letter.

I am also enclosing copy of the draft reply to Mr. Vaidya as altered by the Council, since Mr. Vaidya has reminded you for a reply to his letter dated the 14th March. The enclosed draft may kindly be issued to him as early as possible and the date of issue communicated to me for record on my file. I am further enclosing for your own file a copy of the letter dated the 21st March, 1940 received from Mr. Gandhi and a copy of the reply sent to him by His Excellency the President today. This copy follows exactly the draft as approved by the Constitutional Affairs Committee and as altered by the Council.

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ANNEXURE A

Dear Mr. Vaidya,

Please refer to your letter dated the 14th March 1940 which I have duly submitted to Government. I am now desired to reply to you as follows :—

Government is very glad to accept the apology conveyed in your letter on behalf of yourself and your friends, and fully appreciates the action taken to discontinue the enrolment of Primary members and to disband the association. This is in earnest to Government that on your side you and your friends have appreciated what my previous letter was intended to convey, namely, that it is Government's anxious desire that no programme should be pursued by any association which creates a gulf between communities and prevents the co-operation of the major parties in a truly national endeavour.

HCP—352-A-30

At the same time, Government regrets that you should regard as impossible the fulfilment of the conditions which alone would warrant the association of the term National with the proposed name of the organisation, now defunct. It regrets, further, that you should hold the view that a body composed of representative members of all the communities could hardly be called national. If members of one community, associated with the political activities of that community, can claim a national complexion merely by virtue of an organisation having objectives which are non-communal in appearance, their association with similar members of other communities should surely help to substantiate that claim in fact.

The first objective and the immediate problem before Hyderabad, not to speak of India, is no doubt, the promotion of communal harmony. This must take precedence of all other considerations. Last week His Excellency the President had occasion to speak on this matter with yourself and other representatives of both major communities in connection with the events at Bidar, and to urge on both a fresh attempt to find common ground. Government confidently expects that all parties will now bend their energies to that end and thus promote what all have at heart, the peaceful and steady progress of all the peoples of these Dominions.

For the rest, you will find my previous letter sufficiently clear and explicit to provide an answer to any other question that you may have intended to raise.

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S. T. Hollins, Director General of Police and Jails to Secretary, Judicial, Police and General Departments

25 May 1940.

I have the honour to inform Govt. that since the beginning of last April, detailed information has been obtained by the C. I. D. regarding the activities of a group of young men—mostly Vande-Mataram ex-students with advanced political views—who have been engaged in formulating, and carrying into effect plans for utilizing the student and ex-student community as emissaries to work in villages on behalf of the Hyderabad National Conference and prepare the ground for a satyagraha campaign.

The accuracy of this information has been verified to the hilt by facts ascertained through enquiries in areas and villages where such emissaries have been at work. For example, on receipt of information that student "Workers" had been sent to Raichur and Koppal, enquiries made on the spot immediately afterwards showed that emissaries from this group had in fact visited several villages, had enrolled in one case 75 satyagraha volunteers and in another case 25 and that, besides announcing that a satyagraha movement is imminent, they had carried on a certain amount of no-rent propaganda, although in the latter case without much response. Similar propaganda to prepare the ground for satyagraha and enrolment of satyagrahis has been carried out in other parts of these Dominions by workers from this group.

HCP—352-B-30

The three most prominent individuals in the group are (1) Narendar Dutt, (2) R. B. Hemadri and (3) D. H. Desai. A detailed summary of each man's activities is attached to this letter. No. (1) is the brain of the movement particularly as regards the organization of plans, and Nos. (2) and (3) have both taken a leading part in formulating plans and also in executing them personally in the villages. All three and, in fact, the whole group are working in the closest touch with Ramanand Tirtha and Hyderabad National Conference agitators generally. I strongly recommend that Government should now take action under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules to prevent further undesirable activities on the part of these individuals. Such action by Government should have a most salutary effect in preventing the villagers and public generally from falling victims to their propaganda, as it will become generally known that Govt. disapprove of this activity and are prepared to deal with it. At present, in the absence of action by Govt., these and similar agitators have met with considerable success in the enlistment of satyagrahis and, if unchecked, the movement will undoubtedly assume dangerous proportions.

The action I recommend is that under section 25 of the Defence of Hyderabad rules either (a) all three individuals should be interned in some suitable place or, if Govt. prefer, (b) that each of the three should be ordered to reside and remain in his native village or town, that he should notify his presence every 24 hours at the Police Station House or outpost or, if there is no such Police Station or outpost to the local Police Patel of his village, and that he should be directed not to associate or communicate with persons who do not reside in the village or town unless they are close relations of his.

There remains the case of Govind Das Shroff..... This individual is a man of great influence amongst students community and is, in fact, their guide and adviser in all their undesirable activities. The details given in his record will afford sufficient illustration of his undesirable influence. The present working of the group of students, referred to in this letter, has been largely influenced by his advice. I recommend that this individual, under section 25 of the Hyderabad Defence Rules, should also be interned. In his case, a mere order restricting him to Aurangabad town (his place of residence) would be of little use as, while there, he would be accessible to the local students and would be free to give his advice and to use his influence as in the past.

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The Nizam of Hyderabad to the Marquess of Linlithgow

(Telegram, MSS. EUR. F. 125/124)

12 March 1942.

I read with great attention and interest the Prime Minister of England's recent far-sighted statement of March 11th regarding political situation in India as well as those various communities that live in this sub-continent and also the special reference made to the pre-eminent position occupied by Muslims in India to say nothing of the particular and thoughtful regard paid to the Indian States which are proud to be called the strong pillars of the Indian Empire if I am allowed to say so. In my opinion this broadminded statement will go a long way to clear the existing somewhat obscure situation beyond any doubt and also to accelerate the pace of war effort thinking that what has been done so far or will be done in future has been acknowledged or appreciated by His Majesty's Government. No doubt all the credit of this far-sighted policy goes to the role Your Excellency is playing as Crown Representative in shaping the destiny of India and whose broadminded statesmanship deserves eulogy beyond measure. In conclusion I may be permitted to say that this acknowledgement of the position of Muslims in India by British Government and that too just in time will no doubt bind them all the more in their historical loyalty to the British Crown and they will also feel highly honoured by this gracious act a fact I am quite convinced of.

The Marquess of Linlithgow to the Nizam of Hyderabad

MSS. EUR. F. 125/124.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, 17 March 1942

My dear Nizam,

I send Your Exalted Highness my warmest thanks for your telegram of the 12th March and the personal references in it which I greatly appreciate.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Linlithgow.

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The Nawab of Chhatari to Sir S. Cripps

[L/P&J/10/9 : f 12]

CAMP : Nizam's Guest House, New Delhi, 3 April 1942

Confidential

My dear Sir Stafford Cripps,

With reference to the talk which the Hyderabad Delegation had with you on the 28th March 1942, I am writing to say that His Exalted Highness has since examined the proposals of His Majesty's Government relating to the future Indian Constitution, and, in the light of the elucidation offered by you to the Delegation, desires to express his satisfaction of the assurance that it is not intended to transfer his treaty or other relations with the Crown in the United Kingdom to any other authority without His Exalted Highness' consent or affect in any way his status as a Sovereign or his position as Faithful Ally. Since, as you explained, the proposals are intended to leave His Exalted Highness free to adhere or not adhere to any one of the Unions that may be set up, or in the event of not adhering, to maintain or cease to maintain the relations at present subsisting with the Crown in the United Kingdom, His Exalted Highness, as at present advised, considers the proposals to be very fair. Further, while His Exalted Highness' consent is implicit in any negotiation for such revision of treaty—arrangements as may be required in "the new situation", it may be made clear that, to the extent that His Exalted Highness may wish to retain a particular treaty right, such right will be provided for and arrangements, made, in case of dispute or difference arising from it, for recourse to arbitration by a body mutually agreed upon. Moreover, as Berar, the Northern Circars and the Ceded Districts are linked with the question of defence of His exalted Highness and his Dominions, His Exalted Highness will have the right to reopen the question of the future of those territories in the light of the new situation.

Yours sincerely,

Ahmad Said.

Sir S. Cripps to the Nawab of Chhatari

[l/p & j/10/9 : f 11]

5 April 1942.

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have received your letter of the 3rd April in which you are kind enough to convey to me the views of His Exalted Highness in regard to the proposals which I have been discussing with the leaders of Indian opinion. I fear, however, that there are some points on which there appears to have been some misunderstanding at our interview. It is the case that His Exalted Highness will be free to decide whether Hyderabad should adhere or not adhere to any Indian Union which might be set up under these proposals if they are given effect. If, however, His Exalted Highness decided that Hyderabad should not adhere, the relations at present subsisting between the Crown and His Exalted Highness would remain unchanged and His exalted Highness would not be free, as suggested in your letter, to cease to maintain them. Any revision of the existing Treaty arrangements which might be required as a result of the creation of a new Indian Union would be by negotiation between the Paramount Power and His Exalted Highness and clearly might involve modification of particular Treaty rights in the light of the new situation. The questions, whether any particular point which might be difficult to resolve by negotiation should be submitted to arbitration, would be for the Paramount Power to decide and I can give no assurances at this stage in regard to it.

As regards Berar, the Northern Circars and the Ceded Districts, I note the views of His Exalted Highness.

Yours sincerely,

Stafford Cripps.

PART-VI

**FROM CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TO
END OF INDIVIDUAL
SATYAGRAHA**

Part VI

From Civil Disobedience to End of Individual Satyagraha

Civil Disobedience did not succeed in obtaining Purna Swaraj, but it did bring Provincial Autonomy in place of Dyarchy. Great Britain was compelled to give an instalment of constitutional reforms through the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 by the British Parliament. The Congress rejected the provisions of the Act in so far as they related to the federal structure of Government at the Centre. However it decided to develop internal strength by working in the legislatures. Its policy was to repudiate the provisions relating to the federal arrangements and to resist British Imperialism. The Congress stood by the resolutions of the Lahore Congress and the Karachi Congress. The most important resolutions of the Faizpur Congress related to the elections and the Constituent Assembly, a convention of the elected members of the legislatures, non-participation in the coronation and other imperialist functions. Meanwhile the Election Manifesto was duly endorsed. The Congress permitted Congressmen to accept office in the provinces where they were in a majority. Accordingly B. G. Kher and Ravi Shankar Shukla were elected as Prime Ministers of the Bombay Presidency and the C. P. and Berar, respectively. Both the Ministries had to their credit many useful and constructive measures of educational, social and economic reforms. After the outbreak of Second World War on 1 Sept. 1939, the Ministries relinquished office in November 1939.

Meanwhile the demand for Pakistan became stronger after resignation by the Congress Ministries.

The demon of World War was spreading its tentacles far and wide, which instead of softening the heart of Great Britain towards India, hardened it ever more. Gandhiji, therefore, announced his programme of Individual Satyagraha on the question of Freedom to preach non-co-operation with the Government in its war effort and to make anti-war speeches. Gandhiji chose Vinoba Bhave as the first satyagrahi to be followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Azad, Rajendra Prasad, etc. In the beginning Gandhiji himself chose the satyagrahis on individual merit. Eventually, however, hundreds of men and women courted arrest as satyagrahis, many of them more than once.

Editor

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Provincial Autonomy and Rejection of 1935 Reforms

(Intercepted letter of S. Satyamurti to Sardar Patel, 21 May 1935).

[Home Poll. (I) File No. 32/3/35, 1935.]

My dear Sardarji,

I see you have said in the course of a statement that rejection of the Reforms cannot, in any case, mean acceptance of ministership under the Constitution. I presume the report is correct. On that presumption, I desire to write to you on a few aspects of the question which I beg of you to consider deeply. Technically speaking, rejection may not mean acceptance of ministerships. But substantially speaking, I contend that the real question as to our attitude towards the Reforms should be decided on considerations which will effectuate our rejection. I am not speaking for all provinces, but speaking of the province of Madras, I can honestly say that the most effective way of rejecting the constitution will be for the Congress party to capture the majority of the seats in the Legislative Council and then to accept ministerships and carry on the fight for Swaraj. In any case, I venture to suggest that the present policy of the Congress—that is, capture of legislatures by Congressmen,—clearly includes capture of all positions in the legislature. It is for those who say that we must not accept ministerships to show that thereby the struggle for Swaraj will be intensified. There is also a danger I should like to guard against—namely, that those who advocate acceptance of office do so from unworthy or personal motives. I am sure you do not chase that view. To Congressmen, acceptance of office cannot mean much personal advantage. Thanks to the Karachi resolution fixing maximum salaries and the need, and almost inevitably of Congress ministers coming into conflict with the Governor, it is not the desire for emoluments of office but honest conviction that thereby we can advance the struggle for Swaraj which is the powerful motive. Conversely I should like you to consider very deeply the consequences of non-Congressmen being allowed to accept office. We shall have repeated all the happenings during the last few years when the legislatures were in the hands of communalists and reactionaries. I am, therefore, anxious that you should consider all these aspects, and at least, keep an open mind on the matter till we may discuss the whole constitution. I expect we shall do so shortly. In the meantime, I shall be glad to hear from you.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

S. Satyamurti .

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Vallabhbhai Patel's Speech on occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Congress in Bombay

(Summary in Bombay Chronicle, 31st December 1935)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the course of his Gujarati speech said that it was necessary for the people to understand the secret of the Congress Jubilee celebration. For the last fifty years the Congress had been serving the nation and its cause of Indian Freedom. Many had laid down their lives in the course of their service, while others had lost their all. Many of them had been reduced to abject poverty. Many such people who had sacrificed, died and laid down their all at the call of the Congress were unknown. People were not aware that such individuals did exist. Yet it was a fact. It was for those thousands and thousands of unknown Congress workers that the Congress Jubilee was being celebrated in every nook and corner of the country. It was due to their work that the Congress had to-day captured the hearts of the people. It was that, that was responsible for the conviction among the people that if there was any organisation in the country that would remove slavery from India it was the Indian National Congress.

A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.—Referring to what the conditions were fifty years ago, and what it had developed into today, the Sardar said that the education imparted to the school-going children fifty years ago was such that they were asked to repeat poems which praised God for having sent the Britishers to rule over India. But to-day people had realised that India was their country and the foreigner had no right to rule over India. That in itself was a very great achievement. If everyone of the 35 crores of Indians realised that the Britisher had no right to rule over him, then the Britisher would not remain in India as a ruler a minute longer.

NO CAUSE FOR DESPAIR.—Continuing the Sardar said that he was really pained whenever he heard people becoming helpless and losing hope. It had been said that since the Government of India Act, (1935) had been passed, there was no other go but to work it. Why should it be worked? Just because some Act has been passed it did not mean that there was no other go for Indians but to work it? As Lokamanya Tilak said Swaraj was every Indian's birthright and he would have it. It was essential that one should work and strive for it instead of despairing because certain Act had been passed by Parliament. Nothing could be achieved if it was not worked and fought for. The power to tear the New Constitution to pieces was in the hands of Indians. There had been talk of unity among all the parties in India. The Sardar was for such a unity. The doors of the Congress had always been open for everyone. No one were denied the right of entering that great body. But Congress would not consent to give up its goal of Complete Independence nor would it accede to the demand that it should do away with its weapon. The Sardar wanted to know that one could do without a weapon? Should one beat his chest with both hands and demand Swaraj and who would reply to your demand?

CONGRESS IS ALIVE.—Mr. Nagindas Master addressing the gathering said that the people who had just listened to the spirited speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, would have to strive and sacrifice if Indian Independence was to be achieved. It was only when Swaraj was won that it could be said that the work of the Congress and the people had been done. Referring to those who said that the Congress was today a dead force, Mr. Master said that it was not so. The enthusiasm shown by the people during the last Assembly elections and its results ; the grand success of the Presidential tour all over the country and the jubilation of the people all over the country, in every Indian home during the Golden Jubilee celebrations were proof enough that Congress was still a live wire and an organisation to be reckoned with.

COMING OF THE MAHATMA.—Mr. Yusuf Meherally said during the last 25 years there had been a great awakening in the country and, thanks to the advent of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian Politics 20 years ago, there had been a lightening change.

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi thanked all those who helped to make the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations in the Ward a grand success. There was no doubt at all that the Jubilee had created a lot of enthusiasm among the people and should have convinced the critics that Congress still was the powerful organisation that it was, nay it was stronger. She thanked the Jain Volunteer Corps for its services through volunteers and band and the Bombay National Guards and others.

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All-India Kisan Committee's Manifesto On Kisan Movement

(Issued at Bombay on 21st August 1936)

[Home Poll (I) File No. 12/3/36 of 1936]

The object of the Kisan movement is to secure complete freedom from economic exploitation and the achievement of full economic and political power for the peasants and workers and all other exploited classes.

The main task of the Kisan Movement shall be the organisation of peasants to fight for their immediate political and economic demands in order to prepare them for their emancipation from every form of exploitation.

The Kisan Movement stands for the achievement of ultimate economic and political power for the producing masses through its active participation in the national struggle for winning complete independence.

The one outstanding fact of Indian economic life is the grinding poverty and utter misery of the vast peasant masses which comprise 80 % of its population. No political or economic programme which has the audacity to ignore their needs and demands can by any stretch of imagination be labelled a national programme. Every organisation claiming to represent the people of India must place the interests of the bankrupt and much exploited ryots, tenants and agricultural labour in the forefront of its programme if it is to vindicate its claim.

In as much as the Indian National Congress is today the only effective political body with a country-wide organisation claiming to champion the cause of the masses, it must necessarily make the solution of the problems of the peasantry the chief plank of its political and economic policy.

The terrible condition of the Indian peasants is too well-known to need repetition. The tenants are oppressed by Zamindars, Talukdars and Malguzars, Inamdars and other landlords. The peasant proprietors have to bear the yoke of an oppressive system of Land Revenue. The agricultural labour receive, if at all, starvation wages and work and live in conditions bordering on slavery.

But unfortunately while the condition of the peasantry dominates the whole political and economic life of the country, the peasants themselves have been most backward politically and organisationally. The results are two-fold, firstly, the peasants have been deprived of all the ameliorative legislation, that could have been passed during the last 16 years, even by the present legislatures, if the legislators had felt obliged to satisfy the peasants, and secondly, the political movement itself in the country has remained more or less unconcerned with both the immediate and basic problems of the peasantry. The fundamental cause that makes for their present starvation is the land tenure and revenue and credit system which is nothing else but a device perfected by British Imperialism to wring out of the peasants the utmost that can be got out of them without actually killing them.

It is this that must be immediately abolished before any other constructive measures aiming at the welfare of the peasantry can be undertaken. Our objectives may not be possible of realisation under the present system of Government. Yet the peasants, if they are to save themselves from utter ruin, must fight for and secure them. The system of Government must go if it stands in the way as it undoubtedly does. This is how the struggle of the peasantry merges into the fight for Swaraj. It is for this reason that the Kisan Sabha has declared its resolve for complete independence. In this manner do the Kisan and political movements become interdependent, the strength of the one adding to that of the other.

Under these circumstances it is essential that a political movement must be so developed in our country as to draw its main strength and inspiration from the peasantry. It must also strive for the removal of all those obstacles that stand in the way of a true and lasting solution conducive to fullest well-being of the agricultural masses of the country. The peasants' fight for bread and land is linked up with the national fight for political freedom.

The Kisan Sabha means the unity of the peasants. All our peasants must combine to fight the forces that are ruthlessly driving them deeper and deeper into misery and poverty. By organising the peasants, by setting them on their feet, the Kisan movement not only enables them to put a stop to the thousands and one harassment and extortionate practices of the landlords and land-revenue officers and Sowcars and their agents, but also advances them greatly towards the goal of political freedom thereby strengthening, as nothing else can, the movement for national independence.

Fortunately the Kisan all over the country are becoming more and more conscious politically and economically of their basic problems. The All-India Kisan Committee is an expression of this awakening among the peasantry. They have at last realised that they must fashion out their own militant class organisation if they are to make any sustained advance towards their goal. The Kisan Sabha represent not only the ryot, the tenants and the landless labourers, but in some places the petty Zamindars. In other words it represents and speaks and fights for all those who live by the cultivation of the soil. All these different stratas among the Kisans will have to combine and fight for the removal of all the fetters imposed by British Imperialism and its allies the Sowcars and landlords. In short they must fight for complete National, socio-economic independence. India, a Dependency of Britain must be transformed into free, progressive and democratic India of the masses. The fight for such an India can only effectively be conducted on a programme based on the grievances and demands of the Kisan of India.

While the fight for those basic changes goes on, the peasants must also fight for all that can be gained within the framework of the existing economic order. Only in this manner can they prepare themselves for the bigger fight, the objective of which must be kept ever-present in the minds of the Kisans.

To this end, we frame the charter of minimum demands of our Kisans, the Provincial Kisan Sabhas having the right to supplement it by a list of their local needs.

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Sardar Patel on Muslim League's Claim

(Times of India, 27th Oct. 1939) (Speech in Bombay)

"It is necessary that there should be such a party meeting in Christmas when we can discuss the situation in the country, our difficulties and our future work. We should meet, if necessary, every month. No one should go away with the idea that in the coming months we would be doing nothing, while the British Government would be allowed to carry on the Administration as they like. In the very nature of things, British Imperialism cannot last long, and the burden of administering our own country must fall on our own shoulders whether we are ready or not."

"As you know, the Muslim League recently celebrated what it called its 'Day of Deliverance', as if the Congress Ministeries had been driven out of office. It was inspired by a fear as to what would happen to it if the Congress made a settlement with the British Government. But it forgot that the Congress had not been driven out of office; it had retired voluntarily. It was open to us ever on the so-called 'Day of Deliverance' to return to office, had we so chosen. It is no use praying to God for the resignation of the Ministeries; the credit, if any, is due to the Congress itself. We had given a pledge to our own electorates not to stick to office, if by so doing the interests of the country would suffer. Then a time came when the Congress felt that it could not continue in office any longer without detriment to the cause for which it existed; and you may rest assured that the Congress is not going back to office until it can wield the real power of governance in a free India."

"When the war started, Mr. Gandhi declared his sympathy with Britain. Pledged as we were to freedom, we could not have any sympathy for Nazism. Mr. Gandhi, however, made it clear that the Congress did not agree with him on this question. It is natural that the Congress should ask the British Government whether they were prepared to declare that India would be free at the end of the war. The demand was natural and proper. The reply was that we were not united, that the minorities need to be protected and that the Princes had to be placated. How can we continue in office with such an attitude on the part of the British Government?"

"So long as we have a third party in our midst, there cannot be a compromise between the minorities and the Congress. We have had ample experience in the past. We cannot forget how Sir Samuel Hoare set the Muslims against the Hindus when the Unity Conference was held at Allahabad. British statesmen, in order to win the sympathy of the world, now go on repeating that they are willing to give freedom to India, were India united. The 'Day of Deliverance' was evidently calculated to make the world, and particularly the British public, believe that India was not united, and that the Muslims and the Hindus were against one another. But when several sections of Muslims were found to oppose the 'Day of Deliverance', the proposed anti-Hindu demonstrations were converted into a Jinnah-Ambedkar-Byramji protest against the Congress Ministeries and the Congress High Command."

"Some people frighten us with the bogey of a civil war. We cannot sacrifice our principles for such empty apprehensions. If there are any who deem it fit to encourage violence, pledged as we are to non-violence, we shall have to go through the ordeal. We cannot forsake our principles. We must strive our utmost to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country."

"It is difficult to understand the position of the League. What does it want? The Congress has made friendly approaches repeatedly, but every time it has met with a rebuff. The Congress even over-ruled its revered leader, Pandit Malaviya, and did not reject the Communal Award. The League goes on rejecting whatever is offered, without formulating its own demands. The Anglo-Indian papers which for the moment appear to represent the League's point of view urge coalition Ministries. The League has not made it clear whether it wants them and on what terms."

"Congressmen are anxious to make friends, but with whom? That is the question. There cannot be friendship unless there is a willing mind on both sides. Mr. Jinnah charges the Congress with atrocities. He never could specify the charges. Now the Governors and the Viceroy have kept their mouth sealed lest they should displease the League by speaking the truth."

"The condition precedent to any negotiations, which Mr. Jinnah makes is that the Congress should accept the League as the sole representative of the Muslims in India. If the Congress accepted that position it would have to throw the Pathans of the North overboard; to jettison the Shias, who are no less than three out of the eight crores of Muslims in India; and to betray Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress Muslims, who have contributed to the creation of the National Congress of today."

"To concede the claim of Mr. Jinnah, which Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has repeated today, is for the Congress to commit suicide in the hope of being reborn a Hindu organisation. Should we tell the Maulanas and the leaders of the Zamiet-ul-Ulema that they should leave the national organisation and submit to the communal leaders of Mr. Jinnah, because the British Government desire that he should be placated before the Congress gets a declaration of war aims? The British Government will be disappointed. Let them continue the rule with their Advisers as long as they can. Even if we are a handful, we will not allow the Congress to commit political *hara-kiri*, as Mr. Jinnah wants it to do."

MR. GANDHI'S LEADERSHIP.—"If the resignation of the Ministers has brought real deliverance, it is to the Ministers who had their daily worries. Our internal differences have disappeared. The Congress has again accepted the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the only man who can lead us to victory. If there are any among Congressmen who are impatient about his methods, they are welcome to try their own experiments. But they will fail; success will depend only upon loyalty following the lead of Mr. Gandhi."

"Our Congress elections will soon be on. They must be conducted with least friction. If we are out for a big struggle we cannot waste our energies in small internal squabbles. Our programme of the future is contained in the resolution recently passed by the working committee. It has reiterated the cult of the spinning wheel, which is dear to Mr. Gandhi. Behind the spinning wheel is the whole philosophy of Satyagraha. If any of you disapprove of that cult you should remain silent. When the struggle is on, the voice of the critic should be hushed. It is for the General to decide with what weapon he will fight."

"The pledge which we are to adopt on the next 'Independence Day' has new features. It is intended to prepare the country for the coming struggle. January 26 is intended to create the necessary atmosphere. Do not forget the lessons of August 1 last. The anti-prohibitionists frightened us with all kinds of imaginary terrors. But on August 1 we proved that the people of Bombay were with us. In a similar way let January 26th be a day of our trial. We must prove our fitness to achieve our goal. No General could fight, even Mr. Chamberlain could not fight Germany, until the army is ready".....

SECRET

D. O. No. 7/1/40-Political (I)
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
Simla, 31 July 1940.

My dear Sladen,

I am desired to refer to the note on communist propaganda prepared by the Director, Intelligence Bureau, and enclosed with the Home Department letter No. 7/1/40-Political, dated 6th June 1940. This note refers to the existence in the suburbs of Bombay of a secret centre from which a steady flow of Communist literature is directed to other Provinces and which has so far remained undetected in spite of all the efforts of the police.

2. It has been suggested that it would be of material assistance in dealing with this matter if a conference were held in Bombay to be attended by the police officers primarily concerned with the detection of Communist activities in Provinces chiefly affected. Although it is realised that the Bombay police are at present actively engaged in tracking down this Communist nerve-centre and with this object are working in close co-operation with the police of other Provinces, it nevertheless appears certain that such a conference, would afford a valuable opportunity for a direct exchange of views and for pooling information.

3. I am to inquire whether the Government of Bombay are in favour of such a conference being held and, if so, whether they have any suggestions to make in regard to its agenda or personnel.

Yours Sincerely

J. M. Sladen,
Home Secretary to the Government of
Bombay.

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Report of Police Conference on Anti-Communist Measures

Bombay, 11-12 Oct. 1940.

1. Exchange of information and the pooling of resources.—The conference, after brief preliminary discussion, agreed at the outset that the forces of communism in India constitute a practical as well as a theoretical danger to internal peace and security and that closer co-ordination in respect of countermeasures, accompanied by the pooling of police resources is necessary. It was agreed that in spite of the measures already taken a number of the main central and provincial communist leaders have been successful in evading arrest. These leaders are, recognisable as the organizers of an underground movement of all-India dimensions, but varying in intensity and extent from province to province.

HCP—352-B-31

The difficulty of obtaining inside information of this underground organization and of the leaders, whereabouts was generally admitted. It was felt that there was correspondingly little or no doubt as to the leaders' identity. The problem is thus that of locating the leaders and their secret centres and printing presses, and to improve intelligence concerning the underground (secret) side of communist activities generally. The Conference went on to consider measures for concerted action by C. I. Ds.

It was agreed that C. I. Ds. should list important central and provincial communists who are active within their jurisdiction and evading arrest under Defence Rule 26 or whose arrest is wanted under Defence Rule 129, together with detailed descriptive rolls, photographs, and samples of handwriting where available, and notes of inter-provincial connections. A consolidated list will be circulated by the intelligence Bureau to C. I. Ds. with a view to the arrest of all the individuals on the list, wherever found. (Payments offered for information leading to arrest will be included in the consolidated list.)

As soon as any listed communist is arrested, the C. I. D. of the Home Province should be informed by wire of the fact and of any recoveries made, with a view to his immediate interrogation in police custody so that qualified C. I. D. Officers from the home province can take part. The Intelligence Bureau will arrange to keep provinces generally informed of arrests, and will issue a periodical intelligence summary of communist activity to assist C. I. Ds. in deciding on counter—measures with a view to greater uniformity than exists at present.

The Conference considered that the pooling of resources is especially necessary in order to locate and dislocate the all-India headquarters of the communist organisation, centred in or near Bombay. It was agreed that free interchange of qualified police officers accompanied by 'identifiers' and agents with access to Bombay communist circles should be encouraged, and co-operation on these lines will be welcomed by the Bombay authorities. In this connection it was pointed out that the employment of competent watchers at railway stations had succeeded in bringing about the arrest in the U. P. of two important leaders who had left Bombay recently on an inter-provincial tour. It was suggested that photographs of wanted leaders might be made available to the watcher staff at selected railway-stations, and could also be useful for identification purposes by agents.

The Conference agreed that interrogation under the provisions of Rule 116, Defence of India Act of known Communists, post-boxes, countries, student contacts *etc.*, immediately following their arrest, was important in relation to the collection of information regarding communist activities and the communist movement as a whole, but that such interrogation is unlikely to succeed unless in police custody and conducted by experienced C. I. D. Officers well-versed in the 'background' of communist activity. For this purpose, temporary retention in police custody under Defence Rule 129 should be authorised where it is considered the individual has information to disclose, and interrogation should not be hurried or interrupted by having to return deponents to judicial custody until interrogation is completed.

The Conference considered it important from the record point of view that photographs, together with fingerprints and specimens of normal handwriting, should be obtained under Defence Rule 27 in the case of all communists detained, or under the Prisoners' Act in convicted cases.

It was agreed that the policy of externment of known communists was mistaken, and that where restriction is necessary, provinces should normally apply for detention under Rule 26 in the province of arrest, or in the Home Province.

It was agreed that prosecution under Defence Rules 38 and 39 was preferable to charges under the ordinary law or the Press Act, both of which are inadequate to meet the early stages of communist conspiracy; and that prosecution is a useful means of counter-propaganda by exposure of the communists' violent and unlawful intention to public gaze. Opinion was however divided as to the desirability of counter-propaganda and its probable effect on the public, and it was decided that this was a matter best left to be decided in the light of local circumstances.

2. Censorship of Communist Correspondence.—It was agreed that the active pursuit of postal censorship (both in -coming and out-going) forms an essential part of the anti-communist campaign, and is the best means of obtaining reliable intelligence of the communists' plans and intentions in the absence of source information.

In the case of in-coming censorship, it was agreed that details of the post-mark, time of posting, description of outer cover and other distinguishing features, should be included in interception reports sent to the province of issue and the Intelligence Bureau and other provinces concerned. These details will enable the province of issue to make use of watchers in the vicinity of the posting area, and in the case of the Bombay centre, help to narrow down the field of enquiries to working limits in view of the limited staff of watchers available in Bombay and the adjoining Bombay suburbs area.

In the case of out-going interceptions, it was agreed that a photostat copy of the original cover should be sent to the C. I. D. or District Police at destination by express letter, and the original released for delivery the following day. This arrangement will enable the C. I. D. or District Police at destination to follow up the delivery of the original letter to the post-box and thence to its ultimate destination.

Details of changes in the method of addressing the outer covers containing party correspondence or communist literature, as are known to occur at frequent intervals, should be carefully recorded and promptly circulated. In this connection it was suggested that an exchange of specimens of handwriting of the more important communist leaders evading arrest might prove of assistance of Censor Officers.

In the case of railway receipts sent by post and of railway parcels containing communist literature—particulars of the receipt showing the railway station of despatch and method of disguising and wrapping the package, with if possible a photostat copy of the label, will be sent to the province of issue and to other provinces where similar consignments of communist literature are likely to have been sent. Recent experience in Madras and Calcutta has shown that such details are capable of leading to the identification of other consignments containing communist literature and provide important clues in relation to the distribution centre and distributing agency.

Details of secret inks or codes experienced in the course of censorship will be communicated by the Intelligence Bureau to C. I. Ds. in the periodical Intelligence Surveys.

It was agreed that as details of post-boxes are already shown in the interception reports, lists of post-boxes would serve no useful purpose and in any case soon become out-of-date. At the same time it was suggested that censorship of all known post-boxes and safe addresses should be maintained even though the individual has been questioned by the police or arrested, as cases have occurred in which such addresses have continued to be used.

As regards the decision whether to withhold or pass on communist correspondence, it was agreed that this should normally be left to the province of destination to decide.

3. Communist Propaganda.—The consensus of opinion was that legal (open) communist propaganda has temporarily ceased in its more blatant form, but that illegal (secret) publications continue to make their appearance at regular intervals, published mainly from the Bombay headquarters, with subsidiary presses and publication centres in the Punjab, U. P., Calcutta and Madras.

The Conference was generally agreed that systematic police enquiries with a view to closer control of the extremist press generally was advisable, and that frequent searches and inspection of suspect presses both in Bombay and other centres of publication were justified and necessary. Enquiries into illegal pamphlets and other publications might with advantage make use of expert opinion regarding the type of print and paper used and include a check on purchases of paper. The question of introducing reliable secret agents into suspect presses was also discussed and recommended.

It was suggested that investigations in respect of the various printed and cyclostyled illegal pamphlets, leaflets, manifestos, monthly issues of the *Communist*, *Communist News-Letters*, etc., proceed from the central press, would enable systematic enquiries to be conducted from Bombay, both as regards the whereabouts of printing and preparation of this unceasing stream of publications and the method of its distribution to outlying centres in the latter connection in consultation with the provinces concerned.

The question of the supply of funds was also discussed in relation to the production of communist literature. It was estimated that the central publications alone necessarily involve a minimum expenditure of at least Rs. 1,500 a month, the source of which is unaccounted for.

4. Communism and the Armed Forces.—The various recent attempts made by 'Kirti' (Sikh Communist) agencies to undermine the loyalty of the Indian Army were considered. It was agreed that C. I. Ds. should pay close attention to cantonment areas within their jurisdiction—especially where Sikh personnel are involved—and maintain, as far as possible, a general lookout against suspicious characters trying to approach Indian troops in cantonment areas of their vicinity, as in the recent Meerut cases.

It was also decided that C. I. Ds. in conjunction with Meerut cases and District Police should endeavour to keep a general eye open for secret approaches being made to individual soldiers in recruiting areas or on leave in their villages. The question of troops travelling by train or waiting at railway stations being approached by communists or other subversive agents was considered in this connection, and it was decided that the Railway police should arrange for a watch accordingly in consultation with C. I. Ds.

No instances have so far been reported of any similar organised attempts by communists to subvert the police, but it was agreed that communist plans include the undermining of police loyalty equally with that of the Army.

Police representatives from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Calcutta, Bihar, U. P., Punjab and the Intelligence Bureau attended the Conference. All agreed that the Conference had provided a most useful exchange of ideas on the subject of measures to defeat the communists, and that the discussions had enabled a better understanding of the practical difficulties experienced in the different provinces and of the various methods adopted for overcoming these difficulties.

It was decided to bring on record the view that informal Conferences of this nature might be repeated more often, as providing an opportunity for free discussion of practical police problems in the field of all-India subversive agitation and a most useful means of fostering and improving inter-provincial co-operation.

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Mahatma Gandhi on Individual Satyagraha

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign, I could-not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them, 'Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it, you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating, in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organization becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do.

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech, the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not.

But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble, though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth, while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1915. He is a Sanskrit-scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And, practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove

the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadevi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts. Shri Vinoba has produced a text-book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realize that spinning is the handicraft par excellence which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionized takli spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Koran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a handbook in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years Director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of *Davidranarayana* took him first to a village near Wardha, and now he has gone still further and lives in Paunar, five miles from Wardha, from where he has established contact with villages through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme of which Khadi is the centre. He believes that the charkha is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heartbelief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out-and-out war resister. But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who, whilst not being out-and-out war resisters, have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types, I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely, conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail, as I must, if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disappearance of untouchability, an increasing friendliness between communities, and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless rockbottom justice and equality pervade society, surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is peremptory obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation. The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. And I can say with confidence that, if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface it is incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretension that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies, however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free. Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms since it seeks to gain her own freedom not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violence means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right, all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that, if they will win swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in the war is being denied to us, and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore, while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly, I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next he will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

Sevagram, October 15, 1940.

Harijan, 20-10-1940.

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Vinoba Bhave's Statement on Individual Satyagraha

I owe it to the public to give them an idea of the state of mind in which I am undertaking the serious responsibility of initiating the Anti-war Satyagraha and of my plan of action. Gandhiji has set out his plan in his elaborate statement. This statement is being made in so far as it concerns me.

"Twenty-four years ago I left home with the ambition of realising God, and with the firm faith that the best and easiest means for that Realisation is service of mankind. I have devoted those years to that service. Indeed experience has proved my belief that it was not service of mankind but service of myself. All the while my mind has been possessed with nothing but the thought of how an erring mortal like me was to be worthy of getting at his feet. In undertaking the responsibility of initiating Satyagraha today my own object is the very same."

"I have complete faith in *ahimsa*. I believe that *ahimsa* is the only means of solving all the problems with which mankind is faced. I regard Khadi, service of harijans, Communal Unity and other items of the constructive programme as the external expressions of *ahimsa*. It is no exaggeration to say that all my twenty-four hours are devoted to the pursuit and development of this programme. I believe that in prohibiting anti-war propaganda Government have attacked the very foundation of all constructive work. That is why I had no hesitation in responding to the call of initiating Individual Civil Disobedience."

"War itself is a thing that I think is not worthy of man. And the present mechanised war which makes no distinction between combatants and non-combatants is the height of cruelty. Man is fast being reduced by it to the state of the brute. It is going to do good to none."

"India has set before herself the goal of Swarajya means *surva-rajya*, i.e. the Government of all. That can be attained only by *Ahimsa*. The Congress has devoted the past twenty years to developing non-violent strength and with some success. If India is dragged into this war against her will and we do not resist the process the Congress will have lost all it has gained."

"There is no reason to see much difference between Nazism and British Imperialism. The British statesmen say that they are fighting in defence of democracy, but they are not prepared to apply the principle of democracy to India. On the contrary they will not even concede the liberty of free expression of opinion strictly limited by non-violence."

"What then is one to do? If one sits quiet, violence is promoted and *ahimsa* is strangled. On the other hand *ahimsa* cannot afford to embarrass Government in their difficulty. That is why Gandhiji decided upon the plan of Individual Civil Disobedience, and confined even that for the moment to one individual. He has entrusted me with responsibility which is very difficult indeed, but one which I as a votary of *ahimsa* may not shirk."

"I have decided, if I am left free, to go to the people and appeal to them to take no part in the war in as gentle a language as is possible for me. In doing so I have to explain to them the philosophy of *ahimsa* and the frightfulness of the present war. I shall show them according to my view Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism are all chips of the same block. I shall also place before them the story of how the Congress, while adhering to its goal and yet with a view not to embarrass the Government, has progressively reduced its concrete demands ultimately confining them to what many have regarded as an extremely insipid demand viz. that of freedom of expression, to the extent of preservation of our existence. In short I shall try to convince how it is impossible to help the war in any way whatsoever. And I shall appeal to the people to combine with the sacred but nevertheless passive programme of non-participation in the war, the intensive propagation of the active programme of constructive work."

"I know that the responsibility cast upon me is very great and I am but an erring mortal. If I were to confine myself to that single consideration my courage would certainly fail me. But it does not, and for one and only reason viz. that I hope that with the grace of God and the blessings of good men the task I am undertaking will help me to burn my shortcomings to ashes. May God help me."

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Lumley-Jinnah Correspondence on Expansion of Viceroy's Council

The following is the correspondence that passed between Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim league, and Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay :-

Sir Roger Lumley to Jinnah, Poona, 20 July 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H. E. the Viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters which follow. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally, as was his desire ; but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you the message, I am not entirely fit, and I am, therefore, writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by special messenger.

The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the War effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist to his very great regret, as the last few months and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April the 22nd have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for the degree of support from the major parties, for the proposals embodied in the August offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of His Majesty's Government creating five new portfolios and the names of the gentleman by whom they have been accepted are as follows :-

SUPPLY—Sir Homi Mody ;

INFORMATION—Sir Akbar Hydari ;

CIVIC DEFENCE—Dr. Raghavendra Rao ;

INDIANS OVERSEAS—Mr. Aney ;

LABOUR—Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law when Sir Zafrullah Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Sarkar.

In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is possible to delay further, the more active association or non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. This Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States.

The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the Highest prominence and capacity.

He has accordingly invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members of it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to the possible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

It is intended that an announcement about these changes will be made on the morning of Tuesday, July the 22nd, and the Viceroy is anxious that you should have through me this advance information of what is proposed. I would have much preferred to have given you this message orally, but this letter contains the substance of it.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness."

Yours Sincerely,
ROGER LUMLEY

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Jinnah's Reply

(Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reply, dated 21st July 1941)

Dear Sir Roger,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th July, 1941, which embodies the message of H. E. the Viceroy. I deeply regret the decision taken by him with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I appreciate when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions, knowing, as he does not only my general attitude but that of the All-India Muslim League. Further I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as well as what is now called the National Defence Council, because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that His Excellency will avoid such a contingency.

Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by His Excellency over the head of the President and the Executive of the All-India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All-India Muslim League has adopted."

It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity.

Would it be creditable for any individual prominent or capable Mussalman belonging to an organisation to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation and would it do any credit to the Government if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of His Excellency ?

I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the the All-India Muslim League organisation. Persistence in this course will not improve matters. But on the contrary it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League which up to the present moment fortunately, does not exist, how emphatically we have disapproved of the policy which has been pursued by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Before I conclude I am extremely sorry to hear that you are not well, and I hope that you will soon recover from your illness.

Thanking you for your kind enquiries I am now much better."

Yours Sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

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Shivraj (DG.PS), Nagpur

