

CHAPTER - III.

DAILY PU-DHARI AND NATIONAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT.

: PUDHARI AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT :

- CHAPTER No.3 -

Newspaper is an effective medium for having a dialogue with and awakening of the people. It's a great means of the reformation of the people. The British people brought in India the printing press and the newspapers and the people of India had an acquaintance with the English literature. The Indians writers like Bankinchandra, Rabindranath Tagore, Navinchandra, Ramesh Chandra Datta., Hariprasad Shastri, R.S. Bhandarkar, Rajendralal Mishra, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, brought the Western ideas into the Indian literature. Hence the Indians learnt a lesson of nationalism. The newspaper performed the same role. The newspapers in different languages, Indian Mirror, Mumbai Samachar, Hind Patriot, Hindu, Amritbazar Patrika, Kesary, etc. brought about a great revolution in the minds of the people. These newspapers created an awakening among the Indian people and made them aware of their rights and created a feeling of hatred towards the British rule. In a sense, newspapers supported and strengthened the national movement. They had a Lion's share in the emergence of growth of Indian Nationalism. Taking into account the role of the newspapers in the National Congress started a newspaper 'India' in England in 1890 in order to plead the cause of India before the British Govt. and the people

'Daily Pudhari' and the National Movement :-

The place of 'Daily Pudhari' is outstanding among

① मराठी दैनिक - पुढारी - हिंदू - अमृतबाजार पत्रिका - इत्यादी

those newspapers which supported the National Movement.
 Allen Hume² founded the National Congress in 1885 and the National Movement started gradually. India got independence in 1947 on account of it. Considering the nature, aim, programme and activities of the National Movement, it can be divided into these major periods : 1885 to 1905,
 1905 to 1920
 1920 to 1947.

'Pudhari' belongs to the third period. During this period Mahatma Gandhi avoided the path of either Gopal Krishna Gokhale or Lokmanya Tilak and he led the National Movement by adopting the path of Satyagraha. The editorials in 'Pudhari' during 1939 to 1947 show that 'Pudhari' has played the role of favouring the National Movement. Besides it has showed a proper direction to it by indicating the draw-backs of the same.

'Pudhari' has considered the views of the common people and it has also pointed out the defects in the policy of the Government.

Background of the National Movement :-

On 31st December, 1600 having obtained the permission of Queen Elizabeth, 215 merchants came together to found the East India Company. The dawn of the Modern Age had already arrived in Europe on account of the Renaissance in 1453, discovery of the New World and the reformation Movement. But

(2) मराठी मध्य-काळातील शोध - ५५११२ - विद्यापीठानुसार ५५१५२

in India the beginning of the Modern Age took place in the 19th Century. During the period of about 100 years (i.e. from 1757 to 1858) The East India Company ruled over India. It's administration ceased after the battle of 1857. In the entire history of the world, a trade Company ruling over a nation for hundred years, is an exceptional instance.

The ³ Government of the East India Company was abolished after 1857 and a sovereign Government controlled by the British king and the Parliament was created. This marked the end of the regime of the Middle Age and the beginning of a new era. During the period 1818 to 1885 the seeds of nationalism were sowed in India. The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 was a result of the Indian Nationalism. There were remarkable changes during this period even 'social' and religious fields.

Rashtriya Sabha :-

Before the foundation of the Indian National Congress many political institutions were started in different parts of India. They began to create awakening among the people. The number of the educated people was increased in the provinces like Bengal, Madras and Bombay. New ideas and awakening of the national spirit had inspired them. There was coming together irrespective of ~~xx~~ castes, creeds and languages to discuss the political issues. It was absolutely necessary to found 'National Organization' to create emotional integrity among the people from different provinces and to give nationwide status to the national movement. The people of India were made aware that they must unite awakensingly to encounter the oppressing tendency

of Lord Lyton and to create an impression on the Government. in the matter of Liberal Bill during the regime of Lord Ripon. This feeling of unity was stressed in the newspapers, public meetings and views expressed by the Indian leaders from various parts of India. Mr. Allan Fune did the great job of echoing the same feeling of unity in the Indian National Congress.

The history of the Hindi Rashtriya Sabha means the history of the Indian freedom-movement. Rashtriya Sabha went on developing into the National Movement. To begin with the Rashtriya Sabha was not a mass movement. It was a means of the movement of the educated Indians and the Rashtriya Sabha represented this class and fought for their rights. The moderate leaders had upper hand during 1865 to 1905 and hence the Rashtriya Sabha's nature was mild. ⁴ These moderate leaders included Dadabhai Nauroji, Justice Ranade, Justice Gokhale, Phirojshah Mehta, Telang, Dinesh Vachha, Ananda Charu, Umash-chandra Banerji, Baddamdhin, and Ras Bihari Ghosh, Subramaniam Ayyar, Fune etc. It's true that these moderate leaders adopted a mild policy in the beginning. But it was reasonable proper and far-reaching, if condition of that period is properly weighed. The moderate leaders planted and nourished the Rashtriya Sabha, which was to grow after some days. Their beginning was rather humble but proper. Later on, the Rashtriya Sabha had to resort to the fierce role as the circumstances demanded it.

(4) १९१०-१९१२ - " मध्य काँग्रेस - १९०५ " पृ. १०२. उद्धृत मध्य काँग्रेस

The second phase of the Congress (i.e. 1905 to 1920) is known as the fierce period. The people during this period were ardently religious nationalist. They had a faith in the scriptures. But they preferred the use of the native goods, boycott on the foreign goods, national education and complete independence to the revival of religion. Opposition to the social reformation opposition to the westernization. It was experienced that the British Government turns a deaf ear to the movement of the moderate people and hence there was a feeling of unrest throughout the country. This led to the birth of the idea what fierce ways are needed to achieve the rights. The advocates of this view were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipinchandra Pal.

This group of fierce - minded persons employed resistance instead of prayer and it decided to use the pressure of the public opinion. The result of the rift between the moderate group and the fierce group was seen at Surat Session and there was a tremendous blow to the integrity of the Rashtriya Sabha. In order to mitigate the growing National Movement, Morle-Minto Project was put forward at one side and at the other the leaders of the national parties began to be oppressed. In spite of different opinions all new and old leaders wanted to proceed towards the common goal. But the rift went on widening and the Rashtriya Sabha became very weak. The British policy 'divide and rule' was successful. But later on at Lucknow session in 1916 the moderate fierce and the Muslim League joined hands together and it was decided to enlarge the scope of the National Movement.

(5) Ibid - p. 105.

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The third phase of the congress runs from 1920 to 1947. Lokmany^o Tilak passed away on 1st August, 1920 and Mahatma Gandhi was to lead the National Movement. He launched the Non-Co-Operative Movement and it was a new step in the National Movement. Gandhi's idea of Satyagraha related to the Non-Cooperation Movement, was totally a unique one. In South AFRICA, Gandhi stood for the cause of the Indian people and then he stated the principle of Satyagraha for the first time. The basic impulse behind Satyagraha was to create an urge of removing injustice in the mind of the opponent, while undergoing self-struggle.

The people of India were charmed to see Mahatma Gandhi's weapons of mass non-co-operation, Non-violence and civil disobedience, even the masses were involved in the movement inspired by the principle of freedom. As a result the national movement was spread even among the huts. Even the violent revolutionists joined Gandhi's movement, on a large scale. However, the movement of the violent revolutionists were rising again like the bird, phoenix. They were trying in India and outside India, for the independence. The outstanding instances of this attempt are Netaji Subhashchandra Bose and his Azad Hind Sena as well as Krenti Sinha Nana Patil and his Preti Sarkar (Parallel Government) such attempts did not fetch success yet it cannot be denied that they brought the down of India's independence near^{er} and near^{er}.

⑤ Ibid - page 105.

sanctioned and within a period only three months muslim league was established as an alternative as well as opponent to the Congress. A meeting of all principal provincial organisations was held in Dacca on 30th December, 1906, and Muslim league was founded in that meeting. The muslim league was supposed to safeguard the political rights of the muslims and to plead their needs and aspirations before the British rulers. Sham Mukherji founded the Hindu Mahasabha in 1911, in order to counter check the Muslim league. The British rulers exploited the opportunity of the existence of these two communal organizations. Because the National Movement was hampered because of the ~~wide~~ rift between these two. It's a naked truth to be accepted that the dawn of independence was delayed on account of this.⁸

Threshold of Independence :-

At the time of the first world war all political parties in the nation had supported England. That war had been fought between democracy and dictatorship. England had obtained the support because Woodrow Wilson had stressed the need of the survival of democracy and the self-decision. The Indians had supported England with the hope of the implementation of the same ideas in India after the war. But the British Government totally disappointed the Indian political leaders.

August Declaration :-

On 3rd September, 1939, England declared the second World War against Germany. On the same day, Lord Linlithgo

⁸ Ibid - page - 138.

announced India's participation in the war against Germany⁹, without consulting any Indian leaders or the ministries working in it 11 provinces. There was a tremendous unrest in the nation because of this one-sided declaration. The Congress expressed its stand regarding the war in a statement. As a protest of the policy of Lord Linlithgo, the Congress Ministry in all eight provinces rendered its resignations which indicated indirectly that the Congress preferred independence to power. On the European frontiers the war was spreading rapidly and at the same time in India the Congress decided to withdraw its co-operation with the British Govt. The young leaders in the Congress were of the following opinion, "Calamity of the British persons is our opportunity. We must struggle to obtain colonial freedom if the British Government is not giving us the same". Gandhiji also started individual satyagraha movement. But England badly needed the support of the Indians because of the war situation in the Europe. Hence the Government could not afford to neglect the demands of the Congress. The viceroy proclaimed on behalf of the British Government on 8th August, 1940. (known as the August Proclamation) colonial freedom is India's aim. Being involved in the War, England was struggling for her existence hence quick constitutional changes were not possible. But after the end of the war England would, without any delay form a representative body of the Indians and the body would frame the new constitution. As an immediate step the executive body

⑨ Ibid. page 112

of the Governor would be exceeded and the matter of the formation of the war-advisory council would be expediated. It should be noted that the British Government would not accept any constitution opposed by minority communities. This assurance of the British people is an indication and their cunning policy.¹⁰

The Congress would certainly change its policy if the British Government would change its steps according to the changed circumstances. Daily Pudhari expressed its plain opinion in the article

" इंग्लंड बुद्धता वझे, विद्रुधान

सुख वस्तुतः ?"

and stated that it was absolutely necessary for the Government to win the confidence of the Congress and obtain the sympathy of India. The Government would easily get the sympathy and other political parties if it were successful in getting the sympathy of the Congress. Daily Pudhari is the editorial,¹²

"आपसातील वृद्धीचे प्रयत्न नको"

warned Dux Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Pragatik Paksha, etc. that they should not be self-centered, they should think broadly of the nation. If they exhibited their difference before the Government, it would be difficult even for the Government to find out the solution.

Similarly the editorial of 'Pudhari' criticises the British diplomacy of reasserting the policy of handing over colonial freedom to India in order to get the support of the

(10) Ibid - p. 1111. (11) Daily Pudhari of 5/9/39.

(12) Ibid - 10/10/39.

Congress in due War, but not mentioning the time-limit for the realization of the said policy.

The editorial further, mentions that the Congress does want the distinct constitutional changes and some minority groups want some special rights. It's difficult to balance the demands and both parties and to decide which demands are reasonable and just. The government should not lose this golden opportunity of having Co-operation with a big party like the Congress. The editor of 'Daily Pudhari' "ना. व्हाट्सराय" ¹³ "वी घोषणा व कानून संस्थाचे राजीनामे" in his editorial has expressed his opinion the Government should consider the conscientious of the people revise the policy and enjoy the hearty co-operation of the Congress.

"वाटावटीया मार्ग जोड्या" ¹⁴

Another editorial states that there is still room for discussion and hence the viceroy should invite the Congress leaders as well as those of other parties to discuss the possibility of some useful solution. But even though the congress refused to co-operate with the British Government, There was not much harm to the British Government. In the long run it was a loss of the Congress itself. In order to avoid this awkward situation the editor of Pudhari says in the editorial "आगतिक परिस्थिती" that there must be harmony between the British Government and the Congress.

In the conference of the Congress at Alahabad at

(13) Pudhari 20.10.39.

(14) Pudhari 29.10.39.

important resolution regarding the current political situation was passed. It stated that the Congress should not express its concern with the war as the war was being fought for the safeguard of the Imperialism. The Congress had already started the policy of non-co-operation. But the resolution did not mention how the Congress would prevent the exploitation of the nation.

The editorial ¹⁵ "कॉंग्रस कमिटीवा ठराव" states with satisfaction that the Congress has at present, postponed the Civil Disobedience Movement and it has given scope to compromise.

The editorial "ही इंग्लंडास शक्त पुढे जावी" the Daily Pudhari has asked why the British Government does not sympathise with India, if it is fighting for liberty and democracy and helping other nations? The people want some definite power and they want be satisfied with mere lectures and assurances. But similarly, Pudhari has criticized the stern and adamant stand of the Congress in the editorial,

¹⁶ "गांधी-व्हाईसरॉय यांची चर्चा" another editorial "सहकार्य मिळवा व संघी ताथा" advises the congress party to solicit the co-operation of various castes and political parties in order to bring about the progress of India. The Congress must make the most of this opportunity otherwise it will have to repent, in this article the editor remarks that the Congress should accept, whatever rights offered

(15) Daily Pudhari at 20-5-39.

(16) - Ibid - at 8.2.40

by the British Government and by for obtaining more and more rights. This would put an end to the internal conflicts and enable the Congress to reach its goals. In the editorial entitled "वर्तमान कश्चित्पुत्रा कस्य ज्ञानि समेतान् अनुकूल वातावरण" ^{17.} the editor has expressed his opinion that the Congress and the British government in India should keep aside the rigid and adamant stand and ~~fix~~ for settlement on some common issues. Mahatma Gandhi may be free to follow and spread the principles of Satya and Ahimsa and the Congress as a whole should think of the political situation. Its totally, the present problem is how to win the war with the help of some immediate arrangement and hence we must solve the present crisis - that is what the editor expression in the article

"कश्चित्पुत्रा वर्यो कश्चित्पुत्रो मया" ^{18.}

Thus, the editorials in 'The Pudhari' related with the August Declaration indicate that Pudhari has asked the Congress to support the British Government in the matter of the war. At the same time pudhari has advised the British rulers to think and the calamity of the war and make compromise with the Congress through discussions. However, the British Government turned down the demand of immediate freedom, even-though it agreed to some part of the demands, hence the Congress first refused the August Declaration. It did not support the British Government in the world War.

Reaction of the Muslim League :-

Since the foundation, the muslim League went on making the empty empty chattering of 'safeguarding the political

(17) Pudhari 6-5-40

(18) " " 12-12-40

rights of the Muslim Community. The Muslim League was responsible for breaking the unity between the Hindus and Muslims and thereby weakening the national movement. The reformation Act, of 1909 strengthened the separatist tendency among the Muslims. Khilafat Movement did establish the unity between Hindus and Muslims, but this unity did not last long. Even the Congress favoured this movement and nourished the religious feelings. It is unfortunate that neither the Congress nor the Muslims League was conscious making a deliberate attempt toward one nationality while forming the unity between the Hindus and Muslims. In 1930, the nation wide movement of civil Disobedience commenced and the communal parties like the muslim league became less effective. The proof of this situation is found in the editorial.

"द. जिनाये मध्ये ¹⁹ मसकौ" in which Pudhari states
 "come what may, Mr. Jaena, won't co-operate with any Hindu leader and he won't allow India to enjoy the least possible political rights unless the leaders surrender before him.

The aim of the Congress was to obtain one nation through national integration and the Congress rights thought that it was entitled to represent all Indian people. This stand of the congress was reasonable. It was a secular and national party. In spite of this, after the congress Ministry had resigned, Mr. Jaena would like to celebrate December, 22, 1939 as a 'Liberty day' whereas the state Hindu Mahasabha president demanded that the resolution before 22-12-1922

(19) pudhari - 13-5-41.

be accepted. Thus it seems proper to say that the politics of either the Muslim League or that of the Hindu Mahasabha was hampering the working of the Congress. The article

"²⁰ मुस्लीम लिग व हिंदू तम्रा यधि भेतकू."

makes this point very clear. Not only that, in the session of March 1940, the demand for Pakistan was uttered.

The Minister for India, Mr. Amri promised that the temporary or permanent constitution of India would be framed without the consent of the Muslim League. It is experienced that generally the minority group demands a heavy price from the majority group, for its consent. This assurance of the British Government was like a blank cheque handed over to the Muslim League. It was upto the Muslim League to use or misuse it. In the editorial "मुस्लीम लिगवा निर्गाव" the Puchari appeals that the Government as well as the far-reaching effects of this policy on major section of the society. The editorial "जनाय जिनांची दमडी" throws light on the British diplomacy of encouraging secretly the anti-national tendency of the Muslim League and stressing openly on the differences in India.

Cripps
Kris Scheme :-

Background : In the Second World War Japan created a boiling situation for the British people in the East. It was necessary to mitigate the confrontation between the Congress in order to cope with the situation in the East. At the same

(20) Adhan 11-12-41

But the Krips scheme failed to satisfy the Indians. It was discussed for three weeks. But it was not approved by the main leaders of the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League. There were seeds of separation in this scheme. This is pointed ^{out} and in the editorial in Puchari entitled as

"**ब्रिटीश सुझावच्या हिंदी योजनेचे तत्व**"²² . The editorial further states that the Krips scheme cannot be totally discarded on the British Government, has expressed her willingness to give up all rights, but at the same time the acceptance of this scheme is like an invitation to the policy of dividing India. Puchari has made a very apt interpretation of the scheme in the editorial. But at the same time there was the danger of total negligence towards this scheme because of the opposite views of the major political parties in India. Such thoughts are expressed in the editorial "**हिंदी योजनेचे काय होणार ?**"²³ The editorial concludes with a hope that Mr. Krips wont return without any success, as the critical situation in the world does need such a scheme.

The Political parties like Hindu Mahasabha, Shikh - Samiti, did not like the idea of dividing the India and hence they opposed the scheme of Mr. ^{Cripps} Krips. Even the Muslim League did not accept the scheme of Mr. ^{Cripps} Krips as there was no provision for the creation of Pakistan in it.

The editorial of Puchari entitled "**महात्वाचे दोन प्रश्न**" states that because of the new policy of freedom and self-decision these will be more states and it will result in weakening the central power and creating disputes among the states. The

(22) Puchari 1-h-42

(23) " 3-h-42.

unity of the nation will be shaken. We must be aware of this danger in the future. India must be able to defend herself and at the same time the unity of India must be everlasting.

Mahatma Gandhi described the Krips Scheme as a cheque to be encashed in a bankrupt institution.

Besides the right of self-decision of the states was accepted. But it was endowed only to the King or the sultan and not to the people of the state. This was a kind of parody of democracy. The editor of Pudhari states in his article "द्विधा-निर्वाह²¹ अथवा जीवित काली" There is danger to the integrity of India and all of us must face it unitedly. But it's a matter of regret that the British Government is not yet aware of this danger.

The British Government wanted that the Indians should be included in the executive body of the Vice Roy. But the Government was not ready to give them the status and power of ministers. The British Government should have accepted the view of the Rashtra Sabha on this matter. Then the Rashtra Sabha would be ready to run the administration during the war period. The Rashtra Sabha was aware that perhaps the Muslim League would oppose the handing over of the administration to the Rashtra Sabha. In that case the Rashtra Sabha was ready to allow the Muslim League to form its ministry. But Rashtra Sabha leaders wanted such ministry to be loyal to the representative body of the people.

(21) Pudhari 11.11.21.

Cripps.

But neither Sir Stafford Cripps nor other British Government was ready to accept this demand of the Rashtrasabha. Hence at last the Rashtra Sabha discarded the very scheme.

One fact was evident from the whole affair. The British Government wanted to give any firm assurance regarding the future of India. Besides the problem of the Harijans, was not at all considered. In short, the scheme of Mr. Cripps was a repetition of the declaration made in August, 1940.

Quit-India Movement :-

The political situation in India went on becoming worse on account of the failure of Cripps and the increased possibility of the Japanese aggression. There was a wave of disappointment and frustration in the nation as the people did not see any honest attempt on behalf of the British Government, to solve satisfactorily the problem of the Indian Independence. There was a doubt in the minds of the people about the ability of the British Government, to save India from the aggression of Japan. The so called preparation made for the protection of India, did not give the slightest idea of the independence of India. It was merely the preparation for protecting the British empire. Now there was a strong feeling among the people was that the only way to save India was to overthrow the British rule. A clear manifestation of this feeling was found in the session of All India Congress Committee held in Bombay on 8th August, 1942.

The Resolution of 8 August, 1942 :-

The Congress working committee passed a resolution on 14th July, 1942 at Wardha, asking the British people to quit India. The same resolution was later on passed in Bombay on 8th August, 1942, by All India Congress Committee. The Resolution, further told the people that perhaps the Congress committees wanted to exist to guide the people in the movement. The people in it want receive the message of the leaders. In this condition, everybody (man or woman) should guide himself or herself within the frame of non-violence. This battle was not for the Congress, but it was for the sake of the nation. It was a kind of the open revolution. There was nothing secret in it. One is free to follow one's way. We will win the freedom or we will die in due attempt to win the freedom. Do or die.

Mahatma Gandhi's demand that the British should quit India was supported by the Congress working Committee at Wardha in the form of a Resolution. It warned the British Government that if the British rule was not withdrawn the people would fight for political rights and independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In reality there should have been a minister for India having sympathy for India, in this critical period. Such a man would have created faith and intimacy. But there was time still. The British Government need not continue her adamant stand. This warning

is given by pudhari in the editorial.

वर्तमान दुरावस्था " ²⁵

कॉन्ग्रेसवा इतिहास व The progressive leader of Madras,

Mr. Venkatram Shastri said that the 'Quit - India' movement was an opportunity and even the attempts of the British Govt. to crush this movement, would be useful to exploit the situation. The editorial ²⁶ कॉन्ग्रेसवा अगाभी लढा व कॉन्ग्रेसवा लोभ्यता" states that both parties must think seriously. Pudhari does not hesitate to advise the Congress that in this movement the Congress should not hurt the rulers of the states. This advice is found in the editorial ²⁷ विदेशी सरकारचे अघारस्तान " ²⁵

Movement :-

The resolution was passed on the 8th August, and the meeting was due on the 9th August. But early in the morning all members of All India Congress Committee were arrested. Mahatma Gandhi, Mahadeo Bhai Dasai and Masaban were detained at the Asafkhan Palace, Poona. All leaders of the Congress were behind the bars, hence there was nobody to handle the movement properly. Many people employed their own ways for the movement.: violence, Non-violence, underground ways etc. There was attempt for the paralysed Government at many places. The persons like Jay Prakash Narayan, Achut Rao Patwardhan, Nana Patil, led the under ground movement. All political parties tried in their own way to continue the movement. The young man and women had a lion's share. Even the industrialist and merchants helped the working of this movement. Sardar Patel

- (25) pudhari 19.7.42
 (26) " 1.8.42
 (27) " 17.8.42

had rightly said that it was a severe but decisive battle. There was no leader to guide people. But the Government made a mistake in supposing that the people would remain passive in the absence of their leaders. The Government should have made every effort to avoid the battle, instead of trying to suppress the movement. But the Government did not make any move except the Krips Scheme. The editorial "जन्मोत्सव स्वरूपाया पृथक्" says that the Government is to be blamed for his lethargy. At the same time, in another editorial "तेह बहदुरी" Pudheri says that the real British diplomacy will be seen if the British Government gets the hearty Co-operation of the Indians. Even though some people think that the Congress should not fight with the British, there is no difference of opinion about the demands of the Congress and this fact must be noted by the Government. The editorial "हिय एउ उपाय" states that the only solution for the current situation is to please the Indian Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

The Indians were disappointed because of their failure in obtaining freedom from the British Government. It is time that the Quit India movement was born out of this frustration. This was not proper time for this movement, considering the situation in the world. However, Mahatma Gandhi alone is not to be blamed for launching this movement. These thoughts are expressed in the editorial "भारतमा गांधी दीर्घायुजी होशेत." (Long Live Mahatma Gandhiji) At the same time the British

(28) Pudheri 11.8.42

(29) .1. 2.8.42

Government cunningly linked up the problem of the Indian independence with communalism. That is with the British Rules could set aside the demand of Independence. This fact is pointed out in the editorial "ब्रिटिशराय यांची मुदतवाट झाली"

Lord Linlithgo, while addressing the Associated Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, said - 'India is undivided geographically and it is necessary to maintain this status of India inspite of the fact the demands of the minority groups are sanctioned.

In the editorial "ब्रिटिशराय साहेबांच्या बोरडा उक्तेत"³⁰ Puhari has thrown light on the dual policy and delaying tactics of the British Government. The British Government has unnecessarily over estimated the Muslim League and hence the Muslim League insists that its demands (whether reasonable or not) must be sanctioned. Unfortunately the Viceroy yields to the Muslim League.

In the editorial "अपण परिच्छेपा सरकारला सल्ला"³¹ Puhari has advised that British Government must take a step towards compromise.

The Minister for India, in an interview, said that discussion was possible if the Congress leaders withdrew the August - Resolution. Puhari's reaction to this is expressed in the editorial "तत्कालीनच्या भाग्यतिल उदरगती."³¹ in which the editor says 'It is always a wise thing to change the path

(30) Puhari 21.2.12

(31) " 21.8.12.

according to the circumstances, Political situation should not remain like a dirty pond. It is necessary to break this strained situation and give an outlet to the stream of politics. This is the only healthy way for the progress of the nation. Similar thought is expressed in Puchari's editorial "³² अणु परीक्षेत तन्ना " in which we find a demand to set free the Congress leaders. Another editorial ³³ अहमे कोठे ? refers to the 'London Times' which says that considering the importance of India during the Post-war period England must solicit the Co-operation of India at this stage itself. Barister Jeena stated that the solution to get through the India dilemma was in the hands of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. They should be ready to modify their policies. Regarding the idea of undivided India Mr. Jeena said 'This illusion of the undivided India will lead both Hindus and Muslims to slavery'. Mr. Jeena's views are discussed in the editorial "³³ हिंदी राष्ट्रिय प्रजासत्ताक व वंशपरक विना. "

(The Indian Political dilemma and Mr. Jeena) Mr. Jeena did not favour the 'Quit India' movement. The Puchari has thrown light on the policies of Congress, Muslim League, and Hindu-Sabha, regarding the 'Quit India' movement. Besides the Puchari has suggested the ways of compromise to the Government also.

The upheaval of 1857 was a scattered one and equally disorganized. Was the movement of 1942. The people of India had no idea of Revolution. They were prepared for it neither.

32) Puchari 11.4.44

33) " 28.1.44.

Rajaji Scheme :-

Gandhiji and Congress had turned down the Krips Scheme in order to oppose the partition of India. Then 'Quit India' movement was started. But Mr. Jeana interpreted this movement as attempt to make the British Government surrender before the Congress. It was as if a threat to the Muslim also. With this view, the Muslim League did not support the 'Quit India' movement. The non-co-operation policy of the Congress strengthened the Muslim League and even the Government began to be friend with it. As a result the demand for Pakistan was made in the Lahor session held in 1940. The Muslim League, further proclaimed in the session of December, 1943. 'Implement Partition and go'.

In all India Congress Committee, Chekrevarti Raj-Gopalachari presented a resolution that the Congress should make some compromise with the Muslim League, on the Pakistan issue in order to obtain independence. Gandhiji started a hunger strike in the prison in 1943. Then Rajaji discussed his plans with Gandhiji and suggested his solution on the Pakistan Problem. Even after Gandhiji was got free from the prison, Rajaji saw him on 9th December, at the residence of Mr. Jeana in Bombay.

In the editorial " ^{34.} ~~काँ-नेम~~ विम एवम्. " Puthari states that the Muslim League insists on Gandhiji's clear support on the issue of Pakistan. Then only the idea of

③ Puthari 11.8.44.

independence will be materialized. Then when is the scope for discussions ? The editor further states that the outcome of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jeeva will not be much hopeful. Same reaction is expressed in the editorial

35
"गंधी जीना भेटीची निष्पत्ती"

Unless the demand for Pakistan was accepted in principle Mr. Jeeva will not be ready for compromise and without compromise any step towards the independence was not possible. The editor of Pudhari in his editorial "क्या करे तुम्हें पक्कीज काय ?" says that the top leaders, who have to carry on the nation must find out some ways through the difficult circumstances. The editorial "विनाश पाकिस्तानी करमार" express the stand of the Muslim League neither the rule of the British people nor that of the majority of the Hindus is desirable.

In a resolution passed in the Lahore Session in 1940 the Muslim League had asserted the demand for Pakistan. This demand was indirectly upheld by the Congress by a resolution passed on 8th August, 1942, in which along with residuary all rights were granted.

Mr. Jeeva did not approve of the Rajaji scheme. Hence the discussions between Gandhi and Jeeva proved to be good for nothing. Mr. Jeeva insisted that at first the proposition of dual-nationalism stating that India and Pakistan are two separate nations, must be accepted. But Mahatma Gandhi could not entertain the idea that the Muslims in India would form

35) Pudhari 12.8.44.
36) " " 17.8.44.
37) " " 25.11.44.

separate nation. A close study of Rajaji-plan ^{now,} will show that Rajaji had granted what Mr. Jeena and the Muslim League wanted. However, the Jeena did not agree to any plan except that of partition. It was because of his stubbornness that the discussions were not successful. Mahatma Gandhi's a Dream of the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims seemed to be far away. In short, the Muslim League thwarted all efforts of the Congress Pudhari, in its editorial - " ³⁸ विम पुट-वर्तन राजजीय्य वानपितय्य " has made it clear that the Muslim League seems to be interested merely in starting some disputes and not in the independence.

Ford Wavel Scheme :-

After the commencement of the Second World War, the provincial Congress Ministries had resigned. This was a constitutional crisis. The British had to find out some solution. The Congress had rejected the Krips plan suggested in 1942. The Quit India Movement had stirred the nation. All leaders were behind the bars. It was necessary to let them come out. But before that it was necessary to put off the fire of nationalism. Meanwhile, America was asking England constantly to solve the political problem in India. Even the Soviet Russia began to look into the matter. The Vice Roy, Lord Wavel took a survey of the political situation in India and went to England in 1945. But he did not go to determine the final solution for the Indian political problem. But his main target

38) Pudhari 1-12-44.

was to obtain the co-operation of all political parties in India so as to defeat Japan. Having discussed with the British Cabinet, he presented a plan before the Indian Leaders.

Simla Conference :-

In order to create healthy atmosphere for this conference, firstly the Governor General got free all political leaders and called a meeting of them at Simla on 25th June, 1945. The present and former chief ministers of eleven provinces presidents and leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League representatives of the nationalist party, Sikhs and Harijans attended the meeting, which went on for two days. Congress being a national organization, was supposed to represent all people. But the Muslim League stated that the Congress represented the Hindus only and the Muslims were represented by the Muslim League. Because of this rift it was impossible to get the co-operation of the Muslim League. As a result Lord Wavel adjourned the discussion and held himself responsible for the failure of the same.

The Congress Leaders who attended the 'Simla Conference' pointed out to the Leaders of the Muslim League that was a political conference and it had nothing to do with communalism. This is stated in the editorial of 'Pudhari' entitled

"सिमा का बुद्धारी परिषद व ई. जिना. 39"

In this editorial Pudhari has asserted that it must be accepted by all that the Congress represents them.

39) Pudhari 11.7.45

Now the transitional period of India is over. Instead of some tentative plan there must be the thought of the implementation of some permanent plan, % said Stafford Cripps clearly. He wanted to solve the problem of India, once for all.

Gandhiji remarked that this was a cheque to be encashed after the scheme of Cripps. But the Congress working committee was ready to accept this post-dated cheque if the Defence of India Act was entrusted with the Indian Minister and if the Viceroy's Veto was withdrawn. Pundhri has expressed these thoughts in the editorial - " ^{no} कृपया वीचनेचे सुनस्वीकृत. "

The Transfer of Power in England and due decision of granting independence to India :-

The people of England voted in favour of the Labour Party in the General elections held in 1945. The Labour Ministry was formed on 10-7-1945. Mr. Clement ^{Attlee} was selected the leader of the Party as well as the Prime Minister. Amery, the Conservative Leader of the Royal Party, who was the Minister for India, was dismissed and Mr. Lawrence a Liberal diplomat was appointed in his place. In August, 1945, Japan surrendered and the terrible world war, II, which threatened the World for six years, came to an end. The Congress demanded an early solution of the political problem of India, as the world war had ended. The Labour Ministry also responded to the aspiration of the Indian People and gave top priority to the Indian issue.

10/ Pundhri 10.8.45 -

It was high time for the Labour Party to fulfill the promises regarding the freedom of India, given at the time of election campaign. The king of England, while inaugurating the Parliament, declared that India would be granted independence very soon. Similarly in the conference of the Labour Party led by Prof. Harold, Laski a resolution was passed regarding the approval of the Indian independence. But the editor of Pudhari makes it clear in the editorial 'मजूर वर्ग व दिवंगतमान' ⁿ¹ that the Labour Party will not implement this resolution. The address of the Kings shows that the issue of India will be kept pending. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amari will go on making the demand that at first there must be unity among the political parties in India. The editor further says 'England wants to own INDIA in order to make up for the loss, England cannot set right her social and economic system unless she exploits the land of India'. If we consider this fact, we should not be surprised of the imperialistic attitude of the Labour as well as socialist party in England. The editor has pointed out that once Mr. Amari himself has expressed similar views.

Three Minister's Scheme :- (Cabinet Mission Plan)

While the elections were going on in India, the British parliament sent a study group consisting of all political parties, to observe the views of the people. The study group stayed in India for one month and took a survey

n1) Pudhari 11.8.45.

of the people's views. It presented a report to the Prime-Minister Mr. Atley who made a historical declaration pertaining to the issue of India, on 15th March, 1946. His declaration stated, 'India will get Independence at an early date. For that a delegation will be sent to India. We are aware of the protection and rights of the minority groups. But we will not allow the minority groups to obstruct the path of majority of the people.'

According to the declaration of 19th September, 1945, there were elections and then a delegation consisting of the following three ministers was appointed :-

- 1) Lord Pethic Lawrence, Minister for India.
- 2) Sir Strawford ^{Cripps} Krips.
- 3) Sir Alexander.

The delegation came to Delhi on 24th March, 1946. It travelled in the whole of India. The Leaders of all political parties in India had talks with the delegation. There was difference of opinion about the partition of India. The Congress wanted undivided India whereas the Muslim League insisted on partition. There were long talks between the delegation of three ministers and the Congress and Muslim League, at Simla from 5th May, to 12th May. They tried to work out the constitution as well as the formation of the caretaking Government. But they could not arrive at unanimous opinion. Therefore this delegation and Viceroy made a statement according to which there was a special provision for the formation of the Government till the constitution was drafted.

passed resolution to reject the three minister scheme and was declared that the target of league is to form Pakistan. The League became to blame Government and decided to start campaigns against it. So on August 16, 1946 was declared as an 'Action Day'. This created tense revical spirit. Jaena cheered up Muslim people and awaken them to claim their rights. Its effect was this that there was revical violence in the city of Calcutta on 16th August. Regarding the tendency of League, Pudhariker comments in the article filled 'Muslim Leaguechi Fajiti', that Rashtriya Sabha used to fight for freedom and while getting its fruit league was becoming in the way to have more share. It has been understood through the political policy of league.

Even Pudhariker has reacted in the article titled 'Muslim Leaguecha Kangave' that if Mr. Jaena's 'Pretyaksha pratiker Chaleval' is exposed with revical sentiment then it must be controlled by British Government and Congress. At such critical moment if British Government remained neutral and gave inspiration to internal conflicts, then quitting power proclamation will be fruitless. British Government has got the last best opportunity to establish good friendship with Independent and strong India. To face non-co-operative movement and struggle Muslim league has become the prestige issue, courage and cunningness of congress at the critical stage.

Formation of Care-Taker Government :-

Three Minister scheme ordered Governor General to form caretaker government as early as possible. Due to order

on 29th June, 1946 caretaker Government of 7 member, was formed. Muslim League tried to form a Government without Congress, but Governor General did not agree with this plan of Jeeva. on July 22, 1946 Lord Vowel instructed League and Congress to form a Government of their respective members. The new care-taker government was to be built up with six members of Congress, 5 members of League and other 3 members etc. If Congress gave one post for national Muslim there was no objection as such. It was expected that one representative should be from the backward class. Congress agreed with the scheme of care.taker government and Nehru formed his cabinet on 2 Sept. 1946. Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel Dr. Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, Shri Jagejivanram and Sardar Baldevsing were his colleagues in the cabinet. Muslim league in the cabinet boycotted on it and it did not join the above government. Governor General had made attempts to place league in the care.taker government. At last the attempts were fruitful and league agreed to join the government. But it refused to accept constitution conference scheme. The league had rejected all the schemes. It lost its right to participate in the government. Because of co-operative nature of Congress party. It became easy for British Government to ask congress to form government and it was right to do it. Pandit Nehru took the office, he write a letter to Br. Jeeva and requested him to take part in the ministry. This decision was very good. It is understood through the article of Puchari

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'Swatantrayachi Gurukilli'. In the other article of 'Pudhari "congresschi Sharanagati" the prophecy was stated that in the care taker government, India as league had participated, national unrest would be dissolved, and hence further real national struggle would start between congress and league. This was realism soon. It was stated in the course time, we would get answer whether it was fruitful to form all party government or to become disgraceful to form government. This was the mixed reaction about the above government.

Constitutional committee :-

The election of constitutional committee took place in July 1946. The first conference was held on 9th Dec. 1946 of the constitutional committee. Here too league has boycotted. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as permanent president of constitutional committee on Dec. 11, 1946. Nehru passed a resolution of 'India as an independent country and sovereign'. League took part in government but boycotted on constitutional committee.

There were some clashes between league and congress in case of the scheme of under British Control. British Govt. declared to end the clashed on Dec. 6, 1946. League was unwilling to take part in constitutional committee till congress agreed with the proclamation of British Government.

Nehru had played the trick to turn the tables of British Government which plays the political games with the

12) Pudhari 17.8.45.

help of league. After the surrender of Congress if league has not taken part in the constitutional committee then congress had right to put demand to remove league from the Government. This resolution means surrender or not, soon it would be realised. It was stated in the article 'Congress Surrender'¹³

British Government also realised that freedom should be delayed because of irrational policy of minor party. And whether British Government is going to take action or not that was the question whatever league may say but congress agreed with the explanation of British Government. Now it was the responsibility. British Government to give order to league to leave constitutional conference or care-taker Government and to imply the decision taken by the conference. It was a must to adopt such policy. If British government did not do, then it would be proved that it was the trick played by British Government and congress was to take arms against British Govt. as her legal way became fruitless. It was stated in the article 'Muslim League Kanglekhori' about league's policy and action.

The soul of three ministers scheme was that there should be representative in the constitutional committee. According to this scheme British Government wished to give all powers to ruling party due to the constitution to ruling sanctioned by all parties. But unfortunately the due to decision power would be formed or not, that was the main question. At that time the picture was not clear. It meant that if the party unity was not seen, then power would have been given to

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13) Pundhori 9.1.47.

the stats. It meant to give birth to the creation of Pakistan.

Congress warned league that if it did not want to take part in constitutional conference then the ministers of league party should give resignation otherwise congress would leave the care-taker Government. To avoid future danger in February, 1947 prime Minister declared that this unstable atmosphere would not last long. He stated that British Government was going to change the power and quit India by the month of June 1948. At last British Government took decision to quit India after learning a good lesson. It was stated in the article titled 'British Rejanitichs ^{nm} Naguna' in Pudhari.

Mount Baten Plan :-

Lord Mount Baten arrived in India on March, 24, 1947. After his arrival he studied the condition of India. He discussed with all party leaders and left for England in the month of May. He discussed with British cabinet and arrived to India with the plan of division of country on June 3, 1947. He declared the plan of division. This plan has been recognised as 'Mount Baten Plan'. The following are the provisions of the above plan :-

A) As the members of Muslim League from Bengal, Sindha, Beluchistan, and Punjab did not take part in the constitutional committee so -

1) the elected representatives of legistura council from Bengal and Punjab should take division where whather they should

nm) Pudhari 23.2.1947.

go in Bharat or Pakistan.

2) Even the representative legislature of Sindh and Baluchistan should take decision of joining Pakistan or Bharat.

B) Out of three member, two members from Border state have been taken part in constitutional committee. The decision to join Bharat or Pakistan is to be taken by the public by considering geographical features.

C) The decision to join Asam or Pakistan would be taken about muslim people of Asam by considering majority of public opinion from the 'Silhet' district. If the decision of separation or division is taken then the Border Commission is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ formed.

D) The discussion will take place about defence, currency communication debt. The law will passed in the British parliament. for change of power. The colonial status will be given to both the countries. Whether they should remain in British 'Rashtrakul' or not, is up to them. Immediately Muslim League accepted this plan on June 9, 1947. The resolution was passed and league welcomed it. Because in this plan the seeds of Pakistan were sown. Hindu Maha sabha revolted against this plan and decided to struggle to get back lost country and to keep united. Bharat Congress agreed with 'Mountbatten'. There was hold on Congress of Mahatma Gandhi. He used to say that if you want separation, you have to cross my corpse. Congress

nm) Dudhrai + 5. 11. 47
 11) " + 5. 11. 47

which was greatly influenced by Gandhi and was always in opposition right from beginning agreed with the decision of separation.

The seed of Pakistan was sown in the 'Three Minister Scheme' ^(Cabinet Mission) _h 'Even though for all Hindustan a weak power Government was formed. Hence Congress accepted this plan and carried on the position of constitutional conference. The politics of Hindustan could not take proper form, without the division of Hindustan, and it was stated in the article titled 'Akhand Hindustan^{h5}che Asta^{h5}'.

When the problems of Hindus and Muslims go to an extreme at that time Mahatma Gandhi knock the doors of Barristers of Jaana to change the mind. Mahatma Gandhi never feel that the separation of Hindustan will take place, but on the contrary Jaana feels that, that was the only practical solution to solve political fight corner. The plans of British Government about freedom were opposed by Muslim League to the sunrise of Pakistan. It was stated in the article titled 'Ki Manjhari Atta Dura^{h6}'.

The picture of separation of Hindustan was clear by Mount Baten Plan. The dreams of united Hindustan which was dreamt by the poets, philosophers and the cunning politicians, was going turn in to ashes. At that time because of internal conflict, the people have to sacrifice for the freedom.

h5) Pundhrai 1-5-77

h6) " 9.5.77

Independence Act of Bharat :-

Lord Mount Baten, completed the plan of division of Hindustan. Muslim League and Congress agreed with the plan. In the British parliament the act was passed on July 18, 1947, to give freedom to India, with the help of above mentioned plan and British people changed the power and give freedom to India at mid night on August 14, 1947. After handing over power to India, the British rule of 190 years was at the end. The constitutional conference of Pakistan appointed Barrister Jauna as Governor General. The Prime Ministership was given to 'Liyakhan Ali Khan' Nehru became Prime Minister of India. Mount Baten was appointed as Governor General of India by the constitutional conference.

The credit of success of freedom goes to the great social and political leaders named Dadabhai Nauroji, Matha, Rande, Gokhale, Malviya, Lala Lajpat Roy, Lokmenya Tilak & Subhash Chandra Bose, Mahatma Phula, Ambedkar, Shahu Maharaj, Shinde, Kerve, Rajaram Mohan Roy, Dayanand, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekanand, Khudiram Bhagatsingh, Krentisingh, Nana Patil, Jayanathrao Bhosale, Rajguru, Dr. Ambedkar, and Dalit and labour leaders.

More than this we have to state the names of common people like Babu Ganu, Shripat Patil, Vatahs etc. who are not in the light, on the pages of history and they have

sacrificed their lives and have the lion's share to get freedom of India. Their blessings must be considered in case of history of freedom of India.

In the capital of Hindustan, Flag of India is fluttering with pride and British Flag is taken down. In the capital of India several flags, were played of Kings, emperors, today. The flag of public ambition is seen. In the history of India, at first time, the flag of Independent India is fluttering by the greater sacrifice of common people of India.

The contribution of Pudhari in the National Movement :-

As the freedom movement became more and more strong, the British Specialists began to make attempts to get Indians in the power. Step by step they began to give the constitutional rights to Indians. They adopted the policy of 'Divide and rule'. They were wise to foster the conflicts of Brahmin and non-brahmins, Hindu-Muslims down troddens and non-downtroddens. For the social barriers. The aim was to puncture the national spirit and to weaken the mass freedom movement. In the freedom movement there was influence, of upper class, newly learned class and the group of old tradition revivals etc. In this national movement, success was impossible without the participation 'Eshuguna Samaj' without this samaj social changes were not becoming dynamic and influential. Mahatma Gandhi realized this fact and so he made attempts in that light. When non-Brahmin leaders like Shri. Jadhav, Jawalkar, from Maharashtra, took part in the national movement, right from that

freedom movement because became in true sense the movement of 'Bhujan Samaj' This class was organising under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. Even there were some Maratha Papers in existence to support expose many types of instincts, in the movement of social equality and freedom.

It was a new political culture which cheered up the values of social equality, public - awareness and freedom. To develop this political Culture 'Pudhari' has lion's share in it. As Pudhariker got the heritage of thoughts of Jadhav, Jawalkar and Phule, he heaped to bring Bhahujan Saman in the national movement. At the same time, he gave inspiration to create Democratic culture along with slogans of nationalism. He made princely states aware of national flow or current and enabled them to mix up in the national stream.

Through the editorials Pudhari has played very important role and contributed to the national freedom movements. So we should not forget pudhari's work as a mass media for the inspiration of freedom movements and national out work among the millions of the rural masses.

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