

INDIA
IN
1931-32

MAP OF INDIA

(SHOWING PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS).

REFERENCE.

Boundaries- International demarcated, undemarcated.....

Do,..... Province or State Do,..... Do,.....

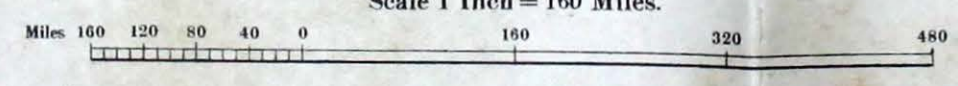
Do,..... District and minor State, Administrative.....



REFERENCES

- KASHMIR (K.)**
- 1 BHADRAH
- PUNJAB STATES (P. S.)**
- 1 KAPURTHALA
- 2 NABHA
- 3 MULLER KOTLA
- 4 LOHARU
- 5 BILASPUR
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- 7 JIND
- PUNJAB (P.)**
- 1 GUJANA
- 2 PATAUDI
- 3 FERDZEPUR
- 4 HISSAR
- 5 LUDHIANA
- BARODA (Ba.)**
- 1 AMRELI
- 2 NAVSARI
- RAJPUTANA (R.)**
- 1 KISHANGARH
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- BOMBAY (Bo.)**
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- BENGAL (B.)**
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- 7 CHHUKHADOSH
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- 4 NARSINGGARH
- 5 BAGARH
- 6 ALI-RUPPUR
- 7 SAMTHAR
- 8 KOTHI
- 9 BODHAWAL
- 10 JASO
- 11 CHAKHARI
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- 1 KISTNA
- MADRAS STATES (M. S.)**
- 1 SANDUR STATE
- 2 BANGANAPALLE
- 3 PUDUKKOTTAI STATE
- 4 COCHIN
- BURMA (BU.)**
- 1 HANTHAWADDY
- BALUCHISTAN (B.)**
- 1 BOLAN
- 2 MARI BUGTI COUNTRY
- 3 SIBI ADMINISTRATED AREA

Scale 1 Inch = 160 Miles.



INDIA

IN

1931-32

*A statement prepared for presentation to Parliament
in accordance with the requirements of the
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Chap: 61).*



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 The International Book Service, Poona 4.
 Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhaga Talao, Surat.
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PREFATORY NOTE.

This report, which has been prepared for presentation to Parliament, is issued by the Bureau of Public Information, Government of India, under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India; but it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion.

The drafting of this report has been conditioned by a decision appreciably to restrict its size. As a consequence the descriptive and explanatory passages which have been a feature of recent reports and served to introduce the subject matter of the year under review have been omitted from this report which is confined as far as possible to events falling within the year 1931-32. The chapter on politics and administration however has not been curtailed and actually covers a longer period than in previous reports, having been taken up to the end of 1932 instead of ending with March 1932. The chapter on the provinces has been omitted in order to keep down the size of the book. Full information is available in the provincial administration and departmental reports.

ANALYSIS OF CHAPTER CONTENTS.

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Representative List of Official Reports, etc.

(Mostly annual.)

General.

Statistical Abstract for British India.

Census Report (decennial).

Provincial Administration Reports: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan Agency, Aden.

Agriculture and Veterinary.

Agriculture and Livestock in India (bimonthly).

The Indian Journal of Agricultural Science (bimonthly).

The Indian Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry (quarterly).

Scientific Monographs of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

Review of Agricultural Operations in India.

The Annual Report of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.

Catalogue of Indian Insects.

Scientific Reports of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa.

Report of the Department of Agriculture for each Province.

Season and Crop Report for each Province.

Agricultural Statistics of India.

Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India.

Report of the Civil Veterinary Department for each Province.

Report of the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, Muktesar.

Quinquennial Report on the average yield per acre of principal crops in India.

Review of the Sugar Industry of India.

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Co-operative Societies.

Statistical Statements relating to Co-operative Movement in India.

Report on Co-operative Societies for each Province.

Reports of Conferences of Registrars of Co-operative Societies.

Education.

Annual Reports on Education for India and for each Province.

Quinquennial Reviews on the progress of education in India and in each Province.

Occasional Reports and Pamphlets on education.

Emigration and Immigration.

- Annual Report on the working of the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 and the Rules framed thereunder in the Presidency of Bengal.
- Annual Report on the working of the Indian Emigration Act in the Bombay Presidency.
- Annual Report on the working of the Indian Emigration Act and the Rules framed thereunder in the Madras Presidency.
- Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa.
- Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya.
- Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon on the working of the Indian Emigration Act, the Rules issued thereunder and of the Labour Ordinances of Ceylon.
- Reports on Immigrants Labour in the Province of Assam.
- Annual Report on Emigration to the Labour Districts of Assam, Cachar and Sylhet.

Finance.

- Budget of the Government of India.
- Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India.
- East India Accounts and Estimates: Explanatory Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India (Parliamentary Paper).
- Home Accounts of the Government of India (Parliamentary Paper).
- East India (Loans raised in England) (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).
- Reports on the Administration of the Mints at Calcutta and Bombay, with a review of the Controller of the Currency.
- Report of the Controller of the Currency.
- Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India.

Forests.

- Annual Return of Statistics relating to Forest Administration in British India.
- Report on Forest Administration for each Province.
- Reports of the Forest Research Institute and the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun.
- Quinquennial Forest Review.
- Indian Forest Memoirs.
- Indian Forest Records.
- Forest Bulletins.

Justice and Police.

- Report on the Administration of Civil Justice for each Province.
- Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for each Province.
- Report on Jails for each Province.
- Report on Police for each Province, and for Bombay Town and Island, Calcutta and Rangoon.

Land Revenue, etc.

- Land Revenue Administration: Provincial Reports for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency (including Sind), Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and Madras.
- Report on Land Revenue Administration, Land Records, Settlement Operations, Alienation of Land Act, etc., for North-West Frontier Province.
- Madras Survey, Settlement and Land Records Department Report.
- Reports of Land Records Departments for Bombay, Burma, Bengal, United Provinces, and Punjab.
- Report on Settlement Operations, Punjab.
- Reports on Survey and Settlement Operation, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam.
- Reports on Operations of the Land Records and Settlement Departments, Central Provinces and Berar.
- Report of the Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay.
- Provincial Reports on the Administration of Estates under the Court of Wards.
- Report on the Punjab Canal Colonies.

Legislation.

- Acts of the Indian Legislature and Provincial Legislative Councils.
- Regulations made by the Governor-General in Council.
- Ordinances made by the Governor-General.
- Official Accounts of the Debates and Proceedings in the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

Local Self-Government.

- Report on Municipalities for each Province and for Calcutta, Bombay City, Madras City and Rangoon.
- Reports on District and Local Boards for each Province.
- Reports of Ports Trusts of Bombay, Madras, Karachi and Aden.
- Administration Reports of the Calcutta, Rangoon and Chittagong Port Commissioners.

Medical, Public Health, and Vital Statistics.

- Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India.
- Report of the Director of Public Health for each Province.
- Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for each Province.
- Report on Mental Hospitals for each Province.
- Report of the Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist for each Province.
- Indian Journal of Medical Research (quarterly).
- Indian Medical Research Memoirs (supplementary to the Indian Journal of Medical Research), issued periodically.
- Records of the Malaria Survey of India issued by the Director, Malaria Survey of India.
- Reports of the Scientific Advisory Board and the Governing Body, Indian Research Fund Association.

Report of each of the Pasteur Institutes at Kasauli, Coonoor, Rangoon and Shillong.

Report of the Central Research Institute, Kasauli.

Report of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

Report of the King Institute, Guindy.

Report of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.

Reports of the various Medical Colleges and Schools in India.

Mineral Production and Inspection of Mines.

Review of Mineral Production (in Record of Geological Survey).

Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

Indian Coal Statistics.

Posts and Telegraphs.

Annual Report on the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department.

Prices and Wages.

Variations in Indian Price Levels (tables).

Reports of Provincial Wage Censuses.

Index Numbers of Indian Prices (quinquennial).

Public Works.

Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways.

History of Indian Railways constructed and in progress (quinquennial).

Quarterly Summaries of proceedings of Railway Local Advisory Committees.

Half-yearly Summaries of reports on Railway accidents by Government Inspectors of Railways.

Reports on Public Works (Buildings and Roads) for Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam, and North-West Frontier Province.

Review of Irrigation in India.

Administration Reports on Irrigation for each Province (except Assam).

Indian Roads.

Revenue (other than Land Revenue).

Salt Department Reports: Northern India, Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Burma, Bihar and Orissa.

Excise Report for each Province.

Report on the Operations of the Opium Department.

Stamp Department Report for each Province.

All-India Income-tax Report and Returns.

Registration Department Report for each Province.

Scientific Departments.

Report of the Zoological Survey.

Memoirs and Records of the Indian Museum.

Anthropological Bulletins.
 Survey of India, General Report.
 Records of the Survey of India.
 Map Publication and Office Work Report.
 Geodetic Report.
 Report and Records of the Botanical Survey.
 Reports, Memoirs, etc., of the Archaeological Survey.
 Records and Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.
 Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India.
 Scientific Notes of the Indian Meteorological Department.
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 Memoirs and Bulletins of the Kodaikanal Observatory.
 Indian Weather Review, annual summary.
 Rainfall Data of India.
 Annual Report on the Progress of Civil Aviation in India.

Trade and Manufactures.

Provincial Annual Statement of the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation, Burma.
 Provincial Reports on Maritime Trade and Customs (including working of Merchandise Marks Act) for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Sind, Madras and Burma.
 Review of the Customs Administration in India.
 Annual Statements of the Sea-borne Trade of British India, Volumes I and II.
 Review of the Trade of India.
 Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India for calendar year.
 Statements of Trade at stations adjacent to Land Frontier Routes (monthly).
 Indian Trade Journal (weekly).
 Report on Joint Stock Companies in British India and in the Indian States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore and Travancore.
 Report on the Working of the Indian Companies Act for each Province.
 Indian Customs Tariff.
 The Indian Insurance Year Book.
 Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India (monthly).
 Statistics of Cotton Spinning and Weaving in Indian Mills (monthly).
 Statistics of the Production of certain selected Industries of India (monthly).
 Joint Stock Companies registered in British India and in certain Indian States (monthly).
 Raw Cotton Trade Statistics (Rail and River) (monthly).
 Kathiawar Trade Statistics (monthly).
 Accounts relating to the Coasting Trade and Navigation of British India (monthly).

Indian Tea Statistics.

Indian Rubber Statistics.

Indian Coffee Statistics.

Large Industrial Establishments in India (biennial).

Accounts of the Trade of the Portuguese Possessions in India (quinquennial).

Statistics of Factories for the year 1930 together with a note on the working of the Indian Factories Act, 1911, during that year.

Note on the working of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, during the year 1930-31 with comparative statistics for 1929-30 and 1930-31.

Workmen's Compensation Statistics for the year 1930, together with a note on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, during that year.

Statistical table relating to strikes for the year ending the 31st March 1932.

The Government of India's "Report of the Court of Enquiry, 1932".

The Bulletin of Indian Industries and Labour, No. 47, relating to the fifteenth International Labour Conference.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives.

Labour Gazette published monthly by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay.

Report of the Department of Industries for each Province.

Administration Report of the Indian Stores Department.

Report on the work of the Indian Store Department, London.

Annual Report of the Patent Office.

APPENDIX II.

Correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi prior to the resumption of civil disobedience in January 1932, referred to at page 32 of this report.

1. *Telegram from Mr. Gandhi, to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 29th December 1931.*

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

2. *Telegram from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 31st December 1931.*

His Excellency desires me to thank you for your telegram of the 29th instant in which you refer to Bengal and United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province Ordinances. In regard to Bengal it has been and is necessary for Government to take all possible measures to prevent dastardly assassination of their officers and of private citizens.

His Excellency wishes me to say that he and his Government desire to have friendly relations with all political parties and with all sections of the public and in particular to secure co-operation of all in great work of constitutional reforms which they are determined to push forward with minimum delay. Co-operation however must be mutual and His Excellency and his Government cannot reconcile activities of Congress in the United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province with spirit of friendly co-operation which good of India demands.

As regards United Provinces you are doubtless aware that while the local Government were engaged in devising means to give all possible relief in the existing situation, the Provincial Congress Committee authorized a no-rent campaign which is now being vigorously pursued by Congress organizations in that province. This action on the part of Congress bodies has compelled Government to take measures to prevent a general state of disorder and spreading of class and communal hatred which campaign, if continued unchecked, would inevitably involve.

In North-West Frontier Province Abdul Ghaffar Khan and bodies he controlled have continuously engaged in activities against Government and in fomenting racial hatred. He and his friends have persistently refused all overtures by the Chief Commissioner to secure their co-operation and effecting the declaration of the Prime Minister, have declared in favour of

complete independence. Abdul Ghaffar Khan has delivered numerous speeches open to no other construction than as incitements to revolution and his adherents have attempted to stir trouble in tribal area. The Chief Commissioner with the approval of His Excellency's Government has shown utmost forbearance and to the last moment continued his efforts to secure assistance of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in carrying into effect, with the least possible delay, the intentions of His Majesty's Government regarding constitutional reforms in the province. The Government refrained from taking special measures until activities of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates and in particular open and intensive preparation for an early conflict with Government created a situation of such grave menace to peace of province and of tribal areas as to make it impossible further to delay action. His Excellency understands that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was in August last made responsible for leading Congress movement in province, and that volunteer organizations he controlled were specifically recognized by All-India Congress Committee as Congress organizations. His Excellency desires me to make it clear that his responsibilities for peace and order make it impossible for him to have any dealing with persons or organizations upon whom rests the responsibility for activities above outlined. You have yourself been absent from India on the business of Round Table Conference and in light of the attitude which you have observed there, His Excellency is unwilling to believe that you have personally any share in responsibility for or that you approve of recent activities of Congress in the United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province. If this is so, he is willing to see you and to give you his views as to the way in which you can best exert your influence to maintain a spirit of co-operation which animated proceedings of Round Table Conference, but His Excellency feels bound to emphasize that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which Government of India with the full approval of His Majesty's Government have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province. These measures must in any case be kept in force until they have served purpose for which they were imposed, namely, preservation of law and order essential to good government. On receipt of your reply, His Excellency proposes to publish this correspondence.

3. *Telegram from Mr. Gandhi, to the private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 1st January 1932.*

I thank His Excellency for wire in reply to mine of 29th instant. It grieves me. For His Excellency has rejected in a manner hardly befitting his high position, an advance made in friendliest spirit. I had approached as seeker wanting light on questions while I desired to understand Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference. Instead of appreciating my advance, His Excellency has rejected it by asking me to repudiate my valued colleagues in advance and telling me that even if I become guilty of such dishonourable conduct and

sought an interview, I could not even discuss these matters of vital importance to the nation.

In my opinion, constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in face of ordinances and acts which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, end in utter demoralization of nation. I hope no self-respecting Indian will run risk of killing national spirit for a doubtful contingency of securing a constitution to work which no nation with a stamina may be left. Let me also point out that as to the Frontier Province, your telegram contains a narration of facts which, on face of them, furnish no warrant for arrests of popular leaders, passing of extra-legal ordinance, making life and property utterly insecure and shooting unarmed peaceful crowds for daring to demonstrate against arrest of their trusted leaders. If Khan Sahib Abdul Ghaffar asserted the right of complete independence, it was a natural claim and the claim made with impunity by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 and by me with energy put before the British Government in London. Moreover let me remind the Viceroy that despite knowledge on Government's part that Congress mandate contained such claim, I was invited to attend London Conference as Congress delegate. Nor am I able to detect in a mere refusal to attend Durbar an offence warranting summary imprisonment. If Khan Sahib was fomenting racial hatred, it was undoubtedly regrettable. I have his own declarations to the contrary made to me, but assuming that he did foment racial hatred, he was entitled to open trial, where he could have defended himself against accusation. Regarding United Provinces, His Excellency is surely misinformed, because there was no "no-rent" campaign authorized by Congress, but whilst negotiations were proceeding between Government and Congress representatives, the time for collection of rents actually arrived and rents began to be demanded. Congress men were therefore obliged to advise tenants to suspend payment pending the result of negotiations and Mr. Sherwani had offered on behalf of the Congress to withdraw this advice if the authorities suspended collections pending negotiations. I venture to suggest that this is not a matter which can be so summarily dismissed as your wire has done. Controversy in the United Provinces is of a long standing and involves well-being of millions of peasantry known to be economically ground down. Any Government jealous of the welfare of the masses in its charge would welcome voluntary co-operation of a body like the Congress which admittedly exercises great influence over the masses and whose one ambition is to serve them faithfully and let me add that I regard the withholding of payment of taxes as an inalienable ancient and natural right of a people who have exhausted all other means of seeking freedom from an unbearable economic burden. I must repudiate suggestion that the Congress has slightest desire to promote disorder in any shape or form.

As to Bengal, the Congress is at one with the Government in condemning assassination and should heartily co-operate with the Government in measures that may be found necessary to stamp out such crimes. But whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasured terms the methods of terrorism, it can

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

as not to brook delay in publication. I am therefore sending my telegram, your reply, this rejoinder and the Working Committee's resolution for publication.

[*Text of Resolution of Working Committee referred to above.*]

The Working Committee has heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his visit to the West and considered the situation created by the extraordinary ordinances promulgated in Bengal, United Provinces and the Frontier Province and by the actions of the authorities including the numerous arrests made among those of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and by the shootings in the Frontier Province of innocent men resulting in many deaths and many more being injured. The Working Committee has also seen the telegram from His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the telegram sent by Mahatma Gandhi to him. The Working Committee is of opinion that these several acts and others of lesser gravity that have taken place in some other provinces and the telegram from His Excellency seem to make further co-operation with the Government on the part of the Congress utterly impossible unless the Government policy is radically changed. These acts and the telegram betray no intention on the part of bureaucracy to hand power to the people and are calculated to demoralize the nation. They also betray want of faith in the Congress from which co-operation is expected by the Government. The Working Committee yields to no one in its abhorrence of terrorism on any account whatsoever resorted to by individuals such as was recently witnessed in Bengal but it condemns with equal force terrorism practised by its recent acts and ordinances. The Working Committee marks the deep national humiliation over the assassination committed by two girls in Comilla and is firmly convinced that such crime does great harm to the nation especially when through its greatest political mouth-piece—the Congress—it is pledged to non-violence for achieving Swaraj. But the Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the Bengal Ordinance which seeks to punish a whole people for the crime of a few. The real remedy lies in dealing with the known cause that prompts such crime. If Bengal Ordinance has no justification for its existence the ordinances in the United Provinces and the Frontier Province have still less. The Working Committee is of opinion that the measures taken by the Congress in the United Provinces for obtaining agrarian relief are and can be shown to be justified. The Working Committee holds that it is the unquestionable right of all people suffering from grave economic distress as the tenantry of the United Provinces is admittedly suffering to withhold payment of taxes if they fail as in the United Provinces they have failed to obtain redress by other constitutional methods. In the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sherwani, the President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Working General Secretary of the Congress, who were proceeding to Bombay to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the meeting of the Working Committee, the Gov-

ornement have gone even beyond the limits contemplated by their ordinance in that there was no question whatsoever of these gentlemen taking part in Bombay in a no-tax campaign in the United Provinces. So far as the Frontier Province is concerned on the Government's own showing there appears to be no warrant for either the promulgation of the ordinance or the arrest and imprisonment without trial of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his co-workers. The Working Committee regards the shootings in that province of innocent and unarmed men to be wanton and inhuman and congratulates the brave men of the Frontier Province upon their courage and endurance and the Working Committee has no doubt that if the brave people of the Frontier Province retain their non-violent spirit in spite of the gravest provocations their blood and their sufferings would advance the cause of India's independence. The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these ordinances, the necessity of superseding the ordinary courts of law and legislative machinery, and the necessity of several acts committed thereunder. And thereafter if a proper enquiry is set up and all facilities are given to the Working Committee for the production of evidence it will be prepared to assist the enquiry by leading evidence before it. The Working Committee has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the Round Table Conference and the debates in the Houses of Parliament and regards the declaration as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing short of complete independence carrying full control over the defence and external affairs and finance with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of the nation can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory. The Working Committee notes that the British Government was not prepared at the Round Table Conference to regard the Congress as representing and entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of caste, creed or colour. At the same time the Committee recognizes with sorrow that communal harmony could not be attained at the said Conference. The Working Committee invites the nation therefore to make ceaseless effort to demonstrate the capacity of the Congress to represent the nation as a whole and promote an atmosphere that would make a constitution framed on a purely national basis acceptable to the various communities composing the nation. Meanwhile the Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government provided His Excellency the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the ordinances and its recent acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim for complete independence, and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives pending the attainment of such independence. The absence of any satisfactory response from the Government in terms of the foregoing paragraph the Working Committee will regard as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi pact. In the event of a satisfactory response

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

4. *Telegram from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 2nd January 1932.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. *Telegram from Mr. Gandhi, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 3rd January 1932.*

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