



CONGRESS AND KANPUR CITY

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Many stalwarts of Kanpur city like Pyarelal Agarwal Ganga Sahai Chaubey, Hamid Khan and Chhail Bihari Dixit 'Kantak' had all been arrested by the middle of August a case no different from those of the arrests of national leaders. Bal Krishna Sharma 'Naveen' was put under house arrest for continuous three years from 1947-45.⁵⁸ On 2nd October in Kanpur, 101 Students were arrested (37 boys and 64 girls) for distributing pamphlets of Gandhi's Birthday. Pratap Narayan Mishra was arrested in Nariyal Bazar. About 300 students of D.A.V. college took out a procession after saluting the flag at about 10-11 am. when the procession reached ice factory near Kutcheri Road the police surrounded it and lath charged the procession. The city kotwal reached the spot and 37 students were arrested and taken to kotwali.⁵⁹

Congress had already been declared illegal and there was no room for an organized political programme. The government had realized that the quit India Movement saw an unprecedented enthusiasm and popularity on the part of people for congress. In mid June 1945 all the top leaders of the congress were released. The second world war was on the verge of coming to a classes and the fillies (Britain, the U.S.A. and soviet Union) were making gains. A change of government had taken place in Britain and Labour party had come to power which wanted immediately to settle the Indian problem. The war had shown its effects. Britain no longer commanded the power and glory it had earlier and had grown much weaken. Britain to permanently settle the political deadlock in India.

A resolution was passed with the instructions of the secretary of U.P. provincial congress committee which asked the people to celebrate 'Political Prisoners' Day food people still in jails. Accordingly a meeting of citizens of Kanpur was held at Tilak Hall on 18 February to celebrate the same with pyarelal Agarwal in the chair.⁶⁰

The meeting requested the authorities to eliminate invidious classification of the prisons and demanded that all the prisoners convicted of political offences should be treated equally. The resolution was passed by Harihar Nath Shastri and supported by Jawaharlal Rohatgi Ganga Sahai chaubey Rajaram Shastri, Raj Kumar Sinha and balkrishna Sharma 'Naveen'.

⁵⁸ S.P. Bhattacharya, Swatantra Sangram ke Sainik (Ministry of Information, U.P.) Lucknow, 1968, p. 413

⁵⁹ Vartman, 4.10.1942

⁶⁰ National Herald, 19-02-1946.



The British Government appeared to be listening. On 20 February, Gaya Prasad, a convict in Lahare conspiracy case lodged in Kanpur District Jail was released after 17 years of detention. Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor were also released from Hardoi Central jail. The quit India Movement had galvanized. The Indian Masser and its impact had been tremendous. The fillip it provided to the freedom struggle and Britain's own difficulties in the second world war heralded the process of transfer of power. In this connection a cabinet Mission was announced by the labour party government of Britain which was to arrive in India to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion on framing of an Indian constitution. The commission included three members- Lord Pethick Lawrence, secretary of state, Sir Stafford Cripps, now president of the Board of Trade and Albert Alexander, First lord of the Admiralty. The announcement was made by Pethick Lawrence who said, " The house will recall that in September 1945, on his return to India after discussions with the British Government, the viceroy made a statement of policy in the course of which he outlined the positive steps to be taken immediately after the central and provincial election of full self government in India."⁶¹

The negotiations carried out with the cabinet Mission, the jailing of coming to terms in settling the political and communal problem amicably, the exit of Ghandi and coming of Lord Mountbatten as the new viceroy and his carrying out of partition of the country in a steadfast manner which was devoid of any humane and foresighted vision and as a result millions of people (Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) lost thus

The independence movement acquired great pace in Kanpur ever since the past mutiny days, Kanpur had started harboring a nationalist feeling enlivened by the efforts of people like Pandit Prithvinath Chak who helped establish a branch of Indian National Congress in the city in the year 1888 and who was also involved in a lot of philanthropic activities. National consciousness by this time had started gaining strong roots and people were getting acquainted about their political and economic problems through the platform of the Congress which during this time was dominated by Moderates. Surendranath Banerjee perhaps the most articulate moderate leader of the time had visited Kanpur in 1884 and delivered a speech at station theatre which is considered to be the first visit to the city by a nationalist of an all India stature. It had a lasting impact on the people. Kanpur being located in the heart of north India and the nationalist movement had taken strong roots in the region it was obvious that the city would too respond positively and the coming decades were to be an ample proof for the same. The outbreak of the political atmosphere in the country and for the first time the city witnessed large scale boycotting of foreign goods and Surya Prasad Mishra was the man behind making it a success. He was given crucial support by Nalin Kumar Mukherjee and Narayan Prasad Arora, then only 24 years old.

⁶¹ National Herald, 20-02-1946.



From 1905 onwards political activities in Kanpur started gaining momentum Gopal Krishna Gokhale's visit was a great success and when Bal Gangadhar Tilak Arrived here from Lucknow (after attending the congress session) in 1916 to asked the people to sort getting ready for an upcoming struggle which will test to the fullest their commitment, devotion and love for their motherland. The activities of Arya Samaj Which had established itself during the last years of the 19th century also provided an impetus to the independence movement and some of congress tallest leaders of the city like Rohatgi brothers (Murari Lal and Jawaharlal) were devout Arya Samajists.

Growth of revolutionary ideas present us another side of the spectrum as the city had been visited by Lala Hardayal in the year 1908 and when Ghadar (Revolution) while getting distributed also started coming to Narayan Prasad Arora in a clandestine manner. Later due to the activities of Chandrashekhar Azad and Ram Dulare Trivedi the revolutionary movement reached its apex and continued until 1942.

Students were to shine in this period as they provided direction and a feeling of bravado to the movement. The contribution of the students of D.A.V. college, Christ Church, BNSD college, Marwari College and Agriculture college was very significant. Novel experiments undertaken by the Mahatma like taking long march to Dandi to break the salt law reflected his unique method of arousing people and they also helped in diverting attention from problems of communal violence etc and it was fervently carried by his disciples and in Kanpur people like Vidhyarti and N.P. Arora were staunch Gandhians. Nationalist newspapers like Pratap and Vartman were regularly covering the events taking place nationally and internationally and were making the people of the city more Swaraj Conscious. They often bore the brunt of the government for publishing what the government considered to be 'Seditious'. As Gyanendra Pandey has said that "No national movement can expect to gain the active support of the whole body of the 'nation' over the entire geographical area of its claimed territory or to be wholly free from inner tensions and divisions" We witnessed the same in Kanpur where frequent occurrence of communal riots was a hindrance to the cherished goals which congress symbolized. But once things settled down there was a fresh overture from people to come forward as being united. The militant nationalists or revolutionaries though had differences with the congress yet they were also of the opinion that it was the frontline and most agonized machinery to fight for Swaraj against foreign rule. In Kanpur there two streams ran parallel to each other and leaders like NP Arora, Hasrat Mohani and G.S. Vidhyarthi had on occasions disclosed revolutionary tinge.

United Provinces (modern Uttar Pradesh) had always remained in the forefront of the freedom movement and had provided a galaxy of congress leaders of national stature. Kanpur being so situated in the province and very near to politically active cities like Allahabad and Lucknow it was obvious that it was to sparkle in this momentous period (1919-48) of Indian National Movement.



HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

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It is the last and most drastic form of non-cooperation. It is an open and deliberate violation of illegitimate laws, regulations, and institutions in a non-violent manner. It comprises of two things, civility and disobedience i.e. it is the disobedience of unlawful things in a civil manner. Gandhi defines it as, “The breach of unmoral statutory enactments”. The term civil disobedience was coined by Henry David Thoreau and its theory was explained in his essay, ‘Duty of Civil Disobedience’. Under civil disobedience, Thoreau used the technique of no-payment of taxes against the slavery of his country. He believed that there will never be a free state until the state recognizes the individual as higher as independent power. He emphasized the need of maximum cooperation when it led towards goodness and non-cooperation when it promotes evil. Gandhi’s contribution lies in the development of civil disobedience as a means of social and political action. He believed that civil disobedience, “a complete, effective and bloodless substitute of armed revolt”, which signifies, “the resister’s out-lawry in a civil, non-violent manner.

According to Gandhi in civil-disobedience a satyagrahi becomes an ‘outlaw’ and completely ignores the authority of the state but all this is done with without the use of violence. On the other hand, the satyagrahi in doing so is always ready to face suffering on himself and devoted by prepares himself to work and face consequences. In words of Gandhi civil-disobedience ‘is a powerful expression of a soul’s anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of the evil regime. Civil disobedience, like non-cooperation, has been called to be the moral duty for every Indian. It was justified on the basis that obedience to immoral and unjustified laws is in itself illegal. Gandhi used the role of conscience to defend the disobedience of law. He said that civil-disobedience is the natural right of people. One is born innately with the habit to obey the laws but once in conscience the law becomes unbearable or it is against human welfare, the people not only possess the right to disobey the law but it becomes their duty to do so. Gandhi wrote in Hind Swaraj, “It is contrary to our manhood if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. Such teaching is opposed to religion and means slavery.”

¹ The aim of civil disobedience is to destroy the ill-legitimate laws, to redress wrongs and to increase the awareness amongst people about unjust attitudes and things through self-suffering. In India, it was used to paralyze the British

¹ Rai, Ajay shanker, civil disobedience, page no.84



Government and at the same time established swaraj. In 1946 Gandhi said: A non-violent resolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power'. It is a programme of transformation of relations ending in a peaceful transfer of power.² In the civil disobedience movement a lot of prudence is needed in the selection of the laws to be disobeyed by the satyagrahis. The movement should not be against any moral law and therefore, the selection of the laws to be broken may not be made by individual satyagrahis but by their leader. Discipline holds a paramount importance in civil disobedience. It is necessary to make the movement effective and successful. The movement as advocated by Gandhi may be classified into four categories, defensive and offensive civil disobedience and individual and mass civil disobedience. AICC (All India Congress Committee) defined different aspects of civil disobedience as follow: Individual Civil Disobedience is a disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorized admission is allowed is an instance of individual civil disobedience, where as a prohibited public meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.³ One can find such examples of aggressive as well as mass civil disobedience are the raids on salt depots at Wadala and Dharsana in 1930 by satyagrahis. Thus, Gandhi's this effective method of civil disobedience has been used as a synonym to non-violence throughout the world history. There has been several example of this including the refusal of American colonial merchant to use tax stamps, the Defiance Campaign in South Africa in 1952 against the Apartheid and others to name a few. In India it has been practiced for various objectives. The aim of the movement in Bardoli was to redress the grievances of the peasants; the civil disobedience of 1940-41 was for the freedom of speech in India particularly its important places like Rajkot, Travancore, Jaipur etc. and it was, in fact, for the objective of swaraj. Also the civil disobedience of 1930-34 in India was against the Salt laws.⁴ The civil disobedience as a method for Satyagraha is a quicker remedy for grievances and therefore needs to be handled with care as it involves a lot of danger. Gandhi said: its use must be guarded by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against an out break of violence or general lawlessness. Its area as well as its scope should also be limited to the barest necessity of the case."

² Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, Feb. 17, 1946, page no.14

³ Dhawan, Gopinath, page no.272

⁴ Bondurant, Joan V., page no.53



The doctrine of Satyagraha bears enormous power because of its essentially non-violent nature. It is not only morally justified but also finds its expression and proper place in almost all the religions of the world. As a method to fight, the evils of the society it holds a lot of relevance in the modern world. The world today is suffering from the disease of 'violence', 'terrorism' and racial discrimination and Satyagraha here stands as an eminent, effective, promising and a great political weapon to fight these evils. Based on love, truth and goodwill, it holds a lot of promise for a better future and may lead to a world free from evils where every one would live peace, in harmony and peace. Thus, Satyagraha holds greater significance in the present and the future world as compared to the past and the future world as compared to the past.⁵ It is a form of non-violent revolt against unfair laws of the state. The thought of civil-disobedience is based on the standard that human being is greater to all the social organizations he has created. The individual has a spirit and conscience, whereas the institutions are soulless machines. Therefore, the voice of conscience is a matter of duty for man. According to Gandhi "Civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal disobedience can lead to it. Every state puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not."⁶ It is further described as "the civil resister violates the unjust laws of the state in order to bend the government to the will of the people. It includes hartal (agitation), picketing, peaceful marches, no-tax campaigns, breach of laws and ordinances, courting arrests, boycott of legislative bodies, resignation of titles and non-cooperation with government and so on." Gandhi distinguishes between forced and will full disobedience of the laws.⁷

When Non-cooperation buckled under in 1922 the agitational links across regions, between local arenas of politics, and between them and an all-India campaign, snapped. Within the context of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, the relationship between India's different types of politics settled into a new pattern. Since the 1919 reforms offered substantial power and stature to Indians who would collaborate with the British in the new constitutional structures, the force of much local political awareness and ambition were soon channeled through the new structures in anticipation that they would be fulfilled by the fruits of legislation and influence in the administration. Salt being a very common issue became the point of confrontation. Perhaps it was Salt, which solved many dilemmas of Gandhi after Lahore session. Though it was not a major threat to the British Empire,

⁵ Ibid., page no.268

⁶ Gandhi, M. K., Young India, 05.01.1922, page no.5

⁷ Satyanarayana, Y. V., Ethics: Theory and Practice, Dorling Kindersley, 2010, page no.38



still it proved very successful in reuniting Indian masses and helped in inculcating true spirit of mass struggle based on Satyagraha principle. This particular Satyagraha movement injected fresh blood and a new ray of hope in achieving India's independence.

The years 1922-28 were for Gandhi a time of stocktaking, during which he was forced by government and his countrymen to reorganize his role in public affairs. The first stage in this course was his two-year spell in jail. His daily routine was similar to that which he laid down for his ashram, though in Yeravda jail near Poona, uninterrupted by the demands of public life, he was able to give six hours a day to reading and four to spinning and carding. He read over 150 books; reading for the first time the whole of the Mahabharata and the six systems of Hindu philosophy in Gujarati, he steeped himself afresh in his Hindu heritage. Reading and the solitary reflection promoted by rhythmic handwork merely conformed his views on religion and politics, as he admitted on his release.⁸ He reemerged from Yeravda with clearer priorities and a stronger conviction that he must track his own path even if he could find no companion to share it. He had become a man with a much surer sense of himself and his potential public role than the fumbling pragmatist of his first years back in India. In February 1924 Gandhi emerged from his forced isolation in jail, convalescent after an emergency appendectomy; he faced a political world noticeably different from the one he had left in 1922 as architect of Non-cooperation. After his let go from jail Gandhi had increasingly devoted himself to constructing the social foundations of Swaraj, holding detached from the politics of councils and Congress because his priorities and expertise did not fit or forward the felt needs of Indians concerned with their constitutional relationships with each other and the British, or of the British in their search for Indian allies. Nevertheless in 1928 two episodes thrust Gandhi into the political limelight. The Bardoli Satyagraha and the 1928 Congress session heralded his come back to all-India leadership, though they came to him undesirably. Both were occasions when others in public life calculated that they needed the Mahatma: he responded because he felt he could satisfy those needs with his particular expertise, on terms which were acceptable to him, promising to promote his wider vision of Swaraj. The campaign against enhancement of the land revenue demand was led by Vallabhbhai Patel in Bardoli, a Gujarat taluka where the locally leading Patidar community was well organized and knowledgeable in disciplined protest under the Congress banner. Had it not been for the Chauri Chaura violence in 1922, Bardoli would have been one of Gandhi's preferred areas for Civil disobedience. The campaign of civil resistance to the tax demand lasted from February to August 1928 and succeeded in its effort to extract from the Bombay government an enquiry into the level of-enhancement.⁹ This success

⁸ CWMG, XXIII, p-196; Young India, 14 June 1928

⁹ Desai Mahadev, The Story of Bardoli, (1929), Ahmedabad, 1957



depended on the efficient organization of the district for resistance by Vallabhbhai and a group of prominent Bardoli Patidar, and on the publicity which produced a wave of popular support in Bombay and throughout India for the Bardoli defaulters. This caught the Bombay government at a time when it was vulnerable to local unrest: it also exposed it to pressure from the Government of India with its continental viewpoint. The local government was hindered by the early inaction of the Surat Collector, and the circumstances of the assessment itself. Settlement Commissioner, whose proposal of 29% had in turn been reduced by the Bombay government to 20%, had rejected the initial reassessment of 30% by an inexperienced Indian revenue officer. The Government of India for its part was convinced that the whole settlement issue had been grossly mismanaged. Bardoli was indeed one of Gandhi's Satyagrahas although Vallabhbhai did the main organizational and directive work in the district. Vallabhbhai sent the Bardoli spokesman to secure Gandhi's consent before he himself would lead the campaign, and thereafter Gandhi was constantly behind Vallabhbhai. He stated in Navajivan: "Let it be known to the readers that I have associated myself with the Bardoli Satyagraha from its very beginning. Its leader is Shri Vallabhbhai and he can take me to Bardoli whenever he needs me. He does all the work whether small or big on his own responsibility. I do not go to attend the meetings etc., but this is an understanding reached between him and me before the struggle began. My health does not permit me to carry on all kinds of activities". Gandhi's surviving letters to Vallabhbhai confirm the importance of Gandhi's advisory role; so does the shuttle service between Bardoli and Sabarmati maintained by Mahadev Desai as Gandhi's private secretary. Finally at the beginning of August he went to Bardoli at Vallabhbhai's request in preparation for the latter's expected arrest. Apart from these personal interventions Gandhi's main assistance in the Bardoli campaign took the shape of continuous publicity, encouragement and instructions in the columns of Young India and Navajivan; while some of his hand-picked workers from Sabarmati such as Desai went to help Vallabhbhai on the spot. Gandhi's press articles on Bardoli indicate why he was prepared to accept the burden of leadership on this particular issue. For him it was not just a local Satyagraha for the redress of a particular grievance, such as he had conducted in Champaran in 1917. It was a decisive demonstration of the road to Swaraj, just as the Lucknow meeting of the All-Parties Conference had, he believed, opened the way to purely constitutional Swaraj. Right at the start of the struggle he had asserted that although the object of the Satyagraha was specific and local, not the attainment of Swaraj, yet it had 'an indirect bearing on Swaraj. Whatever awakens people to a sense of their wrongs and whatever gives them strength for disciplined and peaceful resistance and habituates them for corporate suffering brings us nearer Swaraj'.¹⁰ The repercussions of

¹⁰ Navajivan, 9 September 1928; Young India 8 March 1928



Bardoli on Gandhi's career were far-reaching. It publicized Gandhi and his methods throughout India: the Satyagraha's success in gaining an enquiry helped to offset the memory of Non-cooperation's sputtering end. More important still, Bardoli lifted Gandhi out of the sadness into which he had sunk in 1927 because of ongoing communal tension and the slow progress of khadi. Once more he began to see a role for himself as the leader of a movement, which was non-violent yet rooted in popular support, even if he had failed to switch the majority to non-violence as a creed.

By September 1928 Motilal, as president-elect, was pressing Gandhi to take a fuller part in Congress affairs. Gandhi replied that he did not want to attend the AICC and was even contemplating absence from the Calcutta session. He still felt that what he termed constructive work, not constitution building, was his particular forte, and that India must generate her own strength of mind and power of confrontation. Moreover, he said, recent outbreaks of Hindu-Muslim violence unfitted him for planning constitutions. Yet a further reason for his unwillingness to go to Calcutta was the type of Swadeshi exhibition that Calcutta was laying on: he regretted the admission into it of mill-made cloth, and the AISA (All India Spinners Association) had decided not to exhibit there. Consequently, he did not want to place himself or his hosts in an embarrassing position by his presence in Calcutta in such circumstances. In mid-October he agreed to 'obey' Motilal's wish that he should go to Calcutta; and subsequent correspondence with B.C.Roy led to the Bengalis modifying the type of exhibition so that Gandhi was able to advise Khadi organizations to exhibit.¹¹ When Gandhi arrived in Calcutta it was abundantly clear why Motilal had wanted him there. In the months after his election as President, the report, which bore his name and recommended a constitution envisaging Dominion status for India, had been published and discussed at length. Divisions on the subject now gaped within Congress, while pressure from outside the Congress establishment against the report was increasing. Before Congress began, over 50,000 mill labourers occupied the pandal for nearly two hours and passed a resolution in favour of complete independence for India. When Motilal realized the danger that Congress would reject his report, he made it known that he would resign as President if this was the case; and he looked to Gandhi to devise some formula of reconciliation. The Mahatma was peculiarly fitted to perform this function. His immense public repute outside the ranks of the politicians marked him out as a national figure whose conciliation might be acceptable to all parties. Since he had devoted his main efforts to constructive work in the earlier years he was not aligned with either Congress group. However he had reaffirmed his support for the Nehru Report in *Young India* early in December. The basis of that support was his belief that the report could provide a focus for unanimity, and that unanimity behind the call for Dominion Status, rather than independence, therefore made Dominion

¹¹ The Hindustan Times, 3 November 1928.



status a practical possibility. The assassination of an official in Lahore on 17th December by Bhagat Singh highlighted the depth of feeling among some younger political activists: Gandhi deplored this action and in his press articles there appeared a sense of impending crisis for the creed of non-violence. He must have wondered whether the time was imminent for renewed Satyagraha in order to 'sterilize' the violence visible in public life. At Congress Gandhi's first essay was in the Subjects Committee on 26th December. He moved the resolution adopting the Nehru Report while abiding by the Madras declaration on complete independence, with the provision that if the British did not accept it by 31st December 1930 Congress would restart non-violent Non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every aid to the Government. Two days later in the Subjects Committee Gandhi moved a new resolution of his own drafting which cut the time limit to 31st December 1929. This step was the result of intense private negotiations. Gandhi explained that he favoured the first resolution he had moved, but this one was essential to the national interest because it would hold all parties in Congress together in an acceptable compromise. His resolution was passed by 118 votes to 45. In answer to those who asked whether he would return to leadership of a national movement as in 1920 if they voted for his resolution, Gandhi had said that he would only return if they subjected themselves to his discipline. The session's opportunity for Gandhi and response he made set the seal on his recreation as an all-India political leader which had been in process since the crumple of Non-cooperation. Gandhi's ability and willingness to act as a compromiser provided him with a crucial functional role. His programme, moreover, offered a new way of relating to the government and of extending their conditions with other sections of society. The constructive programme was to be the preparation for a confrontation with the British in which unity and mass contact were essential. Fifteen months elapsed after Calcutta Session before it was clear what Gandhi's compromise resolution in Congress would mean in practice for India's relationship with the British Government. In both Congress and in the country Gandhi's main problems were consistency and control. Only a united and disciplined movement stood a chance of success, whether in the political sense of putting pressure on the Government or in Gandhian terms of achieving true Swaraj. Throughout the period of waiting and preparation for possible civil disobedience Gandhi made it plain that he hoped for a peaceful settlement which would enable India to remain in the Empire. At the end of February when Gandhi and Irwin met at a tea party given by Vithalbai they talked of missions, diet and communal tension. On the Calcutta Congress Gandhi had, according to Irwin, 'nothing very exciting' to say. Soon after fraternizing with Irwin, Gandhi was in court in Calcutta for burning foreign cloth in a public park. But even at the illegal bonfire he warned his audience that the time for Civil Disobedience had not come. Gandhi constantly reminded those who flocked to hear him or read his papers that Swaraj would not come to them as a gift; it could only be created by working out the triple



constructive programme of foreign-cloth boycott through Khadi, temperance (self-control) and the abolition of Untouchability.¹² During the months of waiting for the Government Gandhi spent considerable time and energy on trying to reinforce the delicate unity of Congress and to redecorate it as an organization capable of embarking on effective resistance. Although countrywide contact and sympathy were essential to him, he realized that his plans were impracticable unless Congress itself was united and organized. Three Committees had been set up after Calcutta Session, the Foreign Cloth Boycott under himself and Jairamdas, one for prohibition under Rajagopalachariar and one for anti-untouchability work under Jamnalal Bajaj; but their work was impossible without an effective countrywide Congress organization, as Gandhi had pointed out in his cloth boycott scheme. He set himself to publicize the inadequacies of the Congress organization and to nudge it into reform. The Congress organization was not the living reality he wanted, and politics still seemed to him light hearted and uncontrollable compared with the hard labour for Swaraj he recommended. There were increasing signs of violence and the resurgence of terrorism, particularly among students; the bombs thrown by Punjabi students in the Assembly in April was but one example. Faction in several regions split Congress and Gandhi was ineffective to intervene in local disputes.

¹² Young India, 7 March 1929