

C1

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ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

[SESSION 1933-34]

RECORD

CONTAINING

PAPERS

laid before the Joint Committee on

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL  
REFORM

BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

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# RECORD C1

Papers laid before the Committee by the Secretary of State for India

## I.—Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India [25th July, 1934] on the Action contemplated in relation to Family Pension Funds

[This memorandum incorporates and brings up to date the memorandum previously published as Record VII (Session 1932-33).]

1. In paragraph 73 of the introduction to the White Paper it was stated that His Majesty's Government considered that the balances of the Family Pension Funds must be recognised as a definite debt liability of the Government of India and as the property of subscribers; and that they were examining a proposal for the gradual conversion of these assets into separate sterling funds.

2. The Funds referred to do not include various funds, civil and military, which were established in the time of the East India Company under private management. The assets of these Funds were taken over by Government, under powers conveyed by Acts of Parliament, and the pensions at fixed rates guaranteed as charges on the revenues of India. The capital of these Funds therefore no longer exists and the position of persons drawing pension under their rules differs in no way from that of officers in receipt of ordinary retiring pensions.

3. The Funds now under consideration are four in number:—

- (1) The Indian Military Service Family Pension Scheme.
- (2) The Indian Military Widows' and Orphans' Fund.
- (3) The Indian Civil Service Family Pension Scheme.
- (4) The Superior Services (India) Family Pension Fund.

The first two are maintained by officers of the Indian Army. Subscription to the first is compulsory on all officers commissioned between 1873 and 1915, and to the second on all officers commissioned since that date. The third Fund, as its name implies, is maintained by the Indian Civil Service, subscription being compulsory on all officers entering since 1881. The fourth was established in 1928 for officers of services, other than the Indian Civil Service, recruited by the Secretary of State in Council, and membership is compulsory on all such officers now entering the services; there is, in addition, a large voluntary membership of officers of similar type who were appointed before the institution of the Fund.

4. The Funds are in all cases self-supporting. Subscriptions are paid into the general balances of the Government of India, and pensions are met from those balances. An account is kept of receipts and payments, and interest is added to the balances at rates determined from time to

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time by the Secretary of State in Council. The liabilities and assets are subjected every five years to actuarial examination, and any necessary alterations in the rates of subscription and benefits are made by the Secretary of State in Council, after consideration of the Actuary's reports.

5. On the basis of the latest available information the receipts and payments during the financial year 1934-35, together with the opening and closing balances at the credit of the several Funds, are estimated as follows:—

—	I.M.S.F.P.	I.M.W.O.F.	I.C.S.F.P.	S.S. (I) F.P.F.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
Balance, 1st April, 1934	6,586,000	527,000	4,202,000	503,000	11,818,000
Interest ...	297,000	25,000	191,000	23,000	536,000
Contributions...	73,000	51,000	44,000	38,000	206,000
	6,956,000	603,000	4,437,000	564,000	12,560,000
Payments ...	317,000	7,000	121,000	12,000	457,000
	6,639,000	596,000	4,316,000	552,000	12,103,000

6. In May 1933 circulars were issued to subscribers of all four funds inviting their views on the following suggestions:—

That Commissioners or Trustees should be appointed for the purpose of holding and investing on behalf of subscribers in approved securities, which would presumably be confined to those authorised by the Trustee Act, sums handed over to them; that these Commissioners should be paid annually for this purpose the contributions received during the year and the interest allowed by the Government of India on the balances remaining in its hands, and that money for the payment of pensions as they fall due should be provided by the Government of India out of the balances in its hands, which would thus be gradually reduced.

It was pointed out to the subscribers that by investment in Trustee Stocks it was improbable that the Commissioners would be able to secure a yield equal to the rate of interest allowed on the balances under the existing arrangements, which is based on the current yield of India long-dated sterling securities; that allowance might have to be made, particularly in the present conditions, for capital depreciation of investments, a risk from which the Funds are now exempt; and that as a result it was probable that the proposals would involve some reduction in the rates of pension now payable.

7. The effect of the above proposals would clearly be that the balance in the hands of the Government of India would gradually disappear as it was drawn upon to meet the demands of a growing pension list; while

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a new fund would gradually be built up from the investments made by the Commissioners. The period which would elapse before the transfer was complete, that is to say before the entire balances in the hands of Government had been paid out, would vary with the different Funds. It has been estimated at from 15 to 20 years in the case of the Indian Military Service Family Pension Scheme, and at as much as 40 years in the case of the Indian Military Widows' and Orphans' Fund, with intermediate periods in the other cases.

8. A large majority of the replies received from subscribers indicated a desire for the investment of the balances in sterling securities, but the scheme outlined in the circulars was criticised on the ground that the period elapsing before transfer would be complete was too long. In order to meet this criticism, it is proposed to abandon the scheme whereby the rate of transfer would be regulated automatically by the amount of the annual payments of pension: and to substitute a scheme whereby transfer could be made at any rate allowed by the financial conditions of the time, but subject in any case to the completion of the transfer by a fixed maximum period. It is hoped that, in practice, any maximum period will be inoperative. Should existing financial conditions continue without serious deterioration, it should be possible to complete the transfer within quite a short period after the Constitution Act has been passed and the subscribers and pensioners have expressed their final assent. It will, however, probably be desired that a limit shall be set by statute to the period of transfer; and in fixing this limit it is necessary to consider the possible effects on the exchange position of the Government of India. A scheme of this nature imposes no ultimate charge on Indian Revenues, which are in any case liable to pay the entire balances sooner or later in the form of pensions. It involves, however, the disbursement in sterling within the limits fixed of sums which would otherwise remain a liability to be met at a later date; and such an addition to the sterling requirements, if sufficiently large, might in certain circumstances become embarrassing. It would be imprudent to impose on the finances of the Federation what might prove to be an intolerable burden; and it is thought, therefore, that the statutory maximum period should not be shorter than 12 years. This period is intended only as a limit by which the Government would be bound. As just indicated, it is expected that it will actually prove possible to complete the transfer within quite a short time.

9. It is not contemplated that the Commissioners should have any responsibility for the administration of the pension schemes, or for the collection of subscriptions and disbursement of pensions. The administration would remain in the hands of the Secretary of State, who would decide, after consultation with subscribers, all such matters as rates of contribution or pension, changes in the regulations, &c. The disbursement of pensions and collection of subscriptions would continue to be carried out through the ordinary paying agencies of the Government of India. The function of the Commissioners, therefore, would be solely that of holding and investing money handed over to them, and of supplying from the funds in their hands, when required, money for the payment of pensions.

10. Inasmuch as the proposals, if accepted, would involve a change in the conditions under which members of the Funds have hitherto subscribed, and moreover a change which, in some respects, for instance, in regard to the rate of interest realised, would be to their disadvantage, it is held that

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even though a large majority may desire the change it would be inequitable to impose on a minority who are content, as at present, to rely on the credit of the Government of India, the consequences of transfer. It is contemplated, therefore, that before any action is taken on the lines indicated above, circulars should be issued to all subscribers and pensioners setting out, as fully as possible, in the light of actuarial investigations now in progress, the prospects under the present conditions and those, necessarily less favourable, which may be expected if the funds are invested in sterling; and that each subscriber and pensioner should be asked to elect one or other of the two alternatives.

11. It should perhaps be mentioned that it will not be possible to put before the subscribers the precise effects of the election they will be called upon to make. The actuarial reports will show the results on the two suppositions that on the one hand the present arrangements are maintained *in toto* and on the other that the entire funds are invested in sterling. The effect of a reduction in the rate of interest is not, however, the same on all types of policy. It clearly varies with the probable duration of the liability, and must be greater in the case of a young subscriber, in respect of whom it is necessary to take account of possible pensions payable 70 years hence or even later, than in the case of an elderly subscriber or beneficiary. The results obtained for the whole of the funds will therefore only be true of portions of those funds if the portions are true samples of the whole, containing the proper proportion of each class, old and young, subscribers and beneficiaries. If, on the other hand, the result of the elections is to split the funds to a great extent by classes; if, for instance the majority of older subscribers and beneficiaries elect to remain under the existing conditions while the younger choose transfer to sterling investments; then the effects on the two portions of any fund would differ both *inter se* and from the effects ascertained for the fund as a whole. While, therefore, every effort will be made to arrange the material in such a manner as to give the fullest information, it will be necessary to state that the figures must be regarded as to some extent provisional, and that the final effects can only be known after the election is actually made.

12. The division of the various funds each into two portions, which, apart from the highly improbable contingency of a unanimous vote, must be the effect of the election, may produce certain undesirable results. The financial stability of any pension scheme depends on the realisation of the estimates made of the prospects of death, marriage, fertility, &c.; and the smaller the membership the greater is the probability of casual variations from these estimates. There is therefore a danger that, if one or the other portion of any divided fund were a small proportion of the whole, it might produce irregular results, and be found, at a later date, either to be unreasonably large in comparison with its liabilities or, more regrettably, to be inadequate to discharge them. In the case of those who elect for transfer to invested funds no special steps in relation to this possible danger seem necessary; firstly because it is improbable, in view of the opinions already elicited from subscribers as recorded above, that the funds constituted by these subscribers will be unduly small, and secondly because, as the position will have arisen by their own action and largely on their own initiative, it is reasonable that they should bear the consequences. In the case, however, of those who elect to abide by the present conditions it is

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felt that they should be protected from any ill-effects consequent on the withdrawal of the majority. It is contemplated, therefore, that if the numbers remaining are in any case too small to offer a reasonable prospect of stability, the fund should be taken over by the Government of India on lines similar to those followed in the case of the Presidency Funds in the last century; that is to say, that the Government of India should assume full possession of the balance on deposit in its hands and should receive, as sums due to Indian revenues and not as deposits, all future contributions; and should guarantee the payment from the revenues of India of pensions at such rate as might be shown, by actuarial valuations specially made for the purpose at the date of taking over, to be justified.

13. The above proposal would involve the possible extinction, in the case of the subscribers or pensioners electing to remain dependent on the Government of India, of their existing right to benefit derived from their accumulated funds, and the substitution of a different right, namely, to fixed benefits payable from the revenues of India. In the case also of those subscribers who elect to rely for their dependants' pensions on funds invested in sterling securities there would be, as has been said above, a material change in the conditions under which they have hitherto subscribed; and though in this case the change will have received the assent of all the individuals concerned, it is desirable, if not essential, that any doubts as to the legitimacy of the action should be set at rest by legal sanction covering both cases.

14. Inasmuch as it is desirable that the measures taken in the case of each fund should accord as closely as possible with the views expressed by subscribers, which may not in all cases be identical, it seems inadvisable to include in the Constitution Act itself definite and final provisions. A form of permissive enactment would appear to be preferable, and it is therefore proposed:—

That His Majesty should be empowered by the Constitution Act to direct by Order in Council the appointment of Commissioners for the purpose of receiving moneys accruing to or belonging to all or any of the Family Pension Funds, and of holding or investing the same for the purposes of the Funds; and to make regulations for the transfer to the Commissioners, in such manner and within such a period as may be prescribed, of the moneys accruing to the Funds and the balances in the hands of the Government of India: provided that the period prescribed shall not exceed 12 years from the 31st March following the passing into law of the Constitution Act: and provided further that the regulations shall not require the transfer to the Commissioners of moneys or balances relating to liabilities in respect of subscribers or pensioners who have signified their objection thereto:

That the interest and dividends received by the Commissioners so appointed on sums invested in their hands shall be declared exempt from Income Tax:

That the Order in Council may prescribe an authority to determine the rate of interest to be added on the balances remaining in the hands of the Government of India:

That the Order in Council may further provide that, in the case of any subscribers and beneficiaries who shall have signified their objections

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to the transfer to the Commissioners of the moneys or balances relating to their liabilities, it shall be open to the Secretary of State to grant to the said beneficiaries, or to the dependants of the said subscribers, a right to benefits payable from the revenues of India at fixed rates to be determined by him, and that the moneys and balances aforesaid shall in consideration of such grant lapse to the revenues of India and the Government of India shall be discharged of all liability in respect thereof.

[11TH OCTOBER, 1934.]

## RECORD C1 (continued)

### II.—Government of India, Home Department, Resolution, dated 4th July, 1934

#### *Section I.—General.*

In accordance with undertakings given in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India have carefully reviewed the results of the policy followed since 1925 of reserving a certain percentage of direct appointments to Government service for the redress of communal inequalities. It has been represented that though this policy was adopted mainly with the object of securing increased representation for Muslims in the public services, it has failed to secure for them their due share of appointments, and it has been contended that this position cannot be remedied unless a fixed percentage of vacancies is reserved for Muslims. In particular, attention has been drawn to the small number of Muslims in the Railway service, even on those railways which run through areas in which Muslims form a high percentage of the total population.

The review of the position has shown that these complaints are justified, and the Government of India are satisfied by the enquiries they have made that the instructions regarding recruitment must be revised with a view to improving the position of Muslims in the services.

2. In considering this general question the Government of India have also to take into account the claims of the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans and of the depressed classes. Anglo-Indians have always held a large percentage of appointments in certain branches of the public service, and it has been recognised that in view of the degree to which the community has been dependent on this employment, steps must be taken to prevent in the new conditions anything in the nature of a rapid displacement of Anglo-Indians from their existing position, which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community. The instructions which follow in regard to the employment of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans in certain departments are designed to give effect to this policy.

3. In regard to the depressed classes it is common ground that all reasonable steps should be taken to secure for them a fair degree of representation in the public services. The intention of the caste Hindus in this respect was formally stated in the Poona Agreement of 1932 and His Majesty's Government in accepting that agreement took due note of this point. In the present state of general education in these classes the Government of India consider that no useful purpose will be served by reserving for them a definite percentage of vacancies out of the number available for Hindus as a whole, but they hope to ensure that duly qualified candidates from the depressed classes are not deprived of fair opportunities of appointment merely because they cannot succeed in open competition.

4. The Government of India have also considered carefully the position of minority communities other than those mentioned above and are satisfied that the new rules will continue to provide for them, as at present, a reasonable degree of representation in the services.

5. The Government of India propose to prescribe annual returns in order to enable them to watch the observance of the rules laid down below.



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*Section II.—Scope of Rules.*

6. The general rules which the Government of India have with the approval of the Secretary of State adopted with the purpose of securing these objects are explained below. They relate only to direct recruitment and not to recruitment by promotion, which will continue to be made as at present solely on merit. They apply to the Indian Civil Service, the Central Services, Class I and Class II, and the Subordinate services under the administrative control of the Government of India, with the exception of a few services and posts for which high technical or special qualifications are required, but do not apply to recruitment for these services in the Province of Burma. In regard to the railways, they apply to all posts other than those of inferior servants or labourers on the four State-managed railways, and the administrations of the Company-managed railways will be asked to adopt similar rules for the services in these railways.

*Section III.—Rules for Services recruited on an All-India basis.*

7.—(1) For the Indian Civil Service and the Central and Subordinate services, to which recruitment is made on an all-India basis, the following rules will be observed:—

(i) Twenty-five per cent. of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment of Indians will be reserved for Muslims and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for other minority communities.

(ii) When recruitment is made by open competition, if Muslims or the other minority communities obtain less than these percentages, these percentages will be secured to them by means of nomination; if, however, Muslims obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition, no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for other minorities, while if the other minorities obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for Muslims.

(iii) If members of the other minority communities obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition and if duly qualified candidates are not available for nomination, the residue of the  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will be available for Muslims.

(iv) The percentage of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  reserved for the other minorities will not be distributed among them in any fixed proportion.

(v) In all cases a minimum standard of qualification will be imposed, and the reservations are subject to this condition.

(vi) In order to secure fair representation for the depressed classes duly qualified members of these classes may be nominated to a public service, even though recruitment to that service is being made by competition. Members of these classes, if appointed by nomination, will not count against the percentages reserved in accordance with clause (i) above.

(2) For the reason given in paragraph 2 of this Resolution the Government of India have paid special attention to the question of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans in gazetted posts on the railways for which recruitment is made on an all-India basis. In order to maintain approximately

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their present representation in these posts the Anglo-Indian and domiciled community will require to obtain about 9 per cent. of the total vacancies available to members of Indian communities. The Government of India have satisfied themselves that at present the community is obtaining by promotions to these gazetted posts and by direct recruitment to them more than 9 per cent. of these vacancies. In these circumstances it has been decided that no special reservation is at present required. If and when the community is shown to be receiving less than 9 per cent. of these vacancies it will be considered what adjustments in regard to direct recruitment may be required to safeguard their legitimate interests.

*Section IV.—Rules for Services recruited locally.*

8. In the case of all services to which recruitment is made by local areas and not on all-India basis, e.g., subordinate posts in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department, Customs Service, Income-tax Department, &c., the general rules prescribed above will apply subject to the following modifications:—

(1) The total reservation for India as a whole of 25 per cent. for Muslims and of 8½ per cent. for other minorities will be obtained by fixing a percentage for each Railway or local area or circle having regard to the population ratio of Muslims and other minority communities in the area and the rules for recruitment adopted by the Local Government of the area concerned.

(2) In the case of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs Department and Customs Service in which the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community is at present principally employed, special provisions described in the next paragraph are required in order to give effect to the policy stated in paragraph 2 above.

9.—(1) (a) The Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community at present hold 8·8 per cent. of the subordinate posts on the Railways. To safeguard their position 8 per cent. of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment will be reserved for members of this community. This total percentage will be obtained by fixing a separate percentage (i) for each railway having regard to the number of members of this community at present employed, (ii) for each branch or department of the Railway service, so as to ensure that Anglo-Indians continue to be employed in those branches in which they are at present principally employed, e.g. the Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering and Traffic Departments. No posts in the higher grades of the subordinate posts will be reserved, and promotion to these grades will be made, as at present, solely on merit.

(b) The reservation of 25 per cent. for Muslims and 8 per cent. for Anglo-Indians makes it necessary to increase the reservation of 33½ per cent. hitherto adopted for all minority communities, in order to safeguard the interests of minorities other than Muslims and Anglo-Indians. It has been decided, therefore, to reserve for them 6 per cent. of vacancies filled by direct recruitment, which is approximately the percentage of posts held by members of these communities at present. This total reservation will be obtained in the manner prescribed in paragraph 8 (1) of this Resolution and will not be further subdivided among the minority communities.

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(2) In the Posts and Telegraphs Department the same principles will be followed as in the case of the Railways for safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community, which at present holds about 2.2 per cent. of all subordinate posts. It has been ascertained that if a reservation is made for this community of 5 per cent. of the vacancies in the branches, departments or categories which members of this community may reasonably be expected to enter, it will result in securing for them a percentage equal to slightly less than the percentage of subordinate posts which they at present hold. In the departments or branches in which a special reservation is made for Anglo-Indians, the reservation of vacancies for other minorities will be fixed so as to be equal approximately to the percentage of subordinate posts at present held by them. The total reservation for Anglo-Indians and other minority communities, other than Muslims, will in any case be not less than 8½ per cent.

(3) Anglo-Indians are at present largely employed in subordinate posts in the Appraising Department and in the superior preventive service at the major ports. For the former department special technical qualifications are required, and in accordance with the general principles indicated in paragraph 6 it will be excluded from the operation of these rules. In the Preventive Service special qualifications are required, and the present system of recruitment whereby posts are reserved for Anglo-Indians will be maintained.

## RECORD C1 (*continued*)

### III.—A Note by the Secretary of State for India [30th November, 1933] on Terrorism in India

1. Members of the Committee will remember that I undertook in the summer to furnish a note which would give a picture of what terrorism actually means, particularly in the Presidency of Bengal. In Bengal terrorism has a 30 years' history and exists on a scale that is quite unparalleled in any other Province. I therefore circulate to the Committee, as Appendix A, a separate and comprehensive note which I have received from India, giving an account of terrorism in Bengal, with full statistics of outrages.

2. A study of this note and of the detailed statistics at the end will show that during the present year the measures taken by the authorities to deal with the terrorist menace in Bengal have begun to bear fruit and have resulted in a considerable drop in the number of serious terrorist crimes. At the same time, outrages still occur, new recruits are still joining the movement, and much yet remains to be done before there can be any slackening of effort on the part of Government, or any relaxation of the measures found necessary by the authorities to deal with those responsible. Past experience has shown that, in the case of the terrorists, nothing can be hoped from a policy of conciliation. The Note shows what has been the result of the decisions to release offenders or relax control which have been taken in the last 13 years. The terrorists who had been interned under the Defence of India Act were all included in the general amnesty of 1920. They merely utilised their freedom to reorganise their forces, and on the failure of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 they launched a fresh terrorist outbreak, which by 1925 was so serious that special powers to deal with it had to be taken in the form of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Ordinance. Again, by September 1928 all the détenus who had been interned under the Bengal Act had once more been released in view of the lull then existing in terrorist activities. The lull continued until April 1930, and the powers of detention and arrest without trial contained in

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the Bengal Act were allowed to lapse at the end of the five-year period provided in that Act. Barely a fortnight later occurred the Chittagong Armoury Raid—the first manifestation of a renewed campaign of violent crime. With these experiences as a warning, it is clear that any change in our present policy towards terrorism would be fraught with disaster.

3. For the rest of India, I have thought it sufficient to circulate, as Appendix B, a list of terrorist outrages in the various Provinces up to the 30th June 1933. In circulating this list I desire to make the following comments only.

Probably the most persistent terrorist organisation outside Bengal is the Hindustan Republican Association, subsequently styled the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association or Army. This was originally started, after the failure of Mr. Gandhi's first mass civil disobedience campaign, by two Bengalis in the United Provinces. The rules of the Association stated that "the object of the Association shall be to establish a Federated Republic of the United States of India by an organised and armed revolution." Each provincial organisation was to have its various departments and each was to concentrate on crimes of violence with a view to collect money and arms; for the enforcement of discipline assassination was made permissible. This Association has since its inception been very loosely knit; at times it has almost ceased to exist, but it has frequently come to notice subsequently, and, as will be seen later, it has even been established in Madras. It has functioned in Bihar, the United Provinces, Punjab and Delhi. There are indications that at present it is entering into an alliance with active communists; its activities require careful watching, but there is no reason to doubt that the police forces in the various Provinces are well equipped to deal with it.

4. Apart from this Association, the manifestations of terrorism in Provinces outside Bengal have in the main been of a sporadic and isolated character. In the United Provinces, which from its geographical situation has always been liable to the permeation of revolutionary influences from Bengal, the most serious incident is that connected with what is known as the Kakori gang, which was largely of Bengali origin. Though the list of attempted outrages is a long one, it is fortunate that in very few cases have they been successful; only one attempt has been made, at Jhansi in August 1930, to assassinate a British officer and that was frustrated without difficulty. In Bihar and Orissa and Assam, where again there have been signs of terrorist activity from time to time, the provincial police have proved themselves to be capable of disposing of any conspiracy within a short space of time and under the powers conferred by the ordinary law. In Bombay the instances of attempted outrages have been too few and isolated to

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indicate the presence of any definite terrorist organisation, and it was the considered conclusion of a police officer placed on special duty in 1930-31 to enquire into the extent to which revolutionary doctrines had taken root in the Presidency, that there was no organised party in existence for the purpose of committing political outrages or connected with revolutionary movements in other Provinces. The same is true of the Central Provinces. In Madras there was an outbreak of terrorist crimes in the early part of this year, but timely action by the police, which resulted in the prosecution of 22 persons in the Madras City Conspiracy Case, prevented any further spread of this form of activity. The Punjab had to deal with a severe outbreak of revolutionary activity in 1930, and in December of that year an attempt was made to murder the Governor; but following the execution of Bhagat Singh in March 1931 and the passing of the Press Act in October 1931 and the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932, the situation has greatly improved and terrorism may now be considered to be definitely under control. There, as elsewhere, however, constant vigilance is necessary if law and order are to be maintained, for there is reason to apprehend that there is still considerable covert sympathy with the movement among a section of the people, and the scope for recruitment in schools and colleges is substantial. As regards the North-West Frontier Province, it may be pointed out that the population of that Province is predominantly Muslim, while the members of the various terrorist parties are almost all Hindus. Consequently the appeal of organised terrorism has hitherto been small. Though the Pathan is known to be violent by nature and easily moved to assassination by motives of fanaticism or revenge, this is a different matter from the murder clubs which constitute the terrorist groups elsewhere.

5. To sum up, terrorism has its birth in Bengal, and where it has shown its head in other Provinces it can almost invariably be traced to Bengali influences. It is at all events true to say that in no Province but Bengal is there that widespread and deep-rooted terrorist mentality which is essential for its development. It is this which accounts for the fact that when terrorist conspiracies have existed elsewhere Government has been able to deal more promptly and more effectively with them than in Bengal. Gang after gang has been successfully broken up by the Police with no more than the ordinary provisions of the Penal Code to assist them. That remains the position to-day. Efforts, however, are being made to effect a combination of terrorists, communists, and Ghadr Party\* conspirators for the purpose of bringing about

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\* A subversive organisation composed of Sikhs living in California, other parts of North and South America, and also in the Punjab, which is at present favourably viewed by the Communist International.

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mass risings in the future. So long as the Police can contrive to obtain inside information regarding these movements, as it may safely be claimed that they have done in the past, there is no great cause for anxiety; but there is still every reason for extreme vigilance.

6. I do not wish to minimise in any way the danger that this terrorist movement may still hold for us. Still less do I wish to convey any impression that we are not conscious of what this sinister campaign of violence has meant to our officers, both British and Indian. There are few parts of India where it has not at times demanded most anxious vigilance and prompt executive action; there are parts, and particularly the province of Bengal, where it has caused a deplorable loss of valuable lives. I cannot pay too high a tribute to the courage and the high sense of duty which has been shown by our officers in facing day by day the dangers and anxieties involved in the long-continued fight against these conspiracies of anarchy and murder.

7. In this connection a word may be said about some of the special measures adopted by the authorities to carry on the fight in Bengal. In paragraph 21 of Annexure A reference is made to the legislative enactments which form the basis of Government action. Under one of these enactments the campaign of incitement to murder in the public Press has been largely checked; under another (as will be seen from Annexure IV) over 2,000 suspects have been arrested. Where serious outrages have taken place and the ends of justice foiled by the hostile or unresponsive attitude of the local inhabitants, collective fines have been imposed or additional police posted at the expense of the appropriate section of the inhabitants. In the particularly difficult district of Chittagong, where absconders from the armoury raid at one time roamed and terrorised the countryside, still stricter measures have been enforced. After the raid two battalions of troops joined forces with the police and maintained constant pressure on the enemy by patrolling the country and searching villages and houses; in addition various restrictions have been imposed from time to time such as curfew orders, the prohibition of the use of bicycles by Hindu youths, and finally the imposition of an "identity card" system, by which the movements of students and young men could be controlled. In addition to these punitive and preventive measures, a constructive attempt has been made, with good results, to improve the morale of the law-abiding citizen and to undermine that of the terrorist by the quartering of two brigades of troops in certain districts of the Presidency.

8. In conclusion, I would draw the attention of the Committee to the relations, limited though they may be, which exist between

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terrorism and other subversive movements. The particular relation between communism and terrorism in Bengal is treated in paragraphs 11 and 32 of Appendix A. As regards other Provinces, reference is made in paragraph 3 above to the connection between the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and communists, and in paragraph 5 to the attempts at a *rapprochement* between communists, terrorists and members of the Ghadr Party. It is unnecessary for me to do more than mention these tendencies; the dangers which have been and may be involved in such combinations are obvious.

[30th NOVEMBER, 1933.]



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## APPENDIX A.

## Terrorism in Bengal.

## SECTION I. 1905-1919.

1. Terrorism in Bengal had its origin in the anti-partition agitation. The original organisers were two brothers, Barindra and Arabinda Ghosh, and they laid the foundations of the main Western Bengal terrorist association, the Jugantar Party. A year or two later one Pulin Behari Das started a similar organisation in Eastern Bengal, out of which evolved the other great terrorist party—the Anushilan Samity. Starting with inflammatory writings in the Press, these terrorist organisations eventually started a campaign of dacoity and murder on a widespread scale, and by 1915 the situation had grown so serious that very drastic powers had to be taken under the Defence of India Act to enable the police to deal with the menace. It is unnecessary to deal in any further detail with this early period of terrorist history, for it was exhaustively dealt with in the report of the Committee appointed in December 1917 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rowlatt.

The Committee summarised the position as follows :—

“Since the year 1906 revolutionary outrages in Bengal have numbered 210 and attempts at committing such outrages have amounted to 101. Definite information is in the hands of the Police of the complicity of no less than 1,038 persons in these offences. But of these only 84 persons have been convicted of specified crimes in 39 prosecutions, and of these persons 30 were tried by tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. Ten attempts have been made to strike at revolutionary conspiracies by means of prosecutions directed against groups or branches. In these prosecutions 192 persons were involved, 63 of whom were convicted. Eighty-two revolutionaries have rendered themselves liable to be bound over to be of good behaviour under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. In regard to 51 of these, there is direct evidence of complicity in outrages. There have, moreover, been 59 prosecutions under the Arms and Explosives Acts which have resulted in convictions of 58 persons.”

“The main reason why it has not been possible by the ordinary machinery of the criminal law to convict and imprison on a larger scale those guilty of outrages, and so put down crime, is simply want of evidence. There have been 91 dacoities since 1907, of which 16 were accompanied by murder, and from 1st January 1915 to 30th June 1916 there were 14 murders, 8 of them being of police officers, for which it has not been possible to put anyone upon trial. This difficulty in obtaining legal evidence has been no doubt greatly enhanced by terrorism. But apart from that the inherent difficulties are formidable.”

Then after an exhaustive examination of the difficulties, they found that it would be necessary to provide for the continuance, with certain limitation, of the powers conferred by the Defence of India Act. “By these means alone,” they wrote, “has the conspiracy been paralysed for the present, and we are unable to devise any expedient, operating according to strict judicial forms, which can be relied on to prevent its reviving, to check it if it does revive, or, in the last resort, to suppress

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it anew. This will involve some infringement of the rules normally safeguarding the liberty of the subject. We have endeavoured to make that infringement as small as we think possible consistently with the production of an effective scheme." Again they wrote:—"The powers we suggest for dealing with future emergencies must be ready for use at short notice. They must, therefore, be on the statute book in advance. That fact alone is calculated to have some moral effect. To postpone legislation till the danger is instant is, in our view, to risk a recurrence of the history of the years 1906-17."

A Bill was, accordingly, drafted on the lines recommended, and passed in the Assembly in Delhi in March 1919 as the Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act, 1919. The Act was stillborn, but the accuracy of the findings of the Committee has been proved by subsequent events.

2. Before the Rowlatt Committee had concluded their labours, a committee of two judges of the High Courts (viz. Chandravarkar and Beachcroft, JJ.), respectively, of Bombay and Calcutta, was appointed to examine and report on the cases in which the Local Government had taken action under the Defence of India Act. Between June 1916 and November 1919, 1,029 persons had been interned under the Act, and the judges after examining over 806 cases advised that in only six of them did they think that there were not sufficient grounds for believing that the persons concerned had acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India. This was a striking testimony to the care with which the information had been sifted by Government before they took action. The report of these judges also supported the conclusion of the Rowlatt Committee that revolutionary conspiracies of the kind which occurred in Bengal cannot be checked by the ordinary processes of the law. After discussing the special conditions of the problem, they wrote, "Under these circumstances, it is impossible to secure a fair trial by the procedure of the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code which is appropriate only to normal conditions of crime. The procedure to deal with revolutionary crime has to be practicable in the sense of being appropriate to its special conditions, so as to secure as fair a trial as is feasible under the exceptional situation."

3. Early in 1920 after the Royal Proclamation of 1919 all those who had been interned under the Defence of India Act were released and the amnesty was extended gradually to most of the leaders of the revolutionary movements.

## SECTION II. 1920-1929.

4. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were formally inaugurated by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught in February 1921. These reforms were followed, in 1922, by the repeal of virtually all the enactments supplementing the Criminal Law except the Seditious Meeting Act, 1911, and Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. The Rowlatt Act, which had never been put into operation, and the Indian Press Act, were also repealed. The reforms had, however, failed to meet the demands of the extremists and the destruction of the reformed system of government became the avowed object of all the extremist political parties. The period was one of great political and economic difficulty. The high prices prevailing had engendered a vague resentment against the Government, the religious feelings of the Muslims had been greatly disturbed by the misfortunes of Turkey, and political feelings stirred by

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events in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi adroitly took advantage of all these factors to launch his non-co-operation movement in 1920. Schools and colleges and law courts were to be boycotted, titles renounced, national schools and arbitration courts started, foreign goods, and particularly cloth, boycotted, with a view to bring Government to its knees. It took a little time before the full effects of the furious agitation among the masses made themselves felt. Though Mr. Gandhi's ideas were non-violent, his followers gradually got out of control, and the movement eventually led to the shocking tragedy of Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces in February 1922. In Bengal the results of the movement were manifested in the mutiny in the Rajshahi Jail, the exodus of tea garden coolies from Assam, and a strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway and the India General Steam Navigation Co.'s steamer services. In the country districts the agitation was directed largely against the police, including the village police, and in many districts there was a refusal to pay the chaukidari tax and the rents of Government and private landlords. All through, the Press poured forth a torrent of propaganda and abuse and kept the Province in a ferment of excitement.

5. The terrorists, now freed from restraint, were content to watch developments while utilising every opportunity (such as the volunteer movement) of drawing their followers together and extending their influence. Endeavours were made to organise *ashrams* on lines similar to those which played so important a part in former movements. Leading members of the two main organisations were active in every form of propaganda, particularly among the student class. Every cause of unrest was exploited and every centre of agitation utilised for the dissemination of terrorism and capture of new recruits. Many of their leaders obtained responsible positions in district Congress committees and used their positions to consolidate their followers. This penetration of the Congress machine had very important consequences, for it helped them internally in the matter of recruitment and organisation and externally in the matter of public sympathy. The penetration was so rapid that in 1924 the terrorists were in a position to compel the Bengal Provincial Congress to put through a resolution eulogising one Gopi Mohan Shaha, who was executed for assassinating Mr. Day of Calcutta in mistake for Sir Charles Tegart, the Commissioner of Police. The time was to come when there were few districts in the Province where terrorists were not represented on local Congress committees.

6. Being satisfied by Mr. Gandhi's arrest and conviction, in 1922, that his programme had definitely failed, they decided then to resume their campaign of violence. There is reason to believe that the Chittagong Congress of April 1922 was the occasion of the decision to resume violent methods. This second terrorist campaign was ushered in, like the first, by a resumption of terrorist propaganda in the extremist Press. Within a short time of the repeal of the Indian Press Act in March 1922, mushroom vernacular journals like the *Atma Sakti*, the *Sarathi*, the *Mukti Kam*, *Bijali*, and others began to publish articles having a direct or indirect tendency to incite violent hostility against Government and the British. The commonest type of propaganda was to denounce the economic oppression of the British in India, to extol in mystical and sometimes in poetic language freedom and self-sacrifice, and to publish appreciative articles in praise of revolutionaries. This last was a new feature of revolutionary propaganda, and its nature will appear from the

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following extract from the annual report on Indian newspapers in Bengal for the year 1923:—

“A noteworthy feature in the year under review was the large amount of writing in frank praise of old revolutionaries. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* referred to them as selfless youths with indomitable resolution, who kindled the lamp of life by undergoing death. The *Prabartak*, in continuation of previous issues, extolled Kanai Lall Dutt (the murderer of the approver Narendra Lal Gossain in the Alipore Conspiracy Case). These are primarily narratives. Highly appreciative biographical notices of Jatindra Mukherjea and his three associates (killed at Balasore in an encounter with the police) now appeared in many papers. It was explained, however, that this laudation did not necessarily imply adoption of their methods. The justification was set forth by the *Sarathi*. The distrust of the people must be removed. To give them such a training, the life stories of self-sacrificing heroic patriots must be recited to them. We may not adopt their methods, but are we not on that account to respect their renunciation, their heroism, and their patriotism?”

7. The Jugantar group was the first to strike. In May 1923 they committed a dacoity with double murder at Kona near Howrah; in the same month the Ultadinghi post office was looted. The same gang committed a robbery with murder at Garpar Road on the 30th July in which firearms were used. The murder of a postmaster at Sankaritola followed. The investigation in this resulted in full corroboration of the information already in the possession of Government, and showed that these outrages were all the work of a particular group of the terrorist party. Seven members of this group were put on trial in the Alipore conspiracy case, but many of the facts in the possession of Government could not be placed before the court and they were eventually acquitted.

The situation after these outrages had been committed was serious. It was clear that the terrorists had been encouraged by the belief that Government could no longer deal with their conspiracies effectively. It was clear also that unless immediate action was taken, Bengal would again be exposed to the dangers of the previous outbreak of revolutionary crime. Accordingly, several of the important suspects, including Subash Chandra Bose, the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation, were incarcerated under Regulation III of 1818. This action served, however, to check the movement only for the time being. New leaders were found and operations were resumed. In December 1923 a robbery of Rs. 17,000, the property of the Assam-Bengal Railway, was committed at Chittagong by four *bhadralok* youths armed with revolvers. Subsequent investigation showed that certain *bhadralok* youths were hiding in suspicious circumstances in a house in a village at some distance from Chittagong. The search of this house 10 days after the robbery led to the discovery of a number of weapons and ammunition of a foreign make. The attempt to arrest the occupants of the house led to a running fight between them and a body of police and to the arrest of two youths with firearms. An attempt was made to decoy from his house one of the chief witnesses in the robbery case with the intention of murdering him, and on the next evening a sub-inspector who had arrested one of the accused in this case and knew the others by sight, was shot at Chittagong.

Some of the accused in the Alipore conspiracy case stated subsequently that one of the immediate objects of the conspiracy was the assassination

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of police officers. In the early part of 1923 persons were found watching the movements of these officers and their residences. These watchers were themselves placed under observation, and traced to places known to be haunts of the conspirators. In January 1924 Mr. Day was murdered in Calcutta, by Gopi Mohan Saha, in mistake for Mr. Tegart (later Sir Charles). In March, a bomb factory was discovered in Calcutta fully equipped with explosives and implements for loading and fitting bombshells, of which a number, both loaded and unloaded, were found. The bombs showed a marked advance on anything which had previously come to light. About the same time a young *bhadralok* was severely injured while handling explosives at Faridpur. In July a well-known member was arrested in the streets of Calcutta with a fully-loaded revolver in his possession. At the end of July "Red Bengal" leaflets made their appearance. The first issue announced the initiation of a campaign of assassination of police officers, the second impressed on the political leaders of Bengal the necessity for the existence of an active violence party. This was followed in August by the explosion of a bomb in a *khaddar* shop in Mirzapur Street. The man who actually threw the bomb was pursued and seized and another arrest was made at the same time on the spot.

8. The above is a brief outline of the outward manifestations of the existence of a widespread conspiracy. Apart from these, Government were in possession of information to show that, during the year 1924, the conspirators attempted to assassinate police officers, high Government officials and suspected members of their own organisations. No less than five such attempts were made between July and October, and the escape of the intended victims could only be regarded as providential. In some cases the would-be assassins suspected police vigilance, in others they were thwarted by the unexpected movements of their intended victims. In June 1924 the Bengal Provincial Congress at their meeting at Serajgunj passed a resolution expressing admiration for the spirit of self-sacrifice exhibited by Gopi Mohan Saha. The effects of the resolution were electrical. It was by far the most potent instrument for organisation, and became a perpetual incitement to the youth of Bengal to take to violent ways.

9. The situation towards the end of 1924 had, therefore, become one of considerable anxiety. The existence of a widespread revolutionary movement was hardly disputed; indeed, it was acknowledged by Mr. C. R. Das, the Swarajist leader, himself. It was daily increasing in strength, and as in the years before 1916, ordinary measures had failed to check it. The Local Government felt bound, therefore, to meet the menace by obtaining from the Governor-General the issue of an Ordinance arming the Executive with powers similar to those they had had under the Defence of India Act. A special session of the Legislative Council was called in the following January to pass a Bill to replace the Ordinance, but leave to introduce the Bill was refused by the Council. The Bill was, accordingly, certified by the Governor; under it the special powers were to remain in force for five years. The powers taken were not as wide as under the Defence of India Act. The definition of persons against whom section 11, which allowed of preventive arrest and detention by Executive order, could be used was narrowed to prevent the net being cast too wide, and to avoid the criticism that it was aimed at the Swaraj party. The schedule, of offences in connection with which action could be taken, too, was shortened, and the net result was that it was possible to take action only against active

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terrorists as distinguished from recruiters or organisers. Nevertheless, prompt use of these powers, by placing leaders and active members under restraint, enabled Government to bring the movement under control. Between the issue of the Ordinance in 1924 and the end of 1928 only one murder occurred, the brutal murder of a distinguished police officer, Rai Bhupendra Nath Chatterjee Bahadur, Special Superintendent of Police, Intelligence Branch, in the Alipore Jail, in May 1926. Only 187 persons were dealt with under the Act and by September 1928 all had been set free, though a certain number remained for some time longer under restriction orders which limited their movements. When the Act expired in 1930 no use had been made of the special powers for the purpose of making fresh arrests for nearly three years. This result was made possible by the recognition on the part of the terrorist leaders that they were not sufficiently well organised to conduct a campaign against Government. It was not an indication that terrorist activities had ceased.

10. The position in December 1929 was, in fact, that the principal leaders of the two parties—the Jugantar and the Anushilan—had an ambitious scheme for bringing about a general rising. For some time there had been much controversy over the adoption of a resolution by the Congress, favouring complete independence as India's goal. The Congress sessions of 1928 and 1929 afforded opportunities for a meeting of revolutionary leaders all over India, and there is reason to believe that plans for a rising were discussed and given definite shape on these occasions. But the principal revolutionary leaders considered that an adequate supply of arms and man-power had not yet been collected, and were, therefore, in favour of waiting until the deficiencies were supplied. A large number of groups of terrorists led by young hotheads had sprung up, who wanted a campaign of immediate violence launched. As will be seen in the next section, it was the latter who forced the issue.

11. To make this section complete, it is necessary to add a word dealing with the influence of events in Russia on the thought and programme of the terrorists.

The Bolshevik revolution had received the close attention of Indian revolutionaries by reason both of the violent methods on which it was based and also because of its connection with several Indian revolutionaries, of whom the most notable was Narendra Bhattacharya, *alias* M. N. Roy, who had been prominently associated with German plots during the war, and was later maintained by the Third International to organise action in India. Several members of the Anushilan and Jugantar organisations were sent to Europe to study revolutionary methods, and by 1924-25 the influence of this movement is definitely traceable in the ideas and plans of terrorists in general.

In March 1925 definite information was received that Sachindra Sanyal, a notorious revolutionary of the Anushilan party, who was convicted in the Kakori conspiracy case (1926), was in touch with M. N. Roy, from whom he was receiving money. The latter's *Appeal to the Nationalists*, which was an attempt to lead the Congress back to civil disobedience and mass revolution, was distributed at the Belgaum Congress by two members of the All-India Congress Committee. There is also reason to believe that the resolution to establish a "political sufferers' fund," which was thrown out at the Belgaum Congress and passed subsequently at a later session, was inspired by M. N. Roy and adopted by the Jugantar party. A mass of proscribed revolutionary literature addressed to various

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revolutionaries continued to be intercepted in the foreign mail. Towards the end of 1925 a party called the "Labour Swarajya Party" was formed, by persons closely connected with the Congress, of which the name was subsequently changed to "The Bengal Labour and Peasants Party." The object of the party was "the attainment of Swarajya in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women." Its demands were the nationalisation of "industries and public utilities such as mines, railways, telegraphs, inland waterways, tramways, &c." under the control of "Workers' Committees," and the "ultimate ownership of land to be vested in autonomous village communities consisting of intellectual as well as physical labourers." Its organ, *The Langal*, ceased after 15 issues for want of funds, and the party itself laboured under the ever-present threat of bankruptcy, but a secret branch of it was reported to be working in co-operation with the Anushilan Samity.

The Anushilan Samity's programme at this stage (1926) was itself greatly influenced by M. N. Roy, and advocated the preparation of the masses for revolution by inculcating first communist, and then terrorist, doctrines.

### SECTION III. 1930-1933.

12. Mr. Gandhi began the civil disobedience movement early in 1930 by his march on Dandi. His action at once released the widespread wave of unrest which had gathered round the discussions of the future constitution, and the personnel of the Simon Commission, during the past two years. The general wave of rebellion against authority which followed provided the terrorists with an unrivalled opportunity for launching their campaign, of which the younger groups were not slow to take advantage. The Chittagong Jugantar group, one of the most active sections of the new violence party, which was in control of the Congress organisation in Chittagong, was the first to take the offensive.

13. On the night of the 18th April they carried out a spectacular and daring raid on a much larger scale than anything previously attempted by the terrorists. Four batches of varying strength set out from the Congress office in Chittagong. One was to capture the Police Armoury, one to capture the Auxiliary Force Armoury, one to massacre the Europeans in the Club, and the other to destroy the telephone exchange and telegraph office. As it happened, the Club was practically deserted and the party deputed to attack the Club joined the other groups. The Police Armoury party consisted of about 50 youths led by Ananta Singh and Ganesh Ghosh. All were in khaki, and the leaders were dressed as officers. They were challenged by the police sentry, who was shot down, while the remainder of the force swarmed into the building, broke into the Armoury and Magazine, and armed themselves with muskets, revolvers, and ammunition. Practically the same procedure was followed in the case of the Auxiliary Force Armoury. The sentry, another sepoy, and the Sergeant Major who lived close to the Armoury, were shot dead. The place was then forced open, and pistols, revolvers, rifles and a Lewis gun were taken away. While this party were in possession of the Armoury they fired on motor-cars passing on the road and killed a railway guard, the driver, and assistant driver of a taxi and a police constable who was in the car of the District Magistrate. They also wounded the District Magistrate's driver and the occupant of a

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passing taxi. The telegraph office party seized and chloroformed the telephone operator, hacked the telephone board to pieces and set fire to it. The Telegraph Master was fired at when he came to the operator's assistance, but he returned with a gun and drove the raiders off before they destroyed the telegraph office. This party then went to the police lines and joined the main party. A counter-attack under the Deputy Inspector-General of Police was organised, and although few in numbers and poorly equipped, it succeeded in forcing the raiders to leave the town and retreat towards the hills. The raiders thus had to abandon their further project of raiding the Government Treasury and massacring the Europeans in the town.

14. Meanwhile, another party acting under orders of the terrorist leaders had cut all telegraph communications between Chittagong and the outside world, and attempted to interrupt railway communications by removing a rail and derailing a goods train; yet another party attempted, unsuccessfully, to derail the down-mail train to Chittagong at a place 70 miles from Chittagong on the same night.

Information of the raid was sent out by wireless from a ship in the harbour, and reinforcements reached Chittagong on the 20th April. Various skirmishes took place between the Government forces and the rebels, several of whom were shot dead, but the principal leaders remained absconding. One surrendered on the 28th June in Calcutta, and on the 31st August three others were arrested and one shot dead at Chandernagore (near Calcutta). The principal leader, Surjya Sen, was not arrested until 1933, and it is only recently that he has been condemned to death along with another of his associates by a Special Tribunal. His appeal is now pending before the High Court in Calcutta.

15. The news of this coup, unprecedented in the annals of terrorist crime in Bengal, was received by revolutionaries all over the Province with delight. The effect was electric and from that moment the outlook of the Bengali terrorists changed. The younger members of all parties, whose heads were already crammed with ideas of driving out the British by force of arms, but whose hands had been restrained by their leaders, clamoured for a chance to emulate the Chittagong terrorists. Recruits poured into the various terrorist groups in a steady stream. The leaders could no longer hope, nor did they wish, to keep them back, for in the face of the results achieved at Chittagong there seemed to be no reason why their over-cautious policy should be maintained. The romantic appeal of the raid attracted into the fold of the terrorist party women and young girls, who from this time onwards are found assisting the terrorists as housekeepers, messengers, custodians of arms and sometimes as comrades.

16. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 was due to expire on 21st March 1930. In November 1929 the police view was that the Act should remain permanently in force to act as a constant restraining influence on revolutionaries. It was urged that a five years' limit had prevented any reformation of those with whom it dealt. In the discussions that followed the following alternatives were considered:—

- (i) The Local Government should be empowered to bring the Act into force by notification, at any time, and for as long as necessary.



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- (ii) The Act should be allowed to lapse with the prospect of immediate re-enactment when necessary.
- (iii) Continuance of the Act for five years.
- (iv) Continuance for five years of the sections relating to trial by special procedure.

This last proposal was eventually agreed to and enacted as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Part Continuance) Act, 1930, on the 1st April 1930.

After the Chittagong raid, however, the lost powers of arrest and detention were immediately conferred by Ordinance. In July, the Bengal Government asked for the replacement of the Ordinance by permanent legislation. In the Act as passed, however, a five-year limit was imposed. With this modification the Bill was passed by the Legislative Council by a large majority and became law as Bengal Act VI of 1930 on the 16th October 1930.

17. To resume the narrative of events, the Chittagong Armoury raid took place, as has been stated, in April. In May, the leaders of the main Jugantar party in Calcutta drew up a programme of terrorism and made arrangements for the manufacture of bombs. Information in possession of Government shows that the principal features of this programme were:—

- (1) The murder of Europeans in hotels, clubs and cinemas, simultaneously in Calcutta and the districts by bombs.
- (2) The burning of the aerodrome in Dum-Dum with petrol.
- (3) The cutting off of the gas and electric supply of Calcutta, by destroying the gas works and electric power stations.
- (4) The cutting off of the petrol supply of Calcutta by destroying the depot at Budge-Budge.
- (5) The disorganisation of the tramway service in Calcutta by cutting overhead wires.
- (6) The destruction of telegraphic communication between Calcutta and the districts in Bengal.
- (7) The destruction of bridges and railway lines by dynamite and hand grenades.

The first blow was struck on the 25th August 1930 by an attempt made by Anuja Sen and Dinesh Chandra Mazumdar (under orders of the Jugantar leaders) to murder the Commissioner of Police, Sir Charles Tegart, in Dalhousie Square. One of the bombs exploded behind the Commissioner's car and killed Anuja Sen. Dinesh Mazumdar, who was also wounded by the bomb, managed to run away a short distance, but was arrested. Two loaded bombs and one loaded revolver were found on the person of Anuja Sen, and one loaded bomb, one loaded revolver, and four spare cartridges on the person of Dinesh Mazumdar. It was the intention of the Jugantar leaders that the murder of Sir Charles Tegart should be the signal for all Jugantar groups in the Province to begin a widespread series of outrages.

On the 26th August a bomb was thrown into Jorabagan Police Station in Calcutta, but fortunately it exploded outside the station. No police officers were injured, but three members of the public were hit. On the following day, at 9 a.m., another bomb was thrown into the compound of the Eden Garden police outpost, in Calcutta, and injured three persons, including one constable. Two days later Mr. Lowman, the Inspector-

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General of Police, and Mr. Hodson, the Superintendent of Police, were shot at Dacca. Mr. Lowman died, but Mr. Hodson, though severely wounded, survived. On the 31st August a police party led by Sir Charles Tegart surrounded a house in Chandernagore in which some of the Chittagong raiders were hiding, and after a brief engagement killed one of the absconders and arrested three with revolvers.

On the 25th August Dr. Narayan Chandra Ray, who was in charge of the bomb-making activities of this party, was arrested. In September many of his confederates were arrested and put on trial and sentenced to various periods of transportation from 20 years downwards. According to the confession of Dr. Narayan Ray made in this case, his mind had been inflamed by speeches made by Subhash Bose and another well-known political agitator. By the end of 1929 he had already joined a terrorist group and had begun to make experiments with explosives, especially Tri-Nitro-Tolnol. Towards the end of 1929 he received formulæ for T.N.T. and Amatol procured through certain leaders of the Jugantar party. He attended the Lahore Congress and, before returning to Calcutta, he had learned how high explosive shells were loaded with Amatol. On his return to Calcutta early in 1930 he and his cousin Gobinda Ray (still absconding) actually manufactured some explosives. In May 1930 Dr. Narayan Ray was given by one of the Jugantar leaders a supply of empty bomb shells, which he loaded and fitted with detonators. A large number of these shells were distributed throughout the Province.

On the 8th December 1930 three young men dressed as Europeans rushed into the office of Colonel Simpson, Inspector-General of Prisons, in Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, and shot him dead. After this they went down the corridor firing into the rooms of other officials and wounded Mr. Townend, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and Mr. Nelson, I.C.S., the Legal Remembrancer. They were trapped in the latter's room and all three attempted to commit suicide. One died on the spot. The other two were Binay Krishna Basu (the murderer of Mr. Lowman), who died a few days later, and Dinesh Gupta, who was hanged for this murder on the 7th July 1931.

In addition to the outrages that were actually carried out the police obtained information of various plots for raiding Treasuries and Armouries, for the assassination of officials and for other crimes of violence. Many plots were frustrated by the arrest of the plotters and consequent disorganisation of their groups. The police were also able to prevent the carrying out of any of their bigger or more sensational schemes. Owing to the limitations of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act at this time, the powers of the police were confined to what may be described roughly as purely defensive action. These powers did not admit of wholesale attacks on various organisations, and although the action taken was certainly successful in preventing further outrages on the lines of the Chittagong armoury raid and several projected attacks on officials, at headquarters stations, and on police barracks, the terrorist organisations still remained intact.

18. At the end of 1930, then, several of the most important leaders of all parties were under arrest, but the organisations, to all intents and purposes, were still intact. Press and platform propaganda in pursuance of Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement was arousing anti-British sentiment and a spirit of lawlessness in the Province to a degree which would have been deemed incredible even in 1929. Seditious literature of the most violent description was being broadcast in the shape of

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pamphlets and books. It is true that the Congress formally dissociated itself from terrorism, but it was equally clear that if some of the workers and leaders of the Congress were given a free hand they would not be averse to giving their general support to terrorism.

19. With the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, in March 1931, the Press Ordinance was withdrawn, and the Indian Press at once reverted to its old habit of glorification of assassins and the propagation of the cult of murder. During March the occasion for adulatory articles was found in the execution of Bhagat Singh and his two companions. When Mr. Peddie was assassinated on the 7th April 1931 the attitude of the Press was far from satisfactory. Similarly, praise of Dinesh Gupta, the murderer of Colonel Simpson, and Ram Krishna Biswas, convicted of the Chandpur murder, was widespread and in some cases unrestrained, and demands for their reprieve were loud and persistent. Every acquittal of a terrorist was hailed with delight, everything that could be said in favour of them being printed in bold type. The culmination of this attitude of mind was the resolution of the Congress-managed Corporation of Calcutta placing on record a token of homage to Dinesh Gupta, one of the murderers of Colonel Simpson. It is small wonder that in the circumstances described the terrorist cult should have found more votaries than even before, and that 1931 should have been one of the darkest years in the history of terrorist crime.

20. No less than 67 outrages, including nine murders, of which particulars will be found in Annexure III, occurred in 1931. Only a few instances need be quoted here to show the determined manner in which terrorist crimes were carried out.

On the 16th March at Barama, Chittagong, an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police of the District Intelligence Branch encountered two absconders of the Chittagong armoury raid case. One of them fired at him with a revolver and wounded him and both escaped. On the 7th March at about 6.45 p.m. two *bhadralok* Hindu youths shot Mr. Peddie, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Midnapore, from behind, at close range, while he was attending an exhibition of manual work in a local school which he had himself arranged for the benefit of the students. Both the assailants escaped.

On the 27th July Mr. Garlick, I.C.S.; Sessions Judge, 24-Parganas, was shot through the head by a youth while sitting in court. The assassin was immediately shot down by the sergeant on duty, but committed suicide by swallowing cyanide of potassium while lying wounded under the table. The murder was committed in revenge for the sentence of hanging inflicted on Dinesh Gupta by the tribunal of which Mr. Garlick was president.

On the evening of 21st August at Tangail, a *bhadralok* youth fired at Mr. Cassells, I.C.S., the Divisional Commissioner, who was on his way to inspect the Co-operative bank. The culprit escaped and a person subsequently tried for the offence was acquitted for want of sufficient identification.

On the 30th August Khan Bahadur Ahsanulla, Inspector of Police, Chittagong, was shot dead by a *bhadralok* Hindu youth, who was captured, convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. The murder inflamed Moslem feeling and was followed by a communal outbreak.

On the 28th October two *bhadralok* youths shot at and severely wounded Mr. Durno, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Dacca, while he was sitting in his car outside a shop in one of the main streets. The culprits escaped.

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On the 29th October Mr. Villiers, the President of the European Association, had a narrow escape from death, when he was attacked in his own office by one Bimal Das Gupta, the alleged murderer of Mr. Peddie.

On the 14th December Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Tippera, was shot dead in his house by two young girls who approached him with a request to arrange a swimming exhibition for them. Both were sentenced to transportation for life by a special tribunal.

21. By the end of July 1931 it was evident that the existing legislation was not sufficient to cope with the terrorist menace. The way in which the Press lent itself to constant and violent propaganda in favour of assassins has already been referred to. The murders which had already taken place could be traced, in no small measure, to incitements in the Press and the Local Government were convinced that action to control the Press was a vital necessity. As regards the powers of arrest and detention conferred by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, it was found essential to ask that its scope should be widened so that action could be taken, not only against persons actually concerned in the commission of terrorist associations, but also against those who are members or helpers of those associations. On the 9th October 1931 Act XXIII of 1931 (An Act to provide against publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence) was passed and on the 29th October the Government of India promulgated Ordinance IX of 1931 conferring the powers asked for in regard to arrest and detention and widening the schedule of offences by the inclusion of the sections relating to the waging of war against the King or the harbouring of absconders.

A month later, on the 30th November, the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance XI of 1931 was issued. Chapter I of the Ordinance provided for emergency powers which would apply immediately to the district of Chittagong. Military and police were to combine in operations to round up terrorists and absconders in that district, and to render these operations effective the District Magistrate was given powers, among others, to commandeer property, limit access to certain places, regulate traffic and transport and impose a collective fine upon recalcitrant inhabitants. Chapter II provided for special tribunals and special magistrates and a procedure designed to overcome delaying tactics.

Thus, though the situation at the end of 1931 was far from reassuring, the police were again armed with adequate powers. Civil disobedience was waning and they were, therefore, free to devote all their energies to the suppression of terrorism.

On the expiry of the Ordinances it was felt that the Bengal Government should be armed with the legislative weapons necessary to grapple with the menace of the terrorist movement. Accordingly the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act, 1932,\* and the Bengal Criminal Law (Arms and Explosives) Act, 1932, were introduced and passed by the Legislative Council.

22. During the first part of the year 1932 rumours were rife of threats to carry out indiscriminate massacres of Europeans in clubs and cinemas. Actually one outrage of this dastardly nature was carried into effect when the Pahartali Railway Institute at Chittagong was attacked in September 1932 with bombs and revolvers. The attack was led by a girl named Priti Waddadar, who committed suicide on the scene of attack.

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\* This Act embodied the provisions of Ordinance XI of 1931.

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Earlier in the year Mr. Douglas, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Midnapore was shot dead on the 30th April while presiding at a meeting of the District Board; on the 27th June a Sub-Deputy Magistrate was shot dead in his house in Dacca town, and on the 29th July Mr. Ellison, Superintendent of Police, was shot dead in Comilla town. On the 5th August and again on the 28th September 1932, attempts were made to murder Sir Alfred Watson, the editor of the *Statesman*. On the 22nd August an attempt was made to shoot Mr. Grassby, the Additional Superintendent of Police, Dacca, and on the 18th November an attempt was made to murder Mr. Luke, Superintendent of the Rajshahi Central Jail, both of which fortunately failed.

23. The list is formidable enough, but it will be seen from Annexure III, where the particulars of all the outrages in 1930-33 are given, that the total number of crimes both against persons and against property have registered a notable decline in 1933. From the latter part of 1932 the tide began to turn, and between September 1932 and July 1933 the only murderous outrage which the terrorists could carry out in British India was the attempt on Mr. Luke, though in French Chandernagore M. Quin, the French Commissioner of Police, was shot on the 10th March 1933. Plot after plot was discovered and foiled, and one leader after another was captured. A stage has at last been reached when, in spite of dangerous conspiracies which every now and again come to light, the situation is definitely under control, so far as large-scale organised outrages are concerned. But there are a large number of individuals abroad who are prepared to commit or take part in isolated outrages and have apparently no difficulty in securing arms. As an instance there may be quoted the latest outrage, the murder of Mr. Burge, the District Magistrate of Midnapore. He was shot dead on the Police football ground just before the start of a match in which he was to play. Still more recently it was reported that a veritable armoury of revolvers, ammunition and dynamite had been discovered in North Calcutta. Hence, constant vigilance and continual action are required, not only against old members who are plotting outrages, but also against new recruits who appear still to be drawn into the movement in fairly large numbers, and to be ready for any kind of crime.

## SECTION IV.—GENERAL SURVEY.

24. It will be seen from the figures given in Annexure IV that 2,167 persons have been dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act since 1930, and that of these there are no less than 1,351 in gaols and detention camps at present, and 288 in village and home domicile, making a total of 1,639. Of those dealt with, only 389 persons have been unconditionally released. There are, besides, 19 State prisoners under Regulation III of 1818 at present. Though the number of fresh arrests has declined in recent months the present monthly average is still disquietingly high and indicates that considerable recruitment is still going on.

One reason for this is that subversive propaganda and activities have been so rife in recent years that they have succeeded in creating a revolutionary mentality which has permeated almost every stratum of the literate *bhadralok* society. To a certain extent the unemployment problem among the educated middle classes in Bengal has been a powerful accessory to those who have deliberately sought to bring about this result,

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but the factors which have been chiefly responsible for the propagation of revolutionary ideas are a subversive Press, and successive organised movements for defiance of the laws by the methods variously known as non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

25. The Press has, for years, poured forth a venomous propaganda against the established Government, twisted and distorted every motive and every act of theirs, and held up to the admiration of the growing youth the heroism and self-sacrifice of the devotees of the pistol and the bomb who have been made to pay the penalty of the law. Nothing is more noticeable in the history of the revolutionary movement than the connection between the recrudescence of violent propaganda in the Press and of terrorism. Normally prone to unrestrained criticism of Government action the Press has allowed itself to be used by terrorist leaders for their own ends. The natural consequence of the daily poisoning of the minds of the credulous public was to create a mentality which believed that there was no enormity of which Government was not capable, and the mischief caused did not end with the generation, for the children of those whose minds were warped in their youth grew up in an atmosphere of hostility, suspicion and ill-will to Government. Every subversive movement, therefore, met with the open or tacit approval of large sections of the people. Happily, at the present moment the tone of the Press is generally a good deal healthier than it has been for years. How much of it is due to the prevalence of good sense and how much to the existence of a Press law it is not possible definitely to say, but judging by past experience, and having regard to the fact that terrorists appear to be able to influence the Press to a high degree, it is more than doubtful if the present healthy tone can be maintained without the assistance of a Press law.

26. Of the part played by successive movements for civil disobedience it is unnecessary to speak at length. Contrary to the expressed intentions of the author, they have, on many an occasion, broken out into violence, and even when they have, in fact, remained non-violent, succeeded in engendering a violent mentality towards the established Government which has pre-disposed young men to succumb readily to the arguments of the terrorist recruiter. It is a remarkable fact that a large percentage of the recruits to the terrorist movement are found to have made their political *debut* as civil resisters. Mr. Gandhi's association with the movement has served to give it an odour of sanctity and blurred the distinction between lawful and unlawful activities. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the action of the police to disperse mobs of civil resisters should have met with a chorus of denunciation from the Press and the platform as acts of tyranny and oppression, and that the minds of youths should have been filled with thoughts of vengeance.

27. The net result of these facts has been greatly to widen the field of recruitment to the terrorist ranks. Gone are the days when elaborate ceremonies of initiation and of administration of vows, before an image of the goddess Kali, were necessary to ensure the devotion of recruits to the terrorist cause. It is sufficient now-a-days to give a boy a few seditious books to read, and to supplement this by instructions from persons who have won his trust and confidence. Further, good moral character is no longer an essential in a recruit. Throughout the Province, students in schools and colleges are now far more deeply permeated by a spirit of unreasoning resentment against Government, and of defiance of authority, and there are a large number of districts in which some or all

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of the educational institutions have terrorist groups connected with them under the control of the main leaders. The result is that murders are now committed by youths unknown to the police, at the bidding of their leaders. It is only fair to say, however, that only in a very few cases is evidence available to show that recruitment takes place inside the school or college, or through, or with, the sympathy of the staff. It is the students of the schools or colleges who form a suitable recruiting ground which is usually worked upon by outsiders, whose success is made more easy by the general failure of teachers generally to take any interest in or undertake any responsibility for the doings of their pupils outside the class-room.

28. Another recent and sinister development is the advent of the female terrorist. In the civil disobedience movement of 1930 women took an active part in picketing at the bidding of the leaders, who deliberately aimed at bringing women into the movement in the name of patriotism and service to the motherland. As has been shown, the step from non-violence to violence is a short one, and it is, perhaps, scarcely a matter of surprise, therefore, that under the stimulus of patriotic excitement working on distorted minds, two girls should have readily lent themselves as instruments for the murder of the District Magistrate of Tippera, and another should have made a treacherous attempt to take the life of Sir Stanley Jackson. The attack on the railway institute at Chittagong in September last year, in which one Englishwoman was killed and 11 other guests, including four women, wounded, was led by a woman, while another has just been sentenced by the tribunal to transportation for life in the supplementary raid case at Chittagong. Of those detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 15 are women, and there are several against whom Government have so far refused to take action. There is evidence, therefore, that women are taking an increasing part in revolutionary conspiracies, a fact which adds to the difficulty of the police in dealing with them.

29. Reference has already been made to the encouragement which terrorism has received from time to time from the public adulation of terrorists in the Press. It has also been mentioned that after 1920 terrorists set themselves to penetrate the Congress machine by the capture of seats on the Executive Committees and on the all-India Congress Committee, and that under their influence the Bengal Provincial Congress passed a resolution in 1924 eulogising Gopi Mohan Saha, the murderer of Mr. Day.

30. To complete the picture it is necessary to say a word about the connection of the Congress Committee and the Calcutta Corporation and the manner in which subversive movements in general, and terrorism in particular, have received encouragement from the Corporation. The present Calcutta Corporation was the creation of the Act of 1923. In 1924, the Congress, under the lead of the late Mr. C. R. Das, obtained a large majority on it and since then has dominated it under the leadership successively of the late Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, both ex-Presidents of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and of Dr. B. C. Roy. The two former were bitter critics of Government and at various times were incarcerated under Regulation III of 1818; the latter suffered imprisonment during the civil disobedience movement. One of the earliest acts of Mr. C. R. Das after his election as Mayor was to offer employment to those who had suffered in the "country's cause," many of them in the capacity of teachers in Corpora-

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tion Primary Schools, which under Swarajist control multiplied greatly. In the year 1923-24 there were 19 such schools under the Corporation. By the end of December 1931 there were 225 of them. When early in 1930 Mr. Gandhi opened his civil disobedience campaign, a large number of teachers of these schools took part in the campaign and continued to do so throughout 1931. The attitude of the Corporation in this matter was illustrated by the correspondence that passed between the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Executive Officer in 1931. On the 14th August 1931 Sir Charles Tegart drew the attention of the Chief Executive Officer to the fact that 12 Corporation teachers had been arrested for illegal picketing and requested him to see that this conduct on the part of Corporation employees was not repeated. No answer was given to this letter, but on the 8th September 1931 the Chief Executive Officer wrote complaining about the searches made by the police in Corporation schools. To this, Sir Charles replied that the searches were inevitable since evidence was accumulating to show that Corporation school teachers were conspiring to break the law, and that the Corporation schools were being used for unlawful purposes. He offered to supply the Corporation with details of searches and prosecutions. The Chief Executive Officer replied on the 25th September 1931 denying that there was any conspiracy on the part of the teachers, and then proceeded to allege that 14 teachers who had been arrested by the police had been beaten unmercifully by them.

Many Corporation buildings were used for the furtherance of the civil disobedience movement, and the occasions on which the Corporation adjourned as a mark of respect owing to the arrests of prominent persons connected with the civil disobedience movement are numerous.

31. But the Corporation were not content with participating in the civil disobedience movement alone. On the 13th September 1929 they expressed "their great sorrow at the untimely death of the great hero, Jatindra Nath Das" (an undertrial prisoner in the Lahore Conspiracy Case who died of hunger-strike), and under the direction of the Mayor, closed the offices and schools for one day. Later, a street was named after him. On the 11th February 1931 the Corporation granted six months' leave of absence to Dr. Narayan Ch. Ray, a Councillor, and convicted in the Dalhousie Square Bomb Conspiracy Case, "as his absence is due to causes which the Corporation considers sufficient to justify such an absence." On the 8th July 1931 the Corporation recorded its sense of grief at the execution of Dinesh Chandra Gupta, "who sacrificed his life in the pursuit of his ideal." In this form the resolution was published on the front page of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, and below it a photograph of the murderer. Sixteen days later, Mr. Garlick, the President of the Tribunal which convicted Dinesh, was shot dead in his Court by a terrorist, on whose person a slip containing the following words was found:—"Cursed be your Court the injustice of which condemned Dinesh Gupta to death."

It will readily be appreciated that the public tributes paid by bodies like the Bengal Provincial Congress and the Calcutta Corporation to persons convicted of terrorist crime, and their general attitude of sympathy towards subversive movements, have been a perpetual incitement to emotional youth to undertake fresh outrages. Factors such as these did not weight the scale against Government in their campaign of 1916-19.

32. The formation of a "Peasants and Workers" organisation on communistic lines has already been referred to, and a brief reference may



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now be made to other open organisations through which the revolutionaries have sought to subvert existing society. The non-co-operation movement of 1921 showed that Government could be really seriously embarrassed by mass action. Communist literature and methods, therefore, found an increasing number of readers and exponents, and the advantages of mass action as a revolutionary instrument received considerable attention. It was thought that the doctrines based on class solidarity would be an effective antidote to the schisms of religious differences. Moscow was willing to help with money, and the doctrines had an intellectual appeal of their own to the *bhadralok* youths, themselves faced with the menace of unemployment. The "Peasants and Workers" movement died of inanition, but in the youth leagues and conferences which came into vogue in the period 1925-30 the doctrines of the Third International found considerable favour. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt (an old terrorist), Kanai Lal Ganguli, Subash Bose (detained twice under Regulation III), Bankim Chandra Mukherji and others devoted their energies, from varying motives, to the development and growth of organisations based on communist or semi-communist ideas.

At the instance of Subash Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru presided over the All-Bengal Students' Conference in 1928, and in his speech advocated communism and internationalism for India. Immediately on his departure an Independence League for Bengal was started by Subash Bose with a number of *ex-detenus* and State prisoners. They drew up a manifesto on Bolshevik lines which evoked some protest. When later, however, Jawahar Lal himself started the "Independence for India League," having for its object the achievement of Swaraj for India, with the help and support of Kanai Lal Ganguli and Bhupendra Dutt, it met with strong opposition from Subash Chandra Bose and his followers, who now formed a separate "Independence for India League" in Bengal from which Kanai Lal and Bhupendra Dutt were practically excluded. Later, when Jawahar Lal came to Calcutta in connection with the 1928 Congress, he addressed the Howrah District Workers' Conference and the All-Bengal Youth Association, both Congress organisations. To the former he spoke disparagingly of the Congress, who would be prepared to wait for another 10 years for Swaraj, but added that if the labouring classes and the starving millions of the country could be convinced that independence would remove their want and get them better food and clothing, they would not agree to wait for a single day for the achievement of Swaraj. This speech gives the clue to the primary object for which Labour was to be exploited and may be compared with the statement which appeared in *Liberty* of the 18th August 1929—"The Labour movement is very closely connected with the Swaraj movement, and what is needed at the present moment is a co-ordination between the two in order to force the hands of an unsympathetic Government." During the jute mill strikes of 1929 there were indications that the Congress scheme was to get the *intelligentsia* to organise a mass upheaval through the youth and students' and volunteer movements, with a view to coerce the Government. The scheme did not materialise and the Meerut case has for the time being ended attempts to form organisations on communist lines.

33. It remains now to say a word about the effect of the murder campaign on the daily lives of officials. During the last three years officials, particularly district and police officers, were in serious danger, and the unusual precautions which had to be taken for their safety

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undoubtedly interfered with their normal duties. They live in houses guarded by armed sentries; many of them when they go out are accompanied by armed personal guards, sometimes with their revolvers drawn; the roads they use are constantly patrolled; intending interviewers when not known are searched before admission; and in Calcutta and some other places there are restrictions on entrance to clubs which at times give rise to irritation and bad feeling. The precautions have necessarily interrupted the free intercourse between officials and non-officials which was such a feature of the administration, especially in the districts. During the last year or so, though the situation had apparently greatly improved, the full precautions have had to be maintained, and the latest tragedy at Midnapore is a stern warning that no relaxation of precautions can yet be permitted, even in connection with games, which were becoming more and more a common meeting ground for all sections of the community. So long as there is a group of people who consider it their business to murder officials there is no escape from the present position. Otherwise the normal administration goes on much as before, and though officers of all grades—and their wives and families—may view their daily work with greater anxiety than in the past, the tone generally is good, and there is none of that spirit of gloom and of helplessness which was apparent two years ago. In the background there is a general realisation that in spite of the poignant tragedies that from time to time send a feeling of horror through all classes, the situation is better than it was. In some quarters there is a growing belief, or perhaps still only a hope, that public opinion is slowly turning against terrorism and that in their efforts to crush it Government and their officers have a steadily increasing amount of sympathy and support, though much of it may be tacit, from the community at large. In other quarters this is ascribed to a realisation that Government are in earnest in their efforts to stamp out terrorism and to the instinctive desire to be on the winning side, and it is held that any relaxation of effort on the part of Government will mean an immediate deterioration of the situation and a decrease in the amount of public sympathy and support for Government.

## ANNEXURE I.

CLASSIFIED STATEMENT OF THE NUMBER OF CASES OF OUTRAGES  
DURING THE YEARS 1930-33, YEAR BY YEAR.

Items	1930	1931	1932	1933
Murderous outrages	7	5	5	3
Attempts at outrages	4	6	14	3
Dacoities*	10	23	68	34
Attempted dacoities*	—	2		
Robberies*	6	18		
Attempted robberies*	1	5		
Bomb throwing	6	7	3	—
Bomb explosions	1	—	4	3
Armed raids	1	—	—	—
Total	36	66	94	43

\* Including mail, post and train.

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## ANNEXURE II.

## LIST OF CASUALTIES DUE TO TERRORIST OUTRAGES DURING THE YEARS 1930-33.

Class	1930		1931		1932		1933	
	Killed	In-jured	Killed	In-jured	Killed	In-jured	Killed	In-jured
Officials	- 11	12	5	13	6	10	1	1
Non-officials	- 10	14	4	3	6	27	—	—
Terrorists -	- 26	4	—	1	5	3	2	—

## ANNEXURE III.

DETAILS OF CASES OF TERRORIST OUTRAGES DURING THE YEARS 1930-33.  
 LIST "A" INCLUDES THE OUTRAGES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE EACH YEAR  
 LIST "B" ALL OTHER OUTRAGES.

## 1930—"A."

(1) On 1st February 1930, Satish Chandra Ray, an Assistant Teacher of the Ramananda Union H.E. School, was murdered at Kishoreganj, Mymensingh.

(2) On 18th April 1930, the terrorist party of Chittagong headed by Ananta Singh, attacked and looted the Auxiliary Force Armoury, the Telephone Exchange and the District Police Armoury in Chittagong town.

(3) On 7th May 1930, some absconding insurgents, while passing through village Sikalbaha, Chittagong, opened fire on villagers and escaped.

(4) On 16th May 1930, a bomb was thrown at the house of the officer-in-charge of the Shibpur Police Station, Howrah.

(5) On 19th July 1930, a bomb exploded on being thrown at police officers passing along Gaibandha Road in Gaibandha town, Rangpur.

(6) On 2nd August 1930, a constable was shot at while arresting certain accused in the warehouse looting case of Mymensingh town.

(7) On 25th August 1930, bombs were thrown at Sir Charles Tegart, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, in Dalhousie Square.

(8) On 26th August 1930, a bomb was thrown in the compound of the Jorabagan Police Court, Calcutta.

(9) On 27th August 1930, a bomb was thrown at the Eden Gardens Police Outpost, Calcutta.

(10) On 29th August 1930, Ratan Bhusan Hazra was murdered at Deshbandhu Park, Calcutta.

(11) On 29th August 1930, Mr. Lowman, Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, and Mr. Hodson, Superintendent of Police, Dacca, were shot in the Mitford Hospital, Dacca.

(12) On 30th August 1930, a bomb was thrown in the house of Inspector Pabitra Bose of the Mymensingh Detective Department, Mymensingh town.

(13) On 23rd September 1930, a bomb was thrown in the compound of the Khulna Police Station where the District Intelligence Branch Inspector and others were sitting.

(14) On 13th October 1930, the Sub-Inspector of the Mymensingh District Intelligence Branch and his guard were shot at while endeavouring to arrest two absconders in the Mymensingh Excise Warehouse looting case.

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(15) On 1st December 1930, Inspector Tarini Mukharji of the Railway Police, was fatally shot at Chandpur Railway Station, in mistake for the Inspector-General of Police, who was travelling on the same train.

(16) On 8th December 1930, Colonel Simpson, Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, was fatally shot in Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

**1930—"B."**

(1) On 24th March 1930, the body of Bhupendra Raha Ray, *alias* Pola, was found on the railway line, Mymensingh town, severely mutilated by being run over by a train.

(2) On 12th April 1930, five or six *bhadralogs* visited the *gaddi* of Messrs. Harish Chandra Sen and Ram Kanai Bhuiya at 23, Kali Kumar, Banarji Lane, Tala, Calcutta, and decamped with Rs. 15,000 in G. C. notes.

(3) On 23rd April 1930, Ananta Lal Singh and three others were arrested at Feni, when they fired on the police and decamped.

(4) On 29th April 1930, a dacoity occurred in the house of Amrita Lal Ray, Samanta Sena, Khulna, when articles worth Rs. 36 were looted.

(5) On 2nd June 1930, a postal overseer was waylaid and robbed of Rs. 1,000 while he was proceeding from Mulchar Police Station to Swarmgram Post Office, Dacca.

(6) On 25th August 1930, an attempt at mail robbery was made at Shahatali Railway Station (Saidpur, G. R. P.), by three persons who assaulted the postal peon carrying bags containing about Rs. 1,000 in cash.

(7) On 3rd September 1930, a mail peon was robbed of cash, &c., to the value of Rs. 3,650, near Rajshahi Railway Station.

(8) On 8th September 1930, a dacoity was committed in the Ichapura Post Office, Serajdikhan, Dacca, when Rs. 1,347, which included private money and ornaments of the postmaster, was looted.

(9) On 24th September 1930, a dacoity was committed in the houses of Chandi Charan Saha Poddar and Raj Kumar Saha Poddar, at Gopalpur, police station Kalkini, Faridpur, and cash and ornaments worth Rs. 551 were looted.

(10) On 17th October 1930, a dacoity with murder occurred at Armenian Street, Calcutta, in the *gadi* of Manikchand Gopalchand, in which the culprits decamped with Rs. 2,346.

(11) On 23rd October 1930, a dacoity occurred in the house of Jagatbandhu Bandopadhyaya, of Kalabaria, in which Rs. 400 in cash were looted.

(12) On 30th October 1930, a dacoity was committed in the house of Rajnath Banik, Madhabpasha, Babuganj, police station Barisal, in which Rs. 3,451 was looted.

(13) On 31st October 1930, a dacoity was committed in the house of Chandra Nath Tewari, Saldah, Mymensingh, when properties worth Rs. 35 were looted.

(14) On 1st November 1930, a peon of Rajshahi College was waylaid and robbed of Rs. 368.

(15) On 4th November 1930, a dacoity was committed in the house of Kali Charan Bhattacharji, of Jashodal, Mymensingh, in which cash and ornaments of unknown value were taken away.

(16) On 8th November 1930, the house of Umanath Majumdar, of Gangail, police station Kishoreganj, Mymensingh, was dacoited, but nothing was taken away.

(17) On 12th November 1930, while the Jamadar and two durwans of Messrs. R. Sim & Co., of Elashin, were taking a cash remittance of Rs. 15,000 by road from Tangail to the Company's office, they were waylaid and the whole amount snatched away.

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1930—"B"—*cont.*

(18) On 26th November 1930, a dacoity was committed in the house of Sarat Kumar Guha, Raghunathpur, police station Kotwali, Barisal, in which the dacoits carried away Rs. 941 in cash.

(19) On 8th December 1930, the bearer of the Intermediate College, Lalbag, Dacca, was waylaid and robbed of Rs. 2,093 which he was carrying to the Treasury for deposit.

(20) On 18th December 1930, a dacoity was committed in the house of Kailash Chandra Banarji, of Paisagaon, Tangibari, Dacca, in which properties worth Rs. 2,145 were carried away.

## 1931—"A."

(1) On 12th January 1931, a clerk of the Bhowal Court of Wards, Dacca, was shot at and wounded in an attempt at robbery.

(2) On 23rd February 1931, a bomb was thrown into the District Intelligence Branch Sub-Inspector's house at Barisal.

(3) On 16th March 1931, an Assistant Sub-Inspector of the Chittagong District Intelligence Branch was shot at and wounded by Tarakeswar Dastidar at Barama, police station Patiya, Chittagong.

(4) On 17th March 1931, a bomb was thrown into the house of the District Intelligence Branch Inspector, Nadia.

(5) On 17th March 1931, a bomb was thrown at the Kotwali Police Station, Nadia.

(6) On 17th March 1931, a bomb was thrown into the house of the Superintendent of Police, Nadia.

(7) On 7th April 1931, Mr. J. Peddie, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Midnapur, was assassinated.

(8) On 24th April 1931, a bomb was thrown at the Royal Calcutta Golf Club.

(9) On 27th July 1931, Mr. Garlick, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Alipur, was assassinated.

(10) On 21st August 1931, an attempt was made on the life of Mr. A. Cassells, C.I.E., I.C.S., Divisional Commissioner, Dacca, at Tangail, Mymensingh.

(11) On 30th August 1931, Khan Bahadur Asanullah, Inspector of Police, Chittagong, was assassinated.

(12) On 9th September 1931, a bomb was thrown into the compound of Kalna Police Station, Burdwan.

(13) On 10th September 1931, a bomb was thrown into the Officer Commanding's quarters, Memari Police Station, Burdwan.

(14) On 29th October 1931, an attempt was made to murder Mr. Villiers, President, European Association, in his office at Clive Buildings.

(15) On 28th October 1931, an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Durno, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Dacca, in Dacca town.

(16) On 11th November 1931, an attempt was made to shoot Inspector Monoranjan Chaudhuri at Rajballavpur, Sherpur, Mymensingh.

(17) On 14th December 1931, Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Tippera, was fatally shot.

(18) On 30th December 1931, an important witness in the Maniktolla dacoity case, was fatally shot at No. 52, Gouribari Lane, Calcutta.

## 1931—"B."

(1) On 5th January 1931, an attempt was made to rob the Post Office at Bazarkhola, Amanatganj, Barisal town.

(2) On 11th January 1931, a dacoity occurred at Nilganj Railway Station, police station Bhairab, Mymensingh, at which Rs. 22 was looted.

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1931—"B"—*cont.*

(3) On 20th January 1931, an attempt was made to rob the Bagerhat mail bag, which contained insured covers valued at Rs. 834, from the train.

(4) On 26th January 1931, a postal peon was robbed of Rs. 1,500 at Farashganj Road, Dacca town.

(5) On 14th February 1931, a dacoity occurred at Messrs. Ralli Bros. Agency, Jamalpur, Mymensingh, at which Rs. 7,919 was looted.

(6) On 21st February 1931, a dacoity occurred at Suapara, Dacca, at which Rs. 2,022 was looted.

(7) On 5th March 1931, a highway mail robbery took place at the Brahmanbaria Post Office, Tippera, when Rs. 10,942 was looted.

(8) On 10th March 1931, an armed dacoity occurred at Kauthal, police station Palong, Faridpur, at which Rs. 2,783 was looted.

(9) On 27th March 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Upendra Mazumdar, Khamargaon, police station Nandail, Mymensingh, at which Rs. 2,249 was stolen.

(10) On 7th April 1931, an armed mail dacoity occurred at Palong Steamer Station, at which Rs. 1,540 in cash was looted.

(11) On 11th April 1931, a train robbery took place between Atharbari and Sohagi stations, at which Rs. 9,160 was looted.

(12) On 17th April 1931, a dacoity occurred at Ranibazar, Rajshahi town, at which Rs. 1,000 was looted.

(13) On 20th April 1931, an armed robbery took place at Sealdah Railway Station, Rs. 4,938 being looted.

(14) On 11th May 1931, an armed dacoity occurred at Sontiabazar II, Mymensingh, Rs. 540 being stolen.

(15) On 16th May 1931, the Dacca postal van was robbed of Rs. 800.

(16) On 5th June 1931, a mail robbery took place at Samantasena, Khulna, Rs. 70 being looted.

(17) On 17th June 1931, Rs. 278 was looted from the office of the Assistant Station Master at Nayanpur Railway Station, Assam-Bengal Railway.

(18) On 2nd July 1931, a train robbery occurred at Gouripur-Iswarganj, Rs. 1,206 being looted.

(19) On 7th July 1931, an attempt was made to rob the mails at Kumarkhali, Nadia.

(20) On 17th July 1931, an armed dacoity occurred at Nitaiganj, Narayanganj, Dacca, Rs. 8,479 being looted.

(21) On 24th July 1931, an attempted mail robbery took place at Narayanpur, police station Jhalakati, Barisal.

(22) On 31st July 1931, an attempted mail robbery took place at Dharmaganj, police station Mendiganj, Barisal.

(23) On 1st August 1931, an armed robbery occurred at the Municipal office gate, Rs. 6,202 being looted.

(24) On 4th August 1931, an armed dacoity occurred at a jute firm at Nandail Road Bazar Station, Mymensingh, Rs. 395 being looted.

(25) On 10th August 1931, an armed robbery occurred at the Saraswati Samaj, Dacca town, Rs. 627 being looted.

(26) On 3rd September 1931, an armed robbery of postal money amounting to Rs. 348 occurred at the junction of Hare and Wyre Street, Dacca town.

(27) On 9th September 1931, a highway robbery occurred at Mankunda, Hooghly.

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## 1931—"B"—cont.

- (28) On 11th September 1931, an armed dacoity occurred at Raghunathpur, police station Bagerhat, Khulna, Rs. 2,000 being stolen.
- (29) On 13th September 1931, an armed dacoity occurred in the house of Bhagaban Saha of Neamatpur, police station Karimganj, Mymensingh, Rs. 2,333 being stolen.
- (30) On 18th September 1931, an attempted mail dacoity took place near Ghoramara Post Office, Rajshahi.
- (31) On 2nd October 1931, a dacoity occurred in the *gaddi* of Krista Ch. Sanatan Pal, Canal West Road, Maniktala, Calcutta. Rs. 300 which was looted, was subsequently recovered.
- (32) On 5th October 1931, an armed dacoity occurred in the shop of Sushil Mohan Sahai Madhabdi Bazar, police station Narsingdi, Dacca; the amount looted not known.
- (33) On 10th October 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Satish Ch. Malakar, police station Taltalla, Khulna, Rs. 412 being looted.
- (34) On 10th October 1931, an attempted dacoity occurred in the house of Hriday Pal, Kalabandha, police station Melandah, Mymensingh.
- (35) On 12th October 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Purna Ch. Saha, Kamalpur, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh, Rs. 900 being looted.
- (36) On 13th October 1931, an armed robbery of Rs. 28,000 in cash, which was being transmitted from the Imperial Bank, Dacca, to the Dacca Post Office, took place, but the money was recovered.
- (37) On 16th October 1931, the mail bags containing Rs. 83 were robbed from Jinardi Railway Station Office (Bhairab Bazar, Government Railway Police, Saidpur Railway Police).
- (38) On 17th October 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Nurjan Mallik of Khagragorja, Burdwan Police Station.
- (39) On 20th October 1931, a postal runner was robbed of Rs. 1,272 near Nagargaon, police station, Katiadi, Mymensingh.
- (40) On 21st October 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Radha Krista Deb Nath of Chandani, police station Naria, Faridpur, Rs. 994 being looted.
- (41) On 28th October 1931, an armed dacoity occurred in the jute agency of Rukhini Kanta Sarkar, Gochihata, police station Katiadi, Mymensingh, Rs. 1,245 being looted.
- (42) On 10th November 1931, an armed mail robbery occurred at Dharbila, police station Charghat, Rajshahi, Rs. 195 being looted but subsequently recovered.
- (43) On 11th November 1931, an armed dacoity occurred in the house of Radha Madhab Pal, of North Madhyapara, Palong, Faridpur, Rs. 1,950 being stolen.
- (44) On 16th November 1931, an armed mail robbery occurred at Kanaikati, Madaripur, Faridpur, Rs. 2,500 being looted.
- (45) On 4th December 1931, an armed dacoity occurred in the house of Abdul Majid of Seorakanda, police station Tangail, Mymensingh, Rs. 2,608 being looted.
- (46) On 7th December 1931, a dacoity occurred in the house of Mohendra Nath Sarkar, of Darimonpur, police station Hemtabad, Dinajpur, Rs. 100 being looted.
- (47) On 15th December 1931, mail bags containing Rs. 1,900 were looted by armed men, near Naria Steamer Station, Faridpur.
- (48) On 18th December 1931 an armed dacoity occurred in the house of Mohanta Nath of Telirbag, police station Tangibari, Dacca, Rs. 677 being looted.

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## 1932

### MURDERS—5.

(1) On 30th April 1932, Mr. R. Douglas, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Midnapore, was shot dead at the District Board Office, Midnapore.

(2) On 14th June 1932, Captain Cameron was shot dead while leading a military raid on an absconders' den at Dhalghat police station, Patiya, Chittagong.

(3) On 27th June 1932, Babu Kamakhya Sen, Sub-Deputy Magistrate, was shot dead in his house in Dacca town.

(4) On 29th July 1932, Mr. Ellison, Superintendent of Police Tippera, was shot dead in Comilla town.

(5) On 24th September 1932, the European Institute at Pahartali, Chittagong, was raided by terrorists armed with revolvers and bombs and led by a woman terrorist, who eventually committed suicide. One European lady was killed and several Europeans and Anglo-Indians wounded.

### ATTEMPTED MURDERS—14.

(1) On 19th January 1932, a murderous attack with iron rods was made on Sergeant Bourne in Dacca town and his revolver was stolen.

(2) On 22nd January 1932, a bomb was thrown at the compartment occupied by the District Magistrate, Howrah, at Patihal Railway Station, on the Howrah-Amta Railway.

(3) On 6th February 1932, an attempt was made on the life of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University in the Senate House, Calcutta.

(4) On 11th March 1932, a bomb was thrown into the quarters of the Sub-Divisional Officer, Kandi, Murshidabad.

(5) On 28th March 1932, the tents in the camp of the Settlement Officers, Lalmonirhat, Rangpur, were set fire to, for the purpose of stealing the revolvers of the officers.

(6) On 21st April 1932, a bomb exploded in the vestibule of the Head Office of Messrs. Martin & Co., Mission Row, Calcutta.

(7) On 18th May 1932, a parcel exploded in the Lamabazar Post Office, Chittagong town, injuring a packer of the Post Office.

(8) On 26th May 1932, guard constable Soleman Khan was assaulted near Government House, Dacca, and his revolver was stolen.

(9) On 12th June 1932, a bomb was thrown at the train at Rajbari Railway Station, Eastern Bengal Railway, in which the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, Faridpur, were travelling.

(10) On 5th August 1932, the first attempt was made to shoot Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the *Statesman*, at Chowringhee. The assailant committed suicide.

(11) On 22nd August 1932, an attempt was made to shoot Mr. C. Grassby, Additional Superintendent of Police, Dacca, at the Nawabpur Railway Crossing, Dacca.

(12) On 28th September 1932, a second attempt was made on the life of Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the *Statesman*, near Strand Road, Calcutta.

(13) On 18th November 1932, an attempt was made to murder Mr. Luke, Superintendent, Rajshahi Jail, at Rajshahi.

(14) On 19th November 1932, an attempt was made to murder a spy "Malia" at Kalikatcha, Sarail, Tippera.



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1932—cont.

## DACOITIES AND ROBBERIES (INCLUDING ATTEMPTS)—68.

(1) On 3rd January 1932, a robbery was committed by four persons armed with revolvers in a shop at Kamalaghat, Mirkadim, Munshiganj, Dacca.

(2) On 4th January 1932, an attempt was made at Munshiganj, Dacca, to rob a clerk and durwan of the Munshiganj Middle English School. The Durwan was wounded by a revolver bullet.

(3) On 9th January 1932, a boat dacoity was committed at Kurchai, police station Gaffargaon, Mymensingh.

(4) On 11th January 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Swarikanda, police station Netrakona, Mymensingh.

(5) On 18th January 1932, the mails were robbed by six persons armed with revolvers between Natherpetua and Uttardah railway stations on the Assam-Bengal Railway.

(6) On 18th January 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Sotashi, police station Bhusna, Faridpur.

(7) On 22nd January 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Kalyanchak, police station Amta, Howrah.

(8) On 10th February 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Kamini Kanta De of Madhakhola, police station Hossainpur, Mymensingh.

(9) On 10th February 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Massimpur, Bhabanipur, Kuliarchar, Mymensingh.

(10) On 13th February 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Hari Das Saha, of Banwaribad, police station Bharatpur, Murshidabad.

(11) On 15th February 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Sawali Charpara, police station Mirzapur, Mymensingh.

(12) On 18th February 1932, a mail dacoity was committed at Gangadarpatti, near Munshiganj, Dacca.

(13) On 23rd February 1932, a dacoity was committed at the Agency of Messrs. Ralli Bros. at Atharabari, police station Iswarganj, Mymensingh.

(14) On 27th February 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Sararchar, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh.

(15) On 2nd March 1932, three youths attempted to rob a mail runner near the Boalia Post Office, police station Ghoramara, Rajshahi.

(16) On 5th March 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Uttar Bagdanga, Narail, Jessore.

(17) On 14th March 1932, a mail dacoity with murder was committed at Charmuguria Post Office, police station Madaripur, Faridpur.

(18) On 14th March 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Tegharia, Dacca.

(19) On 15th March 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Saldah, police station Naria, Faridpur.

(20) On 15th March 1932, a mail robbery was committed by three *bhadraloks* armed with revolvers at Lalbag, police station Lalbag, Dacca town.

(21) On 22nd March 1932, a mail runner was attacked and robbed of the mails at Nalchiti Steamer Ghat Road, Barisal.

(22) On 24th March 1932, a robbery was committed in a house at Sararchar, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh, by two persons.

(23) On 4th April 1932, an attempt was made to rob a man by two youths armed with daggers on the road to Berhampore Railway Station (near Cemetery), District Murshidabad.

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1932—*cont.*

(24) On 5th April 1932, a mail robbery was committed on the Keora Road, police station Jhalakati, Barisal.

(25) On 5th April 1932, an attempt at highway robbery was made at Dolaiganj Station Road, Dacca.

(26) On 5th April 1932, a house dacoity was committed at Agartola, Tripura State.

(27) On 11th April 1932, a mail robbery with murder was committed in Hari Mohan Roy Lane, Belliaghata, Calcutta.

(28) On 12th April 1932, a merchant was attacked and robbed by three youths armed with revolvers in a running train near Nilphamari Railway Station, Rangpur.

(29) On 13th April 1932, a mail robbery was committed at Jobsa Steamer Station, police station Naria, Faridpur.

(30) On 15th April 1932, a dacoity was committed in a shop at No. 8A, South Sealdah Road, Calcutta.

(31) On 1st May 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Mahesh Chandra Singh of Chandpur, Palashia, police station Nandail, Mymensingh.

(32) On 3rd May 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Muzaffar Sheik at Aynargop, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh.

(33) On 9th May 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Joynarain Kapali of Noabad, police station Karimganj, Mymensingh.

(34) On 11th May 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Chagaldanda, Banaripara, Barisal.

(35) On 13th May 1932, a train dacoity was committed between Tezgaon and Dacca Railway Stations, Dacca.

(36) On 13th May 1932, a mail robbery was committed on the District Board Road, Rajnagar, Tippera.

(37) On 17th May 1932, a mail robbery, in which one dacoit was killed, was committed at Angaria, police station Palong, Faridpur.

(38) On 21st May 1932, a mail robbery was committed at Kanakshar, police station Bhedarganj, Faridpur.

(39) On 29th May 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Kamalpur, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh.

(40) On 31st May 1932, a highway robbery was committed at Gourhati, police station Arambag, Hooghly.

(41) On 5th June 1932, a dacoity with murder was committed at Ramnagarpara, Kuniati, police station Kendua, Mymensingh.

(42) On 13th June 1932, a dacoity with murder was committed in a house at Mograbazar, police station Kasba, Tippera.

(43) On 14th June 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Binnahati, police station Kishoreganj, Mymensingh.

(44) On 15th June 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Rajani Kanta Karmakar of Jhilkipota, police station Maheshpur, Jessore.

(45) On 27th June 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Dr. Debendra Saha of Nayanpur Bazar, police station Kasba, Tippera.

(46) On 2nd July 1932, a highway robbery was committed on the Bejpara Road, police station Kotwali, Jessore.

(47) On 12th July 1932, a dacoity was committed on a Railwayganj hut at Halimpur, police station Bajitpur, Mymensingh.

(48) On 16th July 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Gangailpara, Taliapara, police station Karimganj, Mymensingh.

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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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## 1932—cont.

(49) On 18th July 1932, a dacoity with murder was committed in a house at Singa, police station Gournadi, Barisal.

(50) On 22nd July 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Mati Mandal of Srikantapur, police station Suri, Birbhum.

(51) On 15th August 1932, a train dacoity was committed by four or five *bhadralok* youths armed with revolvers between Dacca and Tezgaon Railway Stations, Dacca.

(52) On 15th August 1932, while the school-fees of the Bogra Coronation School were being taken to the Post Office, the servants were robbed by two youths armed with revolvers in Bogra town.

(53) On 15th August 1932, a dacoity was committed in two houses in Charmuguria, police station Madaripur, Faridpur.

(54) On 30th August 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at West Noapara, police station Raozan, Chittagong.

(55) On 1st September 1932, five persons were arrested in a boat with arms, while on their way to commit a dacoity at Bhangeswardi, police station Bhusna, Faridpur.

(56) On 7th September 1932, a highway robbery by three youths armed with a pistol and daggers was committed near the Dacca Railway Station, Dacca.

(57) On 9th September 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Kanjali Charan Parui of Konnagar, Hooghly.

(58) On 14th September 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Narendra Shome of Shomepara, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.

(59) On 15th September 1932, an armed youth attempted to snatch away the mail bags from the mail peon near Khankhanapur Railway Station, Faridpur.

(60) On the 15th September 1932, a robbery with murder was committed at Begutia, police station Memari, Burdwan.

(61) On 25th September 1932, a dacoity was committed in the Lone-singh Post Office, Faridpur.

(62) On 26th September 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Panjia, police station Keshabpur, Faridpur.

(63) On 12th October 1932, a mail robbery was committed at Kamar-pukur, Bankura.

(64) On 1st November 1932, a dacoity was committed in a house at Medda, police station Brahmanbaria, Tippera.

(65) Between 1st November 1932 and 2nd November 1932, a dacoity was committed at the Chandeo Kandi Board School in Mymensingh district.

(66) On 5th November 1932, an attempt to rob the mails was made at Islampur, police station Dhamrai, Dacca.

(67) On 28th November 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Brajabashi Banikya of Bejoypur, police station Parasuram, Noakhali.

(68) On 18th December 1932, a dacoity was committed in the house of Rakhal Chandra Mukharji of Chituri, police station Labpur, Birbhum.

## OTHER OUTRAGES.

## (a) Bomb Throwing—3.

(1) On 11th January 1932, a bomb was thrown at the boat of Circle Officer Maulvi Anwaruddin at Gohala, Muksudpur, Faridpur.

## A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.

1932—*cont.*

(2) On 2nd April 1932, a bomb was thrown at the house of Fatik Sinha of Plasseypara, police station Tehatta, Nadia.

(3) On 11th April 1932, a bomb was thrown into the quarters of the officer in charge of the Amta police station, Howrah.

*(b) Bomb Explosions—4.*

(1) On 15th April 1932, a bomb while being prepared exploded at Swamibag, police station Sutrapur, Dacca.

(2) On 27th May 1932, a bomb while being prepared exploded in the house of Kanai Lal Banarji of 35, Baikantha Chatarji Lane, Howrah.

(3) On 22nd October 1932, a bomb exploded at Joypurhat, Bogra.

(4) On 11th December 1932, a bomb exploded in the house of Suren Kabiraj of Raniganj, police station Asansol, Burdwan.

## 1933—"A."

(1) On 18th May 1933, when a suspected shelter was surrounded by the Police and Military at Gahira, Anwara, Chittagong, certain Armoury raid and terrorist absconders opened fire on the Government forces. Two absconders, viz. Tarakeswar Dastidar and Miss Kalpana Dutt, were arrested. The Government forces sustained no casualties.

(2) On 22nd May 1933, when No. 136/3B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, a suspected shelter of absconders, was surrounded by the Police, the absconders opened fire on the raiding party and wounded Special Branch Inspector M. Bhattacharji. Three dangerous absconders, including two who had escaped from custody, were arrested after an exchange of shots.

(3) On 2nd September 1933, Mr. B. E. J. Burge, I.C.S., District Judge of Midnapore, was shot dead at Midnapore. Two of his assailants were killed.

(4) On 28th October 1933, a party of 15 youths, carrying arms, raided the Hili railway station in the Dinajpur District and got away with cash and mail bags, after wounding a postal peon, a railway mechanic and four coolies. The postal peon subsequently died. Seven of the dacoits were arrested by the police later in the same day.

## 1933—"B."

(1) On 3rd January 1933, a mail dacoity was committed at Baramaira, police station Amta, Howrah.

(2) On 4th January 1933, a dacoity was committed in a house at Nalua, police station Matlab, Tippera.

(3) On 9th January 1933, two *bhadralog* youths attacked Private Flavell with iron rods on Savage Road, police station Lalbag, Dacca, for the purpose of stealing his revolver.

(4) On 22nd May 1933, an attempt was made to rob mails between Fakirhat and Rangdia, Khulna.

(5) On 24th May 1933, a mail robbery was committed at Kanchanpur Road, Bankura.

(6) On 13th June 1933, a mail dacoity was committed at Falshatia, police station Manikganj, Dacca.

(7) On 14th April 1933, an attempt was made by two armed youths on cycles to rob a jeweller in Lalchand Makim's Lane, police station Sutrapur, Dacca.

(8) On 16th June 1933, while a local merchant was taking an insured cover containing Rs. 1,000 to the Ghorama Post Office, he was attacked and robbed by three youths at Ranibazar, Boalia, Rajshahi.

(9) On 28th June 1933, an armed mail robbery was committed at Deruabari, police station Kotulpur, Bankura.

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## ANNEXURE IV.

STATEMENT SHOWING NUMBER OF PERSONS ARRESTED AND DEALT WITH UNDER THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1930, AND REGULATION III OF 1818, DURING THE YEARS 1930 TO 1933.

Year	A	
	Number of Persons arrested and dealt with under the B.C.L.A. Act, 1930	Number of Persons arrested and dealt with under Regulation III of 1818
1930 -	454	Nil.
1931 -	452	18
1932 -	927	3
1933 -	334	Nil.
Total -	<u>2,167</u>	<u>21</u>

## B

Analysis of the 2,167 persons arrested and dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930 :—

(i) Number in jails in Bengal under section 4 (3)	-	57
(ii) Number in jails in Bengal under section 2 (1)	-	212
(iii) Number in jails outside Bengal under section 2 (1)	-	3
(iv) Number in camps :—		
(a) Berhampore	-	477
(b) Buxa	-	150
(c) Hijli	-	317
(d) Deoli	-	192
(v) Number in Home Domicile and village domicile	-	288
(vi) Number released and not under restraint	-	389
(vii) Number otherwise under restraint	-	46
(viii) Number undergoing imprisonment	-	25
(ix) Number of deaths	-	5
(x) Number absconding	-	6
Total	-	<u>2,167</u>

## C

Analysis of the 21 persons arrested and dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 :—

(i) Number in jails outside Bengal	-	18
(ii) Number on parole	-	1
(iii) Number released	-	1
(iv) Number of deaths	-	1
Total	-	<u>21</u>

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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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## APPENDIX B.

LIST OF IMPORTANT OUTRAGES, CRIMES AND OTHER INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TERRORIST MOVEMENT, UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1933, IN THE FOLLOWING PROVINCES :—

- |                            |                                    |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) The United Provinces.  | (6) The Madras Presidency.         |
| (2) Bihar and Orissa.      | (7) Burma.                         |
| (3) The Punjab.            | (8) Central Provinces.             |
| (4) Delhi.                 | (9) Assam.                         |
| (5) The Bombay Presidency. | (10) North-West Frontier Province. |

## UNITED PROVINCES.

## 1930.

- (1) On 31st May, at Cawnpore, an explosion occurred of some chemicals while explosives for bombs were being prepared.
- (2) On 8th August, at Jhansi, one Laxmi Kand Pande attempted to assassinate the Commissioner of the Division.
- (3) On 8th September, in Benares City, a bomb in a barley tin exploded, killing an elderly woman.
- (4) On 1st December, at Cawnpore, a police search party was attacked and three wounded by one Salig Ram Shukla, who was shot dead.

## 1931.

- (5) From 1st to 13th January, in Benares, a series of bombs exploded. A small boy was injured.
- (6) On 2nd January, at Cawnpore, one Asoka Kumar Bose attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate Inspector Tika Ram, C.I.D., and a Sub-Inspector. The assailant was arrested and was convicted.
- (7) On 3rd January, at Farrukhabad, a bomb exploded against a wall.
- (8) On 7th January, at Benares, an attempt was made, in which bombs were used, to rob the Mail Van.
- (9) On 11th January, at Cawnpore, a cocoanut-shell bomb was thrown into the camp of the Deputy Collector. It did not explode.
- (10) On 21st January, at Cawnpore, a bomb exploded in a Mohalla without injury.
- (11) On 6th February, at Benares, a cocoanut-shell bomb was discovered unexploded.
- (12) On 6th February, at Benares, a cocoanut-shell bomb exploded in the compound of a house occupied by a Munsiff.
- (13) On 17th February, at Shahjahanpur, a bomb exploded in a Dharamsala. One person was injured.
- (14) On 27th February, at Allahabad, Chandra Shekhar Azad, an important terrorist leader, was shot dead at the Alfred Park, after a revolver fight with the police.
- (15) On 3rd March, at Sitapur, a liquor vendor was injured by a bomb, and subsequently a crude bomb was found in the house of a goldsmith.
- (16) On 6th June, at Cawnpore, two constables who had arrested a "wanted" revolutionary were attacked and seriously wounded.
- (17) On 20th June, at Cawnpore, an armed robbery was committed in a shop. The Munim (clerk) of the shop was killed.

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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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UNITED PROVINCES—1931—*cont.*

(18) On 22nd-23rd June, at Lucknow, two young men on bicycles stopped a carriage in which were a cloth merchant and two of his friends, throwing two bombs and slightly injuring the cloth merchant, one of his friends and the driver. They were subsequently arrested in Patna.

(19) On 18th July, at Cawnpore, an attempt was made on the life of a terrorist named Bir Bhaddar Tiwari, suspected of having turned informer.

(20) On 21st July, at Cawnpore, Ramesh Mehta, a terrorist, was shot and wounded by, it is alleged, one Raja Ram Zalim, a suspected terrorist.

(21) On 6th August, at Cawnpore, an employee of a cloth merchant was attacked and robbed at the point of a revolver. The culprit was arrested after he had wounded two of his captors.

(22) On 11th August, at Cawnpore, Raja Ram Zalim was shot dead by an unknown assailant.

(23) On 18th August, at Benares, a bomb exploded in a Police Outpost, injuring a policeman.

(24) On 24th November, at Jalaun, a second murderous attack was made on Bir Bhaddar Tiwari.

## 1932.

(25) On 23rd January, at Allahabad, Yashpal, said to be Commander-in-Chief of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, was arrested after an exchange of revolver shots with the police. Two revolvers and a large quantity of ammunition were found.

(26) On 26th January, at Lucknow, a bomb was thrown at a policeman, but did not explode.

(27) On 1st February, at Lucknow, a bomb was thrown, injuring four sub-inspectors, two naiks and two members of the public.

(28) From 23rd February to 8th April, at Allahabad, a series of bombs exploded. Two constables and one private person were injured.

(29) On 1st April, at Benares, five persons were arrested attempting to destroy one of the piers of the Dufferin Bridge over the Ganges.

(30) On 10th May, at Sitapur, a country-made bomb exploded outside the house of the Superintendent of Police, causing no damage.

(31) On 13th July, at Agra, an armed dacoity was attempted by about half a dozen men. Two of them entered into the house of a rich business man, and fired at him and his munim, killing the latter. An alarm was raised and the dacoits fled.

(32) On 22nd November, in the Hardoi district, an express train was stopped by the communication cord. Two youths descended and on being challenged by the guard, they fled after one of them had fired at and wounded him. On their arrest the culprits admitted that they were on their way to join the revolutionary party in Calcutta.

## 1933.

(33) On 4th January, at Agra, three youths endeavoured to relieve a postman of Rs. 4,475 to gain funds for revolutionary purposes. One was arrested.

(34) On 5th January, at Cawnpore, the police were subjected to revolver fire when arresting a revolutionary absconder. The absconder was subsequently convicted.

(35) On 2nd February, at Sitapur, a postman carrying Rs. 633 was held up at the point of a revolver by two young men in broad daylight. The men seized the cash bag and made off.

UNITED PROVINCES—1933—*cont.*

(36) On 5th February, at Cawnpore, a country-made bomb containing broken glass and pieces of metal was found broken but unexploded.

(37) On 25th February, at Benares, a merchant carrying money was attacked by two men, one of whom shot him when he refused to part with his property. One of the assailants was arrested after a running fight in which three more men were wounded by pistol shots. The other was also arrested on the spot. The merchant died.

(38) On 15th March, at Benares, a revolutionary absconder was arrested and found to be in possession of a loaded revolver and 59 cartridges.

(39) On 21st May, at Lucknow, a dangerous bomb was placed in the drain of a Police Outpost, but failed to explode.

## BIHAR AND ORISSA.

## 1930.

(1) On 28th May, at Jhanjhara, an armed dacoity was committed.

(2) On 30th May, at Dheluaha, an armed dacoity was committed.

(3) On 13th October, at Jamalpur, three unknown men fired five shots at a Police Sub-Inspector and constable, who returned the fire, but the culprits escaped.

## 1931.

(4) On 13th April, at Patna, two coconut bombs exploded in an empty school and one unexploded bomb was found.

(5) On 15th June, at Hajipur, the Station Master and his Assistant and two coolies, while carrying cash bags, were attacked by armed dacoits, who opened fire. The Station Master and his Assistant were wounded, and the dacoits escaped with Rs. 640. A coolie was injured by a Kukri cut. The Station Master died.

(6) On 28th June, at Patna, a Sub-Inspector of Police was killed and a head constable seriously wounded by a bomb thrown by two revolutionaries, both of whom were injured also. Three bombs, one service revolver, 71 cartridges, one automatic pistol and two cartridges were recovered.

(7) On 31st July, at Patna, two men were injured while handling a bomb which exploded. One died.

(8) On 12th August, at Chapra, two youths were arrested, and one six-chambered revolver, an old pattern double-barrel pistol (loaded), some gunpowder and chloroform were recovered.

## 1932.

(9) On 9th November, at Bettiah, an approver in the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1930 was fatally stabbed by two youths. One Ganesh Gupta was also fatally wounded by the assailants when he tried to prevent their escape.

## PUNJAB.

## 1930.

(1) On 22nd February, at Amritsar, a country-made bomb was thrown at the Principal of the Khalsa College, while he was presiding over a gathering of 150 students. One person was killed and 11 wounded. Three persons were arrested and one convicted, but subsequently acquitted by the High Court.



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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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PUNJAB—1930—*cont.*

(2) On 3rd March, at Jullundur, two cocoanut bomb-shells and a quantity of chemicals were found.

(3) On 9th March, at Amritsar, three bombs exploded in front of the City Kotwali.

(4) On 14th April, at Simla, a crude bomb was thrown at a police constable, but did not explode.

(5) On 26th May, at Sialkot, while a Hindu youth was filling explosives into a cigarette tin, one of his hands was blown off and he died.

(6) On 28th May, at Lahore, an explosion occurred while members of the Lahore revolutionary party were testing a bomb.

(7) On 27-28th May, in the Ludhiana District, two bombs were thrown at the railway line, for experimental purposes, by certain local undesirables, who planned a conspiracy to murder the Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner.

(8) On 2nd June, at Lahore, a bomb exploded in a house which was used by the revolutionaries as a depôt.

(9) On 6th June, at Lyallpore, a bomb was thrown into a club exclusively used by European officers, but caused no damage.

(10) On 16th June, at Jhang, a bomb was thrown into the Police Post. Two policemen were wounded. Four persons were arrested, three convicted.

(11) On 19th June, at Rawalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar, Lyallpore, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, simultaneous explosions of six very powerful "booby trap" bombs occurred. Two police officers were killed and four wounded.

(12) On 20th July, at Lahore, a bomb exploded in a suitcase belonging to a Sikh member of the Lahore revolutionary party.

(13) On 22nd July, at Moghulpura (Lahore), a bomb exploded inside a Sarai while it was being tested by a member of a secret organisation.

(14) On 28th July, at Amritsar, two youths were arrested at the Railway Station. Two revolvers and some cartridges were recovered.

(15) On 28th July, at Bhiwani, Hissar, a bomb containing glass, &c., was thrown into City Police Station. No damage was done.

(16) On 29th August, at Amritsar, a bomb exploded near the police barracks. One person was injured.

(17) On 4th October, at Lahore, an attempt was made on the life of K. B. Abdul Aziz, Superintendent of Police, while he was going in his car. K. B.'s orderly received a wound as a result of which he died later. The driver was also injured.

(18) On 12th October, at Lahore, an attempt was made on the life of Sergeant Smyth of the Lahore Police, with a revolver, but he escaped unhurt.

(19) On 4th November, at Lahore, two revolutionaries, Tehl Singh and Bashehar Nath, fired revolver shots at a police party deputed to effect their arrest. One of them was shot and died of wounds.

(20) On 7th November, at Lahore, a bomb and explosive material were found in a house.

(21) On 15th November, at Lahore, six revolvers and cartridges were found.

(22) On 17th December, at Sialkot, one country-made bomb exploded in the Government High School and two live bombs were found in Murray College. No one was injured.

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A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.

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PUNJAB—1930—*cont.*

(23) On 23rd December, at Lahore, when His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab was leaving the University Hall, at the conclusion of the Convocation, he was fired at by one Hari Kishan of Mardan (N.W.F.P.), and injured in the arm and hip. Two ladies, an Inspector of Police and an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police were also wounded. The last mentioned subsequently succumbed to his injuries. The assailant was arrested on the spot and was sentenced to death.

**1931.**

(24) On 31st January, at Lahore, empty bomb-shells and a small quantity of bomb-making materials were found.

(25) On 14th April, at Ambala, two loaded revolvers, 24 live cartridges, an air-pistol and slugs, and three rounds of automatic ammunition were recovered from the luggage of a youth.

(26) On 30th April, at Chunian, District Lahore, three Hindus were arrested in the act of preparing bombs. Seven bombs in preparation were recovered.

(27) On 4th May, at Kup (P.S. Multan), cocoanut shell bombs filled with broken glass and razor blades were thrown into the Police Station.

(28) On 7th May, at Suckegarh, while two suspects were being brought under escort from Jammu State they, along with two companions who were travelling with them for the purpose of standing bail, attacked the escort with revolvers. A constable was shot dead and a Head Constable and a Sub-Inspector were wounded.

(29) On 11th May, at Adampur, a bomb exploded in the hands of a Sikh, seriously injuring him and a companion. The former died.

(30) On 21st May, at Shahdara, two revolvers, one automatic pistol, five sticks of dynamite and some fuses were recovered from two arrested men.

(31) On 22nd May, at Sidh Marja, District Hoshiarpur, a bomb exploded, seriously injuring an Akali Sikh. Three more bombs were recovered.

(32) On 26th July, at Amritsar, two youths were arrested and a country-made muzzle-loading pistol was recovered. They were said to be members of a party for murdering high officials.

**1932.**

(33) On 12th March, at Lahore, a gold lace firm in the city was unsuccessfully attacked at a late hour by four young men armed with revolvers. It was found that the assailants were terrorists and the dacoity was attempted to serve political motives.

(34) On the night of 11th-12th May, at Ludhiana, all the wires on the Ludhiana-Ferozepore line were cut some  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Ludhiana. The following night all the wires were cut at three other places. A bomb in a cigarette tin which was picked up near the scene of one of the wire-cutting occurrences exploded.

**1933.**

(35) In March, in district Karnal, two men robbed a man of a gun and a bicycle and fled after shooting him in the wrist.

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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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## DELHI.

## 1930.

(1) On 6th July, a dacoity was committed at the Gadodia Store.

(2) On 28th October, Kailashpati, an absconder in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case, was arrested and four bomb shells, a Mauser pistol, ammunition, bomb-making materials and a mass of revolutionary literature was recovered. Enquiries resulted in the find of chemicals—enough to make explosives to fill about 6,000 bombs—in a house in Delhi.

(3) On 1st November, Dhanwantri, a listed absconder, attacked a policeman who attempted to arrest him, with a revolver. The policeman was injured but succeeded.

(4) On 26th December, a cigarette tin bomb was found at the railway station, and exploded. Two employees were injured, one fatally.

## 1931.

(5) On 17th April, four coolies were seriously injured and a passenger coach damaged, as a result of a bomb explosion near the Main Station.

(6) On 15th August, a revolver was recovered from the house of two Sikhs.

## 1932.

(7) On 2nd February, fragments of a bomb were found on the G.I.P. Railway line, at a spot 400 yards south-east of the Hardinge Bridge. The bomb was of a dangerous type but exploded harmlessly. The special train carrying the Lothian Committee passed the previous night.

(8) On 20th July, a constable on traffic duty was attacked by two persons who hit him on the head with an iron bar and attempted to snatch his revolver. They were disturbed, however, and were subsequently arrested and convicted.

## BOMBAY AND SIND.

## 1930.

(1) On 21st February, at Jalgaon, an attempt was made with a revolver, smuggled from outside, by one Bhagwan Das, an undertrial prisoner, to murder the approver Jai Gopal. Jai Gopal and a Sub-Inspector of Police were wounded.

(2) On 10th and 12th April, when the G.I.P. Railwaymen's strike was in progress, certain strikers and others, who had entered into a conspiracy to blow up railway lines, stations and bridges, manufactured bombs and exploded one on the railway line between Parel and Dadar, one on Masjid Station, and one on Byculla Station. No serious damage was done. On the arrest of the conspirators, a large quantity of explosives was recovered.

(3) On 15th September, at Karachi, a crude bomb was thrown at the City Police Station, but caused no damage.

(4) On 29th September, at Karachi, a bomb exploded in Rewachand's Building.

(5) On 9th October, in Bombay, a shooting outrage near the Lamington Road Police Station took place, in which Sergeant Taylor and his wife were injured.

(6) On 25th November, at Karachi, a practically completed bomb and bomb-making materials were recovered.

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A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.

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BOMBAY AND SIND—1930—*cont.*

(7) On 28th November, at Hyderabad (Sind), a crude bomb exploded in the compound of the bungalow of the Deputy Superintendent of Police.

(8) On 27th December, at Ahmedabad, a bomb exploded in the house of a tailor, in which he and a friend of his, both low-class Congress workers, were seriously injured. The bomb was intended to be used for killing local police officers.

## 1931.

(9) On 12th January, in Bombay City, a crude cocoanut-shell bomb exploded near the Mahabavdi Police Station. No damage was done.

(10) On 13th January, at Ahmednagar, a bomb was thrown into the compound of the sub-jail without causing damage.

(11) On 12th and 18th June, in Bombay, bombs exploded in Gunpowder Street.

(12) In May and June, at Poona, two rifles and one gun were stolen by some youths who were arrested. The arms were to be utilised in murdering certain British officers.

(13) On 22nd July, at Poona, an attempt was made on the life of the Acting Governor (Sir Ernest Hotson), by a student while His Excellency was on a visit to the Fergusson College, Poona. The assailant fired point blank at His Excellency, who had a miraculous escape, the bullet striking a metal button on his pocket book. Two revolvers and a dagger were recovered. The assailant was convicted.

(14) On 23rd July, at a village in Sind, an armed dacoity was committed in which Rs. 4,697 were looted. The object was to collect money for the purpose of avenging Bhagat Singh.

## 1932.

(15) On 3rd June, at Hyderabad (Sind), Hans Raj *alias* Wireless, a very important member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, was arrested. A loaded automatic pistol, a country-made pistol, and an air-pistol were recovered, together with a certain amount of ammunition and two bomb-shells.

(16) On 19th October, at Panvel, an attempt was made on the life of Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Northern Division, Kolaba.

(17) On 30th October, in Bombay, on the arrival of *S.S. Hiraudi* from Goa, four revolvers and 25 cartridges were found in a passenger's luggage.

## 1933.

(18) On 7th April, in Bombay, a road robbery occurred, when a school-master was relieved of the pay of his staff. The investigation of the crime disclosed the existence of the terrorist group "Anand Mandal." There was good reason to believe that three members of this party abetted the manufacture of the two very crude bombs which were thrown in the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on two occasions in March and in April 1933. They were charged accordingly but acquitted.

(19) On 21st April, at Ahmedabad, a loaded revolver, explosive substances mixed with pellets and gramophone needles, four bottles of kerosene oil mixed with petrol, a quantity of chemicals, and several copies of a leaflet threatening foreign cloth dealers with death if they persisted in selling foreign cloth, were found after the arrest of two suspected incendiaries.

(20) On 16th June, at Hyderabad (Sind), a bomb was thrown by two youths, near two British soldiers, one of whom was slightly injured.

## A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.

## MADRAS.

## 1933.

- (1) On 16th March, in Madras, a revolver was found in the Governor's box in the Legislative Council Hall.
- (2) On 15th April, at Cocanada, half a dozen bombs were found in a boat.
- (3) On 26th April at Ootacamund, four individuals dressed in khaki shirts and shorts, and armed with revolvers, successfully raided the Travancore National Bank. All were subsequently arrested and convicted.

## BURMA.

## 1930.

- (1) On 2nd July, near Insein, two revolver shots were fired at two police officers.
- (2) On 1st September, in Rangoon, a daylight highway robbery was committed.
- (3) On 28th October, between Subhinta and Nyaungchidauk Railway Stations, the Rangoon Mail was derailed.

## CENTRAL PROVINCES.

## 1930.

- (1) On 7th April, at Village Kauria, District Narsinghpur, a bomb explosion occurred in the house of a goldsmith. The goldsmith was killed and on a search of his house a quantity of chemicals and communistic and revolutionary literature was recovered.

## 1931.

- (2) On 9th August, at Saugor, a dangerous bomb was found in the Government High School.
- (3) On 21st August, at Marathi School, Burhanpur, a coconut bomb was thrown into a scout rally at which the Divisional Commissioner was present. The bomb did not explode.
- (4) On 23rd July, between Dongargaon and Mandwa, two European military officers travelling in the Punjab mail were stabbed, one of whom (Lieutenant Hext) subsequently succumbed. Two persons who had committed the murder and an abettor were arrested.

## 1932.

- \* (5) On 3rd April, at Betul, a .455 bore revolver was stolen from the house of a retired Sub-Inspector of Police.
- \* (6) On 9th June, at Hinganghat (Wardha), Rs. 1,403 were stolen from the railway station safe.
- \* (7) On 2nd July, at Nagpur, a .455 bore revolver was stolen from the bungalow of the City Superintendent of Police.

## ASSAM.

## 1931.

- (1) On 6th January, between Harashpur and Gobindpur, a mail robbery was attempted.
- (2) On 12th January, at Hatigarh, a dacoity was committed in which Rs. 3,420 in cash were stolen. One person was injured.

\* These offences were committed by members of a revolutionary organisation, 13 of whom were prosecuted and 10 convicted.

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 A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON TERRORISM IN INDIA.
 

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ASSAM—1931—*cont.*

- (3) On 31st January, at Kamalganj, a mail robbery was committed.
- (4) On 2nd March, at Dharampur, highway robbery of mails was attempted.
- (5) On 2nd July, near Gauripur Junction, an armed dacoity was committed in which Rs. 2,796 were looted.

**1932.**

- (6) On 27th February, between Shaistaganj and Habiganj, four masked men, armed with revolvers and daggers, entered the mail van of a passenger train and looted all the mail bags.
- (7) On 27th September, at Dughar, cash and ornaments valued at Rs. 15,400 were stolen in a dacoity, probably committed by terrorists.

**1933.**

- (8) On 12th January, near Sylhet, four bhadrals assaulted the two mail runners from Sylhet to Sunamganj, took their bags and got away with Rs. 5,000–6,000 in insured covers and about Rs. 400 in cash.
- (9) In February, in the Sylhet district, a serious dacoity took place in which a boy was shot dead and Rs. 3,000 were stolen.
- (10) On 13th March, at Itakhola, Sylhet district, six bhadrals youths attacked a mail runner and when surrounded by villagers one of them opened fire, but was caught after one villager had been killed and two others wounded. The other dacoits fled with Rs. 1,400. Four were arrested later on.

## NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

**1930.**

- (1) On 2nd July, in Peshawar Cantonment, a bomb exploded beneath the engine of the Calcutta mail train. No damage was done.
- (2) On 8th July, at Peshawar, a crude bomb exploded outside the house of an Honorary Magistrate. No damage was done.
- (3) On 15th July, in Peshawar Cantonment, an explosion occurred in one of the two old ornamental guns in the Mackeson Gardens.
- (4) On 1st September, at Peshawar, a bomb of the Mills type, wrapped in cloth, was found by a Police Inspector on returning to his house at midnight. It exploded but did no damage.
- (5) On 1st September, at Bannu, a bomb of the Mills type exploded in the house of the City Inspector, but did no damage.

**1931.**

- (6) On 14th January, at Qudi Killa P.S. Sadr. Mardan, two Mills grenades were recovered from the house of a Hindu.
- (7) On 20th–21st January, at Peshawar, a country-made bomb exploded on contact with the wheels of an engine, but did no damage.
- (8) On 14th March, at Peshawar, a country-made bomb was thrown near the Kissa Khan Police Station, but it failed to explode.
- (9) On 8th May, at Peshawar, two country-made bombs were found by the servant of a bookseller in the Kissa Khani Bazar.
- (10) On 30th June, at Bannu, two bombs were found in the possession of a labourer.
- (11) On 15th August, at Kot Najibullah, a youth, who was apparently preparing a bomb, was injured when it exploded.

## RECORD C1 (continued)

### IV.—Questions asked by the Marquess of Salisbury on the position of the States in the Federal Finance Scheme of the White Paper, and replies thereto by the Secretary of State for India [16th December, 1933].

#### QUESTIONS BY THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

It has been repeatedly stated that the States are not prepared to pay direct taxation until after all other sources of Federal revenue required to meet Federal expenditure have been exhausted, taking into account all possible savings through economy, and until therefore a condition of emergency has arisen. Then and then only will they directly contribute on a prescribed basis. This limitation, however, on direct taxation in the States is not to be held to apply to the Corporation Tax, at any rate in the case of a majority, I think a great majority, of the States. But it should be added, from the White Paper itself, that this tax for the first ten years is to be leviable only from British India. I am sure it will be agreed that it is most important that the Committee should realise the exact effect of the position of the States. I take it to be as follows:

1. Except in a state of emergency the States will not undertake to pay anything by way of direct taxation to Federal revenue for the first ten years.

2. After ten years they, or at any rate most of them, agree to be assessed to Corporation Tax on an equal footing with British India, though they reserve to themselves the right to pay an equivalent sum in place of actually levying the Corporation Tax.

Certain further questions arise, but they are subsidiary to these two main propositions.

3. As apparently, if all the Federal units are to bear an equal burden, the Income Tax being not leviable on the States cannot be used for Federal purposes except in an emergency, how is it proposed that the Federal Budget shall be balanced for the first ten years?

4. After ten years is it contemplated that the Federal Budget should if necessary be balanced by the Corporation Tax, and is the scope of this tax sufficiently productive and sufficiently equitable to be adequate for this purpose having regard to the unequal distribution of Companies in the different units of the Federation?

5. How is it intended that the prescribed basis on which in an emergency the Income Tax is to be levied from the States should be calculated?

6. How is it contemplated that the Assessment of Companies in the States is to be made and verified for the purposes of the Corporation Tax?

If the statements in paragraphs 1 and 2 are accurate and the Secretary of State is good enough to answer the questions in the remaining paragraphs, we shall have a clearer idea of the financial position of the States in the proposed Federation.

QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY ON  
THE POSITION OF THE STATES IN THE FEDERAL FINANCE SCHEME OF THE WHITE  
PAPER, AND REPLIES THERETO BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

*Questions Nos. 1 and 2.*—Numbers 1 and 2 of Lord Salisbury's questions correctly state the position, but the following comments may be made by way of further elucidation. First it may be well to recall to the Committee the main heads of revenue at the Centre as given in Sir Malcolm Hailey's note, Record No. 1\*. These are repeated for convenience of reference.

	Rs. Crores.	£ Millions.
Customs (net) ... ..	50·27	37·70
Income taxes (net) ... ..	17·21	12·91
Salt (net) ... ..	7·60	5·70
Other taxes (net) ... ..	·60	·45
Net tax revenue ... ..	75·68	56·76
Opium (net) ... ..	·63	·47
Railways (net) ... ..	Nil	Nil
Currency and Mint (net) ... ..	1·11	·83
Payments from States ... ..	·74	·56
Total ... ..	78·16	58·62

It will be seen that "direct taxation" is in practice equivalent to taxes on income and that these form only a little over one-fifth of the total net revenue. It also will be remembered that during the first ten years to which question No. 1 refers, the tributes from the States (about half a million pounds a year) will only be in process of gradual reduction *pari passu* with the remission of income tax to the Provinces, and that, accordingly, there will during this period at least be a contribution from some States otherwise than through "indirect taxation". It may also be well to add a comment on the phrase "state of emergency" in connection with the States' liability to contribute to taxes on income. It is true that it is only contemplated that the States should participate in special surcharges on income tax and that these special surcharges are not intended to be used except in times of difficulty when other sources open to the Federation have proved insufficient.† But the use of the term "emergency" must not be held to cover only grave financial crises.

*Question No. 3.*—It is evident from this question that there is a misconception in the minds of some members of the Committee. It is not proposed under the White Paper scheme that, because the States will only contribute to taxes on income through special surcharges (if and when these are imposed) the Federal Government should therefore forego the right to keep any part of the taxes on income raised from British India and should surrender the whole of it to the Provinces. The proposals in the White Paper contemplate that a certain percentage of the taxes on

\* These figures give the budget estimate of Central Revenue (net) for 1933-34, and are not, of course, an estimate for the first year of Federation; but they will serve adequately as an illustration for the purpose of this note.

† Sir A. Hydari adds in his statement of 27th July the not unreasonable condition that the programme of remission of income tax to the Provinces should be suspended.



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QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY ON  
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income should be permanently assigned to the Federation and the determination of this percentage is left to be fixed subsequently by Order in Council. Unless financial conditions change for\*the better more radically than we have any reason to expect, I doubt whether it will be possible to fix the Federal permanent share of income tax at less than the maximum figure mentioned in the White Paper, viz. 50 per cent. As regards the balance of taxes on income, under the White Paper proposals as they stand, the Federation has the power of retaining the whole for three years, followed by a process of gradual remission to the Provinces extending over the next seven years. So that for three years the Federation has the whole Income Tax, and by the end of ten years, the Federation would have half and the Provinces half. There is a power in the Governor-General to hold up this programme and so retain, for the time being, more for the Centre. A point to which the Committee ought in due course to give careful attention is whether the most suitable method, in the existing financial conditions is that proposed in the White Paper, viz. a predetermined programme with power to suspend, or machinery by which the programme is left to be settled at a later date. However that may be, it will be plain that it is contemplated that although the States will not be contributing, the Federation should retain permanently a large portion of the taxes on income and only remit the remainder to the Provinces gradually as financial conditions admit.

\* The implication in question No. 3 is, apparently, that such a proposal is, at all events theoretically, unfair seeing that the Federation uses a source of taxation derived from some of the units only. At the second and third Round Table Conferences there was a good deal of discussion about the "equality of burden" as between the States and British India. The true position, viewed from this aspect, is not very easy to assess. Some of the many factors that have to be taken into consideration are the following:—

(i) Part of the taxes on income are in fact not collected solely from British India. Perhaps the most important head of this kind is income-tax deducted at the source on the interest on Government Securities which are widely held in the States as well as in British India.

(ii) If certain revenues are provided by British India only, *per contra* part of the Federal expenditure is only for British India, such as:—

(a) subsidies to deficit provinces other than the N.W.F.P.;

(b) a share of certain pre-Federation pensions;

(c) possibly also a share of the service of pre-Federation debt.

(This is a contentious question on which there has been much argument on one side and the other.)

(iii) The States make certain contributions in kind to Defence Expenditure, to which there is no parallel in British India.

The general conclusion which the Government reached, with a considerable measure of assent from the Indian delegates, was that it was very important to get away from any attempt to balance factors of this kind and to base their proposals for the allocation of resources between the Federation and Provinces (and in particular allocation of taxes on income) according to actual financial and economic necessities rather than to attempt to produce theoretical equality of burden between British India

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and the States. I regard as one of the most important of such necessities, an arrangement by which, eventually, both Provinces and Federation will have an element of direct taxation (*viz.* taxes on income) included among their resources.

I do not propose to make any attempt to give a precise estimate as to what would be the percentage of taxes on income drawn solely from British India which the Federation could retain without violating the principle of equality of burden, but assuming that the percentage retained is fixed as high as 50 per cent., there would probably be, in relation to taxes on income, a permanent inequality though not of great magnitude, and during the first 10 years, or longer period if the programme of remission to the Province is prolonged, there will be a larger inequality. At first sight this may appear unfair to British India, but it is impossible in the circumstances of India to proceed straight to an equality of position between the States and British India, when they have been so different in the past.

The really important feature of the Federal proposals in the financial field is not the failure to secure from the States their full contribution in relation to direct taxation but the dropping of their claim to a share in customs revenue which, backed to some extent by the Butler Committee, was becoming a problem of considerable gravity.

*Question No. 4.*—The present yield of the Corporation tax is about £1½ millions a year or approximately one-tenth of the total yield of taxes on income. No estimate has been made of the possible yield from Companies in the States. The proposal to federalise permanently this head of taxes on income did not in any way flow from the conception that it would be an item which was capable of balancing the Federal Budget. It is possible that it is a tax that may be developed, but it is by no means free from objections and it may well prove that it will not in future play a much more important part than it does now. The reason why this was singled out for special treatment was that it was the one form of taxes on income (other than special surcharges) in which most of the States at all events showed some disposition to be ready to participate. The advantage to be derived from their participation is really less directly financial than economic since it may help to prevent any future development in the direction of companies establishing themselves in the Indian States rather than in British India in order to avoid the incidence of the tax.

*Question No. 5.*—Since it will not be possible to form any accurate estimate of the income of States' subjects which would be assessable to income-tax if they were all liable under the British Indian Income Tax law, it is plain that some more or less arbitrary method will have to be employed for calculating the States' share of special surcharges when these are imposed. No method is altogether free from difficulty. The most promising proposal seems to be the following. An estimate would be made of the total revenues of each federating State and also of the British India Provinces on as nearly an equal basis as may be possible. The sum to be paid by the States as their counterpart to the special surcharges would then be the yield of surcharges in British India multiplied by the ratio of the sum of the States' revenues to the sum of the British India Provinces' revenues. The amount thus determined for the States would be divided among the States' units in proportion to their revenues. Probably

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percentages based on a method of this kind could be fixed for a period of five years at a time. The duty of revising the percentages in the light of new revenue figures might be laid on the Auditor-General.

Reference may be made on this question to paragraph 113 of the Report of the Federal Finance Committee, presided over by Lord Eustace Percy, in which is discussed the problem of allocation among units of "emergency contributions" of an analogous though slightly different kind.

*Question No. 6.*—Except where a State elects to pay Corporation Tax direct, the Companies in the States would be assessed either by Federal Officers or by States Officers acting on behalf of Federal Officers. In those cases where a State prefers that tax should not be paid direct by the Company but by the State, the latter choosing its own form of raising equivalent revenue, the power of assessing the sum to be paid by the State rests with the Federal Government. Since the Companies will, under the Federal Company Law, have to produce balance sheets, there will be some material, though no doubt of an inadequate kind, for the Federal Government to make its assessment. No doubt they will proceed by the method, when inadequate statistics are forthcoming, of propounding an assessment and leaving it to the State to produce information to justify a reduction.

[16TH DECEMBER, 1933.]

## RECORD C1 (continued)

### V.—Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India [2nd August, 1934] on the Federal Legislature

I should like to set out shortly the reasons for which I found myself able to agree with the plan for the election of British Indian members of the Federal Lower House contained in the Lord Chairman's Report, in the hope that those of my colleagues who still have doubts upon particular aspects of the plan may nevertheless, like myself, be prepared to accept it as a whole.

I explained my own views on the question at the various sessions of the Round Table Conference with, I hope, complete candour. As for my Government colleagues, they and I have never taken the view that the time has yet come when the *final* decisions must be taken on the constitutional and political issues involved in the question. We approach it as a question of choosing the machinery least likely, under the conditions prevailing *at present*, to give unsatisfactory results rather than of adherence to one or other of two opposing schools of political thought whether in India or in England—and there are divergent views on this subject in both countries. The arguments on both sides are set out in the draft Report. Fundamentally, the question resolves itself into one of balancing against the disadvantages of constituencies of huge area the disadvantages arising from the small quotas for election by the Provincial Legislatures. The choice is admittedly difficult.

Two considerations have weighed with me in reaching a different conclusion from the plan as proposed in the White Paper. In the first place, I feel strongly that only further experience of political forces and machinery in India will provide the material upon which can be based a final answer as to the best method of giving effect to the representative principle. This being so, I can find no answer to the arguments, elaborated in the draft Report, that the continuation at this stage of direct election would make it almost impossible to escape from this system in future. It would be likely to become more and more, rather than less, difficult with a lapse of time which is bound to be accompanied by a lowering of the franchise. The ultimate solution may be on the lines of the group system; but whatever the final solution may prove to be I am convinced that it would be easier to approach it from a system of indirect election rather than from direct.

I have come to this conclusion with the less hesitation in view of the proposals in the draft Report which will provide the Indian Legislature, in due course, with constitutional means of making its views on this subject known to Parliament.

What I have said describes my own position on this matter, but I am sure that it represents in substance the attitude of many of my Government colleagues on the Committee.

[2ND AUGUST, 1934.]

## RECORD C1 (continued)

### VI.—Letter from the Secretary of State for India to the Lord Chairman of the Joint Select Committee

1st August, 1934.

It will be within your recollection that in July, 1933, I invited some of the members of the Joint Select Committee and delegates to be so kind as to assist me in hearing representations from leading Telegus and Oriyas who were then in London on the subject of the boundaries of the proposed new Orissa Province. The Joint Select Committee had decided not to hear evidence from these gentlemen on this particular subject.

As indicated in the attached memorandum, I have come to the conclusion, with the concurrence of my colleagues of the Joint Select Committee and delegates\* who were good enough to assist me in the matter, that there should be added to the proposed new Province as defined in the White Paper (a) that portion of the Jeypore Estate which was recommended by the Orissa Committee of 1932 for inclusion in Orissa; (b) the Parlakimedi and Jalandra Maliahs; (c) a small portion of the Parlakimedi Estate (including Parlakimedi Town).

As the conclusions reached involve amendment of a Proposal mentioned in the White Paper, though on a point which involves administrative rather than constitutional issues, I think it right to report the conclusions to you for circulation to the Committee and publication in its records if you see no objection.

#### MEMORANDUM.

##### *Orissa Boundaries.*

The Secretary of State for India, assisted by the marginally noted members of the Joint Select Committee and Indian Delegation, received representations on the subject of the boundaries of the proposed province of Orissa from Oriya representatives on 3rd July, 1933, and from Telegu representatives on 10th July. Each set of representatives was given an opportunity of commenting in writing on the documents submitted, and on the evidence tendered by the other. Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Chairman of the Orissa Committee (1932) was also consulted on 6th November and views expressed by the Madras Government and the Government of India were also taken into consideration.

Lord Zetland  
Lord Derby  
Lord Lothian  
Major Attlee  
Mr. R. A.  
Butler  
† Sir Phiroze  
Sethna  
† Sir N. N.  
Sircar  
† Mr. Zafrulla  
Khan

The main points to which attention was devoted were the following:—

- (a) Should the town of Berhampur be included in Orissa?
- (b) Should the whole or any part of the Parlakimedi estate be included in Orissa?
- (c) Should the Jeypore estate‡ be included in Orissa?
- (d) Should territory be included in Orissa to make it possible to establish a summer headquarters of Government at Mahendragiri.

\* The delegates had returned to India before conclusions were reached regarding the Parlakimedi Estate.

† Sir N. Sircar attended the July, 1933, meetings but had left for India before any conclusions were reached. Sir P. Sethna and Mr. Zafrulla Khan had left before conclusions were reached regarding the Parlakimedi Estate.

‡ Used in this memorandum as synonymous with that part of the Vizagapatam Agency Tract which the Orissa Committee proposed to transfer to Orissa.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA TO THE LORD  
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

The conclusions reached are as follows:—

(a) The population of the town of Berhampur is approximately equally divided between Oriyas and Telegus. There appears to be no doubt of the correctness of the Telegu contention that, judged solely by financial and economic tests, their interests predominate over those of Oriyas in the Town. Nevertheless it seems impossible, on these grounds, to deny to the new province the only town which could form a suitable headquarters for its south-eastern area. The suggestion made by the Telegu representatives, that Chatrapur might suffice for such headquarters, was examined, but the conclusion reached is that it would be inadequate.

(b) The majority of the population of Parlakimedi estate is admittedly Telegu. On the other hand, the Zamindar, the Raja of Parlakimedi, who is a leading Oriya pressed strongly that his estate should be included in the new province. In view of the objection to transferring to Orissa the whole estate, with a predominantly Telegu population, the Raja submitted a proposal\* that his estate should be divided between the two Provinces. The portion to be transferred to Orissa would include about 30 per cent. of the population of the whole estate and would comprise the town of Parlakimedi (in which the numbers of Telegus and Oriyas are approximately equal). The boundary may be roughly defined as follows. A line just to the south of the Gunupur-Parlakimedi Railway from the point where the Railway enters the estate at its north-west corner to the point where the Railway crosses the Mahendranaya River, and from there a somewhat irregular line, whose general trend is east by north, to the north-eastern corner of the estate.

In this area (together with that of the Parlakimedi Maliahs lying to the north of it) Oriyas would slightly predominate over Telegus so far as mother-tongue is concerned and to a larger extent so far as race is concerned (though the race figures are somewhat conjectural). The transfer of this limited area to Orissa seemed to be a suitable solution of a difficult problem, and is accordingly recommended. The exact boundary would require delimitation.

(c) Considerations for and against the inclusion of Jeypore estate in Orissa are set out in paragraphs 71 and 72 of the report of the Orissa Committee. The balance of advantage appears to lie in transferring this area to Orissa.

(d) On examination it proved that the prospect of establishing a satisfactory summer seat of Government at Mahendragiri, even assuming this to be desirable policy, is so remote that it would be unwise to make a special adjustment of the boundary for this purpose.

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\* Another, and earlier, proposal of the Raja for dividing the estate would have transferred to Orissa an area in which Telegus would undoubtedly have predominated. This earlier proposal was not accepted.

# C1

RECORD CONTAINING PAPERS LAID  
BEFORE THE JOINT COMMITTEE  
ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL  
REFORM BY THE SECRETARY  
OF STATE FOR INDIA

[SESSION 1933-34]

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*Die Mercurii, 21<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1934*

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