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BRITISH COUNTERING OF MAHATMA
GANDHI AND THE CONGRESS
1934 - 1938

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLAN TO COUNTER MAHATMA GANDHI'S VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION: OCTOBER 1934 - NOVEMBER 1935..... 5

1. LETTER FROM M.G.HALLETT, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS REGARDING THE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES, 23.11.1934.	5
2. LETTER TO H.M.'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 27.11.1934	13
3. TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, 27.11.1934	14
4. TELEGRAM TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS: 29.11.1934.....	15
5. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, 30.11.1934	16
6. LETTER FROM THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER MERWARA: 3.12.1934	17
7. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, 4.12.1934	18
8. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, 10-11.12.1934	22
9. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, 11.12..1934.	23
10. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, 12.12.1934.....	24
11. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 13.12.1934.....	25
12. LETTER FROM CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, UNITED PROVINCES, 24.12.1934	26
13. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, 3.1.1935	34
14. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, COORG, 4.1.1935	35
15. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, 17.1.1935	36
16. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA , 12.3.1935.	38
17. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, 24.12.1934,	40
18. LETTER TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS, DATED 26.4.1929, ON THE SUBJECT OF EXHIBITIONS ORGANISED BY OR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.	42
19. LETTER FROM MR. M.G. HALLETT, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS DATED 7.6.1935.....	43
20. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, DATED 10.6.1935 TO HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON	45
21. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PUNJAB, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, 13.7.1935.	46

22. LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 16.7.1935.....	48
23. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 19.7.1935.....	55
24. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF COORG, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 19.7.1935.....	56
25. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER-MERWARA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 24.7.1935.....	57
26. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BIHAR AND ORISSA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 29.7.1935.....	58
27. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 9.8.1935.....	64
28. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 12.8.1935.....	65
29. LETTER FROM ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 13.8.1935.....	66
30. MEMO. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 15.8.1935.....	67
31. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 16.8.1935.....	68
32. LETTER FROM CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 27.8.1935.....	69
33. LETTER TO SIR FINDLATER STEWART, HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 12.11.1935.....	70
34. LETTER FROM THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HME DEPARTMENT, TO H.M.'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON, 12.11.1935.....	73
35. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 11.11.1934.....	74
36. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 19.11.1934.....	77
37. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 21.1.1935.....	79
B. VICEROY LORD WELLINGDON ON GANDHIJI AND INDIA TO SECRETARY OF STATE ZETLAND: 13.7.1935 - 30.3.1936.....	82
1. VICEROY LORD WELLINGDON TO THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 13.7.1935.....	82

2. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 19.8.1935	86
3. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 10.11.1935	88
4. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, OCT – NOV 1935.....	91
5. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 12.1.1936	92
6. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 30.3.1936	94
7. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 6.4.1936.....	96

C. VICEROY LINLITHGOW FINDS U.P. GOVERNOR HAIG INADEQUATE; GETS HIM REMOVED : 17.3 - 24.12.1937.....98

1. LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO MR.LAWRENCE, 17.3.1937	98
2. LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO SIR. HAIG, GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCE, 15.11.1937	100
3. LETTER FROM SIR. HAIG TO THE VICEROY, 17.11.1937	105
4. VICEROY LINLITHGOW TO LONDON (EXTRACT : NOV. 1937)	107
5. VICEROY TO MR.LAWRENCE, 25.11.1937	110
6. VICEROY TO SIR. HAIG, GOVERNOR OF UNITED PROVINCE, 24.12.1937	112

A. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLAN TO COUNTER MAHATMA GANDHI'S VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION: OCTOBER 1934 - NOVEMBER 1935

Source: IOL : L/P+J/7/663 and MSS EUR E240/8

1. LETTER FROM M.G.HALLETT, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS REGARDING THE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES, 23.11.1934.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. F. 3/16/34.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT

POLITICAL

TO
ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS
(INCLUDING AJMER-MERWARA).

Dated the 23rd November 1934.

SIR,

I am directed to address you on the situation arising out of the decisions of the recent Bombay Congress.

2. Before the opening of the Congress there was some justification for anticipating that it might result in accentuating rather than diminishing the internal disputes in the Congress ranks to which all local Governments have drawn attention in recent reports. The measures adopted by Government for meeting the civil disobedience movement had thrown the Congress organisation into confusion and the attempts which had been made to reorganise the provincial and district Congress Committees after the ban had been lifted on the suspension of civil disobedience had resulted in many places in acute internal disputes. It appeared probable that attacks on the Congress leaders would be four-fold. In the first place, there were those who had opposed the Council Entry programme and the creation of the Congress Parliamentary Board which had been brought into existence by the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Patna. Secondly, even amongst those who favoured this programme there was the division between the Nationalist Party of Malaviya and Aney which received some support from the Hindu Mahasabha and the orthodox Congress Party; though the difference of opinion between these two groups was only on the question of the attitude to be adopted to the Communal Decision and though they were in agreement on the general policy of attacking the White Paper Proposals and "repressive" legislation, the feelings engendered by the disputes ran high. Thirdly, there was the Congress Socialist Party whose opposition to the Congress policy was more fundamental and which at a recent meeting at Benares had condemned the Council

Entry programme and had described the constructive programme evolved at Wardha and the definition of independence accepted at Karachi as mere milk and water resolutions. This party, though hampered by the absence of its leader Jawahar Lal Nehru, seemed to be growing in influence, especially in the United Provinces, and though still comparatively small in numbers it appeared possible that this party in combination with the Communist elements in Bombay might have considerable influence, on the final decisions.

(p.2) Fourthly, there was the question of Mr. Gandhi's retirement from Congress. On the one hand, there was the growing opposition to his leadership by those who considered that he was devoting undue attention to social rather than political questions, resented his attacks on the fraudulent methods and corrupt practices of Congress bodies, and criticised his proposals for the reorganisation of the Congress constitution which involved a somewhat meticulous change in the definition of the Congress creed and included the unpopular spinning franchise and the wearing of *khaddar* by all members. On the other hand, there were those who held that if Mr. Gandhi severed his connection with Congress, it would spell disaster to that body.

3. The outstanding features of the Bombay session of the Congress were (a) the change in the Congress constitution and the reorganisation of the Congress executive and (b) the inauguration of the All-India Village Industries Association. Closely connected with both these decisions was the resignation of Mr. Gandhi from Congress bodies. To form a correct appreciation of the possible results of these decisions it is necessary to examine them in some detail.

4. At first sight the changes in the Congress constitution might be held to be due to the disorganisation and dissension in practically all Congress bodies resulting from the civil disobedience campaign, and to be designed merely to make Congress less unwieldy and more businesslike. Thus the number of delegates to a plenary session has been reduced from 6,000 to 2,000 (Mr. Gandhi himself originally wanted a reduction to 1,000), while the All-India Congress Committee is to consist of only 166 members, about half the present number. Provincial Congress Committees are also in no case to have more than 100 members. More important than the reduction in numbers are the decisions that not more than 511 of the 2,000 delegates will come from urban areas (that is from towns with a population of 10,000 or more); that delegates shall be elected direct and only those may stand who are fully qualified in their own constituencies; that a "labour" franchise shall be substituted for a "spinning" franchise, and this shall apply not to primary members but only to candidates for executive office. This reorganisation seems primarily intended to bring Congress into close connection with rural areas, a point of considerable importance if taken with the proposals for the Village Industries Association. Not only will villagers be attending meetings of the All India Congress Committee and the full Congress (hitherto the almost exclusive privilege of townsmen) but the reduction in number will make it possible to hold sessions in the smaller towns or even in rural areas.

5. It appears to the Government of India that the true significance of these changes in organisation is that they are intended to leave Congress far better equipped to carry on the political or parliamentary side of its work in which Mr. Gandhi sees a large number of members to be mainly interested. Hitherto Congress as a political party has been open to the criticism that it represents only one section of the community, viz., the urban (and mainly the Hindu) intelligentsia. In future it will be in a position to claim that it represents rural interests as well as urban. It is also possible that Congress as now reconstituted represents Mr. Gandhi's idea of

a "Constituent Assembly" and that if the experiment succeeds, he will be able to point to Congress as an efficient machine capable of taking over the framing of the constitution or even the future government of the country.

6. No change has been made in the general policy of Congress which was explained in my letter No. F.39/16/34, dated the 20th September 1934, and Mr. Rajendra Prasad in his presidential (p.3) address devoted much attention to criticising the White Paper proposals on stereotyped lines and to attacking the "repressive" legislation. Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards parliamentary activities also appears unchanged, and in a published statement he has said:- "Though the author of non-co-operation, I am convinced that in the present condition of the country and in the absence of any general scheme of civil resistance, a Parliamentary Party within the Congress is the necessary part of any programme which may be followed by the Congress."

7. The resolution regarding the inauguration of the All-India Village Industries Association as the principal feature of Mr. Gandhi's "constructive" programme may prove of even greater importance. Mr. Gandhi has himself stated that this movement is non-political and the fact that the initiation of the movement synchronises with his resignation from Congress bodies may cause this statement to be accepted at its face value in certain quarters and the view to be taken that the movement is a *bona fide* campaign of economic reconstruction with no ulterior political objective. This view, however, overlooks certain important facts.

8. In the lengthy resolution constituting the new association which was moved by Mr. Gandhi himself specific reference is made to the fact that the aim of Congress has been since its inception progressive identification with the masses. It was no doubt recognised that the measures adopted during the civil disobedience movement in recent years have failed to secure this aim; the no-rent and no-tax campaign met with only a limited measure of success; it tended to alienate the sympathies of the propertied classes or rent-receivers, and in those areas in which tenants lost their lands as a result of following the Congress programme, feelings of resentment against Congress rather than against Government had been engendered. The boycott of foreign or mill-made cloth failed signally to capture the imagination of the peasantry. If, therefore, Congress was to become more closely identified with the masses, it was desirable to adopt new measures and the best hope of success lay in adopting measures which would contribute to the improvement of their economic conditions.

9. A campaign for the development of village industries would also have the advantage that it would give employment to those Congress workers who disliked parliamentary work and were anxious to participate in a more active policy. The penetration of these workers into the villages on work to which no exception could be taken would also give them opportunities of spreading political ideas and of establishing their influence.

10. The new Association will probably be on the same lines as the All-India Spinners' Association which has been in existence for some time past and which, though nominally independent of Congress yet served the Congress interests. This body during the civil disobedience movement was definitely in sympathy with that movement, but there was insufficient evidence to justify taking action against it as a body. The creation of such semi-autonomous bodies engaged ostensibly on non-political work has, there is reason to believe,

been in Mr. Gandhi's mind for some time past and he has been anxious that the civil resisters of yesterday should devote their energies to this so-called constructive work and not merely to the Harijan campaign which had excited much opposition and had not to any large extent become popular with the Harijans. It is possible, therefore, that other such boards will be created or that the Village Industries Association may devote itself to other problems of village uplift. It is not unlikely that a Prohibition Board will be created, and that an all-India anti-liquor campaign may be started.

11. Before considering further the ideas underlying this "constructive" movement, it is necessary to refer briefly the position of (p.4) the Congress Socialist Party. On the surface it has not succeeded in influencing the Bombay decisions and this affords a striking contrast to the results of the Lahore, Karachi and Calcutta meetings of Congress when the left wing undoubtedly had considerable influence. But the group was handicapped by the absence of its leader Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who is the only representative of this group selected for the Working Committee. It is significant, however, that though the socialist programme failed to obtain acceptance, or even a moderate degree of support, yet the Socialists have not severed their connection with Congress. Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards them is by no means clear. He has stated openly "I welcome the formation of the Socialist group; many of them are respected and self-sacrificing workers. But for all this I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorised pamphlets."

12. Such being the main features of the Congress, it is clear that Mr. Gandhi has once again shown himself to be a very astute political leader; his mental and physical vigour is reported to be unabated and the session has resulted in yet another personal triumph, for he has succeeded in keeping the divergent elements, if not in one organisation, at least under one leadership, his own. The Nationalist Party did not walk out in spite of being defeated, and the Socialist Party, though defeated and even snubbed, did not make any demonstration against the decisions. Though not taking a direct part in the Parliamentary work, which he appears from the quotation given above to regard only as a means to an end, he will continue to give his advice to the Parliamentary Board and to the Congress bodies which will devote special attention to this political work, and will no doubt continue to influence their decisions both in this way and through the President, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, who is his very loyal disciple. Mr. Gandhi will however devote his personal attention to the new constructive work. He has in his published statement justified his resignation from Congress bodies by reference to the vital difference in outlook which has grown up between Congress workers and himself, but he rather over-emphasises this point, for it was made clear both at the Bombay Session and at the Patna and Wardha meetings earlier in the year that these differences recede into the background when he steps on to the platform. The more genuine reason appears to be that "he needs for the experiment to which his life is dedicated complete detachment and absolute freedom". He has, it must also be noted, in no way modified the statement made in April when he advised Congress to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. "They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction". This statement was ratified by the All-India Congress Committee in May last, and Congress in their plenary session have endorsed this resolution. By freeing himself from Congress bodies Mr. Gandhi has full power to issue a "direction" whenever he thinks fit, without reference to anyone else.

13. The above appreciation of the decision of the Bombay Congress, though based not merely on the published reports of the session and on such information as is available to Government but on a consideration of the history of Congress activities in recent years, necessarily contains much that is speculative, and the position may grow clearer when Mr. Gandhi further reveals his plans for the constructive movement. But if, as surmised, the intention underlying these schemes is "political", then this new move, though ostensibly aimed at what may be called broadly rural reconstruction, is possibly a very astute and subtle attempt to pave the way for a further civil disobedience campaign on a much larger scale than before and supported to a greater extent by the rural population. It has, therefore, (p.5) most dangerous potentialities; for if these surmises are correct, Mr. Gandhi contemplates a three-fold attack in future. Congress members of the legislature will do all they can to hamper "repressive" action by Government; the village organisations will be available for an intensive civil disobedience campaign and the Socialist left wing, which is gradually moving into closer touch with the Communists will be the allies of Congress in this campaign.

14. Whether this appreciation of the present situation and of possible ultimate developments is correct or not, it is clear that the situation must be most carefully watched. It is as yet only a paper programme and even on paper the programme has not been worked out in detail and much spade work must be done before the reorganisation of Congress is carried into effect and still more before the village organisation can be developed on a large scale. But events may move rapidly and Mr. Gandhi's personal influence may cause an organisation to spring into existence after a comparatively short lapse of time, even though the author of the scheme recognises that a campaign of mass civil disobedience cannot be initiated for many years to come. The Government of India have no doubt that local Governments will see that their officers keep them fully informed of all developments within their districts and will in their turn pass on all such information.

15. Though the new movement will apparently in its early stages not involve any breaking of the law, it is possible that individual workers may come into conflict with the authorities. Judging by the experience of recent years attempts to start an anti-liquor or anti-drug campaign will at once lead to the commission of offences under the criminal or excise law, for whatever may be the motives of the author of the scheme, those employed on carrying it into effect will be actuated more by a desire to cause embarrassment to Government by a reduction of the excise revenue than by a *bona fide* wish to inculcate temperance habits. Other workers may infringe the law of sedition either in speeches or pamphlets. The Government of India have no reason to believe that local Governments or their officers will turn a blind eye to any such infringements of the law of the land or will refrain from instituting prosecutions or taking preventive action in all appropriate cases. If such action is necessary, the Government of India will accord their full support.

16. But apart from such preventive action, there are, in the view of the Government of India, other methods by which this movement may be prevented from developing on dangerous lines. It is in their view most desirable that Government should anticipate this new movement by pushing on vigorously all practical schemes for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses. Provincial Ministers have already devoted much attention to the problem of village industries and though the work has been hampered in recent years by lack of funds, efforts to re-establish village industries have met with some success. Possibly the general public

are not fully aware of what has been done, what measure of success has been achieved and what practical considerations have rendered more rapid advance difficult. To what particular industries Mr. Gandhi will devote attention is as yet very obscure, but he is understood to be working out his plans; it is possible that he may attempt the revival of industries which have already been examined by local Governments, and in regard to which it has been found that nothing can be done. The position will be clearer when and if Mr. Gandhi enunciates his plans, but it will clearly be desirable for local Governments through their publicity organisations and otherwise to undertake intensive propaganda, especially in rural areas, to explain to the people what Government has done and to criticise the proposals put forward if they are in effect impracticable.

(p.6)17. In this connection local Governments may also consider it desirable to give full publicity to the measures which they are undertaking and have undertaken for the uplift of the depressed classes. An effective contrast might be drawn between what Government have done and what Mr. Gandhi has done since he started raising his Harijan fund, for, as far as the Government of India are aware, no practical steps have been taken to spend the large sums collected.

18. Propaganda on these lines should not be limited to the steps taken for the development of village industries, but should include all measures for the improvement of the peasant, *e.g.*, provision of hospitals, schools, roads, canals, markets, etc. The constructive efforts of Government, in particular, during the years when money was abundant may be contrasted with the destructive activities of Congress such as their interference with private trade.

19. The development of village industries is, of course, only one of the activities undertaken by Government for improving the condition of the peasant. Local Governments have always devoted special attention to the development and improvement of agriculture and much progress has been made especially in the last 10 years. Several local Governments have passed or initiated measures for dealing with the problem of rural indebtedness. They are at present in consultation with the Government of India as to further measures which may be found beneficial such as the formation of "better farming" societies and the development of the policy already approved for improving marketing conditions. Details regarding these schemes must it is recognised, be left to local Governments, and the Government of India are confident that local Governments in the transferred departments will do all that is practicable to push on these schemes; they will give to local Governments their full co-operation and assistance.

20. The Government of India in my letter No. F. 39/16/34, dated the 20th September 1934, have emphasised the necessity of district officers doing propaganda work to counter the ideas disseminated by Congress workers. The necessity of doing similar work in connection with the report of the Joint Select Committee and the Constitutional proposals has also been stressed, and the Government of India have no doubt that the importance of intensive propaganda is fully appreciated by district officers. Such work can well be carried out during tours. But the Government of India regret to observe that though local Governments are fully alive to the importance of touring by district officers and their subordinates, yet in recent years district officers and others have tended to confine their journeys to beaten tracks and that the contact which at one time existed between a district officer and all parts of his district is not maintained to the same extent. This is no doubt partly the inevitable result of changed

conditions; in particular during the disturbed conditions that have prevailed in recent years, it has been difficult for a district officer to be absent for long periods from his headquarters. But if the intention of the present movement is to disseminate views and possibly dangerous ideas among the rural masses, it is the more necessary for Government through its officers to establish friendly relations with these masses. There are still many ways in which a district officer can help the ordinary villager and it is unnecessary to enumerate them. The Government of India trust that all local Governments will once again impress on district officers and their subordinates and in fact on touring officers of all departments the desirability of establishing friendly contracts in all (p.7) parts of their charge. It is also suggested that it might be helpful to give all district officers small discretionary grants to be spent in small amounts on the urgent necessities of the villagers.

Financial considerations have, it is recognised, made necessary economy over grants for travelling allowance, but it is to be hoped that Local Governments will see that funds are made available to facilitate *bona fide* touring off the beaten track.

21. A question which is not unlikely to arise is as to the attitude which Government officers should take towards the Village Industries Association. In particular district officers and others may feel doubtful what attitude they should take if for example Mr. Gandhi or any local leader asked for their assistance in this work.

In this connection I am to draw attention to the orders contained in the Home Department letter No. D. 4181, dated the 26th April 1929, in which it was stated that in view of the declaration of policy recently made by Congress and the extreme political programme which it had adopted the Government of India considered it undesirable that exhibitions or fairs organised by or under the auspices of Congress should receive the support or co-operation of Departments or officials of Government in any way. A copy of that letter is annexed for reference. These orders still remain in force and the Government of India trust that if the local Government see no objection they will see that they are carefully followed in respect of exhibitions and fairs organised by the Village Industries Association.

22. It appears to the Government of India to be desirable to amplify these orders and that the principle underlying them should be followed in other matters. District officers and other officers of Government should not refuse to see organisers of the Village Industries Association should they apply for interviews, nor should they refuse them information and advice, if these are sought but they should not give further assistance; for example, they should not agree to the loan of Government buildings, nor should they direct or permit their subordinate staff to assist in any way; in particular they should not give them any assistance in the collection of subscriptions. The Government of India recognise that the development of village industries is a transferred subject but they trust that Ministers if they accept the general appreciation of the potential dangers of the constructive movement will agree to carry out the policy indicated above.

23. The Government of India will be glad to have the comments of the local Government both on this appreciation of the situation and on the measures suggested to meet it. They trust that if the Governor-in-Council agrees / you agree, generally with their views, he will take steps to distribute this letter widely to district officers and others, for they feel that even though the

implications of the Bombay Congress are fully appreciated by the local government / you, local officers may not be fully aware of them.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

M.G.HALLETT.
Secretary to the Government of India.

2. LETTER TO H.M.'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 27.11.1934

(p.2)

Letter to H.M.'s Under Secretary of State for India, No.337/f.3/16/34, dated the 27th November 1934.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Secretary of State, a copy of the Home Department letter No. F. -3/16/34, dated the 23rd November 1934, addressed to local Governments and Administrations on the situation arising out of the decisions of congress at its recent session at Bombay.

3. TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, 27.11.1934

Telegram from the Government of the Punjab, No. 23, Dated the 27th November 1934.

With reference to Home Department Confidential letter F. 3-16/34, November 23rd relating to Village Industries Association. The last three paragraphs raise important questions of policy on which there may not be agreement between all provinces especially as Ministers are concerned. Punjab Government have yet to consider them and have not formulated any views. In meantime until all India is definitely determined they would suggest inexpediency of wide distribution of letter as suggested in last paragraph. They would recommend that for the present only first 20 paragraphs of letter be distributed and that separate orders be issued regarding last three paragraphs when views of local Governments have been considered and final decisions reached. Premature promulgation of last three paragraphs by any province may cause serious difficulties to Government of India and other provinces if policy is not universally accepted.

**4. TELEGRAM TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS:
29.11.1934**

Telegram No.2352, dated the 29th November 1934, to All-Local Governments and Administrations (Including Ajmer-Merwara), (to Delhi by Express Letter No. F. 3/16/34, dated the 29th November 1934).

Reference Home Department letter F.3/16/34 of November 23rd. Government of India would be glad to have as soon as possible views of local Governments, on paras. 21 and 22 thereof. After considering views of local Governments, Government of India will address them further on these points. Meanwhile they would be glad if local Governments would distribute only the first 20 paragraphs of the letter to District Officers, etc., and would omit paras. 21 to 23. (This is in reply to your telegram No. 23, dated the 27th November.)

No. F.-3/16/34 POLL., DATED THE 30TH NOVEMBER 1934.

Copy forwarded to

1. D.I.B
2. G.S.BRANCH
3. F.& P. Dept.
4. I.& L. Dept.

for information, in continuation of the H.D. endorsement No. F.-3 /16/34 Poll., dated the 23rd November 1934.

5. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, 30.11.1934

Letter from the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, No. 458/C.-Home, dated the 30th November 1934.

Reference your Express Letter No. F. 3/16/34 Poll., dated 29th November 1934. I know no reason to dissent from the principles laid down in paragraphs 21 and 22 of Home Department letter No. F. 3/16/34 Poll., of November 23rd.

**6. LETTER FROM THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER
MERWARA: 3.12.1934**

(p.3)

Letter from the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara, No.381-C-130-Conf./31, dated the 3rd December 1934.

I have the honour to refer to Government of India, Home Department, confidential letter No. F-3 /16/34, dated the 23rd November, 1934, and Foreign and Political Department telegram No. 2352, dated the 29th November, 1934, and to observe that it is difficult to form a considered opinion on the question in view of the fact that little information is available at present in regard to Mr. Gandhi's plans. Generally speaking, I agree with the views expressed in paragraphs 21 and 22 of the Home Department letter referred to above.

7. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, 4.12.1934

Letter from the Government of the Punjab, No.B.8 (15) 2.S.B., dated the 4th December 1934.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. F.-3/16/34- Political, dated the 23rd of November 1934, on the situation arising out of the decisions of the recent Bombay Congress.

The first thirteen paragraphs of the letter are devoted to an appreciation of the existing situation, and the Punjab Government agree that, so far as can at present be foreseen, it probably represents the future course of events and the policy and aims of the Congress. But, as the letter observes, it necessarily contains much that is speculative, and until the Congress and Mr. Gandhi reveal their intentions more definitely, it is not possible to predicate with certainty how the position will develop. So far as Congress is concerned, it is already clear that their aims are the same as in 1929: that there has been no change in their attitude towards Government and that, while, for the time being, they have abandoned direct action in favour of constitutional methods, it is their intention to embarrass and obstruct Government to the best of their power. Their attitude, as a body, towards constitutional reforms has still to be declared: but Mr. Vallabhai Patel is reported to have pronounced their object as the wrecking of the scheme as contained in the Report of the Joint Select Committee, and, if this policy is endorsed by Congress, it will strengthen the hands of Government in treating that body as a disruptive and destructive force. In this respect the position will probably become clear within the next few weeks.

The intentions of Mr. Gandhi in general and the aims of his rural movement in particular are not likely to be disclosed at once. It is doubtful if he has himself completed his scheme, in so far as it relates to economic and social uplift. So far as the political side is concerned, it is probable that he will wait on opportunity, and develop it as occasion offers. It is possible that, at present, he has no clear political objective, though it is difficult to believe that he does not appreciate the potential value of a campaign that will carry his influence into the villages. Whatever his motives may be, the movement is potentially of great danger: and his past history shows that, however devoted he may appear to be to social or economic reform, he is liable, at any time, to resume political activities and to convert the position he has gained by other methods to political account. He will, of course, follow his normal policy of attempting to put Government in the wrong. It is with regard to this latter consideration that the question arises as to how far Government will be wise in basing its policy on an appreciation of the position which they themselves may regard as open to little doubt, but which may not be accepted by the public on the material now available. It is not unreasonable to expect that Mr. Gandhi, for the present at any rate, will disclaim any personal interest in politics: that he will profess himself to be completely devoted to social and economic uplift: that he will abstain from (p.4) political activities and from any action which might be interpreted as subversive: and that he will concentrate on the improvement of rural conditions and on the relief of what he is able to represent as legitimate grievances. In this role, he will attract a great deal of public sympathy and support, and this will extend beyond the immediate ranks of the Congress. It has to be remembered that the development of Indian industries has rightly the support of every school of politics, and that, so far as rural interests are concerned a new importance now attaches to the subject because of the economic depression in agriculture proper. Again, it is easy to raise the

cry that the British Government is concerned mainly with the development of British trade with India, and that they regard with suspicion the advancement of Indian industries, because it may conflict with British interests and, in particular, with those of Lancashire. There is perhaps no subject on which Indian opinion is so sensitive. The boycott of British goods during the civil disobedience movement attained more success than any other activity, and was extremely difficult to combat. It had the sympathy of a large section of the people who genuinely disapproved of the civil disobedience movement as a whole.

It may, therefore, be assumed that the disposition of the public, until there is good evidence to the contrary, will be to regard Mr. Gandhi's Village Industries Association as a scheme designed in the genuine interests of industrial development, and that, in the absence of definite proof to the contrary, it will strongly disapprove of a policy of open hostility by Government towards it. In this connection, it may be observed that the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government are unanimous in their opinion that the Punjab Legislative Council would unhesitatingly condemn, on the present information, the policy suggested in paras. 21 and 22 of the letter under reply. If this is likely to be the attitude in a Province where Congress carries little weight, it would appear desirable that Government should proceed with considerable caution in formulating its policy towards this movement, and, still more so, in making its policy public. Any premature declaration of the intentions of Government based, as it must at present be based, largely on supposition might easily give to the movement an immense stimulus, which it would otherwise lack, and, incidentally, might again raise in an acute form the question of Indian *versus* British trade interests.

2. The above considerations are relevant to the questions discussed in paras. 14 to 22 of the letter under reply. The local Government are in entire agreement with the views expressed in paras. 14 and 15. They consider it essential that the closest watch on the movement should be kept, and developments reported as they occur. Prompt information may allow Government to stiffen their policy generally before much harm is done. Similarly, the Punjab Government consider that the law should be put in operation against any person, who, in the prosecution of this movement, may come within its mischief. They are further in complete agreement with the Government of India, regarding the value of propaganda on the lines indicated in paras 16, 17 and 18 of the letter. It is also part of their policy to encourage close and friendly contact between their officers and the people, and they intend again to impress the importance of this upon district and other officers.

3. In the opinion of the local Government it is however mainly through the beneficent activities of Government that the dangers of the movement can be met most effectively. Owing to the policy pursued for many years, the people in the Punjab have come to look to Government, and not to agitators, for the redress of grievances, for relief in distress and for economic advancement, and it is the intention of the local Government to spare no effort to maintain and consolidate this position. In 1933 an officer of the rank of Commissioner was put on special duty to organise and develop (p.5) the work of rural reconstruction, and the attention devoted to this subject by Government has resulted not only in various schemes of rural uplift, but, what perhaps is of more importance, in a greatly increased interest on the part of many district officers in the welfare of the rural classes. This work has the support of the Legislative Council, and at a recent session, the chief criticism of Government was that it had not set aside sufficient money for the work. Independently of the present reference, the local Government had under

consideration various schemes of a beneficent character *e.g.* the distribution of pure seed on a wider scale, and every effort will be made to finance these and similar measures. The scope for developing or reviving subsidiary village industries will again be explored; but it is open to doubt whether this will prove to be a valuable field, and, apart from one or two industries of comparatively minor importance, it will probably be found better to allow Mr. Gandhi to attempt the impossible in his contempt for economic forces, than for Government to waste time and money on experiments which are doomed to failure. The more profitable line appears to be definitely to recognise agriculture, with its allied branches of fruit growing, cattle-breeding, sheep, goat and poultry farming as essentially the basic industry of the rural classes and to concentrate mainly on its improvement. In the Punjab, subsidiary industries, such as weaving, are not likely to be taken up by the mass of agriculturists: and, if Mr. Gandhi's attention is turned to village industries in the narrow sense of the term, then, in this province, he will only touch the menial classes in the villages.

4. If he wishes to establish his influence among the masses of the agricultural population, he will have to extend the field of his activities, and his previous history suggests that the line he is likely to take is to represent, on their behalf, alleged grievances relating to land revenue, water rates village chaukidars and other rural questions. In short, it may be expected that he and his agents will try to establish the position which they claimed in 1931 after the Delhi Pact namely, to be mediators between Government and the people. This is a potential development which will require very careful watching, and it will have to be opposed at all costs. As soon as it became apparent that this was one of the aims of the movement, it would probably be found that the principles suggested in para. 22 of the letter under reply went too far in encouraging the movement. It might become necessary for Government to instruct its officers neither to give information nor advice to persons who constituted themselves representatives of the people. Mention is made of this potential development to illustrate the difficulty of laying down any cut and dried policy in the present state of uncertainty as to how the situation may develop. It is not difficult to conceive that, in some circumstances, the policy suggested in paras. 21 and 22 would have to be stiffened: and the observations made in para. 1 above are not intended to indicate that the suggestions of the Government of India, regarding the attitude of Government towards the Village Industries Association may not prove to be right. Indeed, the local Government consider that it will probably be necessary, sooner or later, to give effect to them. The Governor in Council, acting with his Ministers, considers, however, that they are, for the moment, premature: that they cannot be communicated to district officers without becoming generally known: and that, in any case, it is improbable that either the Government of India or local Governments would be able to keep secret a general policy of this kind, once it was definitely formulated. Unless that policy is capable of complete justification by reference to known facts, attempts to defend it are likely to give impetus to the movement which it is intended to combat, and to lead to strong criticism not only in this country, but by some parties in England. The Punjab Government would, therefore, prefer to deal with the situation as it develops, and to issue suitable instructions in specific cases as they arise, rather than to issue general instructions, at this stage, to their officers. So far, at any rate, as the Punjab is concerned, they feel that the right policy is to play a (p.6) waiting game. If the scheme of Mr. Gandhi has definite political objectives, it is unlikely that some of his lieutenants will not disclose them: and even if Mr. Gandhi himself has no ulterior aims, his campaign is likely to be prejudiced by the activities of some of his workers. If, therefore, as appears probable, the apprehensions of Government are well founded, it will not be long before they are in possession of facts which

will justify a policy of unveiled opposition towards the movement: and the wise course would appear to be to wait until this happens, before reaching decisions which, however, justified they may be morally, would be difficult to defend in the Legislatures, and might defeat their own purpose. There is much to be said in this case against undue haste in framing a policy, so long as there is no hesitation in taking action so soon as the facts justify it, and provided that, in the meantime, the potential dangers are appreciated and constructive counter-measures taken to meet them.

8. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, 10-11.12.1934

Letter from the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, No. 4070-P.C./684 (88)-P.S., dated the 10th /11th December 1934.

Reference correspondence ending with your telegram No. 2352, dated the 29th November, 1934, I am directed by the Governor-in-Council acting with his Minister to say that he agrees generally with the views contained in your letter No.F.3/16/34, dated the 23rd November, 1934 including paragraphs 21 and 22, and that he is alive to the importance of development in rural areas to which he is turning his attention.

9. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, 11.12..1934.

Letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 6070.P.S., dated the 11th December 1934.

I am directed to refer to confidential letter No. F.-3/16/34 of the 23rd November 1934, from the Government of India in the Home Department regarding the situation arising out of the decision in the recent Bombay Congress.

2. With the appreciation of the position which forms the first portion of the letter the Governor in Council and in association with his Ministers is in general agreement. While agreeing however that with a Congress of its present political colour the appreciation applies, and the line of action proposed is appropriate, the local Government feel strongly that the possible emergence of, and the capture of power by leaders of an extreme socialistic type is likely to produce important changes to meet which Government will have to be prepared to adapt their policy. The development of the situation therefore, as the Government of India observe, will need most careful watching.

3. As regards the present measures to be taken to meet the situation and in particular the probable activities of the New Village Industries Association the Government of Bengal agree that their own activities should be intensified along the lines suggested. The policy of developing and improving agriculture, of endeavouring to find means of alleviating rural indebtedness of improving village industries and the like and generally of endeavouring to establish closer contact between the people at large and the Government has long formed one of this Government's chief pre-occupations and will be pursued with vigour, subject of course to the limitations imposed by their financial position.

4. With reference to the proposals in paragraphs 21 and 22 of the letter, on which an early expression of opinion has been asked, I am to say that while for the present generally adhering to the policy adopted in 1929 the (p.7) Governor in Council, in agreement with his Ministers, feels that developments must be watched and that no hard and fast rules can be laid down to govern the attitude of local officers. He feels also that it may in many instances be extremely difficult and perhaps undesirable for the latter to reject offers of co-operation merely because they emanate from Congress workers, and the situation may be further complicated by the participation of thoroughly well disposed persons in activities promoted by the Village Industries Association. While accepting then the policy of 1929 as suitable for the moment, the local Government consider that with so much still in doubt, Government must be prepared to adjust their policy as the situation develops.

10. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, 12.12.1934

Letter from the Government of Bombay, No. S.D.-3544, dated the 12th December 1934.

Reference your letter No. F. 3/16/34 of November 23rd and your telegram No. 2352 of November 29th. Government of Bombay agree generally with Government of India's appreciation of situation arising out of decisions of recent Bombay Session of Indian National Congress and, as requested, are distributing first 20 paragraphs of letter to district officers with an intimation that instructions on the various suggestions of the Government of India will be issued by the Secretariat Departments concerned.

2. As regards paragraphs 21 and 22 of your letter, the question of the attitude which Government officers should adopt towards activities of Village Industries Association was considered by Commissioners of Division at a Conference held just before receipt of your letter. Commissioner, Northern Division, who has experience of Congress participation in Gujarat Flood Relief, would have nothing to do with Mr. Gandhi's workers. Commissioner, Central Division, suggests that in the event of any overtures being made by Congress workers a reply should be given to the effect that Government officials are unable to co-operate in any way but that certain items of their programme such as opening of shops in cities and towns for sale of products of village industries should be encouraged. Commissioner, Southern Division, on the other hand, does not consider that co-operation could be justifiably withheld without laying Government open to charge of refusing to promote the welfare of villagers.

3. The instructions which Government of India propose should be issued in amplification of their Circular No. D.-4181, dated 26th April 1929, do not cover all possible cases that may arise, particularly case in which a district officer might be approached not to *give* assistance to Mr. Gandhi's workers but to *receive* assistance from them. Since village industries come within the scope of Village Uplift Committees sponsored by Government, although not much has been done in this direction, it may occasionally be difficult to avoid some kind of over-lapping and district officers may be in a somewhat difficult position in declining the co-operation of persons ostensibly engaged in furthering the activities of village uplift. While Government of Bombay recognise the difficulties in which district officers are likely to be placed, they cannot suggest any instructions of a more precise nature than those contained in paragraph 22 of your letter.

**11. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES,
13.12.1934**

Letter from the Government of the Central Provinces, No. 370/491/I, dated the 13th December 1934.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 3-16/34, dated the 23rd of November 1934 and to your cypher telegram Foreign No. 2352, dated the 29th (p.8) of November 1934, asking for the comments of this Government on the appreciation on the situation given in the letter and on the measures suggested to meet it.

2. It is difficult, on the information available in this province, to say whether there is any adequate justification for the appreciation advanced of the situation and of the way in which it is likely to develop. The Governor in Council considers that till the position has clarified itself it would be too early to make any decided move. In the meantime copies of the first 20 paragraphs of the letter have been distributed to Commissioners, Heads of Departments and district officers, and they have been told to do what they can in the various directions indicated. Their attention has been invited particularly to the need for keeping Government fully informed of all developments within their charges, to the desirability of refusing to countenance infringements of the law by congress workers and of proceeding against the culprits without delay, and to the necessity for them and their subordinates of touring off the beaten track and of establishing friendly contracts in all parts of their charges. This Government notes, and will comply with, the wish of the Government of India that information as received from the districts should be passed on. The other measures proposed require time and money, but this Government is already doing its best on the lines suggested with the limited resources at its disposal.

3. The suggested instructions in paragraph 22 of the letter in respect of the Village Industries Association follow closely those contained in Mr. Roughton's circular letter No. 348-C.D. of the 17th of November 1933, to all Commissioners of divisions, Deputy Commissioners, and Heads of Departments, of which a copy was forwarded to you under cover of Mr. Roughton's demi-official letter No. C.-263 C.D., of the 20th of November 1933 (F.- 4/13/1933-Poll), and seem to be suitable. At the same time the position has changed during the past 12 months. Ostensibly the Village Industries Association will have little or no connection with congress, while that body too has modified its attitude towards Government. The real difficulty is that, though the Association is advertised and may start working as a non-political body, it can easily be utilised as or converted into a subtle political force. But it has not started work as yet, nor are Mr. Gandhi's plans known. The Governor in Council's opinion therefore is that it is better to "wait and see" how the movement progresses, and that in the meantime Government and its officers should maintain an attitude of benevolent neutrality. There can be no harm in district officers giving information and advice nor keeping in touch with organizers. In fact the last is desirable. The orders can easily be modified as the situation develops. It is quite conceivable that the movement may become objectionable in one locality, while remaining innocuous or deserving of support in another.

12. LETTER FROM CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, UNITED PROVINCES, 24.12.1934

Letter from Chief Secretary to Government , United Provinces, No. 1140/2-C.X dated the 24th December 1934.

I am directed to reply to Government of India, Home Department, letter No. F -3/16/34 - Political, dated November 23, 1934, which has been fully considered by the Governor in Council.

2. I am to say that His Excellency in Council accepts as accurate the appreciation of the situation resulting from the last session of the Congress at Bombay and believes that the future policy of Congress in the rural area will probably proceed more or less closely along the lines indicated in your letter. If this be so, it follows that this province, in which an attempt has already been made to set the tenants against their landlords, is likely to become one of the main centres of the new scheme and that great efforts will be made to establish branches of the Village Industries Association in as many of its districts as possible. Lack of funds may hamper the work for a time: but if the money collected in the recent tour of Mr. Gandhi for the purpose of uplifting members of the depressed classes is partly diverted to this purpose, the campaign can at least be started. The influence already obtained in the United Provinces by the Congress Socialist Party, whose tenets and policy differ scarcely, if at all, from those of pure communism, is a significant and dangerous factor in the situation. It is almost inevitable that rural development and uplift as organised by the Congress will in this province be combined with the propagation of ideas highly coloured by communist theories and ideals. The chief problem in this province is, and for many years will continue to be, that of landlord *versus* tenant, a fact of which the Congress has not been slow to take advantage. The no-rent campaign of 1932 was a crude attempt to make capital out of this question. Its crudity doomed it to an early failure. But a similar movement based on the cry of "fair rents for all" would be a very different thing and would raise a problem, whose solution would be much harder to devise. Indeed the future course of this struggle, which is bound to commence in the near future, will be largely influenced and determined by the extent to which the zamindars organise themselves and seek for the support and follow the advice of the Government.

Enough has been said to indicate the paramount need in this province for Government to take steps to forestall and counter these sinister designs, though it would be unwise to embark on a new and hastily devised policy, which might merely be regarded as the outcome of Congress initiative. The subject is already engaging the active attention of this Government, as explained in the next paragraph.

3. This Government have, as desired by the Government of India, already issued a circular letter, which will accompany copies of the Home Department's letter, to all District Magistrates and Commissioners. I am to enclose a copy (Enclosure No. 1), for the information of the Government of India. They are also addressing the Inspector General of Police and instructing him to issue to all Superintendents of Police orders carrying out the suggestions made in paras. 14 and 15 of the Home Department's letter on this subject prepared by the Hon'ble Minister for Education and Industries

As regards the programme of village development referred to in paras. 16 and 19 of your letter, I am to enclose a copy of a note (Enclosure No. 2) on this subject prepared by the Hon'ble Minister for Education and Industries which shows what has been and is being done. The general lines of work and the principles suggested in this note will be carefully considered in January next in connexion with the preparation of the budget. The Government of India are aware of the great benefits already conferred on (p.2) agriculturists in the western districts of the United Provinces by the hydro-electric grid. This system is capable of further expansion in the future and the Government have now under consideration proposals for the provision of very cheap electric power for agricultural purposes on a greatly enhanced scale.

The question of publicity and propaganda mentioned in paras. 17 and 18 of your letter has engaged the earnest attention of this Government for the last three years. A central organisation, with branches in almost every district, has been built up and can now be used and developed for the purposes indicated in your letter. I am to enclose for the information of the Government of India a copy¹ of the recently published report of the Publicity department, which gives a brief account of its methods and activities.

4. It is obvious that the field for the development of methods already decided by experience, even apart from new suggestions, is very great. The main obstacle to an expansion of rural uplift is financial. Till the budget is framed, it is impossible to say what, if any, surplus will be available for these pressing needs of the province. I am at this stage merely to mention this important aspect of the question and to say that the Government of India will be separately addressed on the subject later on.

5. The very important point indicated in para. 20 of your letter is engaging the attention of this Government and orders are being issued to all District Officers increasing the prescribed period of touring for all revenue officers immediately and calling special attention to the need for touring in every part of an officer's charge, especially off the beaten track, where motors cannot penetrate.

6. The Government of India make certain suggestions in paras. 21 and 22 of your letter as to the attitude which Government officers should adopt in dealing with Congress organisers of the Village Industries Association, who wish to visit them and to appeal to them for help, information and advice. His Excellency in Council readily agrees that Government officers should always see organisers who come to visit them, and that they should remain in as close touch as possible with them on all occasions. This will be a valuable method of gaining information as to their real aims and methods of work. But if the Government of India's estimate of Mr. Gandhi's policy and objects in embarking on his new campaign in the villages is correct, it seems open to question whether Government officers should give any help or countenance whatever to an organisation whose real object, under the guise of village uplift, is to develop a subversive movement of a most dangerous character in the rural area. It would seem to be sufficient for Government officers to discuss matters raised by such visitors in a spirit of polite attention, with a view to obtaining the maximum of information, and to meet requests for aid or advice by saying that the Government was itself carrying on a policy on much the same lines as those of the Village Industries Association.

¹ Not printed

With reference to the loan of Government buildings, this Government do not think that such questions will often arise in the United Provinces. But it is not improbable that local bodies, such as municipal and district boards, several of whom have strong pro Congress sympathies may be asked to place school buildings in the rural area at the disposal of Mr. Gandhi's organisers. This Government propose to instruct District Magistrates to warn the chairmen of all well-disposed local bodies of the real objects underlying this new movement and to persuade them, so far as this may be possible, to refrain from giving money or other forms of assistance to the Village Industries Association.

On all the points dealt with in this letter, I am to add, His Excellency is as fully supported by his Ministers as by the Members of his Executive Council.

(p.3)

(i) Enclosure No. 1.

COPY OF CONFIDENTIAL LETTER No. 1140/C. X, DATED 24TH DECEMBER 1934, FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, UNITED PROVINCES, TO ALL DISTRICT MAGISTRATES, U.P.

I am directed to send you a copy of paras. 1 to 20 of a confidential letter from the Home Department of the Government of India containing an appreciation of the situation arising, and the developments likely to result from, the recent session held by Congress at Bombay, with suggestions for the action which may appropriately be taken to meet this situation.

I am to ask you to read this important letter with special care and to convey the following instructions regarding the suggestions made in paras. 14 to 20.

2. Para.14 - It is not possible as yet to say how soon or where Mr. Gandhi's Village Industries Association will take form and start active work. But it may be taken as certain that branches of the Association will be established in the United Provinces. It is of the first importance that the activities of this Association should be carefully observed and reported to Government wherever they are carried on, and I am to ask all District Officers to issue instructions to their sub-divisional Officers and the subordinate revenue staff to keep in close touch with the movement, should it develop in their districts, and promptly to report its methods, progress and all matters of interest regarding it. All items of importance should be at once reported to Commissioners, who will mention them especially in their fortnightly confidential reports to Government.

3. Para.15 - This Government are in full agreement with the views expressed in the Government of India's letter on the subject of deliberate breaches of the law. But, I am to say that while serious and definite cases of infringement of any law, such as illegal picketing coming within the mischief of the Special Powers Act (XIV of 1932), should be promptly prosecuted, it is not desirable always so to deal with petty cases, unless there is a prospect of their example leading to an extension of such cases. Nor is it usually politic to take preventive action, e.g., by the use of section 144 Cr. P.C., or other section of that Code, before any serious

situation has arisen or it has been clearly demonstrated that Congress workers intend definitely and methodically to transgress the provisions of the Criminal Law.

4. Paras. 16-19 - The importance of a constructive policy of rural development has been recognised for many years. The suggestions made in these paragraphs are under consideration by the Government and special instructions on the subject will issue shortly. The Government has pursued an active campaign of publicity for the last three years and most districts now have a publicity officers and an organisation at headquarters to which further instructions will be given from time to time.

5. Para 20- The importance of touring by the District Officers and the Sub-divisional Officers in all parts of their charges requires no emphasis. This Government was compelled some years ago to reduce the period of touring on grounds of economy, but special instructions on the subject will shortly be issued to all District Officers by the Revenue Department.

(ii) Enclosure No. 2.

NOTE BY THE HON'BLE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIES, U.P.

The Government of India's appreciation of the situation arising out of the decisions of the Bombay Congress seems to be accurate and as suggested by them we must push on vigorously all practical schemes for the improvement of the economic condition of the people. The three most important (p.4) problems in this connection at present are those of rural reconstruction, the development of industries both urban and rural and the finding of suitable employment for educated young men.

2. So far as industrial development is concerned, a full enquiry was made into the matter by the Industries Reorganisation Committee. Its report has suggested a definite programme of work for a period of five years in connection with the all round development of three selected industries, the marketing of the products of industries and the improvement of the quality the industrial education imparted with a view to enable educated young men of the middle classes to set up in industry or business. Funds must be made available for carrying out this programme. The Government of India have recently given a grant of Rs. 72,000 a year for 5 years for the development of the cotton handloom weaving industry; a preliminary scheme for the survey of the industry has already been submitted and further schemes for improving the production and helping the marketing are under preparation. Further, the question of the best method of encouraging cottage industries generally, especially in the grid area is being looked into by a committee while another committee presided over by an eminent banker is examining the question of finance for industries.

3. Closely linked up with the question of the development of industries is that of finding employment for educated young men. The question is being looked into by a committee presided over by Sir Tej Behadur Sapru and an officer has been placed on special duty to ascertain where land can be made available for the settlement of colonies of educated young men who can take to farming; a portion of the Fyzabad farm area has been set apart to give them practical training of a preliminary nature. The question of the reorganisation of the

system of pre-University training is also being looked into with a view to stop aimless drift to the Universities and give an industrial and commercial bias to general education.

4. At the same time the question of the educational uplift of the depressed classes is also being looked into. Two conferences have been held recently with their leaders in order to work out suitable plans of development. An inspector has been placed on special duty to study their educational needs and prepare considered schemes for spreading education among them. It is proposed shortly to establish district and provincial education committees of an advisory nature for the depressed classes. Supervisors are being employed for encouraging education among depressed class boys. Special scholarships to the extent of Rs. 45,000 have been reserved for them. Facilities for setting up Shilpkar colonies have been given to them in the Kumaun forest area. They have been encouraged generally to go in for their own improvement.

5. The depressed classes, however important in themselves, constitute only a fraction of the rural population. The main problem is to add to the health, wealth and happiness of the rural areas, or in brief Rural Reconstruction. A certain amount of work has been done in this connection chiefly in the Fyzabad, Benares and Partabgarh districts, the co-operative method of work having been usually adopted for the purpose. Efforts have been made with some degree of success to prevent waste of money at ceremonials and in litigation. The co-operative method for the supply of credit has not been very successful, but co-operative societies are gradually accumulating their own money - the total for the province being over 50 lakhs. Numerous agricultural, educational and sanitary improvements have also been introduced.

6. In the sphere of Agriculture, it may be pointed out that improved seed has been introduced in large areas. The proper preservation and use of manures has been taught. Improved implements such as Meston ploughs are being gradually popularised. Demonstrations are given on the fields of cultivators and the proper use of water for irrigation taught. In the Sarda area, new methods and new ideas have to be introduced among a peasantry accustomed to irrigation from wells only; a scheme for the (p.5) appointment of suitable staff to demonstrate improved methods and teach the cultivators the proper use of water is about to be introduced and research has been undertaken to evolve suitable forms of rice for cultivation in this area. Elsewhere, numerous wells have been bored and tube wells constructed. Improved bulls have been issued. The possibility of Kans eradication is being experimented with in Bundelkhand. A Fruit Development Board has been started and the possibility of the export of fruits is being explored. Marketing officers are going to be appointed shortly to study marketing conditions and suggest improved methods. A minimum price has been fixed for sugarcane and a number of special inspectors appointed to see that cane suppliers do not suffer as regards payments, weighments, etc., suitable rules having been framed on the subject. Steps have also been taken to organise cane supply on co-operative lines where feasible. The main difficulty however is that the subordinate staff is insufficient for the work as it should be done.

7. Agriculture is and must remain the chief industry of the villages. Efforts to introduce subsidiary industries have not so far met with much success. Silk rearing is not feasible in this province; bee keeping has been tried and failed; poultry farming seems a possible line of development but is not likely to appeal to the people. A certain amount of success has been obtained in connection with the marketing of ghee - but that can hardly be called an industry; The making of chicks, baskets, etc., might be pushed on but the market for this is very small.

The same remark applies to tat-pattis, munjah mats, etc. Durries and rugs might be made in villages, chiefly for local use. Lastly there is cloth weaving. Possibly this is the chief industry which Mr. Gandhi has in mind. We are going to receive a grant from India for the encouragement of handloom weaving, the greater part of the money will have to be spent for improving the lot of the professional weaver in the small towns. But a small portion of the grant may be set apart for seeing what can be done to encourage the village weaver or to teach villagers to weave their own cloth with hand spun yarn. Cloth so made could not be sold outside; but it may be used locally or in the family. It seems to be worth while making an attempt to encourage this.

8. Next to the question of the increase of Wealth through Agriculture and industries, comes that of Health. Dispensaries and facilities for medical attendance have been extended in rural areas. The village aid scheme of the Public Health Department has been introduced in a number of villages. Adult workers have been trained in elementary sanitation and first aid so that they may be village aiders. Manure is stored in pits outside the inhabited area and soakage pits constructed. Parapets have been made over a number of wells to prevent the pollution of drinking water. Villages have been cleaned up and habits of personal cleanliness introduced. Vaccination and inoculation have spread and child welfare work undertaken. The Rockefeller scheme has been introduced in Partabgarh where intensive work is being carried on in 100 villages for the improvement of the sanitation of the whole area.

9. Schemes of rural reconstruction are incomplete without the education of women and of adults. Some attempt has been made to introduce adult education through co-operative societies. There are 230 adult classes and over 1,000 students have been taught up to the primary standard; but a great deal more is needed in this direction. Training classes are being held under co-operative auspices for village guides and school teachers to give them a rudimentary idea about rural reconstruction. A class for women supervisors is also being started. But as usual there is very little money either for appointing these women after training or for expanding adult education or for employing more village guides. In the schools for boys junior red cross groups for first aid have been started in many places and scouting is also being spread in rural areas. Compulsory primary (p.6) education has been introduced for boys in some areas and efforts are being made to have it for girls also. Some action will also be required to see that these boys and girls do not relapse into illiteracy after some time and the provision of a suitable vernacular newspaper which would appeal to the village people would probably be very useful in this connection.

10. In the light of the experience gained in the various places where rural reconstruction work has been taken up, it has now been decided to tackle the work on a more extensive scale in three or four selected tahsils, starting with the villages in which there are schools. The local school teachers are being trained at present in batches, so as to give them some idea of the nature of the work they are expected to perform. They must be the local agents or media through whom the departmental officers, would explain matters to the village-folk and through whom the villagers can bring their difficulties to the notice of the departmental experts or enthusiasts. The officers of the various departments would go round and explain what exactly is required to be done; but this will not suffice; it is necessary to follow up the work and see that something concrete is done. It will be for the trained teacher by persuasion and explanation to see that definite action is taken along the lines that are wanted and to get things done. Whether the teacher will be able

to discharge these duties effectively or not, only experience can show, if it is found that he cannot do so, there will be no alternative to the appointment of special village guides for this work who would carry on a sustained and continuous effort to change and develop the mentality of the peasant, gain the confidence of the villagers, try to broaden their mental horizon and so alter their attitude that the desired changes may spring from within.

11. For guiding and controlling the work, it is proposed to have a committee of tahsil officials such as the Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools, the Agricultural Inspector, the Sanitary Inspector, the Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, etc., presided over by the Collector ; it may have on it, also the Chairman of the District Board or its Education Committee and perhaps one or two others who are genuinely interested in the work. The Committee would meet regularly every two or three months, discuss the progress made and chalk out the future lines of work, and try and gain the support of the local people for this programme.

12. It is important to bear in mind in this connection that the men appointed to carry on rural reconstruction work should have nothing to do with political propaganda. Such a course would make the work suspect from the beginning and antagonise the people, whereas the main aim of the workers should be to gain the confidence of the village folk. The workers and the propagandists must be entirely distinct and the persons responsible for doing rural reconstruction work must refrain from political activity in favour of Government or against the Congress. It is advisable to take a long view in this matter and trust to the working bringing its own reward.

13. If the work is to be taken up seriously money will be required both for staff and for other purposes. There are 100,000 villages in the province and if special village guides have to be appointed, some 3,000 of them would be required and the cost would be about 15 lakhs a year. But an effective start can be made with a provision of about 5 lakhs, attending to the needs of the more important villages. Apart from the money required for the staff to carry on the work, discretionary grants will have to be given, to be spent as local needs and circumstances may require. It is not possible to say beforehand for what purpose exactly the grant could best be used in each district; that would depend on local conditions and requirements. It might be objected that it would be "difficult to find a place" for such items in the budget. I do not anticipate any difficulty. The grants could be given to local rural reconstruction associations, preferably those registered under the Co-operative Societies Act so that Government may have adequate control over them and may be able to insist on the District Magistrate being (p.7) Chairman. I am fully confident that if Government wish to give such grants, there will not be the slightest opposition in Council; on the contrary the step will be warmly welcomed from all sides.

14. In short the rural reconstruction programme would consist of the development of agricultural methods and practices, the introduction of co-operative organization for credit, better living and marketing, the expansion of village industries, the carrying out of sanitary improvements, the provision of medical facilities and the spread of education especially among women and adults. The area in which the work is undertaken can and should be extended and men and money should be made available for the purpose. In addition it should be explained to the public in various ways as to what Government have done and are doing. Our present system of rural publicity is far from effective; it does not make enough appeal to the villagers,

though it does occasionally collect them for a "tamasha". It must be supplemented by an efficient system of broadcasting for villages, and a suitable programme that will suit the tastes of the country-folk must be evolved. Again there should be a vernacular daily newspaper which is widely read in villages and which will give them news from the correct angle instead of the distorted versions they usually get from the vernacular papers which now reach them. But it has to be remembered that propaganda alone will not suffice; there must be real work first about which the propaganda can be carried on.

13. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, 3.1.1935

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy of letter No. 25-C.B., dated 3rd January 1935, from the Government of Assam, to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to refer to your Confidential letter No. F.-3/16/34, dated the 23rd November 1934, regarding the situation arising out of the decisions of the recent Bombay Congress and to say that Mr. Gandhi's motives are no doubt mixed as are those of most men in public life. His village industries scheme is a not unnatural development or family relation of his spinning wheel and khaddar propaganda. If he succeeds with it in capturing or strengthening further his hold on the masses, he will certainly utilise that success for political ends which, with him, are practically the same thing as holy and spiritual ends.

It has been pointed out time and again that publicity to be really effective against the kind of propaganda that the Congress uses through the towns and villages requires money, and indeed much money. District officers of every grade and probably still the best agents of publicity. It is a pity that there is no training school for all Government servants from the lowest upwards to instruct them on the objects, the value and the method of publicity. One of the main difficulties now-a-days is that the Collector only collects money (always the unpopular part) and has little or no say in the spending of it. There was a time when he made schools, appointed teachers, built roads, constructed hospitals or dispensaries and was the guardian of the country side. All that is gone. The local boards have come in between Government and the people in many of the most beneficent activities. The Collector has to send away unsatisfied people who come to ask for boons. There is nothing that appeals more to the poor than the giving of boons or money. The District Officer has now little or nothing to give.

The line proposed by the Government of India towards Mr. Gandhi's Village Industries Associations seems in the main to be sound, but the attitude of Government Officers in the matter of aid should not be laid down with absolute rigidity. The spirit animating such workers will vary in different paces and the District Officer should be allowed some freedom in judging how far it is permissible for him to go according to circumstances.

14. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, COORG, 4.1.1935

Copy of letter No.C/3043/72-1934, dated 4th January 1935, from The Chief Commissioner, Coorg, to the Government Of India, Home Department.

I am directed to refer to your confidential letter No. F.-3/16/34, dated the 23rd November 1934, regarding the situation arising out of the decisions of the Congress at its session in Bombay in October 1934.

I am to say that the Chief Commissioner is in agreement with the views of the Government of India and that he has no comments to offer on their appreciation of the situation and on the measures suggested to meet it.

15. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, 17.1.1935

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Copy of a letter No. 19.S., dated the 17th January 1935, from the Government of Madras, to the Government of India Home Department.

Situation arising out of the decisions of Congress at its Session in Bombay in October 1934 - Reference my letter No. 28220 -A/34, dated the 4th January 1935.

In continuation of my letter quoted above I am directed to say in reply to the Home Department's letter No. F 3/16/34-Poll., dated 23rd November 1934, that the Madras Government are in general agreement with the Government of India's appreciation of the situation, and to communicate the following observation in respect of the measures suggested by them to meet it.

2. This Government are ready to take all necessary preventive action against any recrudescence of the *anti-liquor* or *anti-drug* campaign. They, however, consider that a revival of such a movement is not at present probable in this Province.

3. This Government endorse the views of the Government of India in regard to the need for Local Governments to take action to improve the economic condition of the peasant. I am to mention for the information of the Government of India the following measures already undertaken or under consideration by the Madras Government to meet this need;

1. the constitution in the last half of 1934 of a Provincial Marketing Board and the appointment of a Marketing Officer with a view to helping the ryot to market his produce advantageously.

2. a scheme for improving communications, especially by the construction of bridges and causeways, in connection with which a Special Officer has recently been appointed, and

3. a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of irrigation sources now under consideration with a view to supplying suitable labour for villagers on works in which they are directly interested.

4. In regard to the uplift of the depressed classes, a great deal has already been done in this direction and appreciated by the community. Every opportunity of publicity will be taken to keep them in mind of Government's benevolent attitude towards them. In this connection the Government are considering the advisability of giving official encouragement to any journal which is specially supporting the cause of the depressed classes.

5. The Madras Government have given the question of propaganda and publicity their fullest consideration and have come to the conclusion that the best, indeed the only effective, means in the near future of bringing home to the people the benefits conferred on them by Governmental activities will be the organised use of broadcasting for this purpose and in this view the Local

Government feel that the importance of the immediate development of broadcasting cannot be too strongly emphasised.

6. Following the Government of India's suggestion that district officers should be given small discretionary grants, this Government have decided to sanction grants up to a limit of Rs. 1,000 per annum for each district to be spent on urgent necessities, the objects on which such grants may be spent being carefully defined to this end.

7. As to the question how far, if at all, Government or their officers should countenance or assist in any way ameliorative movement organised by or under the auspices of the Congress, such as the Village Industries Association, it seems to the Madras Government that a refusal to participate in what are ostensibly the beneficial activities of the Congress will lay the Government open to attack on the ground of want of sympathy with a (p.2) movement directed towards village uplift. This Government would, therefore, deprecate the laying down of any definite policy as to the attitude to be adopted towards the Village Industries Association but would prefer that each case be considered on its merits as has been the practice in the past. They propose to instruct district officers to take the orders of the Government in all such cases beforehand.

8. Finally, this Government would impress on the Government of India that a step which would be as likely as any other to convince the rural population of the Government's genuine concern for its interests would be the placing of an embargo on the import of foreign rice. I am in this connection to invite attention to this Government's letter No. 5153-III/34-1, dated 21st December 1934, in the Development Department to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands.

16. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA , 12.3.1935.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA (HOME AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT), NO. 582-D-34, DATED THE 12TH MARCH 1935.

In compliance with the request contained in the telegram from the Home Department dated the 29th November 1934, and with reference to paragraphs 21 and 22 of your letter no.F.3/16/34, dated the 23rd November 1934, I am directed to say that in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council, concurred in by the Hon'ble Ministers, it is unlikely that the organisation of the Village Industries Association will be extended to Burma, in which, apart from a small section of the Indian community and a very much smaller section amongst Burmans, the ideas of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress do not carry much weight. The likelihood of the Congress establishing such an organisation in Burma is further lessened by the imminence of Separation. The question therefore is not likely to be of much practical interest to Burma, but if an attempt should be made to establish the movement in Burma, His Excellency in Council agrees that the attitude outlined in your letter should be adopted towards it. If any organisations modelled on the same lines and with the same political objects should be started in Burma, the Local Government would no doubt have to apply the same methods of treatment *mutatis mutandis*.

2. These views have the general concurrence of the Hon'ble Minister for Forests who, observing that the slump in the rice market, the general trade depression, the collapse of the Co-operative movement and the lack of encouragement to local industries tend to make the rural people an easy mark for mischief-mongers, concludes that the best way to prevent such insidious attacks on the part of the ill-disposed is to revive the Co-operative movement and encourage cottage industries in Burma. The Hon'ble Minister for Education concurs in these observations. His Excellency in Council thinks, indeed, that the best reply to anything on the lines of the Village Industries Association would be an active counter-effort by Government towards the development of village industries and towards village uplift, and he has little doubt that if any organisation should develop in Burma the Hon'ble Minister concerned would have to do whatever he could do with the resources available to press forward constructive action on the part of Government. The Hon'ble Minister for Education, on the assumption that the village industries association is a genuine economic scheme and an attempt at rural economic planning, is inclined to give the movement the credit of presenting a sound idea and spirit in spite of its initiation by an association with the Congress; and on these grounds he is averse from passing any anticipatory judgment on such a movement if it should be started in Burma. He admits, however, that the Village Industries Association is not likely to extend its operations to Burma and the condition of his refusal to discredit the movement is that its underlying idea and spirit are sound. His Excellency in Council does not see any reason to dissent from the Hon'ble Minister's conclusions, provided that the assumptions underlying his conclusions are firmly kept in mind. In other words, His Excellency in Council does not wish to deny the virtues of the movement regarded as a social and economical organisation and is concerned to refuse recognition to those virtues and to treat the movement with suspicion and guarded caution only in so far as it has a political inspiration and has dangerous political implications. This would it seems, afford common ground with the Hon'ble Minister for Education, who would no doubt accept the view of His Excellency in Council as expressed above that, should the movement with the underlying political inspiration and dangerous objectives which

distinguish the movement in India spread to Burma, the best reply would be to embark on as vigorous a constructive scheme of rural uplift as lies within the resources of the Local Government.

17. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, 24.12.1934,

COPY OF A LETTER No. 5960-C., DATED THE 24TH DECEMBER 1934, FROM THE OFFG. CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT.

I am directed to refer to your confidential letter No. F.- 3/16/34 dated the 23rd November 1934, and to your subsequent telegram of the 29th November on the situation arising out of the recent Bombay Congress.

2. The local Government agree with the Government of India's appreciation of the situation, and are alive to the importance of taking action on the lines suggested in paragraphs 14 and 15 of your letter. They will see that they are kept fully informed of all developments in the districts and they will, of course, pass on any information of importance to the Government of India. They agree also that it is essential to take action at once against any tendency to infringe the law and they are glad to know that they will have the support of the Government of India in any prosecutions or preventive measures that they may find necessary.

3. The Government of India stress the importance of anticipating the new movement by pushing forward vigorously schemes for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses. This province will be considerably hampered in such work by the financial difficulties resulting both from the contraction of its income and the heavy burden imposed by reconstruction after the earthquake. The local Government think it unprofitable to enter into competition in the minor village industries on which the Congress will concentrate and they have grave doubts of the practical possibility of tackling the problem of rural indebtedness directly with any effective result. They think, therefore, that the object in view can best be served in this province by concentrating on the improvement of the agricultural methods and conditions and continuing to work on the lines already laid down and followed by the Agricultural Department and the Department of Industries. They will endeavour to provide funds as far as possible to assist these Departments in their work of demonstration and propaganda.

Steps are being taken to reorganise the Publicity Department of Government on a wider basis and the local Government will endeavour to undertake intensive propaganda on the lines suggested in paragraphs 16 to 18 of your letter.

4. They will remove the restrictions imposed on the touring of district officials owing to financial stringency and are also taking steps to place discretionary grants at the disposal of District Officers to be spent on urgent village needs.

5. The attitude to be adopted towards the Village Industries Association raises questions of considerable difficulty. The apparent harmlessness of the movement makes it difficult for Government to take action against it without playing into the hands of Congress and providing them with easy opportunities for misrepresenting Government in the eyes of the outside world. It is not practicable at present to formulate any definite line of action. The only practical course seems to be that Government should do nothing to help and that it should keep the closest watch on the activities of the Association and its ramifications and prosecute at once

where any illegal activities are evident. But it may be admitted that the course suggested leaves the ground free for a very large amount of subversive propaganda about which it will be difficult to get evidence and against which it will be more difficult to take action. But it does not seem possible to take more direct action until the situation develops. The Local Government agree generally with the instructions contained in paras. 21 and 22 of your letter.

18. LETTER TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS, DATED 26.4.1929, ON THE SUBJECT OF EXHIBITIONS ORGANISED BY OR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL

Letter to All Local Governments and Administrations, No. D 4181, dated the 26th April 1929.

Subject :- Exhibitions organised by or under the auspices of the Indian National Congress.

I am directed to address you on the subject of the participation of Government departments or Government officers in exhibitions or fairs organised by or under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. The question has come into prominence in consequence of the large exhibitions held in connection with the two last annual meetings of the Congress at Madras in 1927 and Calcutta in 1928. It is clearly important that the action of all Local Governments in this matter should be uniform.

I am to say that in view of the declaration of policy recently made by the Congress and the extreme political programme which it has adopted, the Government of India consider that it is undesirable that such exhibitions or fairs should receive the support or co-operation of Departments or officials of Government in any way.

19. LETTER FROM MR. M.G. HALLETT, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS DATED 7.6.1935

SECRET.

No. F.3/16/34- Poll.
Government of India.
Home Department.

From

The Hon'ble Mr. M.G. Hallett, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

All Local Governments and Administrations
(including Ajmer - Merwara).

Simla, the 7th June 1935.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with your letter No. dated 193 , on the subject of the situation arising out of the decisions of Congress at a session in Bombay in October 1934, and in particular out of the institution of the All-India Village Industries Association. I am now to enclose for the information of the local Government a copy of the replies received from other local Governments and Administrations from which it will be seen that there is general agreement with the appreciation of the potentialities of, and motives underlying, that movement given by the Government of India in their circular No. F. 3/16/34 of the 23rd November, 1934. I am also to invite attention to the debate in the Legislative Assembly which took place on the 21st January, 1935, on an adjournment motion, a report of which will be available to the local Government. Since the issue of the circular of November last and the debate in January last the work of the All-India Village Industries Association appears to have made little progress, and such information as the Government of India have been able to collect about it, either from reference to it in the fortnightly reports of local Governments, or (p.2) statements issued by Congress or by the Association itself in the press is very vague. There is nothing at present to suggest either that the appreciation put forward in November was incorrect or on the other hand that the movement is likely to become in the near future a serious menace to order. The position is apparently still indefinite and though it is recognised that it may be difficult to add much to the reports made in the last six months, the Government of India will be glad if the local Government would prepare a brief appreciation of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in their province, showing in particular what industries it has taken up, whether any practical steps have been taken for their development, or for the general improvement of the conditions of village life and whether in any case the workers had asked for any assistance from local Government or its officers. An appreciation on these lines will prove useful if during the next session of the Assembly Government are challenged as to their attitude to the Association.

2. In my telegram No. 2352, dated the 29th November, 1934, it was stated that the Government of India would address local Governments further on the points raised in paragraphs 21 and 22 of my circular of the 23rd November, and local Governments were requested not to distribute these paragraphs to local officers in the first instance. The objections to the suggestions made in these paragraphs are given in the Government of the Punjab's letter No. B- 8 (15)-2-S.B., dated the 4th December, 1934. Most local Governments have taken the view that these instructions are unduly rigid and that no hard and fast (p.3)rule can be laid down, but that Government must be left free to adjust their policy as the situation develops. As has been shown in the previous paragraph there has been as yet very little change in the situation, and in view of the opinions received from local Governments the Government of India agree that it is not desirable at this stage to issue any definite instructions to local officers on the lines previously suggested. Local officers should, however, be told that should any problem arise as to the action which they should take towards the Association they should refer to the local Government for instructions. This appears to the Government of India to be necessary for it is possible that young and inexperienced district officers might take action which might subsequently prove embarrassing to Government.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(sd/-)
Secretary to the Government of India.

No. F. 3/16/34-Poll.

Copy (with copy of enclosures) forwarded to the
Director, Intelligence Bureau
General Staff Branch
Foreign & Political Department
Department of Industries & Labour
for information, in continuation of the Home Department endorsement No. F.3/16/34-Poll.,
dated 30th November 1934.

By order, etc.,
(sd/-)
Secretary to the Government of India.

**20. LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, DATED
10.6.1935 TO HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,
LONDON**

(AIR MAIL)

SECRET.

128
No. F.3/16/34-Poll.

Government of India.
Home Department.

To,
His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India,
India Office, London,

Simla, the 10th June 1935.

Sir,

In continuation of the Home Department letter No 337/F.3/16/34, dated the 27th November 1934, I am directed to forward, for the information of the Secretary of State, a copy of the replies received from local Governments to the reference made to them in the Home Department letter No. 3/16/34, dated the 23rd November 1934, and of a further letter addressed to them, No. F. 3/16/34 Poll., dated the 7th June 1935, regarding the attitude to be adopted by Government toward the All - India Village Industries Association.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(sd/-)
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

21. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PUNJAB, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, 13.7.1935.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PUNJAB, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. B.8(15)-1,-S.B., DATED LAHORE, THE 13TH JULY 1935.

I am directed to refer to Mr. Hallett's letter No. F.3/16/34 Poll., dated the 7th of June, 1935, on the subject of the All- India Village Industries Association in which he asks for a brief appreciation of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in this province.

2. The chief organiser of this Association in the Punjab is Dr. Gopi Chand of Lahore. His first scheme was to open an Ashram at Lahore where workers should be trained to lecture in rural areas on economy, the boycott of liquor and intoxicating drugs, the improvement of village sanitation and protection of village industries. This project was a failure from lack of funds. Early in January 1935, he and three or four associations conceived a scheme for the opening of ox driven flour mills, oil presses and sugar presses. In conjunction with these mills shops were to be encouraged to deal solely in gur, oil and flour produced in this way. The scheme further envisaged the formation of a society of at least 500 members, all of whom would agree to purchase flour, oil, etc., so produced and to pay a yearly subscription of one rupee. Nothing further has been heard of this scheme. Later in February, Dr. Gopi Chand issued an appeal for Rs. 10,000 with which to inaugurate the work of the All-India Village Industries Association in the province which met with a very poor response. Regular agents of this Association are reported to have been appointed in Jullundur, Gujranwala and Hissar, and Dr. Gopi Chand has received offers of assistance from persons in Rohtak, Ferozepur, Ambala and Gurdaspur. The Punjab Government have not heard whether these agents have been able to do any constructive work. The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and its associated organisations have promised whole hearted co-operation to the Association but they are in no position to give any material help. The position to-day therefore is that the Punjab Branch of the All-India Village Industries Association has taken up no particular industry; has adopted no practical steps to develop industries or improve village conditions; and has made no application to the local Government or to its officers for assistance.

3. As far as Punjab is concerned, it is correct to say that the Association has not yet got past the talking stage. The few schemes that have been conceived have all been still-born. There are everywhere inherent difficulties in starting a scheme like this, and in the Punjab there have been three factors which have made it still more difficult for the organizers:-

- i. the Punjab Government's own efforts in this line have to a great extent forestalled the Congress;
- ii. all over the province the Congress organizations are split by bitter personal feuds;

iii. Punjab congressmen are in general tired of being outside practical politics and are much more interested in preparing for the coming elections to the provincial legislature and in contesting seats in district boards and municipalities than they are in schemes of social welfare.

All these factors are likely to continue to operate in the Punjab and the third is likely to become more effective as time goes on. The Governor in Council does not think that the Village Industries Association stands much chance of success in this province.

22. LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 16.7.1935.

SECRET

LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, HOME DEPARTMENT TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, NO.S.D-3202, DATED POONA, THE 16TH JULY 1935.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to Mr. Hallett's letter, No. F.- 3/16/34 - Poll., dated the 7th June, 1935, asking a for brief appreciation of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in this Presidency, showing in particular what industries it has taken up, whether any practical steps have been taken for their development, or for the general improvement of the conditions of village life, and whether in any case the workers had asked for any assistance from local Government or its officers.

2. I am to enclose a statement showing in some detail the information available regarding the activities of the All-India Village Industries Association in this Presidency. It will be seen that the 'industries' so far taken up in pursuance of the scheme are spinning and weaving, unhusking of rice and grinding of wheat by manual labour and pressing oil by ghani. Other activities have been opening of cheap grain shops, sweeping of streets, sinking of "katcha" wells (in one district only) and opening of schools (in one or two districts). None of the Congress workers have asked for any assistance from the local Government or its officers.

3. It is obvious that as a scheme for village industries little has been accomplished but that as providing excuse and centres for Congress work, activities have been undertaken in many places.

4. In confirmation of the political aspect it is understood, that the attempts of the Gujarat Prantik Samiti to organize a Farmers' Union, referred to in the Statement under the Ahmedabad District, have been caused by the experience gained in the civil disobedience movement which indicated that exploitation of the agricultural community on economic rather than on political grounds would be a much more effective weapon for use against Government if a suitable opportunity should arise again. Again the selection of the Desert portion of the Thar Parkar District in Sind for active work by the Association is clearly a tactical move as the inhabitants are largely Hindu, simple-minded and poverty stricken and afford an ideal field for propaganda, and it has long been anticipated that the Desert would be the scene of the next Congress-inspired campaign. Further, during his tour in this Presidency, Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, laid particular stress on Congress work in villages with a view to "organising the people through the constructive programme of the Congress". Persistent propaganda is also being carried out in this respect in the pro-Congress press.

5. Though a resolution passed by the Gujarat Congress Socialist Conference at Ahmedabad on the 22nd - 23rd June, disapproving of the "utopian scheme" of the All-India Village Industries Association has roused the wrath of orthodox Congressmen, little if any importance need be attached to the opposition to the movement.

6. As requested in paragraph 2 of Mr. Hallett's letter under reply, the necessary instructions are being issued to the District Magistrates in this Presidency to consult Government in case any problem arises as to the action which they should take towards the All-India Village Industries Association.

(p.2)

Statement showing the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in Bombay Presidency.

BOMBAY CITY.

A branch of the All-India Village Industries Association was opened in Bombay City in the Soorji Vallabhdas Swadeshi Stores at Sheikh Memon street on 16th February 1935. It is conducted by the Gandhi Seva Sena which has opened a shop dealing in hand-spun and hand woven cloth, silk durries, skipping ropes, leather goods, hand-pound rice, hand-ground wheat-flour, village gur, handmade paper, mats, locks, nut-crackers, scissors and toys. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who performed the opening ceremony declared that the Association was purely a non-political organization and regretted that Government should have looked upon it with suspicion. He added that Mr. Gandhi had purposely kept the organization free from politics and that was the reason why the politicians were debarred from being its office bearers.

Volunteers are being enlisted under the auspices of the Navjivan Sangh, Bombay, to do propaganda in connection with the village industries and for explaining in the City the advantages of using unpounded rice, hand ground flour, ghani-pressed oil, etc. So far only 7 persons have been enlisted.

BOMBAY SUBURBAN DISTRICT

At a meeting of about 25 Gujarati Congress followers at Ghatkopar on 17th March 1935, a Committee was appointed for starting the work of revival of village industries such as pounding of rice by hand and pressing of oil by ghani. Some hand-pounded rice is kept for sale in the Bhatiya Mitra Mandal's shop at Ghatkopar but the sale is poor. The President and Secretary of the Committee are directing their attention towards the collection of subscriptions and members for the Association with an annual fee of annas 4.

A public meeting was held at Ville Parle under the presidentship of J.C.Kumarappa, Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association on 21 st April 1935, at which Swami Anand spoke on the present unsatisfactory state of village industries and exhorted the audience to do everything they could to encourage home products.

On the following day a Swadeshi Goods Exhibition organized by the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee was opened at Ville Parle by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who in the course of his speech referring to Mr. Gandhi's All-India Village Industries Association said that its aim was to remove un-employment and that during the last 150 years nothing had been done by Government to promote village industries but when a movement on those lines was started by Mr. Gandhi, Government sanctioned one crore of rupees for the purpose. He hoped that least one-tenth of the amount would be utilized towards that end.

AHMEDABAD DISTRICT

In a view of the formation of the All-India Village Industries Association, the Gujarat Swadeshi Sangh, Ahmedabad, was dissolved on 1st January 1935, and the members of the Sangh were advised to support whole heartedly the Association's activities.

No branch of the association has however been started so far in this District, but the Gujarat Prantik Samiti is reported to be endeavouring to organize a Farmers' Union and to start it in the North and South Daskroi Talukas with a view to instructing the farmers regarding village industries and to organize improvements on the lines of Mr. Gandhi's village uplift scheme. If the experiment proves successful the organization is likely to be extended to other Talukas.

(p.3) It is understood that the work of cleaning streets in the villages around Bavla and Chaloda (two villages in which efforts were made in vain to start Village Panchayats) will be started on receipt of sanction from the local Congress Committee.

Recently one Nandlal Jivan has opened khadi store at Dholera and is moving about in the eastern villages of Dholera taluka, selling khaddar.

It is believed that the adverse agricultural circumstances at present have deterred the Congress workers from attempting to commence village activities in this District but it is expected that more attention will be directed to it in the coming cold weather, particularly if the rains prove adequate.

KAIRA DISTRICT

As a result of the endeavours of some Congress Workers to introduce Mr. Gandhi's Village Improvement Scheme in Malarpura village in the Matar Taluka, paddy is being unhusked by manual labour at the rate of annas 4 per manud.

A cheap grain shop has also been opened by some Congress workers in Limbashi village which sells food grains, juwar, cotton seeds, etc., at cost price. It is reported that this shop is making good progress.

A Brahmin hailing from Karachi has started the work of "Gramya Sudharna" (Village improvement) in Masra village in the Thasra Taluka. He is said to belong to the Gujarat Vidyapith and to be at present engaged in teaching cleanliness to the children and showing them how to keep their streets clean.

BROACH AND PANCH MAHALS DISTRICT.

No branch of the Association has been started in this district, but a Congress worker in Ankleshwar has been attempting village uplift work in Obha, Umerwada and Samor villages, through the Taluka Local Board. As a result the Taluka Local Board Committee visited Obha and got the streets swept.

The Bhill Seva Mandal of Dohad, an association started for the uplift of Bhils, is endeavouring to introduce a scheme of grain storage during the harvest season with the object of selling it at cheap rates during the monsoon. The Mandal has been digging some "Katcha" wells in the vicinity of Jeswad. It has also opened schools in the villages of Jhalod, Mirakhedi, Bhimpari, Dungri, Mundahoda, Varod, Velpura, Vagela and Gultora.

SURAT DISTRICT

In this District an agent has been appointed for carrying on the work of the Association. A Branch has also been started in the village of Kachholi, Taluka Jalalpur, whose supervisors moves about and advises the villagers to use things prepared in their own village.

Propaganda in support of Village Industries Association was carried on in some villages of this District by holding meetings. Congress workers also moved about in the villages advising people to thresh wheat and grind it by manual labour.

THANA DISTRICT

Sheth Shoorji Vallabhdas of Bombay and Miss Slade visited Badlapur on 10th April 1935 and delivered a lecture on the objects of the association which led to the formation of a branch of the association with a Committee of nine persons.

(p.4) The village of Khadavali was visited by a volunteer of the Bombay Navjivan Sangh who impressed on the villagers the importance of village industries, such as, grinding corn by manual labour etc.

EAST KHANDESH DISTRICT

A small concern of hand spinning and weaving is financed at Loni by a Congressman, but the institution does not seem to be yet recognized by the Congress.

WEST KHANDESH DISTRICT

Branches of the Association have been started in the villages of Kasara, Kapadna, Sawai Mukti and Nandurbar under the names of "Gamodyog Mandal", "Hanuman Udyog Mandir" and "Shree Smartha Udyog Mandir". The branch at the last place is not functioning properly for want of volunteers. The remaining three are spinning and weaving khaddar. The branch at Kasara is also doing propaganda work in regard to village sanitation.

It is reported that attempts are being made to organize one more branch at Navri village, where propaganda in favour of the Association is being carried on by two Congressmen. A small piece of land has been bought by another Congressman for erecting a building for the work of the Association.

NASIK DISTRICT.

No organised attempt is made in this District to revive village industries, but a Mr. Apte from Yeola visits 3 to 4 villages of Yeola every week, reads puranas for the villagers and advises them to grind corn at home and weave cloth. He also advocates boycott of machine-turned-out and factory made articles.

POONA DISTRICT

A branch to further the objects of the Association has been started in this District. Some villages in the Haveli Taluka were visited by a congressman who stressed the importance of village uplift work on the lines laid down by the Congress.

SATARA DISTRICT.

No branch of the Association has been started in this District. Meetings were, however, held in the villages of Kashil and Tambve at which the audience was advised to carry on village improvement, use only country made articles, wear khaddar and become members of the Congress.

BELGAUM DISTRICT

No branch of the Association has been started so far in this District but as a measure of rural uplift a night school has been opened at Hudli for people of all castes. A congressman is taking interest in this work. The attendance is, however, poor.

Propaganda in favour of the Association is being carried on by means of lectures in which the audience is advised to revive village industries which are wiped out by modern machinery.

(p.5)

BIJAPUR DISTRICT

No organised effort has been made in this district to further the objects of the Association. One H.S.Kowjalgi, a staunch congressman and at present taking keen interest in the village uplift, visited the village of Galgali and with the aid of a few local Brahmins swept the streets of the village.

DHARWAR DISTRICT

An endeavour is being made by a Congressman to carry on the village uplift work in Uppin-Bettigeri village.

KOLABA DISTRICT

A branch of the Association was established at Panvel on 28th February 1935 under the name of "Gramodyog Mandir" where paddy is cleaned by village labourers and wheat is ground into flour by hand. About 10 to 15 persons are working in the Mandir on daily wages.

KARACHI DISTRICT

Beyond the resolution passed by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and Buyers and Shippers' Chamber welcoming Mr. Gandhi's attempt to develop village industries and requesting Government and all mercantile organizations to extend all possible help to the All-India Village Industries Association, no activities connected with this Association are reported from this District

DADU DISTRICT

Congressmen seem to be concentrating their attention on Sann village for the purpose of reviving village industries. With this object Messrs.R.B. Totaram and Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani visited various places in the district and after making enquiries about local industries inspected the articles for sale at local shops. The former also secured rough figures from Jairamdas of the number of manufacturers of various articles in various places and also about their daily earnings. These enquiries have not borne any fruit so far.

SUKKUR DISTRICT.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani and a few other Congress leaders visited Laki, Abdu and Becharji villages in the Sukkur District in connection with the Village Industries Association but no concrete work has yet been started at these places.

NAWABSHAH DISTRICT

Mr. M.T.Hingorani toured in this District in connection with the revival of village industries but no actual work has yet been started.

HYDERABAD DISTRICT

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani intends to revive village industries at Hala, Matiari, Tando Allahyar, Nasarpur, Badin and Tando Muhammad Khan and has asked the persons willing to work in this behalf (p.6) to supply him with information about industries at these places and to offer their services without remuneration. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani has also started a depot of hand-ground flour, hand-pounded rice, ghani-pressed oil and gur in the Bandhu Ashram, Hyderabad.

A committee of 7 persons has also been formed in Hyderabad to make enquiries about the industries which should be revived.

In order to encourage Indian Industries, the Standing Committee of Hyderabad Municipality has decided to exempt Swadeshi Sugar from payment of octroi duty and to use "Azad" ink in Municipal offices.

THAR PARKAR DISTRICT

As a preliminary step towards reorganization of village industries Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram held an agricultural and industrial exhibition at Gadro on 28th March 1935.

The workers of the All-India Village Industries Association have started work actively in the Desert Sub-Division of this District, using, as a starting point, the Gadro Ashram which existed before the formation of the All-India Village Industries Association and was a purely spinning and weaving concern. The workers are now organizing other local centres in the interior of the desert places such as Chachro and Mithi. The inhabitants of these places are largely Hindu, simple minded and poverty stricken and afford a suitable field for propaganda.

23. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 19.7.1935.

SECRET

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. 261/C.-HOME, DATED DELHI, THE 19TH JULY 1935.

In compliance with the Government of India's desire as expressed towards the close of the 1st paragraph of Mr. Hallett's Secret letter No. F-3/16/34-Poll., dated 7th June 1935, I have the honour to enclose copy of report received from the Deputy Commissioner on the activities up to date of the All-India Village Industries Association in Delhi province.

It does not appear that workers of the Association have asked for any assistance from officers of the Delhi administration. They have certainly not addressed me direct.

Copy of a report, dated the 11th July 1935, from the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi.

There are no reports in the press or on the platform regarding the development or activities of the local branch of the All-India Village Industries Association. Mr. Gandhi visited Delhi in December last and made a brief tour of a few villages, apparently with a view to studying the prevailing conditions in the rural areas. The announcement was made some months ago of the appointment of local agent of the Association, who in the course of a press statement issued at that time said that pending the survey of the situation prevailing in this province, no activities should be started.

2. From private enquiries made, it appears that the agent is trying to collect local data to be submitted to the headquarters of the Association. Apparently, he has no initiative to start activities without instructions from headquarters. Up to the present there are no visible signs of the inauguration of any village industries by the Association in this province.

3. Various forms of rural activities undertaken by the local Congress Committee, are however, evident from some months past. These activities have mainly taken the form of tour in the rural areas by selected provincial Congress workers, with the object of inviting villages to air grievances, real and imaginary: providing villagers with printed forms of application to local Government officers for redress of grievances (upto date none of these forms have been handed in by villagers to local officials): giving addresses on village uplift generally, but unaccompanied by any form of practical assistance. Congress dispensaries have been started at a few centres in the rural area, where medicines are dispensed free or at a low cost, and at one such centre a doctor is said to be available for visits in the surrounding villages. All visible efforts of the Congress in rural area appear to be directed to gaining the confidence of the population.

24. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF COORG, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 19.7.1935.

SECRET

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF COORG, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. SECRET/72/35-ENCLOS., DATED THE 19TH JULY 1935.

I am directed to refer to Secret letter from the Government of India, Home Department, No. F-3/16/34-Poll., (Serial No.12), dated the 7th June 1935, and to say that there has been no activity on the part of the All-India Village Industries Association in the province of Coorg and that its workers have not on any occasion asked for any assistance from the local Administration or its officers.

25. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER-MERWARA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 24.7.1935.

SECRET

LETTER FROM THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER-MERWARA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, No. 1008-C./130-CONF./31, DATED THE 24TH JULY, 1935.

I have the honour to refer to Home Department letter No. F- 3/16/34-Poll., dated the 7th June, 1935, on the subject of the situation arising out of the decisions of Congress at a session in Bombay in October, 1934, and to say that the All-India Village Industries Association has not so far started any activities in the district of Ajmer-Merwara.

**26. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BIHAR AND
ORISSA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME
DEPARTMENT, 29.7.1935.**

SECRET

**LETTER FROM THE OFFICIATING CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BIHAR
AND ORISSA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME
DEPARTMENT, NO.2901-C., DATED THE 29TH JULY, 1935.**

In compliance with the request contained in your letter No. F.3/16/34-Poll., dated the 7th June, 1935, I am directed by the Governor in Council to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the following review of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in this province. Generally speaking the movement is unorganised in this province and except in isolated localities, where Congress *ashrams* with small bodies of enthusiastic Congress workers were already established, matters have hardly anywhere proceeded beyond the stage of talking. For a few months after Mr. Gandhi announced his scheme, speeches at Congress meetings frequently contained exhortations to the populace to avoid manufactured goods and to stick to home-made products, but this is largely receding into the background. There is no provincial organisation and the matter has been left to the initiative of local Congress bodies. Many of these are themselves disorganised, and, as no general plan of campaign has been formulated either at Wardha or by the Provincial Congress, little tangible progress has been made. Two-thirds of the districts report that the Village Industries Association has displayed no activity whatever and in many of these districts not even a branch of the Association has been set up. Even where branches have been opened matters have not progressed beyond the enrolling of a few prospective workers and the collection of subscriptions. There is a general dearth of funds, the local Congress Committees are mostly in low water and the central organisation at Wardha is not distributing money on any regular scale. No further progress is likely until money is forthcoming. A certain amount of information is being collected in a desultory fashion for the central organisation. The only districts where there is any substantial activity are Darbhanga, Purnea and Bhagalpur in Bihar, Cuttack, Balasore and Puri in Orissa, and Manbhumi in Chota Nagpur, and in most of these districts the small progress that has been made is due to movements which were already on foot before the Village Industries Association was thought of. In several cases, notably in Orissa, there is confusion with other movements organised by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress; for example in Orissa, where some of the Harijan activities appear to be continuing under the auspices of the Village Industries Association, and in Purnea where the funds of the Bihar Central Relief Committee have been used by the Village Industries Association organiser to construct ring wells.

2. A precis of the reports received from the districts is attached to this letter in case the Government of India desire detailed information, but the, main activities may be summarised here.

In Darbhanga the Association has opened two grocery shops where stone-ground flour, hand-pounded rice and molasses and other indigenous foodstuffs are sold. As the rates are

rather above the market rates they are not likely to attract many customers outside the politically-minded classes. No industries have been started and there is no village work.

At Madhubani in Darbhanga there is a branch of the All-India spinners' Association which employs a number of Muhammadan weavers, but this is not directly a part of the Village Industries organisation and merely gives employment to an already established community of weavers.

Bhagalpur district shows more substantial attempts at organisation. Here an important *ashram* has been established since the non-cooperation days at Bihpur with branches at Deosri and Janidih. During the non-cooperation campaign about a lakh of *charkhas* were supplied for free distribution and at the Bihpur and Deosri *ashrams* there are about a dozen (p.2) workers who are being trained in *charkha* spinning. These *ashrams* are intended to be centres for instruction and for the collection of yarn and *khaddar*, but little progress has been made and lack of funds and apathy have prevented further extension of the village organisation. The inmates of the *ashrams* do something towards cleaning of village paths in the neighbourhood.

In Purnea an attempt was made to open a technical school which broke down owing to internal squabbles, but at the Tikapatti *ashram* in Katihar *charkhas* are being distributed and volunteers trained in spinning. The inmates of the *ashram* here mill their own rice and flour and are trying to persuade people of the vicinity to do likewise. About 20 ring wells have been sunk with the aid of a grant from the Bihar Central Relief Fund and a little village scavenging is also done.

In Puri, Cuttack and Balasore attempts have been made for some years past to organise cotton growing and spinning partly in connection with the Harijan movement and partly in connection with the *khaddar* movement. These attempts still continue but are only loosely connected with the Village Industries Association. In Cuttack the organisation is in the hands of Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, who is believed to be a sincere welfare worker and has a small band of disciples. He appears to have secured through Mr. Gandhi a considerable grant from a wealthy Gujerati for Harijan work and is opening a school for carpentry and weaving for untouchables. In Puri there are five small centres for weaving and an attempt is being made to start the silk weaving industry, but the two principal organisers have now dissociated themselves publicly from Congress politics. In Balasore a few spinning classes that were started during the *khaddar* movement still continue.

In Manbhum work is localized in one small area. Night schools have been started in five or six villages. An attempt has been made to assist the silk weavers at Raghunathpur to find a market for their goods and some *charkhas* and cotton seeds have been distributed. One of the night schools has had to close down and the cotton-growing venture is not showing any results. The movement attracts little interest because the local organiser is publicly discredited and incompetent.

3. The sum of these activities is not impressive and in view of the present lethargy of the Congress organisation it is unlikely that there will be any serious developments in the near future. Neither the Village Industries Association nor any of its workers has approached any Government officials for assistance or advice. They have not made any serious researches into

the possibility of starting village industries and appear to have few ideas beyond weaving, a field which the local Government have fully exploited for many years, and the growing of cotton for which there is not much prospect. In three districts, Patna, Cuttack and Muzaffarpur, isolated workers are playing with the idea of preparing *gur* from the toddy palm as a village industry. Swami Sahajanand of the Kisan Sabha has for the last 6 months been working on a project of starting *gur golas* and endeavored to enlist the support of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, but little has been heard of this recently. In Cuttack and Muzaffarpur attempts have been made to prepare *gur* or molasses from date palm mainly with the object of affecting the Government revenue from toddy, but this would require research for which the promoters of the scheme are not equipped. Hand-grinding and milling of grain can hardly be described as an industry and in any case no attempt is being made to organise it. All these activities of the Association are viewed apathetically by the villagers. *Charkha* spinning, the spasmodic cleaning of village paths and the distribution of an occasional dole of cotton seed does not appeal to the common sense or the imagination of the villager. Congress workers are in many places under a cloud owing to the maladministration of the Bihar Central Relief Fund and the Congress is in any case half-hearted in its support of Mr. Gandhi's scheme.

(p.3)

Precis.

Patna Division.

PATNA DISTRICT.

Until the last week or two the headquarters of the Provincial Congress organisation has shown no activity except the recruitment of a few workers in the Dinapur sub-division who have done nothing yet beyond starting a small hand flour mill at Bihta. Reports have recently been received of attempts to make *gur* from palm juice. 900 trees in Bihar police station have been leased for this purpose and some local zamindars are said to be encouraging it as the introduction of the excise tree tax on toddy palms has reduced the price that toddy-tappers are prepared to pay.

GAYA DISTRICT.

There is practically no activity. It is reported that a local zamindar will attempt to revive the paper industry at Arwal, but this has no direct connection with the Village Industries Association; A few workers are moving round the Daudnagar area distributing cotton seed.

SHAHBAD DISTRICT.

A little money and the names of a few persons willing to work have been collected and some enquiries have been made as to the most suitable industries to be taken up; nothing has been done.

Tirhut Division.
DARBHANGA.

Two grocery shops have been opened at Darbhanga and Laheria Serai where hand ground flour, rice and molasses are sold at prices higher than the market rate; no village work has been undertaken. Sales are about Rs. 6 a day at each shop.

Saran- An *ashram* is under construction in the Siwan Sub-division for the Association, but nothing else has been done. There is no local organisation.

MUZAFFARPUR.

There is no branch of the Association though one Hanuman Das has been appointed as organiser. It is said that village manufacture of *gur* and mustard oil, the revival of the cutlery industry at Hajipur and the manufacture of indigenous dyes are projected, but nothing has been done.

CHAMPARAN.

Activity has only begun in the last few weeks. A grocery shop has just been opened and a branch of the Association has been opened at Dhaka otherwise no activity has been reported.

Bhagalpur Division.

Bhagalpur district shows the only consistent attempt at organisation. This dates from the non-co-operation when *ashrams* were established at Bihpur with branches at Deosri and Janidih. A large number of *charkhas* was supplied for free distribution during the non-co-operation (p.4) movement. There are training centres at Bihpur, and Deosri *ashrams* at each of which there are about a dozen volunteers learning *charkha* spinning. Cleaning of village paths is undertaken in the neighbourhood of the *ashrams*. Nothing has yet been done at the Janidih *ashram*. The organisation appears to be breaking down owing to factions in the local Congress.

MONGHYR.

There is no activity.

PURNEA.

An attempt to open a technical school at Forbesganj has broken down owing to internal factions which have ended in litigation. At Tikapatti *ashram* and at Katihar some *charkhas* have been distributed and it is reported that some villages have taken to spinning. Propaganda in favour of hand preparation of rice, flour and mustard oil, etc., is carried on. 20 ring wells have been sunk out of funds supplied by the Bihar Central Relief Committee. Progress is said to be negligible as the local Congress organisation is unscrupulous and discredited.

SANTAL PARGANAS.

There is no activity whatever.

Orissa Division.

There is no definite organisation under the Village Industries Association, but Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, who has been for some years engaged in village uplift work and the Harijan movement is endeavouring with the aid of a small band of personal followers to encourage cotton cultivation, cotton spinning and the manufacture of *gur* from date palm. The last-named is only a project at present. He is reported to have received a large subsidy of about Rs. 17,000 through Mr. Gandhi for Harijan work and has opened a training class in weaving and carpentry for Harijan workers. Village sanitation is a prominent part of the programme.

PURI.

Attempts have been made to start a silk weaving industry. Five small weaving centres have been opened but the two principal organisers have recently resigned from the Congress.

BALASORE.

The weaving centres which were in existence before the creation of the Village Industries Association are still being carried on.

Note:- Activities of all three Orissa coast districts are only indirectly connected with the Village Industries Association.

SAMBALPUR.

No activity of any sort.

(p.5)

Chota Nagpur Division
RANCHI

One centre was opened at Choreya, police station Mandar, the centre of the Tana Bhagat and Congress movements. The night school which was opened has dwindled to one-third of its original numbers. Cotton spinning centre has practically shut down and the *ashram* is now inhabited by a solitary Congress worker who weavers alone. Social propaganda in the village has been ineffective.

PALAMAU

Congress is completely disorganised in this district and there is no activity of the Village Industries Association.

SINGHBHUM.

No activity; there is no branch of the Association.

HAZARIBAGH.

No activity; there is no branch of the Association.

MANBHUM.

Nothing has been done in the Dhanbad Sub-division. In the Sadr Sub-division the activities of the Association are limited to about half a dozen villages. They are following the old lines of cotton spinning and growing and the opening of night schools. One of the night schools has closed down and so far about Rs.20 of cotton seed has been distributed and weaving is being carried out in one village with the aid of four looms. Some attempts have been made to find markets for the silk weavers at Raghunathpur but with little effect so far. The movement is unlikely to progress as the principal organiser is discredited and incompetent.

27. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 9.8.1935.

SECRET

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. 324/374/I., DATED THE 9TH AUGUST 1935.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to Government of India, Home Department letter No. F. 3/16/34-Political, dated the 7th June, 1935.

2. As desired by the Government of India special reports on the working of the Association have been obtained. Apart from a few speeches advocating action, there has been no activity whatsoever in connection with the Association except in the vicinity of the town of Wardha, where Mr. Gandhi has taken up his residence.

3. In Wardha Mr. Gandhi started his activities in the second week of November, 1934. The first result was the free gift by Seth Jarnalal Bajaj of a garden and house as the headquarters of the Association. In February, 1935, it was decided to open a shop in Wardha for gur, sugar, and other hand-made articles in daily use, excluding cloth, for which a khadi bhandar at Wardha already existed. A tanning factory was also planned, and 12 centres for village uplift work were selected in the Wardha tahsil. The tanning factory started work in March last at Nalwadi, 2 miles from Wardha. Footwear and other leather goods are being turned out, and manure is being manufactured from the flesh and bones of dead cattle. Spinning, weaving and carpentry work have also been started recently, and it is proposed to make the place a training centre; a small factory for the manufacture of hand-made paper is also under contemplation. The tannery has been named the "Patuck Tannery", after a former Parsi Deputy Commissioner of the district. The shop commenced working in April. It sells husked and unhusked rice, hand-mill ground flour, hand-extracted sweet oil, hand-made gur, hand-manufactured paper, and other similar articles. It is reported to be in a flourishing condition. In addition a workshop with 4 local craftsmen financed by the association is turning out Niwar, Purdhas and durries in a suburb of Wardha. The scheme to open centres of work in the interior of the district has been given up for the present; but the activities in Wardha itself are expanding, and there is a possibility that the association will become firmly established. The only other activity of the Association is the daily cleaning of the streets of one of the bastis of Wardha by Mahadeo Desai, Miss Slade, and a few other workers with the object of setting a good example to the local inhabitants. The Association organised an exhibition at Deoli in the Wardha tahsil on the first two days of last April. Khadi, Charkas, hand-spun yarn, the hand-made products of villages, and articles manufactured in the tanning factory were exhibited. About 2,000 persons from surrounding villages attended. It has been decided to make it an annual function. There is no reliable information regarding the finances of the Association, but it is estimated that a sum of over half a lakh of rupees has been collected.

**28. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,
12.8.1935.**

SECRET

**LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, No. 10106-P.,
DATED CALCUTTA, THE 12TH AUGUST 1935.**

I am directed to refer to Mr. Hallett's letter No. F. 3/16/34-Poll., dated the 7th June 1935 in which the Government of India asked to be furnished with a brief appreciation of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association in this Presidency. In reply, I am to state that the replies received by the Local Government to its enquiries on the subject do not indicate that any material progress has been made, that any particular industries have been taken up or that any practical steps have been taken for the improvement of conditions in the villages. They do not indicate that there has been any request for the assistance of Government or its officers. Indeed from only two districts is any activity at all, however tentative or limited reported. The more important of these is the district of Murshidabad, and there the activity is confined to a visit from one Dr.C.Ghosh in order to prepare a report on the possibilities. His visit is recorded in paragraph 1 of the Local Government's report on the political situation for the second half of July. Dr.Ghosh discussed the objects of his visit with the District Magistrate, Murshidabad. He created no impression locally.

2. While the reports available to the Local Government are not yet complete the areas on which information is lacking are small and the Local Government see no reason to anticipate that any modification of this appreciation will be necessary. They will, however address the Government of India further should any material alteration appear necessary.

**29. LETTER FROM ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS,
TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,
13.8.1935.**

SECRET.

**LETTER FROM E.F.THOMAS, ESQ., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO
GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. 357- S., DATED FORT ST.GEORGE, THE 13TH
AUGUST 1935.**

I am directed to refer to Home Department letter No. F. 3/16/34-Poll., dated the 7th June 1935, and to report on the activities shown by the All India Village Industries Association in this Presidency.

2. In Madras City and twelve districts there has been no activity of any kind. In six districts a few resolutions have been passed and some half-hearted propaganda has been undertaken: but this has not been followed by any practical steps.

3. In the Chingleput District an Industrial School is working under the auspices of the association, at which weaving, rattan work, tinkery and carpentry are done. A branch of the association has been organized in the Vizagapatam district but has done no practical work. In South Malabar an inquiry which led to no practical results was made into the possibilities of developing the weaving, bell metal and carpet industries. In Salem some hand pounding of paddy has been done by women coolies under the auspices of the Association: as in other districts nothing has been done in the villages. In East Godavari a scheme to finance the making of mats and baskets fell through as the villagers did not approve of it but some money has been invested in spinning, weaving and carpentry, and the hand pounding of paddy. In Madura the Mira Bai hand pounding rice factory' gives employment to about 25 coolies: it is likely to close down soon as it cannot compete with the cheaper machine hulled rice. In Guntur attempts are being made to develop pottery and shoemaking and to push the sale of pounded rice and khadder.

4. There have been only two instances of officials being asked to assist. In Guntur the Collector was asked not to interfere with the manufacture of salt. In Vizagapatam a Tahsildar was asked to give free trees, quarried stones, and silt for house building purposes. Both requests were refused.

5. As will be seen the activities of the Association have been few. No genuine effort to improve the conditions of villagers has been made and no enthusiasm with regard to the aims of the Association has been aroused. There are no signs to suggest that the Association's activities are likely in the near future to become any less innocuous or more vigorous.

30. MEMO. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, 15.8.1935.

SECRET

MEMO. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, No. 2559 P.C.1431 - P.S., DATED THE 15TH AUGUST 1935.

SUBJECT:- *Congress All-India Village Industries Association.*

Reference your letter No. F-3/16/34 Poll., dated the 7th June, 1935.

2. No branches of the All-India Village Industries Association have been opened in this Province.

**31. LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM,
TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,
16.8.1935.**

SECRET

**LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, NO. 1150-C.B.,
DATED THE 16TH AUGUST 1935.**

I am directed to refer to Mr. Hallett's letter No. F-3/16/34-Poll., dated the 7th June 1935, and to say that up till now little or no progress has been made in Assam by the All-India Village Industries Association and no particular industry of this province has been taken up by the organisation for its development.

2. It is, however, reported that in the Assam Valley the Assam Provincial Congress Committee has commenced a survey of the village industries to be encouraged and one Beliram Das, Assistant Secretary of that Committee, has taken up the work in hand.

3. In the Surma Valley, a resolution was passed by the members of the Executive Committee of the Sylhet District Congress Committee in a meeting held in December last to prepare a list of workers who are willing to work under the Village Industries Association and who are to be engaged, at present, in surveying the conditions of the industries of their respective localities. In pursuance of this resolution one Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta of Bidgaon, Rajabari, Dacca and Sylhet, a political ex-convict, has been authorised to organise a branch of the All-India Association in Sylhet. He has accordingly taken up the work and it is stated that on receipt of his report the District Congress Committee will apply to the All-India Congress Committee for funds. At two other congress meetings held last month the formation of a branch of the Village Industries Association in two villages in Sylhet district was discussed and a few members enlisted but so far no real work has been done.

Information has also been received that Mr. Pyarelalji, Mr. Gandhi's Secretary, will visit Sylhet sometime towards the close of this month; some definite programme of work may be drawn up.

**32. LETTER FROM CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,
27.8.1935.**

SECRET

**LETTER FROM G.P.HOGG, ESQ., C.I.E., I.C.S., CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT, No. 3666 - P.S., DATED CALCUTTA, THE 27TH AUGUST 1935.**

In continuation of my letter No. 10106-P., dated the 12th of August, I am directed to state for the information of the Government of India that reports since received indicate that in addition to the weaving industry the Association has also paid some attention to the hand-made paper industry in one village in the Dacca District. The only action taken, however, appears to be the holding of a meeting though Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose claims that he has sent a trained chemist to the village with a view to improving the process employed. Dr. Ghose's activity regarding the weaving industry in both cotton and silk appears to have got no further than preliminary enquiries and it seems to be generally true that it is impossible to ascertain the nature of any practical improvement in the industrial condition of rural workers which has actually been brought about by the Association. There is however some reason to believe that it is making an effort to help rural workers in a few places within those workers' actual means. The results achieved if any, are not worthy of any particular notice or comment.

**33. LETTER TO SIR FINDLATER STEWART, HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 12.11.1935**

CONFIDENTIAL

AIR MAIL

244
D.O.No. F. 11/3/35 Poll.

New Delhi, the 12th November 1935.

My dear Stewart,

We are sending you officially copies of the replies of local Governments to our letter No. F.3/16/34-Political, dated 7th June 1935, copy of which was sent to the India Office with our letter of 10th June. In that letter we had asked local Governments to give us a brief appreciation of the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association, stating in particular what industries it has taken up, whether any practical steps have been taken for their development or for the general improvement of village life, and whether in any case the workers have asked for any assistance from the local Government or its officers. I have had a summary of the replies prepared, but you will no doubt find the reports themselves interesting.

2. The reports show that very little real progress has been made anywhere and that the scheme has hardly advanced beyond the talking stage in any province. We quite recognise the inherent difficulty of starting a scheme of this kind and we agree too with the view of the Punjab Government that there have been three factors which made it still more difficult for the organisers,

1. our efforts in this line have to a great extent forestalled Congress,
2. all over the province the Congress organisations are split by bitter personal feuds,
3. Punjab Congressmen are in general tired of being outside practical politics and are much more interested in preparing for the coming elections to the provincial legislature and in contesting seats in district boards and municipalities than they are in (p.2) any scheme of social welfare.

These or similar reasons seem to be operative in other provinces, but if the movement had really been a *bona fide* movement by Mr. Gandhi and his followers to improve village conditions, surely something more effective would have been achieved. As you will have seen from my letter of 8th October, we have no reason to modify our view of Mr. Gandhi's ultimate objective; though he still keeps in the background, he unquestionably dictates the policy of Congress and nothing is done without consultation with him; he cannot therefore be held

to have given up politics for social work. Further, he has also in a published letter to which I referred in paragraph 2 of my letter of October 8th made a statement, which he no doubt carefully weighed before he sent it out, to the effect that Council entry is not permissible for him personally and that "my *sadhana* (which can be translated firm intention or concentration) at present is non-violent disobedience of laws. Council entry will prove a hindrance in the realisation of that end of mine". Thus apart from any secret information which we possess, there is evidence to show Gandhi's political intentions.

3. The view which we take of these intentions is supported also by these reports of local Governments. As the Punjab Government observe, the ordinary congressman takes more interest in politics than social welfare, but if Mr. Gandhi was himself genuinely keen on village welfare work, apart from any political considerations, it might have been anticipated that he had still sufficient influence to inspire his followers with some of his own enthusiasm. Actually, as you will see, he has done very little even at Wardha itself, his own head (p.3) quarters, beyond starting a small shop and a tanning factory and no progress seems to have been made with the programme for spreading the scheme in other centres in that tahsil. Bombay regard the scheme as providing merely an excuse and rallying point for Congress work, and as evidence of its political aspect refer to the attempt to start a Farmers' Union in Gujerat which is due to the fact that experience gained in the civil disobedience movement showed that exploitation of the agricultural population on economic rather than political grounds would be a more effective weapon against Government. In Delhi also the Congress workers who toured in the villages seem to have been more anxious to encourage villagers to air their grievances than to improve local conditions.

4. It is also significant that in no case do the organisers of this work appear to have attempted to get any help from Government or its officers, even by asking for information and advice. It will no doubt be argued by our opponents that as Government had showed that they viewed the movement with suspicion, its supporters were reluctant to ask for any help, but we did not ban local Governments or their officers from giving information and advice and had the movement been *bona fide*, its supporters would surely have taken help from every possible source and have sought to show thereby that our suspicions were ill-founded.

5. One further point which I think it is necessary to emphasise, for it is overlooked especially at home, is the progress which we are making with our own efforts for the improvement of conditions in villages. You have possibly seen the account of this which we issued during the Simla Session of the Assembly, but I enclose a copy (p.4) in case you have not seen it. This gives somewhat bald details of the schemes undertaken by local Governments and will show what a wide variety of matters have been tackled with zeal and enthusiasm by local Governments, their officers and their supporters. We are taking steps to give more publicity to this work, and to prepare or get local Governments to prepare in readable form accounts of what has been and is being done and how it is appreciated by the villagers, and we trust you will help us in getting these accounts some publicity in England. We feel that possibly as a result of our own ineffective publicity arrangements the work we are doing is not properly appreciated, even by our own sympathisers. This point has been brought home to us lately, for it was stated in a recent Canterbury Reuter's telegram that the Archbishop of Canterbury at a meeting at which Lord Halifax presided expressed his admiration for Mr. Gandhi's scheme; He appears to have

made no mention of the other side of the picture. I venture to suggest that Lord Linlithgow might be interested in this letter and its enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
(sd/-)

Sir Findlater Stewart, GCIE., KCB., CSI.,
His Majesty's Under Secretary of State.
for India, India Office, Whitehall,
London, S.W.1.

**34. LETTER FROM THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HME DEPARTMENT, TO H.M.'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,
LONDON, 12.11.1935**

Confidential.

AIR MAIL

No.245/FII/3/35-Poll.
Government of India.
Home Department.

New Delhi, the 12th November 1935.

To
H.M's Under Secretary of State for India,
India Office,
London.

Sir,

In continuation of the Home Department letter No. 128/F3/16/34-Poll., dated the 10th July 1935, I am directed to forward for the information of the Secretary of State a copy of the reports submitted by all local Governments (except the United Provinces) and Administrations regarding the progress made by the All-India Village Industries Association and the activities of the Association generally in their provinces. A copy of the United Provinces Government's report will be forwarded as soon as it is received.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(sd/-)

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

**35. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 11.11.1934**

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To THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR SAMUEL HOARE, BART., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., M. P., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
November 11th, 1934.

(Private & Personal.)

Many thanks for yours of the 2nd November.

I am very glad to learn that Winston's effort to delay matters irritated everybody and that he came badly out of the debate. He is a curious creature, for his want of judgment seems to help us on every occasion.

2. You will have read my long dissertation on the Lancashire business and I would only add that I most fully realise the necessity of doing everything we can for Lancashire. Nobody is more anxious to take that 5 per cent. off than I am, but I do reiterate what I think I said in my last letter that Clare-Lees has perfectly understood and all his delegation also that it really was out of the question to ask us to deal with their 5 per cent. until we were in a position to take off the cut in pay and a considerable amount of the surtaxes. That we shall do what Lancashire wants, if it is possible to be done, is certain as long as I am here, but I cannot hold out any great hope of anything being done at this next budget unless we have a really extraordinary improvement in our revenues. I do assure you that I am in the closest consultation with Bhore and Grigg on this, and we are fully alive to the political necessities of the case, but again as I say there is a political situation here also which we have got to consider very seriously.

3. With regard to paragraph 5 of your letter, I own that I have never seen or heard anything of the speech made by the Dewan of Mysore, but I have already told him, when we had some discussion a good many months ago, and he was rather suggesting bargaining as to whether he would come into the Federation by putting forward his arguments on the tribute and the civil station, that the two things must be kept absolutely separate for they had nothing to do with each other.

4. As to the question of Honours in your last letter you must of course be the best judge as to who you think should be rewarded in your office, and I have nothing to say with regard to this except that it does appear to me that a "G" for Findlater Stewart is pretty considerable. However, I am sure he has done (p.2) admirable work and if you think it right I have no more to say. It is true that if you give him a "G", you would release a "K" for our use, and I should be very grateful if you would wire me your decision on this matter, for if you decide to give him a "G", I would probably like to put up a "K" from here in the January Honours. I understand that you propose to deal with Gwyer in June. To that I entirely agree and hope that it is understood as far as we are concerned out here that we shall receive our additional Honours to be given to

officials and non-officials in June to such people as I think are deserving. I am still of opinion that it would be unwise to put non-officials up in January, for we shall be told we are bribing them, but in June when the Bill is getting through Parliament, this criticism could not be made.

5. I do not know whether you have heard that the Athlones are coming out here at the end of January, and I should be very grateful if you find out from Cromer how I ought to deal with them as to precedence at our entertainments. I suppose she would have a regular position and that he would be treated as the brother of the Queen and be given precedence as a matter of courtesy, but I should be very grateful if Cromer could let me know what would be the right thing to do. I would particularly like to know what his precedence would be *vis-a-vis* the Commander-in-Chief.

6. The elections are in full blast out here and it looks as if Gandhi's followers would defeat the Malaviya people pretty generally, but it is impossible to say anything yet, for the results have only just begun to come in. One thing is certain that Gandhi and Malaviya have broken away from each other entirely, and while they may vote together when they come into the Assembly, I do not think they will hold each other for very long.

I was rather disturbed by your telegram both with regard to Gandhi and to Nehru, and I may tell you that I received a long letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury suggesting more lenient treatment of both.

It is difficult for you to visualise the true inwardness of the situation out here. It is such an important question that I am going to have a Council meeting on Tuesday and will let you know fully the result of our views. But please don't forget that when Irwin and Gandhi made their Delhi Pact and I came out just after it was a *fait accompli*, I found that all Gandhi's people or many of them were saying that this agreement was only a truce, and that they had every intention of using this truce to consolidate their position in the future. That is what I feel is Gandhi's position now. He is breaking away from Congress, but he keeps control and he sticks to civil disobedience, and I am inclined to think that his real purpose in this village uplift scheme of his is to get the Congress ideas into the minds of all the agriculturists of the country and then can start again with redoubled vigour. There is no doubt that he is very sure that we have beaten him all along the line and that the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements have had to be given up; and (p.3) further he has had to agree to the Congress becoming a constitutional body and working in the Assembly. But I think this is going to increase our difficulties in the future because with Congress fairly strong in the Assembly and Gandhi doing his propaganda work outside he will have a dual policy with which to upset us in the future. What we are attempting to do and have been doing for some months past is, both here at the headquarters and in the Provinces, to push forward every scheme we can think of to help the agriculturists and thus take the initiative. His propaganda no doubt will take some time and I don't want to feel that I shall leave my successor by any action or want of action of mine in a very difficult position when he arrives.

7. I am glad to say the Maharaja of Nepal has finally agreed to our suggestions with regard to the great review and he is coming all right at the end of January.

8. Life, for us both is going to be very strenuous during the next few months, and I only hope I shall stay the distance. All good Wishes.

P.S.- I have just heard that Shanmukham Chetty, our late President, and Ramaswamy Mudaliar have both been beaten in Madras. This looks bad and there may be a landslide in favour of Congress. It's the old story of an organised party putting up candidates against other candidates who have no organisation to back them.

If Congress get a large number returned as looks likely, we shall have a difficult time in the new Assembly, but shall get through. And if they are violently opposed to the Report, it will, I fully realise, make it more difficult for you.

**36. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 19.11.1934**

To THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR SAMUEL HOARE, BART, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., M. P.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
November 19th, 1934.

[Private & Personal.]

Many thanks for your letter just received. Also for yours of 9th November very fully expressing your views on the Lancashire position. I have expressed myself equally fully to you, so I don't think I need say any more on this matter.

2. But today my duty is to give you, as far as I can, my general views on what has been as far as the Moderates are concerned a most unfortunate election, and the tragedy of the whole position has been that while in all the other Provinces things have gone very much as I expected, Madras has gone body and soul over to Congress and has let us down very badly indeed. Here, at least, we thought that there was an organised body - the Justice Party - which would be able to defeat the Congress, but they have been overwhelmed completely and lost every seat in Madras. This is a bad business and will make it more difficult for us up here. But the reasons honestly are not far to seek when we sit here and see all that is going on.

The Congress have a very well-organised party and many young University gentlemen, who have got no work to do, whom they pay for canvassing, and generally get round all the constituencies. Their methods are sometimes rather doubtful, but that one is bound to expect, and the result is that their candidates have an enormous advantage in the election over any others. On the other hand, there is no Government Party, but there are individuals who have stood for election entirely as individuals and without the support of any organisation, except in the case of the Justice Party in Madras which has proved a frail reed indeed. With an electorate so uninstructed and so emotional as Indian electorates are at the moment it is almost impossible for the individual, who cannot afford to pay for a large number of canvassers, to have a fair fight against the Congress fellow who is supported by an organisation and funds. And then there is this further fact in the situation. The Congress are a very articulate crowd and are definitely and decidedly putting forth as their main propaganda objection to the White Paper and the Report, and, on the other hand, the great mass of the Moderate folk are entirely inarticulate and frightened. They have always been in the habit of looking to Government to help them and cannot see why they should take any active part (p.2) themselves. That is, to some extent, due to the force of the system here, and that is why particularly I want to get the Party system started giving them responsibility under safeguards through the country in order that we may induce them to realise the importance of their political task. As a Government of course we have to sit right outside. We can issue no propaganda; we can take no part in the election and officers of the Government throughout the country in all the districts have to abstain from taking sides.

The new Assembly will no doubt contain a large number now of Congress members, but I am not really alarmed as to the future: for, in the first place, if the Muslims stand firm, as I think and hope they may, with our officials and nominated non-officials we ought to be able to secure a majority over the Congress Party, and after all we had in the past a pretty difficult time when Motilal Nehru was Leader of the Swaraj Party in years gone by and their leaders then were far more effective than will be their leaders at the present time. And in the second place there is always the Governor-General with his powers of certification and veto, if necessary, should the Congress Party do something of an extremely unconstitutional character when they come into the Assembly.

I have no doubt at all that notwithstanding this reverse, for it certainly is one, we should go on quite definitely with the Bill, and push it through as quickly as we can for I am still convinced that the great majority of the people of the country, though inarticulate, are not in favour of Congress and wish us to go forward steadily towards responsible Government. What I am really sorry for over all this is the difficulty that my insistence on having this General Election will put you in. But I am still quite clear that it really was the only thing we could do out here. You didn't want it I know, and of course it would have been the easier way, but honestly I think that it would have been a cowardly business not to face the music now and continue to face it till the end.

3. I have heard nothing from Madras about the reasons for the landslide there, but Shanmukham Chetty is coming up in a few days and I shall probably hear all about it from him.

So the position is, as far as we are concerned, that we can carry on perfectly well out here. There will be a howl of course when the Report comes out. We shall have some fireworks in the Assembly, but those we shall survive and surmount. But of course if the result of happenings in the future make it very difficult for you at home, then we may no doubt have to reconsider the whole situation.

4. Let me add that there is no doubt that the whole thing has been a great triumph for little Gandhi. He has gone out of the Congress, but he keeps control. He is now anxious to start, what he is pleased to call, his (p.3) social uplift campaign in the districts and we are all quite clear that his one purpose is to instruct in the next year or two the agricultural population politically through this means, so that he may be able to come back at us with redoubled strength in the future. We are taking all steps now to make the Provinces alive to the real danger of this new propaganda, and if we find anything illegal going on, we shall have to take the necessary steps to stop it. So on the whole while no doubt this is a disappointment and a set-back, I and my colleagues are not the least dismayed and are profoundly convinced that, if it can be done, the Bill should be pushed through at all costs.

I will write about nothing more today because I think I have given you enough to think about.

**37. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE - LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO H.M.'S
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, 21.1.1935**

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR SAMUEL HOARE, BART., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
January 21st, 1935.

(Private & Personal.)

Many thanks for your letter of January 10th. You will have since got our telegram on this 5 per cent. surcharge for Lancashire. I really do wish tremendously that I could give you a hand, because I know how harassed you must be at this juncture. But we had a very long discussion over the whole thing, and I fear we cannot agree to alter our policy unless you order us to. I am sorry that you thought Grigg abrupt in his telegram with regard to his Budget, but am glad to learn that you are not very much surprised at this for you know his methods. If you want any more information with regard to the Budget, I will certainly urge him, or at all events his Secretary, to spread himself much more than he has done.

2. I really don't know much about what you write me as to the housing of the Police, and probably I ought to; but I am communicating with Craik on the matter, and I hope very much that I shall be able to give you some satisfactory reply.

3. Many thanks about the gold and silver medal. I am glad to have the proper answer to give my Princes.

4. Wardlaw-Milne is staying here; he and I have been having great discussions on the Reforms and particularly with regard to Dominion Status. He tells me, what I suppose you feel, that if we put the words in any part of this Bill, the Conservative Party will turn it down. I am afraid I still feel that it is all rather ridiculous, for surely to say that India is to get Dominion Status means in effect, what I am always saying, that India is to be an equal partner with the other Dominions under the Crown. Honestly, I can't see the dangers, but I don't know the Statute of Westminster well enough, and perhaps I am absolutely wrong.

5. As to the position here at this moment, my chief trouble is the Chamber of Princes which, under the Chancellorship of Patiala, is fast becoming a derelict organisation. At this moment there is a great deal of difficulty in whipping up sufficient Princes to come and attend the Meeting (for I have to have a quorum of 30 to allow me to go there and preside, make a speech, and they to pass the necessary resolutions). They are apparently hunting round to try and induce Princes to come, and I hope all may be well. But (p.2) this will show you how clear it is that the Chamber of Princes is entirely out of favour, and I am afraid the troubles we are having here will be construed by the *Morning Post*, which will say that they are due to the Princes' fear of Federation. But I can assure you that this isn't the case at all. I am still fully confident that the greater number of Princes will come into the Federation. I can't guarantee this until after the Bill is out, but then I can get busy and find out what particular points they are not completely satisfied with and then discover if they will come in. No, the real trouble in the Chamber at this

moment is, in the first place, that practically all the big Princes are now sitting entirely outside it, and secondly, that the meeting of Ministers the other day, which included Akbar Hydari, Mirza and others, suggested a Council of Princes for the future, rather in lieu of the Chamber, which gave one vote to each of the Princes down to 17 guns and grouped all the rest in various proportions. This has roused all the smaller Princes to ecstasies of fury and has enabled Dholpur, Panna and to some extent Patiala, to make use of this matter in order to say, as they possibly will say tomorrow if I have my meeting, that there are numbers who are against Federation. Young Rampur, who is one of the smaller people, has just issued a statement saying that he is leaving the Chamber for the reason I tell you of. So I hope you won't be disturbed in regard to this particular matter, for I am pretty sure that all the big Princes will come into the Federation. I fully recognise how important it is for you to be able to say something definite, but I am sure you will realise that until the Bill is out, and they have had a week or two to look into it, I can't ask them for a definite answer.

6. We are going to have a very troublesome time too in the Assembly. The Congress have got hold of that memorandum which we issued from the Home Department with regard to Gandhi's village uplift scheme, and they hope to make much capital out of it. We are going to go for them on this matter, and we have speeches and extracts from nationalist papers saying definitely that their purpose is a great political movement of the agricultural classes in the future, which will sufficiently prove the justice of our despatch. Then they are of course going to move the adjournment with regard to Sarat Bose, on which I think we shall get beaten in a division, and then of course they will bring up the whole question of Federation in a Resolution, the terms of which they haven't disclosed, but I am doubtful if they will go for rejection. I am afraid rather that they are in an ugly frame of mind, these Congress people, for they have declined invitations to social gatherings which have been held during the last few days, and they have also declared that they are going to have nothing to do with the Jubilee Fund, which we are trying to raise as a gift to His Majesty this year. And here I want to tell you that I have received from Major Ney of the National Council of Education, who I have known in Canada for some time and who is a terribly busy fellow, a letter asking me if I will join the other countries of the Empire in raising (p.3) a Children's Fund to provide scholarships in all parts of the Empire. Honestly, while I think the idea is an extremely good one in itself, I am sure you will see that it is almost impossible for us to start another Fund beside the one that we have already got under weigh and if you could be good enough to have a talk to Jim Thomas and tell him our position, if you agree, I should be very grateful indeed if they didn't try and make us take part in the matter. I am enclosing the document herewith for your information.

7. Altogether, the sky looks stormy here and I think we are going to have a pretty rough time. But I and my colleagues are full of cheer and confidence, and if you can get the Bill through in due course, I have no doubt at all that these people will all settle down and work it, I hope, satisfactorily.

There is one thing further I want to say to you, and I don't know whether it would be possible later on when the House is in Committee; but one of my Secretaries, Bajpai, suggested to me that it would be very useful to put into the Instrument of Instructions for the Governor-General and Governors that one of their duties should be the provision of amity and goodwill among all communities in India. It sounds rather too obvious, for that I think we can hope has been

our purpose all along, but like Dominion Status our Indian friends like crossing the t's and dotting the i's, and Bajpai says that this would have a very good effect indeed.

8. People are crowding out here and my house is becoming fuller and fuller, and what with all my work and having to look after a House Party, I am becoming a very worn old gentleman. But I am full of cheer and hope for the future, and I am sure we shall pull through all right.

All good wishes.

**B. VICEROY LORD WELLINGTON ON GANDHIJI AND INDIA TO SECRETARY OF
STATE ZETLAND: 13.7.1935 - 30.3.1936**

1. VICEROY LORD WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 13.7.1935

No. 38

(p.218)

TO THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA
July 13th 1935

[PRIVATE]

First let me tell you how sorry I am that I missed last mail's letter; but as a matter of fact I had just arrived back from my week's tour to Quetta and back, the weather was appallingly hot and I was in a completely dilapidated condition when I arrived. Really these expeditions, with the temperature at about 117 in the plains, are not fitting for a gentelman of my mature years.

2. Now let me say a few words in reply to your letter of 28th June. I see that Derby's amendment in the House of Lords got a considerable amount of support. How much I wish these Lancashire folk would realise that the only way to get on better business terms with India is by showing good-will and not trying to force India away from her freedom as to fiscal affairs. I am afraid the results of the discussions on this Indo-Burma thing may stiffen adverse feeling out here a bit, but I hope the effect won't be too bad.

3. I am very glad you agree to our position with regard to Gandhi going up to Quetta. It really is quite impossible to allow any visitor to go there at this present juncture, and this I can say with more emphasis now that I have come back from the scene of the disaster.

I was interested too in what you said further about contact with Gandhi as far as I was individually concerned. Honestly, let me say I can't see that the parallel you bring forward about yourself and C.R. Das is in the least one that can be applied to me and Gandhi. After all you must realise that when I came out here Gandhi had recently been a plenipotentiary on equal terms with the Viceroy arranging terms of peace which resulted in the Delhi Pact. Whether that was right or wrong I am not prepared to say, but it had the effect of making Gandhi endeavour to deal with me, when first I arrived, in the position of one who was practically the head of a parallel Government. In our first discussions he practically placed that position quite clearly before me by stating he wished for certain information and requested me to do certain things which I, as the head of the Government, was quite disinclined to do. And the policy of my Government ever since I have been here has been in the main to make Gandhi realise that we are the Government, that he is only the head of a political party, and I think that during the over four years that I have been here we have got him to that position at last.

(p.219) And with regard to contact, may I say that I insisted on having an Assembly Election, though I knew that it would be very favourable to Congress. I did it because I wanted to give Congress every opportunity of joining with us and co-operating in the administration of our affairs. They got in large numbers; I welcomed them to the Assembly, and what was the result? In the first place, on their arrival here under the authority of Gandhi they boycotted the Jubilee Celebrations for His Majesty and, further than that, they boycotted me, the King's representative, would not write their names in my book and would not attend any gathering that I held here or any gathering that was given outside at which I was present. That is the position that they took up then and that they hold now. Do you really suggest that I should make contact with the head of this Congress Party, who are boycotting me entirely? I am afraid I can't look at your suggestion until they remove their boycott from the King's representative.

Further than that, I don't believe for one moment that the Congress people, if they come into office in the Provincial Councils, will attempt in any way to upset the Reforms. We shall find that they will endeavour to run the Reforms in a perfectly sober and satisfactory manner, and I don't think the Governors will have these terrible difficulties that people anticipate when they get into office. That is my conviction, that is my belief and, while I may be wrong, I think it will be proved to be correct.

I mentioned to Philip Chetwode what you said in your letter regarding Gandhi and the question of contact, and I should like you to know what Chetwode thinks about the matter. He writes to me as follows: -

"I should certainly feel inclined to impress upon Zetland the complete change of atmosphere that occurred when you put Gandhi in his place, when he first sent the impertinent wire to you after his return from England.

Before that, no man in India could go about his lawful occasions, or buy or sell, without leave of the Congress. Everyone was boycotted, including the Army and the Police, and the situation was absolutely impossible.

Literally, in a week the whole thing changed, and there has been no trouble since from Congress, no boycott, and no civil disobedience worth mentioning.

Another thing which I feel sure very few people in England grasp is the complete collapse of Gandhi himself as a political influence. He still retains tremendous influence as a Mahatma, and would probably draw a bigger audience to hear him speak, or even if he gave *darshan*, than any other man in the world; but his political influence now counts for nothing as you know.

Since the ban was lifted from Congress, they have split into many factions all of whom would like to get Gandhi's blessing and a "Prime Minister's letter" from him, for their elections.

(p.220) He has been wise enough to keep out of it altogether, and there is not the smallest doubt that many of the politically minded Congress, who are dying to work the Reforms in so far as that means taking office, would be very glad if he were to disappear from this world. He has still so much *Izzat* that they don't like to come into the open and repudiate; that is all."

4. I received your very formidable letter on the economic survey of India, and have sent it round to the Departments concerned and shall let you know our views as soon as I can.

5. I yesterday received a deputation from the Inam Tenants in Madras in reference to the Inams Bill, having recently seen a deputation from the Inamdars. So now I have got the views of both sides. You will remember that Hoare asked me to let him know our views before I came to a final decision. I am now getting out a Note which I shall discuss in Council and, before I come to any decision, will send it on to you as our confirmed views on the rights and wrongs of this matter. In the meantime I am sending you the Memorandum of the Inam Tenants and a copy of the Proceedings when I received their deputation.

6. There are two things with regard to Quetta on which I want to make a few remarks. I have just been reading your letter of the 5th July and want to tell you quite definitely that I think your alarm, as expressed in paragraph 5 of that letter, may very likely prove to be a very real one. The destruction is literally appalling and I fear that the expenditure to Government must be very heavy indeed. I have been talking with Grigg a good deal on this matter, and hope to be able to give you some impression as to what he thinks may be the ultimate liability for the Government, but it has been an appalling shock to us. Things were progressing so favourably, the financial situation looked extremely well, and now we get this awful catastrophe which looks like involving us in very heavy expenditure. You shall, as soon as I can of course, have an idea from us as to what that expenditure may possibly come to, and I don't want to over-emphasise the point. I am always an optimist, and hope it may not be as bad as I anticipate.

7. The other matter is with reference to honours to be given to those who did great work up at Quetta, and also at such places as Lahore, Multan and Karachi, where the care of those who were injured and were refugees was really beyond all praise. And what was really most satisfactory - and I found it wherever I went - was an entire absence of communal feeling in the face of this national disaster. The fact is that there are a very large number of people who deserve rewards, particularly in Quetta. It is true I think that in Lahore, Karachi and other places to which the refugees were evacuated we might deal with the (p.221) situation possibly by an extra allotment of Kaiser-i-Hind medals if that is possible, and by a further allotment also of O.B.Es. and M.B.Es. But with regard to Quetta itself, it is extraordinarily difficult to know what to do, for all the troops and all officials and non-officials who were left, both men and women, worked perfectly magnificently. I had thought that it might be possible to give a further allotment of Jubilee Medals to all concerned - by that I mean all the troops and all officials and non-officials who deserve it - with a bar and "Quetta" on the top of it. That is one suggestion; and with regard to further suggestions I think I can't do better than enclose a letter which the Commander-in-Chief has written me, giving his views after a consultation which I had with him and a number of military and civil officers in Quetta when we were both up there. Would you consider this matter and let me know your views as soon as you can? I quite see it is one of great difficulty, but I do hope you will be able to get His Majesty to look upon this in a very generous spirit.

8. There is one other important matter which I must put before you, and that is who is to be the Governor of the new Province of Orissa. I have two names before me who I think would be suitable; one given by Sifton and the other by Erskine, though I must tell you that with regard

to the letter he (Erskine) wrote to me to say that he didn't want his nominee to leave him particularly, but he wouldn't stand in his way if he wanted to go. Sifton's nominee is Hubback, who is his Member of Council, a very senior officer, not from a social point of view a very suitable person, but a man of great administrative experience and knows his Province extremely well. Sifton tells me he is ready to go. The other is Bracken, who is holding high office in Madras and is a year junior to Hubback. On the whole my opinion is and Sifton agrees that Hubback would be the most suitable man to appoint, and the reason I am anxious to get your approval is that if he is appointed he will want leave in September in order that he may have a bit of rest before he takes over at the beginning of April next year. There is no reason of course to make any announcement at present, but, as in the case of Lancelot Graham in Sind, to which Hoare agreed, I hope you will approve his name in order that I may go ahead with Sifton as to his leave.

9. This letter has already reached most preposterous dimensions. Please forgive it, but they are important matters which I had to put before you. All goes well here, though the Monsoon doesn't get very active at present. However with my optimistic mind I am hopeful we shan't have a famine as well as two earthquakes within my last two years.

All good wishes

2. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 19.8.1935

No. 46

(p.240)

TO THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India,

THE VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA
August 19th 1935

[Private]

I am very grateful for your letter of 9th instant, and congratulate you on getting away for a breath of fresh air. You must have had a very hard time plunging into the India Bill at once, and I am sure received all credit for getting it through so extremely satisfactorily. I am very keen to see Fielden, as to whom I have heard a good deal from members of my family who know him. I am told on all hands that he is desperately keen and, as you say, he will have a tremendous field of operations out here and can be sure of all possible support.

2. I am getting really rather worried about the health of some my colleagues. Philip Chetwode has just come back here yesterday and I went to see him last night. He stood the journey from Poona extraordinarily well, but there can be doubt that he was for a few days very seriously ill, and I have made him promise me absolutely that if he feels any recurrence of this malady - which I understand has something to do with his liver - he won't hesitate to send in his resignation and ship home as soon as he can. He really has completed his work out here and it has been a very great work too, and I am sure you will agree that for the next three months it isn't worth his while taking any risks. May I say to that when he does get home I hope so much that he may be considered for a Peerage. I think his advice and assistance in the House of Lords on Military matters would be of the greatest value.

Then Craik, I am sorry to say, has had a very bad bout of his malaria and is at present very wobbly indeed. He too is not a very young man, and I don't like his getting these attacks just now, particularly so as he is getting heavy work in the Home Department. But he assures me that he is better and hopes to be all right ere long.

Then Jagdish Prasad came to me a few days ago and told me that he must ask for leave to take his wife over to Europe for an operation, which couldn't be undertaken here and which I gather urgent and is of a very serious character. I am putting Bajpai, his Secretary, in as Temporary Member and think I can assure you that this is the best arrangement under the circumstances. But you will see that, with the Assembly coming on very soon, some of my colleagues are rather dilapidated.

3. I am sure you are getting all our secret correspondence and information about the Wardha meeting of the Congress. What emerges quite clearly from (p.241) it is that, although Gandhi

doesn't appear at their meetings, he is entirely responsible for general policy and, we are informed, is also responsible for all the resolutions that have been passed, which include one with regard to Quetta which in parts is of the most disgusting nature. Gandhi clearly says that he is against Council entry at all, that is general policy is to go on with his village uplift movement and then to start civil disobedience in some form once more. Whatever good people from here may say, that is his fixed idea and I am sure you will agree that under those circumstances it is rather rubbish people like Birla coming over and saying that we, the Government of India, ought to make a more generous gesture and get into contact with Congress. And this leads me to say that I got a letter from Derby last mail telling me that he had been recommended by the India Office to have a talk to Birla and apparently didn't the least know anything about Birla's antecedents. But you know very well that Birla at home is probably a very different thing to Birla out here, and we know that Birla is constantly writing to his Congress friends reporting such successes in conversations as he has had with great people and encouraging them to believe that we are going to be over borne in the matter of further contact with the Congress. But I am glad to feel that after your letter to me of June 28th you will not press me on this matter.

4. I am a little worried about the appointments of Hubback to Orissa and Graham to Sind as Governors to which you and your predecessor both agreed. Hubback goes on leave at the end of next month or early in October; Graham wants leave in November. They do want to be able to make some arrangements with regard to their starting in their Provinces on the 1st of April, and it is extremely difficult for them to do anything until their appointments are made public. Graham is very anxious that the announcement of their appointments, which I think should be simultaneous, should not emerge till the end of our Autumn Session of the Assembly here, which finishes about the end of September. Would it be possible, do you think, to get His Majesty's approval of these two appointments and make them public about the first week of October? Will you consider this and let me know what you feel about it?

5. With regard to the cases of Bose and Masani about which you wrote me and as to which I quite realise that you were not very well satisfied with our action, I must tell you that both these cases went through the Department in the ordinary way and didn't come up to me. As to Mr. Bose, I have spoken to my Member and told him that in such case he should always, when there is any doubt bring it up to me, and I regret extremely that we have put you in some difficulty.

As regards the case of Mr. Masani's passport, to which you refer in paragraph 4 of your letter of the 2nd August, you complain that the request made by the Home Department that Masani's passport should be impounded has been embarrassing to you.

3. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 10.11.1935

No. 69

(p.367)

TO THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI
November 10th, 1935

[Private]

I won't trouble you much today for I see day by day that you are pouring forth the floods of your eloquence during this Election campaign, which must be very trying for you. However, it is nearly over now, and I hope that all will be well and that the result will secure you firmly in your seat as Secretary of State in the India Office.

2. I am very sorry that you can't get me my two additional Knighthoods; but there it is. Somehow it does seem to me that when you at the India Office want to get an extra honour you find it pretty easy to do so, but I, at a six thousand mile range from you, always find it extremely difficult!!

3. Thank you so much for your information about the Quetta Relief Fund. I quite understand the situation.

4. You may be interested to hear that Kapurthala arrived here last night and I have tackled him about his attendance at the Italian manoeuvres. He of course made all sorts of excuses and assured me that he had got a personal invitation from His Majesty the King of Italy, who was a very old friend of his. I told him that that information left me quite cold, because the situation was such between our two countries that he surely ought to have known better, than to go there. But he is, as you know, such a terrible self-advertiser, and he is getting on in years, and I don't hold out much hope that we shall be able to make him mend his ways. I will consider though what you suggest about letting the Princes generally know that we thought Kapurthala's action very foolish and see if anything can be done.

5. I have got young Erskine coming up here in a few days' time, and shall be very glad to see him and have a talk to him. He gives me the impression of being rather a cocksure young man, and resents entirely being interfered with in his administrative life. Our action in regard to the Inamdars Bill has roused him to write me a very impertinent letter - which I don't take too seriously - but I think it would be good thing for me to have a good talk to him while he is here. I don't know if you know him at all, but honestly I don't think that he compares very favourably with Brabourne, who is really doing his work in Bombay quite admirably in every respect.

(p.368)

6. With regard to things political I have really nothing to tell you, beyond the fact that I am writing a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury putting him wise on the matter of rural uplift, and suggesting to him that it is a little unfair to laud Gandhi to the skies and to say nothing as to what local Governments and missionaries have done for long years in this matter.

7. In your letter of the 27th September 1935 you referred to the permission granted to some American archaeologists to carry on excavations in Sind. The position is that long before the need for economy necessitated the cutting down of the grant for the exploration branch of the Archaeological Department, the Government of India were convinced of the desirability of enlisting the aid of non-official agencies in excavation work. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, was amended for this purpose in 1932 and it was explained in statement of objects and reasons appended to the Bill that the ancient sites, both historic and pre-historic, available for excavation in this country were so numerous that it was highly improbable that more than one or two percent of them could be explored by official agency in the course of the next hundred years, and that there was real danger that for the lack of outside assistance many of them might be destroyed. In pursuance of this policy a licence has been granted for three years to the American school of India and Indian Research for the excavation of an area at Chandu - Duro in Sind, which is not one of the sites where excavations on any large scale have been conducted by the Archaeological Department. The Society have engaged as their field director Dr. E. Mackay, who was employed in the Archaeological Survey of India, on exploration work at Mohan-jo-Daro for six years before his services were terminated going to the need for retrenchment.

In India, outside the Archaeological Department, there are few scholars who have turned their attention to actual field work in Archaeology. Nor are there many organisations with the necessary scientific zeal and the requisite financial resources which could assist in the expansion of Archaeological exploration. So far only one Indian Society has applied for a licence. Even if funds were available to resuscitate the exploration branch of the Archaeological Department and more non-official Indian agencies of suitable academic and financial status were forthcoming to take up excavation (I would add that the co-operation of such agencies would be warmly welcomed and every facility would be given to them), there would still be room for several foreign societies. In much smaller countries like Iraq, Syria and Palestine, a dozen expeditions are simultaneously at work and much of the progress in Archaeological science in recent years is due to the facilities offered in these countries to expert agencies from outside.

I enclose a copy of the rules regulating the grant of licences for Archaeological excavations in India. The licence granted to the American school is subject to these conditions. It will be observed from rule 11(6) and rule 14 that adequate provision has been made for securing publication of the results of excavations. In regard to the disposal of finds, rule 15 provides that this will rest with the Governor General in Council, and that humanrelics of historical and religious importance and any objects which are of national importance shall be retained in India. An addition to this rule is now under consideration, which will secure the retention in India also of objects which are considered indispensable for the scientific completeness of the National Museum on which are required for the purpose illustrating the art of the country.

8. In your express letter No. P&J-2621-35, dated the 19th July 1935, the question was raised of the channel of correspondence between the Government of India and individuals or bodies of

individuals in any colony. An official reply to this letter is being sent by the Department of Education, Health and Lands. I am just writing to say that I have seen it and entirely approve of it. I trust that you will be able to support our view and dissuade the Colonial Office from the attitude taken up by them.

9. All goes peacefully here I am glad to say, but alas! Philip Chetwode leaves me in a fortnight's time.

All good wishes.

P.S.: Lanclot Graham will soon be arriving home, and I think I ought to warn you that he has got some what extravagant ideas about the establishment of the Government House in Sind. I feel that it would be good thing if he broaches the subject, if you would impress upon him the necessity for keeping his demands within reasonable limits.

4. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, OCT – NOV 1935

(p.366)

5. I agree with some reluctance that Aga Khan can't possibly be made a territorial ruler. I would like to do something for him very much for he has done great public service but I agree too that to make his title hereditary would bring in his son who, I confess is not a very desirable person and I should think it is almost certain that His Majesty would thoroughly disapprove of such a suggestion. So if he comes out here this cold weather and asks me about his position, I will give him a negative answer with regard to his territorial aspirations, and will say nothing, unless he raises it, about his hereditary title.

6. Here we are busily engaged in preparing for those eminent gentlemen who are all coming out in the near future to solve many problems to do with the Reforms. Hammond I may tell you seems to be getting on very well, and the Provincial Governments are making his path pretty easy for him by full preparations before he arrives. Wheeler's task will be one of immense interest and great difficulty, for we must have more British officers; and Otto Niemeyer's task is to my mind probably likely to be the most difficult of the lot, but we have got to clear the situation and it would be much more satisfactory when it is done.

7. I was rather horrified with a speech I read of the Archbishop of Canterbury's, with Edward Halifax in the Chair, where he apparently praised to the skies the wonderful work that Gandhi has done in the way of village uplift. It is a little hard on our officers who, in every Province with their share of the crore that we gave them last year, are doing vastly more to help the agricultural ryot, that Gandhi should get such a chit from such a high dignitary, especially so as our reports from all round India show clearly that Gandhi is hardly making any way at all. Don't please think that we have any objection to any work he wishes to do, or that we wouldn't help him if he asked us to do so, but as far as I can find out, his people have never attempted to appeal to us for any assistance in their work, and as a matter of fact I think they have very little money to do anything at all. I am seriously thinking of sending the Archbishop a statement of the whole position in order that he may be a bit more careful about cracking up this eminent gentleman out here.

The Congress troubles still continue, but somehow or other I expect that before the Election comes they will pull themselves together. Haig, the Governor of the United Provinces, is staying here at the present moment and is really very encouraging about the way the Moderates are organising there. He is quite hopeful that the United Provinces will make a fair showing at the first Provincial Elections which didn't look at all likely about six months ago.

All good wishes.

5. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 12.1.1936

No. 79

(P.388)

To THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP,
January 12th 1936

[Private.]

we have begun a very strenuous tour in Kathiawar and have arrived here at Jamnagar and leave We went first to Rajkot, where I met a good many of the Princes. Then to Junagadh, where, I am glad to say, the young Ruler is doing very well; and from there to Jamnagar, where His Highness the Jam Saheb is, as you know, still admirably carrying out his duties. From here we go on to Morvi tomorrow and then to Wankaner, and so on. It is very exhausting, but most interesting and in my own opinion these Princes in Kathiawar are a better lot than in any other part of India from the fact that they often meet together and are very friendly with each other. If I could only get the Princes in other parts of India to see and meet each other more often than they do, conditions as far as they are concerned would be very much more satisfactory. There is so much personal jealousy amongst them generally that it is very difficult to know where you are with them. They were very reticent about Federation generally and are all saying that they must wait to see their Instruments of Accession, but, on the whole, I am inclined to think that they will come in all right. Incidentally, let me say that we had a partridge shoot here this morning and in two hours got about 700 birds. A very exhausting process, but really a very remarkable shoot.

2. I think you know that we have had a good deal of trouble for some time with regard to Benares University and the want of discipline there, and their evident Congress proclivities. We have been enquiring into these matters for a considerable period and very particularly so because we give them a grant of three lakhs a year, and finally we got His Highness of Bikaner, who is Chancellor of the University, to see Pandit Malaviya, who is Vice-Chancellor, and put the matter very straight to him with regard to our views and feelings. I am glad to say we have heard from Bikaner, who tells me that the Pandit was particularly reasonable, and the main trouble there, has been that the Pro-Vice-chancellor, Professor Dhruva, was not considered by us as extremely satisfactory. He is retiring shortly and we shall have an opportunity of (p.389) putting a new man, and I trust that conditions as far as Benares is concerned will improve in consequence.

3. In paragraph 3 of my letter to you of November 18th I said that I would take up with my Council the question of the appointment of the next High Commissioner in London, and I took the opportunity when my colleagues came down to Calcutta to do so. As I feared, there was a somewhat sharp division of opinion as to who would be the most suitable man. Noyce, who opened the discussion, strongly supported the claims of Bhore. He said that he felt that it was of great importance to have as High Commissioner one whose opinion would carry weight,

who had had a wide administrative experience and who had knowledge of trade matters. Bhore, in his opinion, fulfilled all these conditions. He was supported by Sircar. Grigg, on the other hand, did not agree. He felt that it was essential to have a man whose views on matters of fiscal policy coincided with those held by the Members of my Executive Council mostly concerned, namely, Zafrulla and himself, and this condition Bhore did not fulfil. Zafrulla supported him and pressed for a Muslim, as did Craik. Cassels and Bajpai preferred to express no opinion.

When I asked for the name of a Suitable Muslim, Sir Liqqat Hyat was mentioned, but he did not meet with general approval. Most of my colleagues felt that he had been associated too closely with one part in Indian States' politics and his appointment might therefore give offence in States holding different sympathies. Zafrulla then proposed the name of Sir Abdul Qadir as being a man of wide experience and ability and one likely to be acceptable to other communities, since he was not an ultra-communist. Personally, I hardly know him and am not therefore prepared to say whether he would be suitable or not, but you will have had many opportunities of judging him for yourself, and I shall be interested to hear what you say about him. If Bhore is not appointed and it is also decided not to have a Muslim, the name of Sir V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda, was mentioned, and it was generally agreed that he would be an excellent choice. I have told you at some length the views of my Council, as I feel that you should know exactly what is in their minds.

My own view is that Bhore is probably the most suitable man for the appointment. I have said so to you before and I still think so. But there is no doubt that both Grigg and Zafrulla, who are most intimately connected with the High Commissioner at Home, dislike Bhore very much themselves and feel very strongly that he would not be suitable. As I have already said, I know very little about Sir Abdul Qadir, but of course there is a good deal to be said for putting in a Muhammadan. On the other hand, Krishnamachari is certainly one of the very best men we have got here and I think would fill the post admirably.

6. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 30.3.1936

No. 99.

(p.421)

To THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
March 30th 1936.

[Private.]

I was enormously interested with your letter of Marchth which contains so much interesting information with regard to International Eden seems to have made a very good speech in the House and put our position very well, but I do confess still that I can't see much sign of a possible rapprochement with regard to the negotiations between France and Germany. However, I can only hope for the best, as I sure we all do.

2. With regard to the supersession of the two Sikh police officers which you write of in your letter, I will certainly let Emerson know about this and give him your general views on the matter.

3. In regard to paragraph 10 of your letter of March 2nd 1936 on the subject of the Bangalore Assigned Tract, I quite agree with the view that you ... the matters of the Mysore State's claim. You will have seen, however, from the telegram (No. 787 of the 20th of March from Viceroy, Foreign and Political Department) that there is a good deal to be done yet before the negotiations can be commenced. I am afraid that it will hardly be possible(unreadable from original)

(p.422)

4. I am afraid you may have thought me terribly fussy - indeed, almost violently fussy - on account of my telegram in regard to what has appeared in the *Hindustan Times*, which I sent you yesterday, and I can't tell you how grateful I am to you for your prompt reply which I am giving out before the end of our debate, and I hope it may do some good, though I doubt if anything will shift the Congress antagonism to anything the Government does. I felt quite sure in my bones that the reply would be in the terms that you sent to me, but this persistent propaganda and suggestion that has been going on, actively propagated by the Congress people, really made it necessary to knock the whole thing on the head, which your telegram will most satisfactorily do. I am afraid that Birla is at the bottom of the whole position. He apparently trotted round the various distinguished people when at home with whom he had interesting conversations, the results of which have a considerable amount of embroidery. He had arrived back here and has evidently assured the Congress that there is to be a complete reversal of policy when Hopie comes out. I quite see the difficulty of you people at home discriminating between who should be seen and who should not be seen by our Statesmen, but, of course, it does seem very difficult to us at times when, for instance, Jawaharlal Nehru is met by a good many Members of the House of Commons - gentleman who we have just let out of prison for

making treasonable speeches; it gives him a certain amount of prestige out here which he otherwise would not secure, but I must say that I see that it is extraordinarily difficult to prevent this sort of thing happening.

5. The division on the Ottawa debate will not be over till this afternoon at about 5 o'clock, and I think it is going to be a desperately close thing either way. Jinnah, who I gather is speaking today, is really more Congress than the Congress. He is getting more violent every minute and made a very bad speech yesterday. Indeed, I think he would go over to Congress entirely if he did not think that the Gandhi cap was not suitable for his style of dress and that he prefers to look like a Paris boulevardier with a monocle in his eye! But there seems no reason in the minds of these extreme people; to think a Committee of Enquiry is the obvious thing to denounce is, as I have told many, absolute madness, because they can hardly expect my countrymen to do anything but stop free entry to all those commodities which now come into England free. I shall be glad when this Assembly is over, but I am afraid Hopie will have one or two days to go through, although he will have nothing serious to tackle. But I think he will hardly like staying two extra days in this City where the temperature will probably be very high. At the moment we have had a heavy thunder-storm last night and the weather is really cooler, but we can't expect this to go on much longer and the hot weather must come along.

All good wishes.

(p.423)

P.S. - I am enclosing some cuttings* from the Press which will show you that there really was good reason for us stopping all this talk and justifying, I hope I may say, my very urgent telegram to you.

Well, the debate is over and the Congress have denounced the Ottawa Agreement by a majority of five votes. I can truly and sincerely say that they had not a word of practical argument on their side all through for refusing to refer to the whole matter to a Committee as we suggested. The practical arguments were all on our side. But, as you know, when the Ottawa Agreement was passed here with Bhore as Commerce Member and Schuster as Finance Member, they both stated before its passing that when it came up for further consideration, the Government would abide by the vote of the majority in the Assembly at that time. It was therefore the one purpose of the Congress and of Jinnah and his friends to show their complete independence, and further to make it uncomfortable for Government as a retort to our having smashed civil disobedience. It is too early for me to advise whether the British Government should treat them like naughty children and not take this matter too seriously or whether we should let them see what is the result of their irresponsible action and advise the restoration of the duties on all such commodities as come in free under the Agreement. At this moment I feel much inclined to the latter, but shall be in a calmer frame of mind when I get home and, if you want me to, will then tell you what I feel. But the whole thing and the whole course of our discussions in the Assembly this session have shown up quite clearly the utter irresponsibility of these people. I would urge as strongly as I possibly can that we should get on with the Federal scheme with the utmost rapidity, for I honestly believe that the giving of responsibility is the only thing that will steady them.

* Not reprinted

7. VICEROY WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, 6.4.1936

No. 100.

To THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
April 6th, 1936

[Private.]

This may possibly be the last letter I shall be sending you as Viceroy of India, and I confess to you that I feel more and more depressed at the thought (p.424) of leaving all this work, but it is a hard fact which we none of us can get away from, that the age-limit and I have far exceeded(not readable in original) and I only hope that Hopie will have as happy a time out here as I have had.

2. In reference to your letter of the 22nd of March I quite agree that the picture I painted of wise, cautious Hopie having a clandestine correspondence with Gandhi behind the backs of us all seemed too laughable for words, but the mass of cuttings which I sent you last week will show you that there was some reason for Sircar getting disturbed about the whole matter, and not only Sircar, I assure you, but others of my colleagues too. However, I shall soon see him and know his line of country, and my only hope is that he would be too ready to be friendly with that little gentleman unless he behaves with due propriety to His Excellency the Viceroy.

3. And this brings me to say a few words further with regard to Ottawa. There is no doubt(not readable in original) the sole and only purpose of the Opposition is beating the Ottawa Agreement was purely a political one. They wanted to down the Government and do something to annoy his Majesty's Government. Jinnah was the leader of the whole assault, and I fear it is true to say that he is one of those really vicious people who gets some personal insult into his mind and will never get it out. It is a fact that 20 years ago he and I disagreed very much during the period of the War with the result that Jinnal will always try and do everything he can do to make things uncomfortable for me. He is not a man that one need to be the least afraid of, as he has no great following and people are more afraid of him than anything else. But he is a troublesome person and I shall warn Hopie against him. The Congress Meeting comes off in a day or two and it will be very interesting to see what happens. But in regard to Ottawa, I would beg of you to remember this. If we show any signs at home of being in a hurry to start agreements now that they have denounced the whole thing, this will be taken in the country as a complete victory for Congress who, it will be said, have frightened His Majesty's Government into this position. An then you may imagine what an effect thou would have on the first General Elections for the Provincial Councils. Frankly, I wasn't quite happy about what was reported in your speech up at Manchester, for it rather looked as if you were going to take this line. But I suppose nothing will be done till I get homw and then I shall be able to give you the considered views myself and my Council.

4. The Assembly work is practically finished and we have merely got a few cleaning up things to do which won't take long, but I have advised Hopie very strongly to stay till the end of the Session, for this I think will be much appreciated by all members when he starts.

(p.425)

5. I had a long talk to Sapru a few days ago, who is very sanguine about the future and is strongly in favour of working the scheme. But the one thing he impresses on me is what I impressed on you last week - do shove along with the Federal scheme and get rid of this Gilbertian position as far as the Assembly is concerned that we have got out here.

6. I have now had a Council Meeting to finally discuss the question of the question of the new High Commissioner in London, and can only inform you that the position is exactly the same as when I wrote you before: Noyce, Sircar and Jagdish Prasad in favour of Bhore; Grigg, Craik and Zafrulla in favour of Feroz Khan Noon. Under the circumstances, and knowing what your views and those of Linlithgow were, I came down on the side of Feroz Khan Noon, and so I shall be grateful to you if you will take this as our Government's recommendation.

7. With regard to Assam, I have had a letter from Keane, who says that he thinks that Robert Reid would make a very good Governor, but rather strongly recommends a man called Dawson who is his Chief Secretary, a local officer who Keane evidently thinks rather highly of. He does say - and I quote his own words: "He is a gaunt, rather uncouth Scot, rough hewn out of his own granite hills and very much a son of the soil", and that is the opinion of Craik and Hallett with whom I have discussed him within the last few days. He (Dawson) came here to attend a Conference on behalf of Assam, and Craik's and Hallett's opinions are very strongly that he is the most uncouth fellow and would be unsuitable. There is another man in Keane's Secretariat, who is I think now one of his Executive Councillors, called Scott, who I am told isn't a bad fellow, but Keane says nothing about him. However, I am writing Keane to ask him about Scott, for I really think from all I learn that it would be very difficult to put Dawson in at Government House. If I can get an answer before I go, I will let you know the result.

8. It will be extraordinarily interesting to come home and hear all about international affairs, though you have kept me most splendidly posted for which I am extremely grateful. Mussolini seems to be likely to walk into the whole of Ethiopia, and I suppose, League of Nations or no League of Nations, nobody will feel inclined to turn him out. As to Germany, the whole position seems very much in the air and I only pray and hope that peace will emerge from the discussions.

We are all packed up and ready and are saying our good-byes and I shall be very glad indeed when it is all over.

C. VICEROY LINLITHGOW FINDS U.P. GOVERNOR HAIG INADEQUATE; GETS HIM REMOVED : 17.3 - 24.12.1937

Source: IOL: MSS EUR F125 /161, & F125/4

1. LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO MR.LAWRENCE, 17.3.1937

SECRET

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI
17TH MARCH, 1937.

My Dear Lawrence,

After much thought, I take the view that I had better tell you that I am not happy about Haig. The result of the elections in the U.P. have left him worried, pessimistic and dazed. He is on the defensive on every front, and shows signs of having very little stomach for the contest. I have done all in my power to comfort and support him. I got him up to Delhi to this house for a few days, and gave him as much of my time as I possibly could. He was in better shape when he left me, and I gather from the signs available that his improvement persists.

I have no hesitation in writing that he has never had hold of his province, nor acquired the initiative in anything approaching the way in which Anderson, Barbourne and Emerson have achieved these things. Indeed, I feel pretty confident that his gifts lie more in the field of the Secretariat than in that of a governorship. Nevertheless, he is quite good enough for ordinary times, in which his wide experience would largely compensate for any inherent (p.2) lack of power. But the present is not an ordinary time, and the circumstances of the moment have exposed shortcomings which in other days, might well have gone unobserved. The mischief of the position is that this weakness has been widely noticed, and not only by our friends. Thus I may tell you that Ewart, D.I.B., has made a discrete and perfectly proper approach through Laithwaite to ask if I am happy about Haig in his position in the Province. And from another angle the "Hindustan Times" published the other day a cartoon depicting an enormous Congress rat in juxtaposition to a tiny emaciated, and miaowing cat labelled "Haig". The cartoon dealt with an all India aspect of contemporary politics, and the inference therefore was unmistakable.

Haig's position has been rendered very difficult by the extent to which he had associated himself throughout the pre-election period (and not always entirely discreetly), with the efforts or want of them of the landlord party in the U.P. to get together on a programme and conduct its propaganda. I gave him, before the election, my view that according to my reading of electoral prospects, he would have been more (p.3) usefully employed in paving the way for a Congress Ministry; but both he and the landlord were confident they would command a majority. I rather think that Haig in some measure inherited this tendency to act

as party organiser to the landlord party from Hailey, as Hailey, though never the Taluqdar's man that his predecessor was, inherited it from Harcourt Butler. The great landed properties of Oudh have seemed a valuable shield against the spread Westwards of subversive tendencies from Bengal through Bihar. But the new franchise was bound to undercut the Taluqdar's position. It has done this in no uncertain fashion, and so far as the "gadi" of the U.P. has been underpinned by the favour of the local aristocracy, its foundations have been sensibly weakened by the election results. Inevitably, the propertied classes have felt deep resentment against "Government", which they think has let them down. Haig is conscious of some share of their displeasure, and this adds to his discomfort.

The U.P. is very important at this time because of its tendency towards agrarian disquiet, and since it is Jawaharlal Nehru's home province, and is destined to have Pant, an able and forceful person, as its first Chief Minister.

I will do my best to get Haig through the remainder of his time as Governor (he is due to hand over in December 1939), but I must tell you quite frankly that I am not sure that this will prove possible. My anxiety as to Haig's sufficiency for his post under existing conditions has moved me to suggest Hallett's name for the "Dormant Commission" for the U.P. If it becomes clear to you and me that Haig has to go, I would strongly recommend, unless you have other views, that Hallett be moved immediately to the U.P., and confirmed in the governorship of that province so soon as you are able to get the King's consent. Bihar is not, I think, likely to prove anything but an easy place to run, since Congress have in the province no men likely, or even capable, to make trouble. A successor for Hallett should not, therefore, present much difficulty.

Yours ever,

2. LETTER FROM THE VICEROY TO SIR. HAIG, GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCE, 15.11.1937

SECRET

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI
15TH NOVEMBER 1937

My Dear Haig,

I have read your secret letter of 8th November, No. U.P.16, with very great interest; but I confess also with a very considerable uneasiness of mind. That uneasiness of mind represents a condition which has I fear been growing in intensity for some weeks past, for I am as I read you are very clear and interesting reports increasingly impressed by the unsatisfactory condition, as I cannot but regard it, of matters in the United Provinces. I think I have made it clear in the past that in my judgement the United Provinces situation is the key point, the handling of which is of critical importance in relation to the all India position, and I cannot feel, in the light of the full information which I receive from you and from Police reports and the like, that the state of things as it now stands is such as to warrant me in taking any but a grave view. To put it in a word I cannot avoid a general impression of what I may describe, not to put too fine a point on it, as drift on the part of the administration, and if I am correct in that judgement (and I would welcome your comment on it) I must clearly regard it as a most serious matter. (p.2) There are in effect in the situation with which you and I are now confronted two main factors. The first is the special responsibilities. On the Governor's position in regard to them I need not enlarge. But a second responsibility, as you will agree, which falls upon the Governor personally (Section XX of his Instrument of Instructions is of course relevant) is that of keeping in touch with every detail of the administration, of leaving nothing undone to maintain its efficiency at the highest pitch, to bring pressure to bear on Ministers whenever there is any sign that the effect of their policy is likely to be detrimental, of watching with the utmost and most constant care the trend of events and the signs of development of tendencies which may be dangerous or embarrassing, and of making it quite clear to the Ministers without a moment's delay that while the Governor is dealing here with matters which do not directly affect his special responsibilities, he feels it his duty to make it plain to his Ministers, and to place it on record, that if they pursue a certain course, that course can not but have certain consequences of a detrimental character and may bring about a situation of a really serious type. And, in the different circumstances of their (p.3) position, there is of course a very clear responsibility on the higher officials of the administration to keep the Governor in the closest touch, and to see him at frequent intervals.

2. I will proceed later in this letter to indicate certain of the recent papers (I deliberately propose to take those only which have come before me in the last month or so) on which my growing uneasiness at the U.P. position is based. Let me also explain that when I speak, as I have in concluding sentences of the preceding paragraph, of the duty of officials in this matter, that duty as I conceive it is the duty of the Chief Secretary, of the Inspector-General of Police, and of the Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D., not to fail to bring to the notice of the

Governor tendencies which they may regard as dangerous or likely to become embarrassing. The situation is much too important to justify us in running any risks on matters of this character; and as I see it there is nothing improper, to put it at its lowest (I would indeed myself regard it as the specific duty of the officials concerned), in their drawing the Governor's pointed attention to movements or tendencies which they regard as fraught with danger to the morale of the services, to the maintenance of (p.4) Law and order in the province, to the maintenance of the morale of the troops, with a view to the avoidance of anything calculated to undermine that morale, and in particular to the avoidance of anything which might be regarded as constituting the establishment of a parallel Government.

3. Before I proceed to the detailed instances to which I have just referred, let me say a word on the importance I attach to the maintenance of personal contact. The tours in which you are now engaged represent I need not say a most valuable contribution to this. But with a situation such as now confronts us it would be a relief to me to know how frequently you see your I.G. of Police (in your letter of 17th February last you referred to a fortnightly interview), and the D.I.G., C.I.D., and whether in particular the I.G. is kept in close contact with all decisions affecting the police and consulted before they are taken. I would like, too, to know how frequently, in the light of the experience of the last seven months, you now interview your Secretaries? I assume that the Chief Secretary is in constant touch? These points arise only because some of the matters which have come to my notice seem to me to be such that it is (p.5) clearly essential that the Governor should not only be given the earliest information about them but be kept in constant touch with their development, and because (I have in view particularly the position in relation to the troops at Lansdowne) I am not in fact clear that such information has been made available to you. The question of contact with Ministers is on a different footing; but here again it seems to me essential that it should be as close as possible, and that the Governor should be in constant and immediate touch with all that is going on for it is axiomatic that it is only if he is so equipped that he can lay his own plans, and if necessary consult with the Governor-General, sufficiently ahead. I could not help noticing in this connection that in paragraph 1 of your secret letter U.P. 13 of 24th October you mentioned that you were then in Lucknow for three days only, having been away from your Ministers, except the Premier, and your Secretaries, for nearly a month. I would ask you to consider whether steps could not be taken to ensure even closer contact with your Ministers (individual Ministers as well as the Premier) and your Secretaries, for I feel no doubt whatever that it is only by constant and intimate contact with individual Ministers that than (p.6) close acquaintance will be engendered which breeds confidence: and it goes without saying that the more personal support is available to officials the stronger their position will be, and the more likely the Governor to hear everything that is in the wind.

4. Let me now turn to the various specific matters which are in my mind. I will deal first with this question of a parallel government, for that issue has come prominently before me as the result of your Secretary's letter of 8th October, No. 654 GSP, a copy of which I am sending to the Secretary of State, commenting on certain recent references to this in the Dominions Report. I am I fear entirely unable to accept the view suggested in that letter that there are no signs of a parallel government. I regard indeed the signs to which you refer, and the other evidence available to me, as of a very grave character; and while it may well be that, as your Secretary's letter suggests, we have not yet reached the stage at which there is any question of establishment of a parallel government throughout the province, the "fairly numerous

instances reported" referred to in your Secretary's letter, and the other matters referred to in that letter are such (p.7) as in my view entirely to justify the statement made in the Dominions report, and to call for the most serious notice. Donaldson's letter mentions that the Ministry have taken certain steps, and in a number of cases with success. But the general impression left on me is disturbing, and I would be grateful if you would on this specific point let me know in still greater detail to what extent you have found it possible to maintain pressure on your Ministry, and to bring them to a full realisation of the fact that in no circumstances shall be prepared to agree to any endeavours of this type to establish parallel organisations, or to tolerate deliberate attempts to undermine the authority of the District Officer or of the other legitimate authorities of Government. Let me in this connection mention one or two of the cases which have struck me. I do not propose to take instances of longer standing, though the extracts enclosed from the U.P. Police Reports Nos. 35 (week ending 11th September) and 36 (week ending 18th September) are directly relevant. But I enclose an extract from the Report on the Political Situation in the United Provinces, No.41, for the week ending the 16th October, 1937, which you will have seen at the time. I would comment on this that I see no objection to (p.8) endeavours to settle cases of adultery or cases of defamation or the like through Panchayats. But I see the strongest objection to independent enquiries under sections 148 and 324 of the I.P.C. I take equally strong objection to the fact, if correct, that persons in the Kishanganj circle of Lucknow have been asked to make reports first at the Congress Office. Nor can I regard with equanimity instances such as that reported in the village of Jeegon. These are all significant signs, and it is our duty to deal with them without delay and at the earliest possible moment.

5. In the same connection I enclosed an extract from the report on the Political Situation No. 42 for the week ending 23rd October, 1937, received from your Special Branch with their letter 9/S3 dated 27th October. Surely it is exceedingly significant that in the capital of the province there should be a suggestion for the establishment of a Congress Thana where reports should be made before people go to the regular Police Station? The statement made in this report as regards Azamgarh is equally unsatisfactory; I cannot but take seriously the speeches summarised in paragraph 1 of the extract; and I find it difficult to reconcile the statements made in its regard Shahajahanpur and Hardoi (p.9) with the suggestion that there are no serious efforts on the part of Congress to establish a parallel organisation. I would like to know what steps have been taken to check activities of this nature and the extent to which they have formed the subject of representations by you to Ministers? The speeches recently made at Cawnpore, and the disgraceful and most dangerous attacks contained in those speeches on the Police call again, in my judgement, for the severest notice; and I am glad to see from your letter of 8th November, No.U.P. 16, that you have drawn Pant's attention to this. But you will feel with me that it is not sufficient merely to draw attention to such cases it is necessary I am certain to bring constant and strong pressure to bear on Ministers to remedy the situation. It is essential if the position is to be held together that that pressure should be sustained, and, too, that the Governor should keep in the closest touch with the I.G. of Police; that he should require to be shown all reports bearing on activities of the nature now under consideration; and that he should not be content merely with discussing the matter in the Cabinet, but should bring pointedly and in the sharpest language to the notice of his Ministers, collectively or individually as may be appropriate, his own views (p.10) of the situation which will arise both from the point of view of the Ministry and of the province if immediate and decisive action is not taken to deal with a position which he

regards as threatening. There is a definite and specific obligation on the Governor, to which I have referred above, under paragraph XX of his Instrument of Instructions, for maintaining the general level of administration; and to find from the valuable report contained in your secret letter of 8th November, No.U.P.16, that in your judgement, in the area you have recently toured, there is in the case of the Police, "in the day to day administration some slackening, they have lost authority with the public, and consequently have lost some confidence in themselves" is disquieting. I would like to ask what steps you have in view to remedy that condition of affairs?

6. I now turn to the question of endeavours to subvert the loyalty of the troops. With this letter I send you a copy of reports recently received about Lansdowne. No reference has been made to this situation in any of the reports I have received from you. I regard them as of the gravest possible significance, both as affecting the loyalty of the troops, and, on the grounds advanced by Mr. Saner in his letter of 25th (p.11) October, of their possible effect in inciting racial feeling against Europeans, and I would be glad to have your observations on them with the minimum of delay. I have spoken to the Commander in Chief on the subject, and you will not be surprised to hear that he takes a view even more serious than my own. It seems to me intolerable that, even given the special geographical position of the station Lansdowne, activities such as those described in these reports should be permitted; and I must ask you to raise the matter immediately with Pant and to let me know his reaction. We cannot, as you will agree, allow a situation in which responsibility will fall either on the Governor or the Governor General for allowing a deterioration of administration and of control in a province of such vital importance as the United Provinces to arise through any lack of activity on the part of either of us.

7. Nor I confess had I fully appreciated the precise extent of the orders which have been issued by your Government in regard to reporting political meetings, etc. I proposed to return to this subject in a later letter, for I regard it as of very great importance. For the moment I will only say that I quite recognize that Ministers may take exception to police (p.12) reporters being present at their meetings, and that is a feeling to which I would naturally defer. But to close down reporting of this type to the extent shown in the orders of your Government of which copies are now enclosed is to take a very serious responsibility, and I need only invite your attention to the speeches of the ex-Kakori prisoners and speeches made at the anti-Police demonstration at Cawnpore on 24th October, to which I have referred above, and of which I enclose a copy, to show how strong a case exists on general grounds for the maintenance of a closer watchfulness on meetings and on speeches - a watchfulness the case for which I would have hoped that Pant could himself easily have been brought to realise. Nor can I but regard the instructions in your Chief Secretary's letter of 15th September, as tying the hands of the local authorities to a most dangerous degree. I would like to know in this connection what action was taken on the proposal of the Assistant Collector, Lansdowne, made in his letter of 25th October referred to in the preceding paragraph to warn all intending speakers that the law would be enforced, and that verbatim reports of manifestly illegal passages in speeches should be made?

(p.13) It is with great reluctance that I have to approach you on this subject; and, as you will have seen, I have taken the utmost care to shift the material available to me, and personally to isolate the points which in my judgement call for particular attention and on which I must

address you. I am sure that you are, if possible, more concerned than I am that the situation in your most important province, on local as well as on general grounds, should be well in hand; but you will I feel agree with me that, on the material to which I have referred above, we can neither of us feel that we can with conviction claim that that is the case; and the consequences of any further deterioration may well be very serious indeed. You will share my view that in the situation with which we are now faced, it is essential that the Governor and his principal officers should take a direct, an immediate, and an active interest in every aspect of the administration which may have any reaction such as those to which I have referred in paragraph 1 of this letter, and that there can be no hesitation in raising doubtful cases with Ministers and bringing the maximum of pressure on them. The cumulative effect on me of the reports, including your own very valuable personal reports to me, on the situation in the United Provinces is, I must (p.14) frankly confess, disturbing to a degree; and it is for this reason that I felt bound not only to address you on the situation generally, but to send a copy of my present letter to the Secretary of State. I think that the most satisfactory thing will be that you should come up to discuss the situation generally with me, and I shall, I need not say, be delighted to see you at the earliest possible opportunity. Perhaps when you have had this letter you will telegraph to suggest a date. I shall be absent from Delhi from the 19th to the 22nd, but any other time that will be convenient to you will suit me perfectly well; and I think you will probably agree with me that, given its great importance both locally and in its wider reactions, the sooner we can examine the general position personally in discussion with one another the better.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd/-)
Linlithgow

His Excellency
Sir Harry Haig
KCSI., CIE.

3. LETTER FROM SIR. HAIG TO THE VICEROY, 17.11.1937

SECRET

No.U.P. 21

November 17, 1937

My Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have received your Excellency's secret letter of 15th November. It discloses that you take a very grave view of the administrative position in the United Provinces. It also discloses what seems to me to be a very misleading impression of my relations with my officers and the administration generally. I have kept your Excellency constantly in touch with our situation; for some months now I have been impressing on you the view that what really matters in this province is the administrative position and conditions in the districts, even more perhaps than the policy of the Ministry in particular matters. You will understand therefore that I have no wish to minimise the importance of these aspects.

Indeed it was for the purpose of getting in personal touch with conditions and with my local officers that I have arranged the extensive tours I am carrying out this cold weather, for my experience is that interviews and reports at head quarters are not enough and that it is difficult to form from these a balanced picture. I gave you in my letter of November 8th my considered judgement on the situation in the first two divisions I visited. That judgement was based on a large number of conversations with the officers who are actually handling these problems everyday. It is a situation that requires very careful consideration, and I discussed it before I left Lucknow with my permanent I.G. of Police, who I am glad to say, has just returned from leave, and have been turning it over in my mind constantly since. It is not a situation that lends itself to shortcuts or (p.2) dramatic solutions. It requires patience and persistence. I had hoped that my letter would elicit your Excellency's views, and I welcome the opportunity you give me of talking out with you not only this situation, but a number of other fundamental points on which I wish to be perfectly clear about Your Excellency's policy and that of the Secretary of State. I say this because, possibly through my closer contact with the facts and personalities in this province, certain solutions do not seem to me quite so simple as perhaps they do to your Excellency.

2. I shall not attempt in this letter to deal with the various specific points made in your letter, for to deal with them adequately would involve somewhat elaborate presentations, and they are essentially matters in which a discussion will be of great value. One general reflection however I think I may permit myself. I see the reports which your Excellency sees about my province. I assess their value in the light of many other reports and conversations, and I arrive at a general estimate of conditions which I communicate to you and the Secretary of State. I do not set up my judgement as infallible. In the difficult conditions with which we are confronted, I have to form my opinion as to the relative importance of the various factors and the expediency at any moment of the various possible courses of action, taking into consideration the character and the mentality of the Ministry with which I am dealing. Other men might reach other conclusions on individual items, or might choose to follow a different (p.3) general line. These are all matters which I should like to talk out with Your Excellency in

the fullest possible manner. But I do have an opportunity, better I think than any one else possesses, of putting facts into a reasonable perspective, and that is, as it seems to me, the essential preliminary to formulating policy.

3. As regards the speeches at Lansdowne, mentioned in para 6 of your letter, I have only just now received some very brief references to them, as it appears that neither the Deputy Commissioner nor the Commissioner of Kumaun considered them to be of such importance as to deserve a special report. I gather that the audiences were not large. In the Commissioner's fortnightly report which reached the Chief Secretary in Lucknow yesterday, I understand that he made only a brief reference to these speeches and he did not forward the letter of the Assistant Commissioner, dated the 25th October, which has reached Your Excellency through the military. The speeches were mentioned in para 501 of the Police Secret Abstract No. 155, dated November 13th, on which the Chief Secretary at once asked for the police papers and a further report. I am having immediate inquiries made into the full details and will report further when I have them. In the case of these hill districts, when the Commissioner and district officer are on tour, communications are often rather slow. The Commissioner, I may add, is a very capable and experienced officer, who has served for many years in Garhwal, and knows Lansdowne and the Garhwalis throughly.

4. As you have sent a copy of your letter to the Secretary of State, I should be grateful if you would also send him a copy of this letter, so that he may have a general idea of my attitude.

Yours Sincerely
(sd/-)
H. G. HAIG

His Excellency
The Most Honourable
The Marquess of Linlithgow
K.T., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E.,
Viceroy and Governor General of India

4. VICEROY LINLITHGOW TO LONDON (EXTRACT : NOV. 1937)

(p.427) I sent you also a letter from Hyde Gowan, and I now enclose Lumley's letter describing his talks with Kher. Neither Cunningham nor Haig were able to contribute much. The general impression left on me is that over the field as a whole the right wing, assisted by Gandhi, scored (though the left was stronger than was expected, and is plainly gaining ground), and that Provincial Ministers may regard themselves as having made a not unsubstantial step forward in the direction of reducing the detailed control of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee. I regard it as a free hand as regards the use of the Emergency Powers, and that Nehru himself in his statement should have felt obliged to subscribe to the necessity in certain circumstances for using coercive measures. In case you have not seen them, I enclose copies of two leaders from the *Hindustan Times* and also of a statement which has been made by the Mahatma - all of them very illuminating in their different ways.

9. You will remember that we had a good deal in the Joint Select Committee about the essential necessity for securing the continued recruitment of an adequate number of highly qualified engineers, European as well as Indian, to the efficiency of the irrigation system; and you have recently asked that annual reports should be submitted by the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and Sind, on the progress of recruitment to the Irrigation Service. I took the opportunity of the scales to pay proposed, for I was advised that while the Punjab scale was suitable enough for Indian recruits, the Bombay-Sind scale was distinctly on the low side; and that neither, *prima facie*, was adequate to draw the right type of British recruit, with the result that if British recruitment was, desired, the Governors concerned, in consultation with their Ministers, would have to make some special arrangement for recruiting them. Emerson's views are set out in the letter of which I enclose a copy. I have asked Stewart to talk matters over with Graham in respect of Sind, and I will in due course send you a note of the result.

10. I have telegraphed to you about the United Provinces position, and you will have had the copy of my letter to Haig which Laithwaite sent to Clauson by the air mail which left here on the 17th November. By the time this reaches you, you will probably have had a telegram from me giving the gist of my discussion with him. I have, as you know, never felt quite easy as to his handling of that most important Province; though (as I think I mentioned to you at the time) there seemed to be signs of a definite improvement during August, and I thought then that my earlier forebodings might have been unfounded, and that unfamiliarity with the new position and the fact that he was not a very fit man for some time during the summer, might be the trouble. But I again find myself confronted with a series of incidents (p.428) which, even though individually they are not very important, cannot but make me feel grave doubt as to his success in his handling of the situation. I give the fullest weight to the facts that that situation is one of the most difficult in the country; that the United Provinces is a very large Province with 48 districts; that the Ministry has at his head a Premier who is a prominent character in Congress circles and who may on occasion be far from easy to handle; and, finally, that Jawaharlal Nehru has his headquarters in the Province and is most unlikely to be anything but an additional embarrassment. For all that I cannot help contrasting Haig's approach to the situation which confronts him with the approach to their situations of say

Hallett and Hyde Gowan; I say nothing of Lumley, who with no experience whatever in this country, has in my judgement, in the last couple of months handled the situation, by no means simple, in Bombay with eminent success and resolution. Haig, in his fortnightly personal letters to me over the last two or three months, frequently refers to indications of deterioration, or mentions that the situation in his view is taking a turn for the worse, or comments on a lowering in service morale or the like; but I do not think I am being wholly unfair to him when I say that, while he does report all these indications, I have not seen any very marked evidence of resolution on his part to grapple with the situations arising out of them. It is probably a question of temperament, and it may well be that he would be better as a secretariat officer than as a Governor. Much must depend on his reaction when I see him; and I must do my utmost to hearten him and try to make him pull himself together rather more than he does. And I must also endeavour to impress upon him the necessity for adopting an active and not merely a supine attitude in dealing with the situation and for standing up to his Ministers behind the scenes; and - when necessary - saying things to them that they may not altogether relish. But I shall certainly not fail to make it clear to him that I regard my own responsibility in the matter as a very heavy one given the critical importance of his Province in the general scheme of things.

11. As you know, I have been advocating more touring by Governors. Erskine has referred to this advice in his letter of the 27th October of which you will have had a copy direct, in which he has raised two points. He represents, in the first place, that his touring is strictly limited by the amount of his Tour Grant, that this grant is already fully expended almost every year, and that there is now no machinery by which an excess vote can be obtained from the legislature, since the amount specified in the Fourth Schedule of the Governors' Allowances and Privileges Order, 1936, represent the maximum. He feels, therefore, that there must be some means of supplementing the Tour Grant in case of need. I have gone into this point and find that there were no grounds of principle for specifying the maximum ...

(p.434)

25. I have had a further letter from Shaukath Ali, which I enclose and which speaks for itself. I have caused a reply to be sent to him in soothing terms.

26. I have just had your telegram about Anderson's proposed releases. He seems quite confident himself that there is not reason for apprehension, and neither I nor Craik felt any reason to hesitate from this end. I enclose copy of a statement issued on the subject by the Bengal Government which appeared in this morning's *Hindustan Times*. Incidentally, I would not be surprised to learn that the original statement referred to the Mahatma as Mr. Gandhi and not "Mahatma Gandhi". The *Hindustan Times* made an alteration on these lines in a communique describing my own talk with him.

We are off this evening for a couple of days to Dehra Dun to present the gentlemen cadets with a banner for inter-company competition, and to shoot, I hope, a few jungle-fowl. I have been much pestered since I was in Bikaner, with a cold and throat and hope that the gentle air of D.D. may help.

All luck.

P.S. - Since dictating this I have received Haig's interim reply to my letter. I can quite understand that he feels somewhat sore at the strictures I have felt bound to address to him; but that does not alter my view of the position. When I see him I propose to say quite frankly that while I fully recognise that he is the person best qualified to from a judgement of the local position and its reactions, I cannot but be driven to certain conclusions by comparison of the reports I receive from the United Provinces with those from other Provinces. I propose also to make plain to him, as tactfully as I may, that it does not appear to me that he is squaring upto his Ministers, or taking the same positive steps to hold the administration together, as some other Governors in charge of Congress Provinces. And I propose to add that, while I fully recognise that he has done his utmost to keep me in detailed touch with that situation, my criticism of his handling of it is essentially that I see little sign of appropriate activity in dealing with the problems which he so faithfully represents. I do not propose to comment to him on the fact that these tours which he is now undertaking emerged directly out of a suggestion of his contacts with Ministers, and with his officers, notably the police. I do not contemplate allowing myself to be led, in the first instance, into a detailed examination of particular cases: that can follow, and in connection with it I will bring in Craik and Ewart into the discussions. What I am concerned to get across to him first is the general impression I have formed and the reasons for which I hold it, and while I need not say that I shall treat Haig with the utmost consideration it would, I think, be a mistake to leave him in any doubt as to my feeling.

5. VICEROY TO MR.LAWRENCE, 25.11.1937

SECRET

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

25/11/37.

My Dear Lawrence,

I have, as you aware, been for sometime anxious about the condition of things in the United Provinces. I got Haig to come to New Delhi, and had long talks to him on Tuesday and Wednesday last. I send you an account of our conversations. The report is a full one, but I think it worth while troubling you to read it. The position is to be measured not so much by the importance attaching to one incident or to another, as by the impression made upon the mind by conspectus of all the relevant incidents and by Haig's reactions to these, and by his approach to the questions of policy involved. I felt it necessary to speak with all directness, and it was clear that the first interview distressed him severely. On Wednesday he was more at his ease, and I think the general effect of the two talks I had with him was to hearten him. I wish I could say as much for myself. I am left with the feelings that Pant is very much on top. I dare hope that my talks with Haig may stiffen him for a while; but I fear that their effect may be no more than temporary.

(p.2) I shall be greatly interested to hear from you the impression that these papers make upon your mind. You are better able to take a detached view than I. I have done my best to give you a fair and balanced presentation of the facts.

Haig is, I think, tired and much in need of leave. But while weariness may account for some lack of grip and drive, it should not (his health being apparently good) give rise to serious shortcomings in terms of judgement. In this connection, I draw your attention to the circular of District Magistrates issued over the name of the Chief Secretary. To my mind this is a dreadful document. Yet the fact is that Pant consulted Haig as to its preparation and that Haig amended it and approved its issue. Moreover when I criticized it, Haig was most ready to defend its terms, and to canvas the wisdom and expediency of the policy it advocates. I showed it to Craik and Maxwell, and its effect upon them was no less shattering then upon myself. Maxwell, a most experienced officer, and a model of caution and restraint, observed that had he, as a District Officer, received such a document he would have at once (p.3) sent in his papers. They both thought it the worst circular they had ever seen. Since Haig left, this document has got into the press. I only hope it may not be a nuisance to you in the House of Commons.

You will also find attached my report a copy of a paper sent round by Haig to his Cabinet in the early days of November. This, as you will see, is a well-intentioned effort; but nothing much of substance has so far followed its circulation.

You were entitled, I feel, to know my present mind upon this most awkward difficulty. I do not think that Haig will be found able to hold together the United Provinces for the next two years he is due to go on Dec 6th 1939. At the same time, I am well aware of the difficulty of removing a Governor. There is a risk of scandal; of difficulties with his Ministry if we are suspected of having put him out for being too soft with Congress; of misunderstandings in the Service; of a row in Parliament and the Clubs over the dismissal of a senior Service Governor. Again, I am sure Haig is doing his best, and I know that you will feel with me that he is entitled to every consideration. (p.4) What then, may best be done?

He is anxious to take leave from next May, which would bring him back to his charge in September 1938 with about 14 months still to run. I am inclined to suggest to you that unless matters improve greatly over the next few months, we had better let him go home on leave and then persuade him to retire at the end of his leave, with, if necessary, a decoration. I sincerely hope that he may improve and that I may be able to get him through his full term, but I greatly doubt it.

Subject to your views, I would be disposed to suggest that I should in due course tell Haig - (a) that I have fully reported to you my discussion with him, (p.5) and the fact that he felt my criticism more severe than was justified. Also that I have reported to you the suggestions I had made to him for the improvement of the position in the province; and that I had told him, as we parted, that while I felt reassured as to his attitude, I still took a grave view of the position in the province.

(b) that you have informed me that you too took a grave view; that you attached the first importance to the adoption by him of a stiffer attitude towards Pant; that it was essential that the Police should have full support, and that Service morale should be maintained, and that you could not but regard Pant's and his circular to District Magistrates as an error of judgement which it was important to repair; that you and I would clearly have to keep a very close watch on the U.P. situation, but that you had hoped, in light of his talks with me and improvement would manifest itself without delay which would reduce our present apprehension.

Should it become necessary to make a change of Governors in the near future, I would suggest Hallett, if indeed the selection is to be made out here. For many reasons, I would much (p.6) prefer to see a Brabourne or a Lumley at Lucknow. But I realise of course the difficulties of upsetting existing conventions in that regard, more particularly in view of the narrowed opportunities open to the I.C.S. on account of the recent constitutional changes.

I fear, Lawrence, that I have had to write you rather a disturbing letter. But the U.P. is too important a province, and my own responsibility too heavy and too direct to make it possible for me to disguise from yourself as Secretary of State the very grave apprehension I feel as to the condition of the province, or my doubt as to the capacity of Haig to set right the things now amiss, or to prevent further deterioration.

yours ever
HOPIE

6. VICEROY TO SIR. HAIG, GOVERNOR OF UNITED PROVINCE, 24.12.1937

SECRET

Viceroy Camp
India
(Calcutta), 24th December 1937

My Dear Haig,

In the course of our conversations at Delhi last month you showed me a circular letter (D.O.No.712/III of 10th November 1937) which your Government had issued to all District Magistrates on the subject of their relations with the Congress. I then indicated to you that I was far from happy about this letter and I think it only fair to you now to indicate in more detail the reasons why I feel continued uneasiness at the thought that all Government servants in the United Provinces must in the meanwhile be regarding these instructions as binding upon them.

2. It was apparent to me at the time of our talk on this subject that you did not view the circular in the light in which it immediately struck me when I saw it. But I am sure you will agree with me that the success of the constitutional experiment on which we have embarked depends in a very large measure on the extent to which we can preserve the *integrity* of the public services, that is (p.2) to say, secure their immunity from political influences or interference and, in the unfamiliar circumstances in which they are working, build up as early as possible a firm tradition of complete detachment from Party organizations and policies. It is only so that they can be taught to regard themselves as the instruments of the Governor in his exercise of the executive authority of the Province and not merely as the servants of whatever Party happens to be in power.

3. It is because it shows no trace of a realization of the this cardinal principle that I regard the circular letter issued by your Ministry with grave misgivings. Officers are told that the time has come when they should make determined efforts to establish relations of mutual confidence with the district leaders of the Congress organisation. One may well ask, why should the burden be placed on the district officer and why in relation to the Congress organization only? The answer comes later, and it is a very dangerous one - "The Congress (p.3)..... represents a large body of public opinion and is the party on the support of which the present Government rests". This fact is apparently held to give a *privileged position to the party organization* of the Congress in the districts including not only a right to supervise the conduct of public servants but a claim to decide which complaints or other matters shall receive their special consideration. The explanation is given that "the Congress is naturally anxious to secure the maximum benefit for the members of the public out of the public institutions and functionaries", but unless (as I am afraid we must conclude) "public" means only "Congress supporters" there is no reason why this anxiety should be attributed to the Congress rather than to the District Officers addressed. *To speak quite frankly, if I were a District Officer I should regard the whole circular as an uncalled for and rather offensive lecture.* Its underlying assumption is that no Government servant can be trusted to do his duty unless (p.4) he is told to do it by Congress busybodies, to whom he is enjoined to show *special*

deference because they happen to be the adherents of the political party in power. The same tone appears in a circular letter which I have seen reproduced in one of the newspapers and which purports to have been issued by a Mr. Seth, Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, to District Congress Committees and other sub-ordinate Committees. I suspect that this may be the communication foreshadowed in the last sentence of the circular we are discussing, and I notice that it imposes no corresponding obligation on Congress supporters to seek to bring themselves into "relations of mutual confidence and harmony" with Government officials. This, as the present circular says, "is a matter primarily for the district officers themselves to consider".

4. Apart from the false perspective in which this Circular presents the relationship between the public services and the party in power, there is one other tendency which it signifies, the dangerous import of which will I (p.5) know be familiar to you from your experience of the methods used in past civil disobedience movements, and that is the tendency to impress on the public that the Congress are their sole intermediaries in securing fair treatment or redress of grievances from the officers of Government. Congress, as you know, have always aimed at establishing themselves in this position and thus *discouraging* direct access of the public to district officers and there is no doubt that this method is one of the devices intended to prepare the way of parallel institutions. The same tendency to represent the Congress as intermediaries appears in the newspaper report of the Circular letter of the Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, to which I have referred above, and a position of this kind is not, as I am sure you will agree, one which we can even by implication accept.

5. I recognize the difficulty of your position in relation to this circular, in that although it was (p.6) prepared on the instructions of your Ministry it did at one stage pass through your hands, and the best method of dealing with it is clearly one which must be dictated by circumstances. I am sure however that given the apprehensions which I have expressed above and which you and I in fact discussed in some detail during our conversation at Delhi, you will appreciate my anxiety that if suitable opportunity offers such steps may be taken for its withdrawal or modification as may be practicable, and that to such extent as it may be lead to a misunderstanding on the part of the Services, again any appropriate reassurances should be given in such manner as you may judge to be the wisest and most suitable to the circumstances.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd/-)
Linlithgow

His Excellency
Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Governor of the United Provinces.