CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTIONS OF A COMMUNAL CONFLICT

As in the every other major socio political conflict people’s perceptions differed, depending on their views and prejudices. Most of the scholars, including Bjorn Hettne hold the view that the Bangalore Disturbances temporarily changed the conflict focus from the Brahmin. Non-Brahmin cleavage to the Hindu Mulsims cleavage. Whether the 1928 events were pre-planned, conspired or not, the Hindu Muslim cleavage had widened. Therefore, in the present chapter we focus on the perceptions of both the Hindus and the Muslims in the conflict.
The Hindu Version:

For some time prior to June 1928, Mr. Abbas Khan, who was the Municipal President, was taking an active part in carrying out improvements to the City by broadening the roads and their junctions under the personal guidance of the Dewan. In this attempt, certain Aswathakattes, or raised platforms around peepul trees, which had a religious significance were interfered with on two occasions, - once in December 1927 when two Aswathakattes attached to Sri Anjaneya Temple in the Yelahanka Gate Square were removed, and later on in June 1928, two others in Kalasipalyam and the Fort. This action was not popular, however well-intentioned it might have been. The removal was effected without regard to Hindu sentiment, while petty Musalman tombs found in the Centre of the roads, for instance, the one in front of the City Market, were allowed to remain without interference. The Hindus who resented this were discussing the matter among themselves but felt powerless to interfere as the president was a Mussalman and he had the support of the Mussalman head of the administration.

The discontent became accentuated when the Director of Public Instruction ordered, all of a sudden on 15th June, that the Ganesha
should not be restored to its original place within the nice, which had been built for it. To the Hindu mind, there was nothing wrong in constructing the niche as a protection to the image whether it was consecrated and regularly worshipped or not. The image had been there for many years and it had a right to remain there. These rumours spread and the sympathies of all sections of Hindus were enlisted, as testified to by Sir K.P. Puttanna Chetty and other witnesses.¹ It was widely believed that the Director of Public Instruction passed the order under Instructions from the Dewan upon the complaint of Mr. Abbas Khan. It was also believed that Mr. Abbas Khan intended to open a road to connect the Mosque with Arcot Srinivasa Char Street. Mr. Abbas Khan exhibited his real feelings in the matter when in the presence of the Director of Public Instruction, he charged the overseer responsible for the repairs to the school with having allowed the construction of the niche without permission.

The question was first taken up on behalf of the boys and the Hindus interested by the Kanarese daily Veerakesari on the 27th June 1928, and then by the weekly paper Visvakarnataka on the 29th June 1928. Later on, some of the other newspapers also took up the matter. The Director of Public Instruction made light of a representation by
Veerakesari, and the Government did not acknowledge a letter of 3rd July addressed to the Chief Secretary by the editor of Visvakarnataka. The school population, consisting entirely of young Hindu boys of 11 to 14 years of age, were in the habit of worshipping the Ganesha image occasionally and they had taken the trouble to get a niche constructed by the contractor. They were sadly disappointed and aggrieved when they found that they could not restore the image to its old place. Their cause was taken up by Messrs. H.V. Subrahmanyam, Ramlal Thiwari and Bhima Rao who were generally taking interest in public movements. There was an outburst of feeling among the students of the Sultanpet school and this came to be shared gradually by students of other schools in the neighbourhood.

The strike commenced on the 24th July, and as the authorities took no note of the movement, there was no alternative open to the students but to practise Satyagraha, which they did from the 27th evening. Once Satyagraha was commenced, there was no use or meaning in stopping it till the boys secured their object. The authorities concerned should have appreciated the trend of events and adopted measures in good time to restore the image. As the boys were sitting without food in front of the school, braving weather and rain, some of
the Hindus naturally took pity on them and provided them with refreshments and food. By this time, the news spread all over the city. Sir K.P. Puttanna Chetty wrote to the Dewan in the matter. There was no conspiracy of any kind; much less was there any need for it. As a matter of fact, some of the leading citizens intervened on the 28th July and earnestly endeavored to terminate the Satyagraha by promising to intercede in the matter with the authorities. According to the Hindu leaders, the Hindus did not intend to make this a communal question between the Mussalmans and themselves; it was related only to the Hindu community and their grievance was that Government had interfered and would not restore Ganesha idol to its old place. The Mussalmans, according to the Brahmins, misconstrued the incident of a short stoppage of the gosha carts near the Girls' school. The carts could not pass freely as the road at the time was overcrowded by spectators, for which the boys could not be held responsible. The satyagrahis were inside the school compound and the incident occurred outside. On the other hand, the gathering of Mussalmans in groups so early as the 27th July showed that they were watching the developments with evil intentions. The idol of Ganesha was restored on the 29th, but the boys had a fresh grievance in that, their three leaders were arrested that morning. They resolved to continue the
satyagraha and declined to worship the image till their leaders were released from prison.

On the 30th July, the boys without any guidance from their leaders, went about the City collecting the boys of other schools, with a view to proceed in a large body and make a representation to higher authorities in order to secure the release of their leaders. There was no other purpose in their mind in approaching the Central Jail, the Dewan’s residence or the Public offices. the boys entertained no idea whatever of causing any harm or committing any acts of violence. When they came to know that the Superintendent of the Jail was powerless to grant them relief, they proceeded to the Dewan’s residence to make an appeal to the head of the administration. Though the Dewan spoke kindly to them, he did not give them a definite reply and it seemed to them that he tried to go away to the Public Offices without redressing their grievance. The boys were disappointed at this and chose to remain where they were. Their behavior was quiet and orderly until a police sub-inspector used a hunting whip to disperse them. Owing to this, some older boys or adults who happened to be at the gate when the Dewan’s car was passing, must have thrown stones at the car, and for this the young boys were in no way responsible.
When the horses arrived and the police made it clear to them that they must disperse, they quietly withdrew.

As to their behaviour at the Public Offices, the boys were sitting quietly and showed no disposition to be unruly or violent. It was only when the sowars, (Mysore army) uncontrolled by the Civil authorities, rode through and chased the boys and committed other excesses by using their lances, that the boys retaliated by pelting stones. The young boy Chokkanna, aged 12 years, received an injury over his left ear by a lance thrust by a sowar. Student Mylariah who was chased by a sowar fell and being trodden by a horse received an injury to his foot with the result that his leg had to be amputated. The calling in of the sowars and the use of the military force against young boys roused the sympathy and anger of the parents and the citizens generally. The latter, therefore, mustered strong at the Yelahanka Gate and the Kantharaj Urs Circle, but as soon as the sowars were withdrawn, the excitement subsided and the stone throwing ceased.

The matter would have ended peacefully when the prisoners were released in the evening; but that was not to be. The Mussalmans kept silent so long as the image remained unrestored, but Mr. Abbas Khan and the Mussalmans in general felt aggrieved when it was put
back. On that evening after the restoration of the image, groups of Mussalmans were seen near the bicycle shop and on the road in front of the school. Their movements were suspicious and showed that they probably meant harm to the image. The boys took warning and stood guard over it all night. Mr. H.V. Subrahmanyam complained to the police sergeant on duty on the 27th July that some stones were thrown from the bicycle shop and the latter warned the people not to commit mischief. On the 29th July handbills were in circulation in the Civil and Military Station misrepresenting many of the facts to the Mussalmans residing there. The Mussalmans of the Civil and Military Station attempted to enter the city that day alone, but were stopped by the authorities near the Queen's Statue.

The discomfiture became worse when the Government yielded to the clamour of the Hindus and released the prisoners. The Muslims round about the school with the aid of Mr. Abbas Khan had evidently made preparations for an attack by keeping men ready at the bicycle shop, which was in the occupation of the Muslims, and providing them with bamboo lathis and fire-arms with the object of attacking the Hindus and taking vengeance on the slightest pretext. According to the Brahmin leaders who had given evidence before the enquiry
committee, the Hindu crowds in the processions were most peaceful, since they had secured what they wanted and had nothing to feel sore at. There were no disorders or acts of violence on their part while they were marching along the streets in procession.

Mr. N. Venkatasubbaiya, who was near the school before the procession arrived, saw a large crowd of Muslims near Mr. Abbas Khan’s house and opposite the bicycle shop. At about 6-30 p.m. Sub-Inspector Seshadri Iyer noticed 3 or 4 Muslims going into and coming out of Mr. Abbas Khan’s house. Sergeant Venkatesaiya says that when the procession arrived, he observed 8 or 10 Muslims inside Mr. Abbas Khan’s house and 10 or 15 Muslims outside. Market Contractor Mr. Sanjeevappa observed 4 or 5 Moplas walking up and down in Mr. Abbas Khan’s compound. Mr. Vajapeyam Venkatasaiya says that there were 10 to 15 Mussalmans close to Mr. Belur Srinivasa Iyengar’s car when he delivered his speech. During the disturbances, when Messrs. P. Subbarama chetty and Vajapeyam Venkatasaiya went into Mr. Abbas Khan’s compound to protest, they found bundles of green bamboos and men armed with lathis.

It will be seen that the Muslims had assembled near Mr. Abbas Khan’s house and its vicinity evidently prepared to attack the Hindus.
When the procession of the leaders arrived, a large crowd of spectators also followed it but they had no premonition of what was coming. Mr. Belur Srinivasa Iyengar arrived with one of the leaders in a car, which stopped at the school gate. He made a short speech containing words of thanks giving for the success of their efforts in restoring the image and releasing the leaders. According to the version of the Brahmin leaders, when the prayers ended and the people dispersed, stones and old shoes were thrown from the road and Mr. Abbas Khan’s house towards the image. An alarm was raised, but before the crowd could realise what was happening, five or six gun-shouts were fired from the upper storey of the cycle shop, immediately followed by two or three shots from the upper storey of Mr. Abbas Khan’s house. In the confusion and rush followed, loud cries were heard that some boys were being dragged into Mr. Abbas Khan’s house. The Muslims inside and in front of Mr. Abbas Khan’s house rushed out with lathis in hand, and after dividing themselves into two groups proceeded to belabour the Hindus right and left. A panic ensued, and the Hindus who were quite unarmed fled in all directions to escape. More Muslims poured in from adjacent lanes and roads and went on attacking the Hindus. The crowds inside the school compound made a rush towards a trap door in the main gate leading to the Urdu
Boy's School in the rear. The trap-door was broken open and many persons escaped in that direction. In a short time the roads were cleared of the Hindus on account of the panic created by the shots. The wounded were removed with some trouble. The whole incident occupied only 20 to 30 minutes. It is also alleged that in the upstairs room of Mr. Abbas Khan's house 'four persons were found lying covered up with cloth in a suspicious position.' The Superintendents of Police and the District Magistrate who were present, refused to search Mr. Abbaskhan's house or to make the arrests according to one version.  

After the 30th July, the acts of the authorities increased the tension instead of allaying it. The entire Hindu population in the city was in great consternation. It was unsafe for men and women to move about in the city and there were numerous assaults on Hindu men and women by Muslim rowdies. The Police arrangements were quite inadequate and complaints at the police stations went unheeded. While in this state of panic the Hindu residents submitted a memorial to his highness the Maharaja.

Then, there were peace conferences held by the Government. In the first conference held on 3rd August, Mr. Abbas Khan and his
friends made vehement attacks on Brahmins, both official and non-official, alleging that they had conspired to vilify Mr. Abbas Khan, discredit the Dewan and overthrow the Government. The Brahmins were astounded at this attack cleverly sprung upon them by Mr. Abbas Khan with the sole object of concealing the real issues and screening the offenders. Some of the advocates in the city co-operated to enquire into and meet these unfounded charges in the interests of the community. Finding that they had no proof whatever of any conspiracy, the next move of the associates of Mr. Abbas Khan, at a later stage, was to give this co-operation itself a bad name and call its members conspirators.

Meanwhile, the Government communiques added insult to injury by denying an important occurrence witnessed by hundreds of persons, namely, the shooting on the 30th night, and by characterising the reports in the Press as untrue and mischievous. By this attitude Government showed that they were distinctly prejudiced against the Hindu community. The Press was 'gagged'. The Hindu spokesmen had perforce to seek the columns of foreign newspapers to give expression to their feelings and expose the errors of the Government departments. Some of the non-Brahmins at the same time fomented
communal feelings by writing articles in their own partisan papers, couched often in vulgar and undignified language.

The version of Muslim community

A large number of witnesses appeared on behalf of the Muslim community. They included many Hindu witnesses who supported the version of the Muslim community before the enquiry committee. They do not admit that the Ganesha incident is the primary or even the remote cause of the disturbances. According to them, it was only made a pretext of by certain Brahmin agitators out of selfish motives to foment trouble with a view to discredit Mr. Abbas Khan, remove the Dewan and overthrow the constitution. In their view the agitators constitute a “clique” or “secret society”. To establish this theory the activities of such agitators are traced back to the days of the Rendition and even to the pre-Rendition period.

According to Mr. Abdur Rahman, the president of the District Board, Bangalore, there had always been in existence a “powerful organization” or a “powerful clique of outsiders”, who lost no opportunity of vilifying Mysoreans and keeping them out of power. Whenever a Mysorean was elevated to the Dewanship, there was always a cry raised by this “alien clique”.

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This struggle between the Madrasis and the Mysoreans continued till 1918 when, according to Mr. Abdur Rahman, in consequence of the appointment of the Miller Committee to suggest measures for the increased representation of the non-Brahmins in the services, it gave place to a dispute between the Brahmins, both local and foreign, as a separate class, and the non-Brahmins. Between 1918 and 1922, the differences between these two communities became accentuated on account of the increased facilities given to the non-Brahmins to progress by means of the action taken on the Miller Committee Report and the Education Memorandum submitted by the Inspector-General of education, and the grant of Backward Class Scholarships. By the expansion of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council also, many non-Brahmins took the place of Brahmins in these two public bodies. Further, there was discontent among officials at the increased powers given to non-officials in the Government of the country through these two public bodies. The Brahmins whether Madrasis or Mysoreans, therefore, joined hands against the non-Brahmins and began a campaign against the latter. This new clique of Brahmins could not bear to see a non-Brahmin as Dewan.

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After the advent of Mr. Mirza. M. Ismail as Dewan, the various factors combined and joined forces a little before the disturbances occurred. Members of this secret society, whose number is variously computed at from 6 to 100, carried on their propaganda through subsidised newspapers in which they published articles decrying the acts of the Government and showing them up in an unfavorable light. The impecunious editors of certain newspapers were in the pay of this secret society. The members of the society or clique wrote articles in the local and foreign newspapers distorting facts and maliciously depreciating the useful work done in the interests of the country by the present Dewan. There was also a feeling of strong jealousy against the Dewan as he enjoyed the special confidence of His Highness the Maharaja, having been his trusted Private Secretary. In July and August 1927 the jealousy increased as the subsidy was reduced by Rs.10 ½ lakhs by the Government of India at the time of the viceregal visit, and also because during the Silver Jubilee, the Dewan was honoured with a seat in the howdah on the elephant on which His Highness went in procession in Bangalore city.

With this, agitation was directed against the Dewan and Mr. Abbas Khan who was till recently the President of the City Municipality.
He was a leader of the Moslem and other non-Brahmin causes. He had certain Brahmin friends who supported his candidature to the Municipal Presidentship against the opposite candidate, but who later on fell out with him and joined the secret society to work against both Mr. Abbas Khan and the Dewan.

While matters were in this state, in the March (1928) session of the Legislative Council, one of the non-Brahmin members felt aggrieved at the attitude of Government towards certain interpolations put by him. His resentment was shared by some of his colleagues. During the session of the Representative Assembly in June 1928, there was again an attempt to disturb the smooth running of the proceedings, as the organisers expected that the Government would necessarily disallow such questions and put themselves in the wrong. Events having turned out as they expected, there was a walk-out from the Assembly by certain non-Brahmin and Brahmin Members on the ground of alleged insult offered by the Dewan-President. In that walk-out Mr. Abbas Khan did not join. From that time there was a split in the non-Brahmin camp, and Mr. Abbas Khan was boycotted by some of his erstwhile political associates. Those opposed to him made common cause and joined in furthering the aims of the secret society, which
according to him were 'to overthrow the Government, dislodge the Dewan, and vilify him and bring me into trouble.' They were sending out circulars all over the State secretly and inciting people against the Government.

About this time certain peepul trees and temple lands and buildings were interfered in connection with the Bangalore city improvements. Though similar measures had often been adopted before with regard to peepul trees, Hindu temples, masjids, chatrams and even Christian churches, nobody had ever taken any serious notice of such acts, but now the agitators set up people to work against the Government. It was in such an atmosphere that the Ganesha incident occurred and that was a godsend opportunity to the agitators. The Director of Public Instruction was right in preventing the restoration of the image so that a temple may not grow in the compound of a public school. Seeing that the young boys would naturally be interested in the restoration of Ganesha idol the clique set them up nearly a month after the order of the Director of Public Instruction and actively helped them to agitate themselves remaining behind the scenes.

Considering their attitude and their regular propaganda even if the Ganesha affair had not occurred, the agitators who were waiting for
an opportunity would have taken advantage of some other incident to rouse discontent among the people, and some how would have be brought about disturbances sooner or later.

"I am personally aware", said Mr. Abbas Khan, "of certain facts to show to prove that there was a conspiracy, and that there was a secret society conspiring to do these things. All these things had taken place under the organization of that society; this agitation is financed by that society, while the students are fed by that Society. There was a real organization to attack the Central Jail, the Dewan's residence and the Public offices in three places and in three groups. All this was done in an organized manner".

It is in the light of these circumstances that the differences and the causes underlying them have to be judged. The Ganesha affair would have passed off quietly, were it not exaggerated to suit the convenience of these scheming agitators. Mr. Abbas Khan had no hand in the order passed by the Director. In fact he openly stated so to the editor of the Veerakesari and even offered to subscribe for the restoration of the image. The Muslims had no objection in the Ganesha remaining where it was, or even in the niche, what they and Mr. Abbas Khan who lived in the locality objected to was the construction of a large
temple in a Mussalman locality, which they learnt was in contemplation. The leaders who set up the boys, especially Mr. Subrahmanyam, made violent speeches provoking the Mussalmans and inciting the boys to acts of violence in order to attain their object.

Mr. Subrahmanyam, in the course of a speech at the Market square on the evening of the 25th July 1928, compared the proportion of Mussalmans to Hindus in the Mysore State to a handful of pebbles, in a bag of rice, which could be easily picked out and thrown away. A Mussalman by-stander on hearing this retorted that a maund of fuel was sufficient to boil a palla of rice whereas stones could never be boiled. Mr. Subrahmanyam also said that the Mussalmans taking advantages of the head of the administration being a member of their community. According to him the Muslims were doing a lot of mischief and that the Hindus should arm themselves with sharp weapons as a protection against rowdy Mussalmans. In the course of his further harangues he also made uncomplimentary references to the present administration and the Mussalmans in general who, he said, were taking this opportunity to “lay the axe at the root of Hindu society”.

The marching of the boys and the violence displayed by them at the Central Jail, the Dewan’s residence and the Public Offices were all
premeditated and formed part of the scheme to bring the Government into disrepute. The boys insulted Muslim girls going in gosha carts to the Urdu Girl's school next to Mr. Abbas Khan's house by stopping and interfering with the carts. The Mussalmans felt aggrieved but, nevertheless, on the advice of the police, restrained themselves expecting that the authorities would take necessary action.26

On the evening of the 30th July there was no gathering of Hindu boys near the school. According to a notice put up at the gate in the morning, a meeting was to be held on the Gandhi Maidan. Neither Mr. Abbas Khan nor any of the Mussalmans knew that the leaders would be released in the evening or would be brought to the school in procession and there was no reason for them to make any previous preparation. Mr. Abbas Khan29 was, therefore, surprised to find a crowd coming to the school shouting and abusing him and the Dewan. Mr. Belur Srinivasa Iyengar standing in a motorcar in front of the school gate made a vehement speech pointing to Mr. Abbas Khan's house accusing him of being responsible for all the trouble and the privations undergone by the boys. The speech was punctuated by the cries of the crowd, "Abbas Khan is dead" and "Dewan is dead". At the signal of a pre-arranged whistle the excited crowd began to pelt stones at and attack Mr. Abbas
Khan’s house. Mr. Abbas Khan and his son put out the lights and stood on the landing of the upper storey, looking at the crowd through the glass shutters of the windows. Mr. Abbas Khan’s son received an injury on the forehead from a stone which cut through a glass pane. At about the same time a Hindu mob of about one or two hundred people armed with sticks rushed into the compound shouting, “Where is Abbas Khan? Drag him out. Pull the women out. Burn his house”. A servant of his who was in the compound was attacked and had his arm fractured. The crowd tried to rush into the house. The women and children in the house, numbering about a dozen, were terrified and began to cry, and Mr. Abbas Khan himself became unnerved not knowing what to do.

It is not known where the Muslims came from and how the attacks on the Hindus ensured. A probable explanation is that the stones pelted by the crowd fell on the corrugated iron roofing of the Masjid behind Mr. Abbas Khan’s house and created a great noise; the Muslims residing in the locality were surprised, and upon hearing of an attack on Mr. Abbas Khan’s house rushed out and perhaps attacked some of the rowdy elements among the Hindus. The provocation first came from the Hindus. There was no shooting from Mr. Abbas Khan’s house or at his instance. It is said that shots were fired from the cycle shop; if that is
true, the responsibility for it cannot be fixed. After the first disturbance, the Hindus gathered again in the adjoining streets, and picking up pieces of casuarina wood from the adjacent fuel depots stopped the Mussalmans wherever they found them and inflicted severe injuries on many.

After the cavalry arrived and the police were reinforced, Mr. Abbas Khan on the advice of a cavalry officer removed his family in his motor car to Hebbal where a relative of his lived. The same car made two trips to remove the inmates in two batches.

Some of the Mussalmans of the Civil and Military Station also came to the City in the evening having heard a rumour that the Dewan was wounded and Mr. Abbas Khan’s house was attacked. There was also a stray rumour, that the mill hands would go on strike and demolish the Muslim tomb in the City Market Square. The Muslims were all in a panic, as they feared that the Hindus would attack their houses. There were really no communal differences between the two communities, and the rash acts, if any, of individual Muslims should not be put to the account of the Muslim community as a whole, as is sought to be done by the Brahmin local press and by the Hindu correspondents of the foreign press. 30
The enquiry committee, which went into the 1928 Bangalore disturbances, consisted of Sir M. Visveswarayya, D.K.Ramarao, H.G. Basavappa, Gulam Ahmed Kalami, V. Manicka Velu Mudaliar, B. Nagappa and Mr. Ralph Nye very seriously criticised the behaviour of the mob leaders and the students. “There was no justification for their (students’) invasion of schools and colleges, the central jail, Carlton House or the Public offices or for the acts of rowdyism which they committed at all or most of these places, and their conduct in pelting stones at the Sowars (Cavalry) was reprehensible”.

The same committee had very strong views against the press for their highly objectionable act of fomenting communal hatred in the city.

The frustration among the Brahmin leaders after the Miller Committee recommendations in favour of the backward castes, was one factor which was crucial to the incidents in Bangalore. The shift of power in the non-Brahmin Movement from the Muslim Lingayat axis to the “Late comers” among which the Vokkaligas were the most important, provided the opportunity for the Brahmins to split the movement by making use of a cross cutting cleavage. For example, Abbas khans’ friends within the movement were paralysed and it became easier for a new leadership to take over.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Most of these newspapers had taken an activist stand.

3. According to Home Political Files, some of these leaders were not only, associated with the Indian National Congress, but were also members of the *Hindu Mahasabha* and all of them were upper caste Hindus.

   See, Home Political No. 18 / XIII/ 1930 15 Nov. 1930.

4. Stoppage of the cart of Muslim girls in front of the Urdu School by the Brahmin boys was very disturbing and led to communal cleavages.

5. Infact the Dewan had to go to Public Officer to issue the same order.

6. The Muslim groups came out only to give protection for the Dewan since the news had spread that he was attacked by the mob. They were totally unconcerned about any Ganesha Statue. See, *Report on the Disturbances* op. cit.
7. According to the Muslims, they were frightened that the mob would attack Mr. Abbas Khan and they were there only for his physical protection.

8. The Enquiry Committee under Sir. M. Visveswarayya former Dewan had not corroborated any incident of stone throwing on the image of Ganesha.

9. According to the Bangalore Disturbances Enquiry Committee, there was no evidence of anybody being dragged into Mr. Abbaskhan's house. See Report on the Disturbances. pp 21-25.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Many historians take the view that there was a conspiracy by the Brahmins to break the non-Brahmin movement.

See S. Chandrasekhar *Dimensions of Socio-political change in Mysore 1918-194* pp 138 - 143.

13. See also, 'Sir Mirza Ismail collections (Private papers)' K.S. A.


15. Ibid

17. Ibid.


20. Ibid.


23. Ibid. p. 63.


25. Ibid


27. Ibid

28. Ibid

29. Ibid.
30. The press which enjoyed greater freedom had no constraints. And
the behaviour of some of the newspapers was reprehensible.

See, S. Chandrasekhar, op. cit.


32. Ibid.