Central Provinces and Berar


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 safely 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 appeals 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 Purshottamdas 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 deversion 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 cooperation 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, cooperation 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. " 
Maxwell to Emerson

D. O. 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 cooperation 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 there of. 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 elemency 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 percent, 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.
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.

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 Dadabhum 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. Perm 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 it 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


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 irreconciliable 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 inarched 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 necessaries 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 ignominously. 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 nondescripts 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.
**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 up till 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 up till 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 Thursday.

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 salute; 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 Baug Day ". On
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 "Jallianwala 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. Vallabhbhai 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 where 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.
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 while
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 Rulletin 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 Mandal 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", "Destroy 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-Munjje 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 elese where, 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.
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 communiqué" which appeared under the seal of the Director of Information last evening appears in a rehashed from 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross Revenue</th>
<th>Net Surplus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>Rs. 79,73,000</td>
<td>Rs. 36,63,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>Rs. 52,24,000</td>
<td>Rs. 9,78,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Forest Fires</th>
<th>Tilling or Removal of Forest Produce</th>
<th>Forest Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>2,107</td>
<td>10,930</td>
<td>21,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td>9,495</td>
<td>20,294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Purshottamdas 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 beseiged 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.

**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


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 "conduct 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 inexistence. 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 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 inspite 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 deputes 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.

*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.


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 came 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.

Inspite of these instructions it should be borne in mind that the suspension of the Campaign upto the end of this month stands.

Nagpur: M. S. Aney.

Dated 22nd July 1933.