

**R E P O R T**  
**OF THE**  
**THIRTY-EIGHTH**  
**INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

**HELD AT**  
**COCANADA**

**ON THE**

*28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923*

**AND**

*1st. January 1924.*

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**BOLUSU SAMBAMURTI,**  
**General Secretary, Reception Committee.**  
**1924.**



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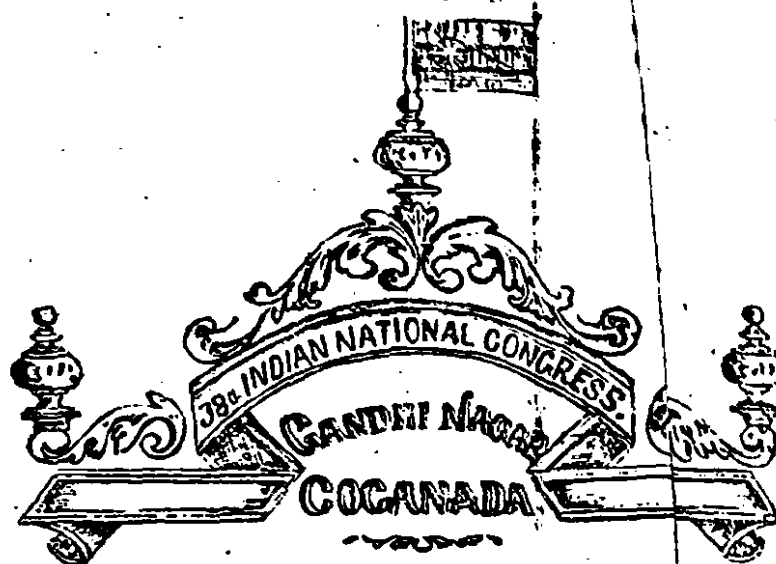
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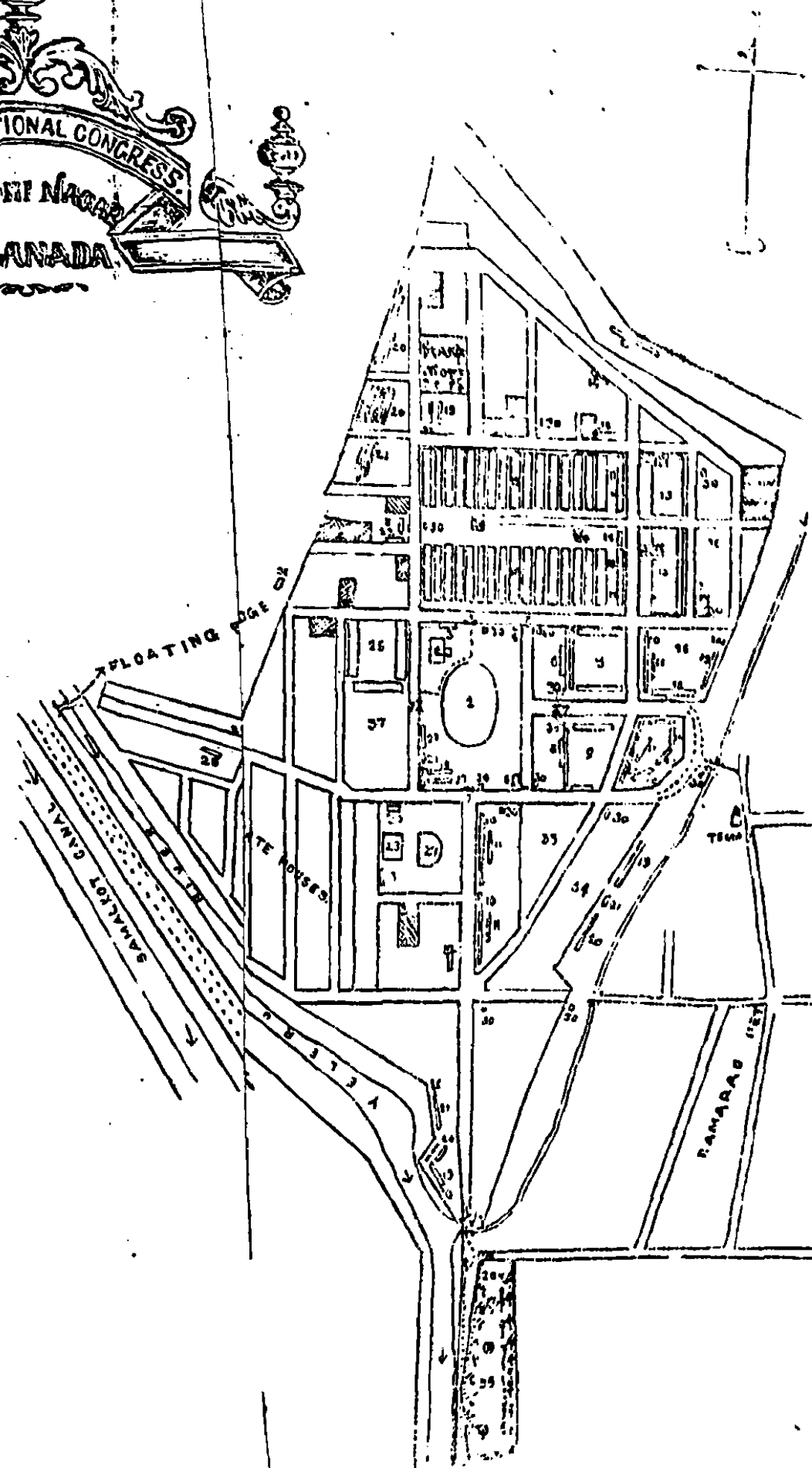
# REFERENCE.

- 1 Congress Pavilion
  - 2 Subjects Committee Hall
  - 3 Refreshment Hall for Subjects Committee Members
  - 4 Reporters' Room
  - 5 Printing Press Building
  - 6 Refreshment Stalls inside the Pandal Enclosure
  - 7 Gates to the Pandal Enclosure
  - 8 Offices { Railway Booking Office  
Post and Telegraph Office  
Reception Committee Office  
Andhra Bank
  - 9 Refreshment Stalls outside the Pandal Enclosure
  - 10 General shops and Stalls
  - 11 Cooking Place for Stall-Keepers
  - 12 Provincial Kitchens and Dining Halls
  - 13 General Kitchen and Dining Hall
  - 14 Station Volunteers and Luggage Shed
  - 15 Congress Railway Platform
  - 16 Stores and Provisions Sheds
  - 17 Dinner and Lighting Committee Offices
  - 18 General { Delegates  
Camp { Reception Committee Members  
for { Visitors and Families
  - 19 Urinals for Gentlemen
  - 20 Latrines for Gentlemen
  - 21 Latrines for Ladies
  - 22 Urinals for Ladies
  - 23 Hospital Buildings
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  - 34 Carriage Stand
  - 35 Exhibition Grounds
  - 36 Baths
  - 37 Camp for All India Volunteer Delegates
- Private Houses
- 2 Sheds for Shaving, one at each bathing ghat. (Barber)
- 2 Sheds for washermen, one at each bathing ghat. (Dhobikhana)



SCALE

600 Feet = 1 Inch.



Block Plan of Gandhi Nagar.

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 Resident Workers.

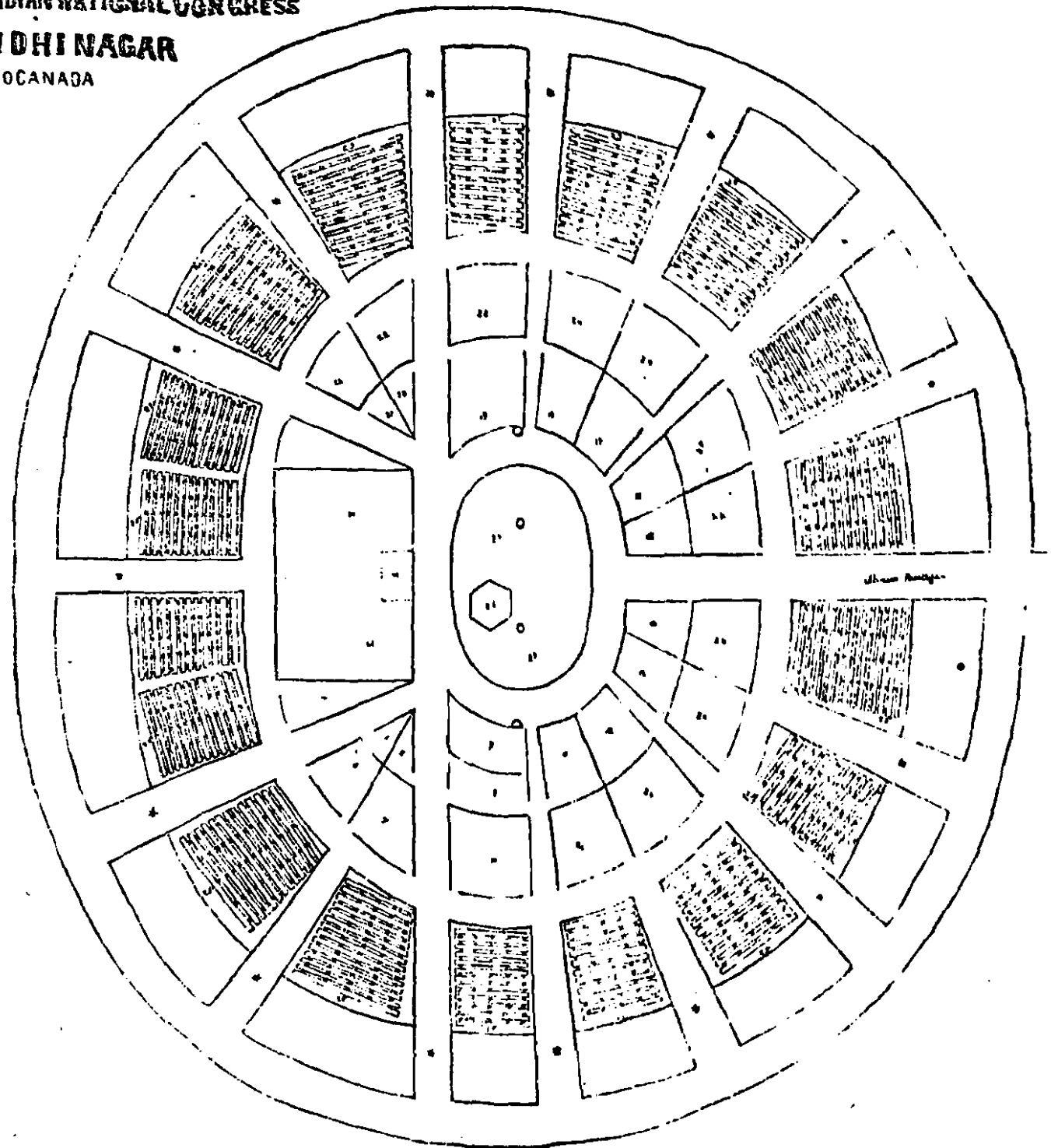


## REFERENCE.

- 1 President
- 2 Distinguished Visitors
- 3 All India Congress Committee Members
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PLAN SHOWING THE  
ARRANGEMENT OF SEATING  
ACCOMMODATION IN THE CONGRESS  
PAVILION OF  
**THE 38<sup>th</sup> INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**  
**GANDHI NAGAR**  
COCANADA

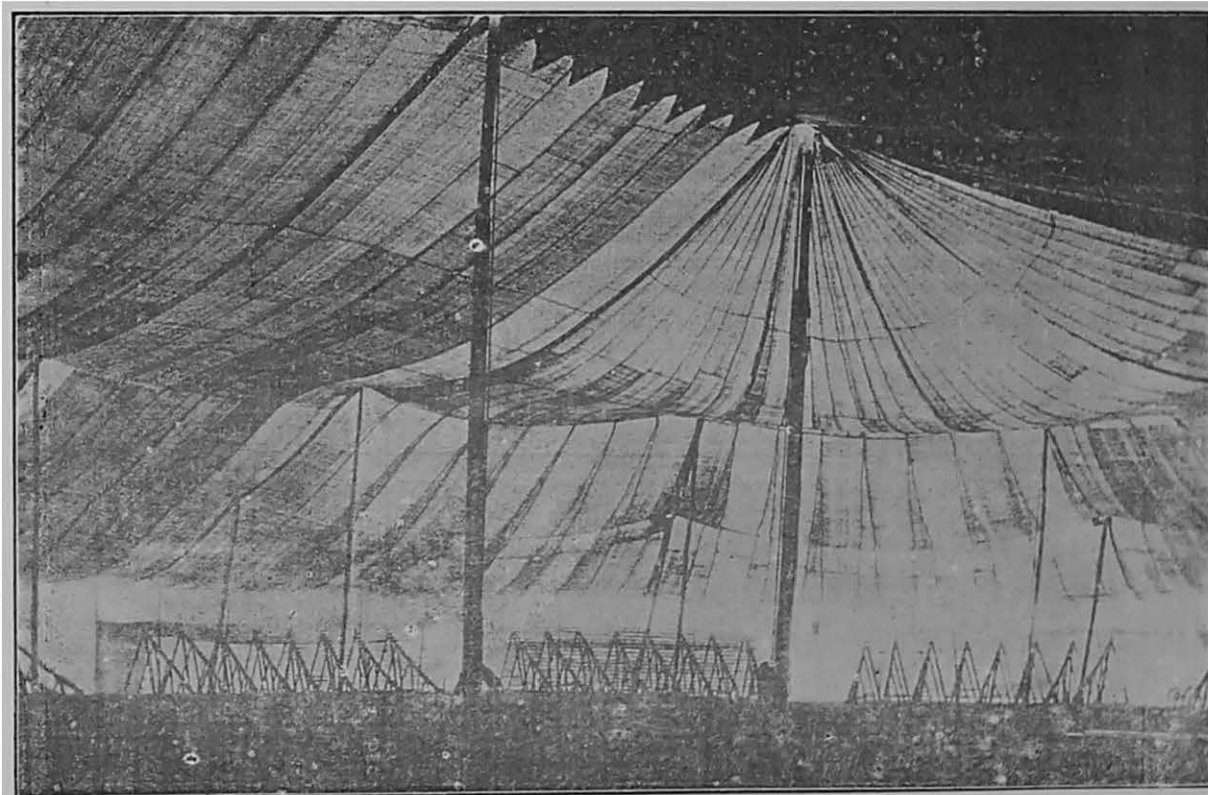
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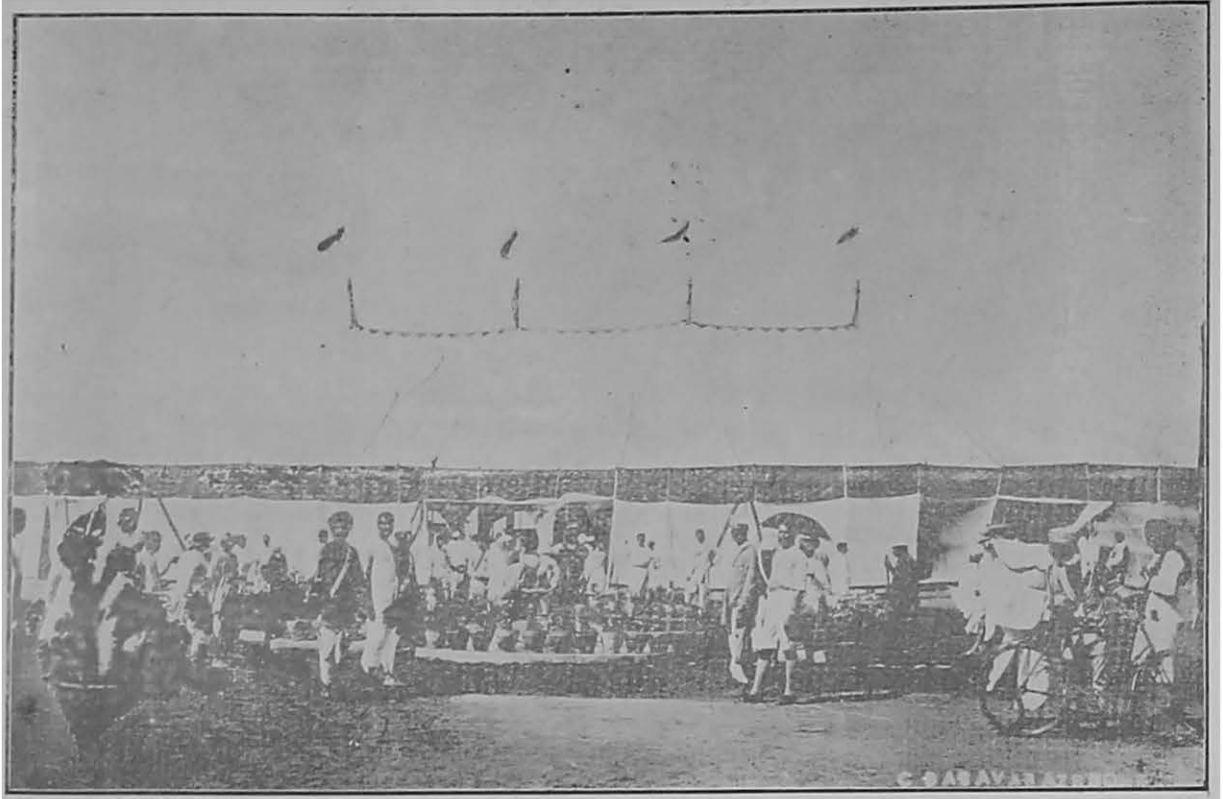
Ground Plan of the Congress Pavilion.



**THE MAIN ENTRANCE GATE.**



**INSIDE VIEW OF THE PAVILION.**



**OUTSIDE VIEW OF THE PAVILION.**



**THE GENERAL DINING HALL.**



# The Indian National Congress,

The 38th Session.

HELD AT COCANADA, 1923.



## INTRODUCTION.

The Indian National Congress held its sessions in Andhra Desha for the first time in 1923. It was a heavy responsibility undertaken by the Andhras. Yet there was a thrill of joy and enthusiasm throughout Andhradesha immediately on the announcement of the acceptance of their invitation by the Gaya Congress. All the chief towns vied with one another for having the unique honour of being the venue of a session of the Indian National Congress. As early as the 20th of January 1923, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met and finally resolved to hold the Congress at Cocanada, the premier city of Andhra Desha.

*General.*

The political horizon in the country was altogether clouded. Immediately after the Gaya Congress in 1922, the Congressmen were divided into two distinct parties—the Pro-changers led by Deshbandhu C. R. Das and the No-changers by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. They carried on bitter controversy both in the press and on the platform—and hence the Congress Committees could not carry out the programme of the Congress. Attempts at compromise were repeatedly made by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and others but nobody was satisfied with the results. The Centre Party that came into existence in Bombay in May 1923 did not improve the matters very much. The All India Congress Committee resolved upon holding a special session of the Congress at Delhi in September. Maulana Mohamed Ali was released from jail on the 29th August and the country looked to him for the proper lead. All the political parties were influenced by his personality and the Delhi Congress lifted the ban on the Council-entry. Then came the elections for the Legislative Councils and the Swarajists gained victories almost everywhere. The dissensions between the Pro-changers and the No-changers did not cease. Sincere desire was felt that unity amongst the political parties should be achieved by the Cocanada Congress. Appeals were made to all the parties to attend the Congress session in large numbers and all the leaders were specially invited. Several leading Moderates and members of the Justice Party attended but they did not take part in the proceedings of the Congress. Unity was sought to be established between the two wings of the Congress and a compromise was arrived at as a result of the incessant efforts of the Ali Brothers. The No-Changers put up a vigorous fight in the open Congress but the House resolved in favour of the Compromise. It can safely be said that the Cocanada Congress laid the foundation for unity between the two leading political parties in the country.

*The  
political  
importance.*

*Description  
of the City.*

Cocanada City is the chief seaport on the Coromandel Coast, north of Madras. Of the few cities in the Madras Presidency, Cocanada claims to be the premier city in point of neatness and sanitation as it contains all natural facilities. A salt creek divides the city into Cocanada proper and Jagannadhapuram, an old town and formerly a Dutch settlement. The latter is also a place of historical interest as it played some part in the campaign of 1759 between the French and the English, when the former finally surrendered. The English occupied it in 1825 in pursuance of a treaty signed between England and Holland. As early as 1802, a dock was constructed to receive ships of the Royal Navy. The port gradually developed in trade, when it suddenly rose into great importance during the American Civil War in 1861 as a place of shipment for cotton. Owing to the silting up of the Bay at the Port, the anchorage has gradually shifted back in recent years. Steamers now anchor 7 miles off the coast and transshipment is made by means of boats, not without danger. About a mile from the southern municipal limit is situated the *Tulya Sagar Sangam* where the holy Godavari pours its waters into the Bay of Bengal through its first branch. From time immemorial it was considered very sacred for pilgrims to commence the *Sapta Sagara Yatra* from this place. Thousands of pilgrims start on this pilgrimage every year and it consists in a continuous pedestrian visit for ten days, touching the seven confluences of the Godavari where the seven great *Rishis* are reputed to have founded *Ashrams*.

Cocanada has been taking no insignificant part in the political life of the nation. The Godavari District Association is one of the oldest public associations in India. When the agitation of the partition of Bengal was carried on by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in 1907, Cocanada was the scene of unbounded enthusiasm and also unfortunately of riots, the result of the provoking conduct of a Government District Officer. In 1916, the Andhra Conference was organised on an unprecedented scale and it was hoped that Cocanada would be a centre for holding a session of the Indian National Congress. When the Non-co-operation movement was at its full height, the Andhra Desa played an important part and Cocanada was the field of the first battle for the Swarajya Flag between the Congress and the Government in December 1921. The devotion of the people to the Congress was fully realised in connection with the elaborate arrangements made for a successful holding of this session.

*Formation of  
the Reception  
Committee.*

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee started making preparations for the Congress sessions very early. The Working Committee of the P. C. C. formally constituted the Reception Committee on 16-2-23 and appointed a provisional Secretary authorising him to organise the Reception Committee. The first meeting of the Reception Committee was accordingly held on 9-3-23, when a provisional executive committee was formed and provisional office-bearers were elected. At a meeting of the Reception Committee held on 21-7-23, the final elections of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the General Secretaries and other office-bearers were made and the various sub-committees were formed to make the

necessary arrangements. The names of the office-bearers and members of the various committees are given in Appendix I.

The Collector of the Godavari District moved actively as early as March 1923 to frustrate the efforts of the Reception Committee. He had such queer notions of the Congress that he summoned one of the merchants of Cocanada and openly told him that membership in the Reception Committee was associated with Civil Disobedience and avowed enmity to the British Government and that it would entail forfeiture of licences etc. He issued instructions to all the Taluk Tahsildars who in turn issued Circulars to every village officer that he should see that people would not help the Congress financially and report at once any recalcitrants and that water supply would be cut off for the crops of their lands. The people however paid no heed to these empty threats and the Collector ultimately went away home on leave. His successor behaved most coolly and never interfered with the activities of the Reception Committee. The Circulars became a dead letter.

*The District  
Collector's  
High Handed  
ness.*

The work of the Reception Committee was carried on vigorously. There was splendid response from the people. Many of the Moderates and Justice party people whole-heartedly co-operated with the Reception Committee. The whole of Andhra Desha subscribed liberally for the Congress, the Reception Committee collections being a record figure in the Congress, viz., Rs. 1,20,862—0—0. The Godavari District itself contributed Rs. 51,105/- of which Rs 24,005/- was collected from the Cocanada Taluq. Five hundred free visitors' passes were issued to Sadhus, Pandits, Panchamas, political pilgrims, poor women and workers.

*People's  
Response.*

There was a heavy cyclone on the east coast in the third week of November and considerable breaches were caused to the railway line between Berhampur and Cocanada. Through-traffic between Calcutta and Cocanada could not be resumed before the opening date of the Congress and considerable inconvenience was caused to delegates coming from Northern India. This accounts for the small number of delegates from the northern provinces. The Congress was originally announced to be held on the 26th of December but owing to the railway breaches, Deshabandhu C. R. Das and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee requested an adjournment of the Congress for two days and the Reception Committee accordingly adjourned the sessions to the 28th of December. This was no doubt felt as a great inconvenience by the President and the delegates that arrived on the 24th December. But it was largely compensated for by their participation in the various functions that were begun earlier than the Congress.

*Adjournment  
of the  
Sessions.*

The Congress Week was quite full of numerous Conferences and other functions. In addition to the usual sessions of the All India Khilafat Conference, the Zamiat-ul-Ulema Conference and the All India Students' Conference, there were the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the

*Engagements*

All India Public Libraries Conference, the All India Astrological Conference, the All India Psychic and Spiritualistic Conference, and the All India Thiestic Conference, Mention should specially be made of the All India Ladies' Conference presided over by Srimathi Kasturibai Gandhi. Over 10,000 ladies assembled in the pavilion, all clad in Khaddar. It was really a sight for angels to see. There was the Indian National Social Conference presided over by Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyer of Madras. It was for the first time that the All India Volunteers' Conference was held and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru presided over it. It was an interesting feature that the Cocanada Municipal Council, the Cocanada Taluk Board and the Godavari District Ryots' Association presented addresses of welcome to the President of the Congress and Deshabandhu C. R. Das within the municipal premises amidst the great enthusiasm of vast cheering crowds. The All India Khadi and Handicrafts Exhibition was opened on the morning of the 25th December by Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray in the presence of a distinguished gathering.

#### *Gandhinagar.*

The Congress pavilion, delegates' quarters, kitchens, dining halls and all structures connected therewith were located in Gandhinagar, the western extension of the City of Cocanada. This was formerly known as Elwinpet but the Municipality has changed its name into Gandhinagar after the session of the Congress. The whole site comprises an area of about 120 acres. The Railway line forms the north-eastern boundary and the M. S. M. Railway Company constructed a temporary railway platform at a distance of 100 yards from the delegates' camp, specially for the convenience of Congress delegates and visitors. The Yeleru river forms the south-western boundary and a temporary floating bridge of boats was constructed across, connecting Gandhinagar with the Godavari fresh water navigation canal specially for the Congress season. There is a river drain on the east and south-east and the adjacent plain served as a Dhobikhana of Gandhinagar. The Municipality already laid out metalled roads and water pipe connections preliminary to the construction of houses.

#### *The Congress Tent and its enclosures.*

For long years it was felt that the Congress should have a permanent tent for its sessions so as to save considerable expense and inconvenience. A huge tent measuring 300 ft. x 220 ft. and easily accommodating 12,000 persons was made of a double fold of pure khaddar cloth manufactured in the neighbourhood of Cocanada and this is considered to be the biggest pavilion in the world. The Reception Committee got it made by Babu A. N. Mukeji, Tent Manufacturer, Calcutta, under an agreement that they should pay as hire to the Contractor Rs. 23,500/- for use for 15 days by the Congress and other approved Conferences. The Reception Committee reserved to itself the option to purchase the tent and gallery by paying an extra sum of Rs. 13,500/- After the session of the Congress was over, the All India Congress committee resolved to purchase the tent and the gallery permanently for the Congress session and paid this additional amount. The total cost of the tent and the gallery thus amounts to Rs. 37,000.

The Congress pavilion was located in the Municipal Park site in the centre of Gandhinagar. The pavilion and the enclosures cover an area of over 13 acres, the tent and its fixtures covering nearly 10,000 sq. yards. A great relief was felt at the absence of the too many pillars which were an inevitable encumbrance in the ordinary pandals. The *dais* measuring 90 ft. x 60 ft. was constructed in the western segment of the tent in the form of a Mandap. It was canopied and floored with white khaddar, the pillars being draped in tri-coloured khadi. The front of the Mandap was beautifully adorned with the portraits of all the ex-Presidents of the Congress and other prominent national leaders. The place of honour was given on the Mandap to the life-size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi specially painted for the occasion by Sjt. C. Nageswara-rao. The gates and the inside pavilion were tastefully decorated with plenty of tri-coloured flags and festoons. A wooden portable rostrum hexagonal in shape and 6 feet in diameter was located almost in the centre of the pavilion in front of the *dais*. There were 16 gates altogether to the pavilion. The two main gangways were 15 feet wide and the minor gangways 10 feet. There was thus complete freedom of movement for the huge gathering of delegates and visitors. The members of the All India Congress Committee and the distinguished guests were accommodated on the Mandap. All round the rostrum was arranged an oval block, half of which was reserved for the press representatives and the other half for the members of the Executive of the Reception Committee. Next to this was arranged the seating accommodation for delegates in different blocks according to the provinces. Visitors and members of the Reception Committee were generally accommodated on the gallery running all round the tent. Accommodation was reserved for ladies,—delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee in a segment to the right of the Mandap. The choir of boys and girls, the Vedic Scholars, pandits and musicians were seated in the left wing close to the Mandap.

*The Congress  
Tent and its  
enclosures.*

The outside appearance of the pandal was simply grand. The four huge swarajya flags hoisted on the main central poles waved in the air and captured the eye of the spectators even from a distance. Just at the main entrance of the pavilion was fitted a beautiful revolving fountain with a rimmed basin 36 ft in diameter. The ducks swimming in the basin contributed a living beauty all their own.

The main gate at the pavilion enclosure was 100 feet from the fountain and consisted of an artistic design of the *Gopura* of a Hindu temple in the centre with the minarets of a mosque on either side. The upper story was occupied by a party of *Naubatwallas* and pipers whose performance was an elevating entertainment.

The Subjects Committee pandal, 120 ft. X 90 ft. was located in the north-west corner of the pavilion enclosure and accommodated about 1000 persons. For the convenience of the Subjects Committee was provided close by a refreshments stall where the proprietor, Andhra Bhavan, Cocanada, catered high class refreshments suited to the tastes of

all India. Additional refreshment stalls were also provided at a distance within the enclosure for others.

The Cocanada Printing Works opened its branch within the pavilion enclosure near the Subjects Committee hall so as to facilitate printing work of the Congress during the Congress week.

#### *Offices.*

The various offices of the several departments of the Reception Committee were located immediately to the east of the outside of the Pandal enclosure adjacent to the main gate. The Railway Booking Office and the Camp Post and Telegraph Offices were located in the same row as the Reception Committee Offices. To safeguard the moneys of delegates and visitors, the Godavari District Co-operative Banking Union Ltd., Cocanada, opened a branch in this block and opened current accounts on a small charge of R 1/- for each account. The Chairman, the General Secretaries, the Working Treasurer, the Captain and other Officers of the Reception Committee resided in these very blocks.

#### *Accommodation.*

Thirty-six special cottages were erected to the west of the pavilion compound for the residence of leaders and distinguished guests. The Presidents of the Congress and the Khilafat Conference were both lodged in the same hut, specially constructed for the purpose. Two parallel rows of blocks of rooms were constructed in an area of 11 acres for the purpose of housing delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee and accommodated more than 6000 persons. There were altogether 32 blocks each measuring 200 ft. X 36 ft. About 150 family quarters were constructed so as to suit the needs of gentlemen that came with families. The lodging of the Khilafat delegates was arranged along with Congress Muslim delegates. Large rooms were designed to accommodate ten and small ones five. Folding cots were supplied to all the delegates. Between the two residential blocks there were two big Reading Halls of octagonal shape each equipped with almost all the leading papers in India. There was a file of back issues from about the 1st of December. Separate area was set apart in the spacious open between the two rows for *Bhajan* and *Sankirtan* parties.

#### *Stalls.*

There were 20 stalls of 15 ft X 10 ft. each inside the pavilion enclosure, 140 stalls outside and 100 stalls within the Exhibition compound.

#### *Medical aid.*

Medical wards and a free dispensary of all systems of medicine,— Ayurvedic, Unani and Allopathic were also provided immediately to the west of the residential quarters. A good contingent of medical men was ready for service all the 24 hours. Delegates and visitors freely resorted to them.

#### *Dinner Arrangements.*

There was a general kitchen providing boarding in Andhra style for all delegates and visitors. The general dining hall was designed to feed 4000 persons at a time. The other dining halls adjoining the provincial kitchens were arranged to provide simultaneous feeding for 4000 persons in all.

The kitchens and the dining halls were in the same block. Only a few provinces took advantage of the separate arrangements but all the rest preferred to dine in the Andhra style. The Khilafat Reception Committee were kind enough to arrange for the boarding of all the Congress Muslim delegates. Provisions were stocked in the Congress godowns to the value of Rs. 30,000.

The Akalis had a special Diwani constructed to the south of the pandal compound and opened a free *langarkhana*. Sirdar Mangal Singh and his party of Akalis held demonstrations and meetings almost every day.

*Akalis.*

The Khilafat Conference pandal and the Muslim kitchen and dining hall were constructed in an extensive square to the south of the pavilion. Free quarters for the Ulemas were constructed therein and shops were also opened. The whole square was popularly styled Shaukatabad. The Congress Reception Committee rendered all possible help to the Khilafat Reception Committee and the hearty co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims of Andhra Desha clearly demonstrated itself in the National Week.

*Shaukatabad.*

For the benefit of the vast crowds of people who could not attend the Congress proceedings special arrangement was made for Congress leaders to address them from two platforms. There were at times 50,000 persons. Maulana Shaukat Ali, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Surojini Devi, Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and other prominent Congress leaders addressed the vast gatherings from day to day.

*Overflow Meetings.*

Musical concerts were arranged at nights in the Congress pavilion from the 28th December onwards and the performances of leading musicians contributed largely to the delight of the audience.

*Musical Concerts.*

Owing to the soil being sandy and the subsoil water being within a foot of the surface, it was not possible to arrange trench latrines. 700 individual enclosures were constructed to serve as latrines. Besides these there were large enclosures near by and smaller ones all over. There were also separate urinals. The Municipal sanitary staff was very diligent and the latrines and urinals were found to be scrupulously neat at all times.

*Conservancy.*

The Municipality provided a rich supply of filtered water conveyed by pipes all over the grounds. Baths were provided in a number of places and almost every part of Gandhinagar was provided with taps. The Municipal Engineer and staff worked very hard and when the demand was particularly heavy, took care to supply the required quantity of water during both day and night. There was also a supply of hot water separately for the generality of all delegates and visitors, for family quarters, and for distinguished guests. Thousands of congressmen preferred to bathe in the fresh water of the Godavari canal close by, after crossing the temporary bridge of boats.

*Water Supply.*

*Traffic.*

Wheeled and passenger traffic was strictly regulated and diverted through different routes. Entrance and exit routes were separately arranged so as to avoid cross traffic. The November cyclone washed away the masonry culverts constructed by the Municipality to the very foundations, thus isolating Gandhinagar from all communications with the city. Three temporary bridges were immediately improvised by the Municipality for both the wheeled and the passenger traffic.

*Lighting.*

The General Electric Co. Ltd., Madras, provided electric lighting for the delegates' rooms, dining halls, kitchens, pandal, streets and all over Gandhinagar. Two dynamos were at work. To provide against contingencies, the Reception Committee arranged for gas lights to be fixed all round.

*Fire Protection.*

All the structures in Gandhinagar were built of palmyrah leaves and mats. The Reception Committee therefore took proper precaution in insuring for two lakhs of rupees all Congress materials against any possible fire accident. Additional precautions were taken by arranging two fire engines and a pump.

*Volunteers.*

The volunteer corps was 1500 strong and their energy, diligence and willingness to serve contributed not a little to the success of the arrangements. The entire force was recruited from all the districts of Andhra Desha. There were 150 lady volunteers. The volunteers did splendid work both in the regulation of the enormous traffic in Gandhinagar and the neighbourhood and also in the night patrol and in detection. Mention should specially be made of the ceaseless and untiring zeal that characterised the whole body of the kitchen and exhibition volunteers. The captain, the vice-captains, and the lieutenants acted in perfect harmony and guarded the bank, the treasury, the camps, the exhibition and the pavilion and all structures around. Many of the volunteers had no English education whatever but their loyalty to the Congress and love of service to the nation impelled them to discharge the exacting duties with great pleasure and enthusiasm.

*The Exhibition.*

The All India Khadi and Handi-crafts Exhibition was arranged in the spacious grounds of the Cocanada Ladies' Recreation Club adjoining Gandhinagar on its south. There was a lovely pond with red lotuses just in front of the museum hall and rows of graft-mango and casuarina trees presented an enjoyable sight. The exhibition consisted of four sections:— (1) The Museum Hall. (2) The Demonstration Section. (3) The Competition Section, (4) The Sales Section.

(1). The museum hall was specially constructed to ensure safety with roofing of corrugated iron sheets. Cotton, silk and woollen fabrics, purely handspun and handwoven were received from all parts of India. The first object that attracted notice on entry into the hall was the yarn spun by Mahatma Gandhi in the Yerrawada Jail. The fine khadi Chicacole muslins won universal praise. Laced khadi sarees of beautiful workmanship costing hundreds of rupees were specially got up for the occasion.



A fine *khadi saree*, woven 150 years back was exhibited by an aristocratic family. The Kokti cotton fabrics of Bihar deserve special mention. The cotton carpets of Ahmednagar and the khaddar banyans of Ellore were specially noticed. Numerous varieties of dhotis, shirtings, coatings were also exhibited. The silk fabrics were received from Assam, Bhagalpur, Mysore, and Berhampore. The woolen fabrics received from Mysore and Gujarat, Bikaner and Belgaum formed a special feature. The handicrafts exhibits consisted of ivory works, lacquer ware, wooden toys, leather-ware and metal works and carpets. A beautiful ivory chess table priced Rs. 3500/- was received from Vizagapatam.

(2). A party from the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram demonstrated all the processes of cotton manufacture from ginning to weaving. The Pinakini Satyagrahashram party demonstrated design weaving also. The party from Bonthalakoduru demonstrated fine spinning and weaving. Border weaving by a boy of fifteen from Masulipatam was highly appreciated. Another weaver exhibited his skill in weaving pyjama and shirt on the loom. The "kokti" spinning and weaving was demonstrated by the party from Bihar. A Mysore party demonstrated silk spinning from cocoons and also explained the processes of rearing the worm and the manufacture of silk by means of illustrated charts. The carpet weaving demonstration by the workers from the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, Masulipatam, elicited the admiration of the visitors. Indigenous dyeing was demonstrated by two students of Acharya. P. C. Ray. The Sabarmati Ashram and the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala gave instructive demonstration of dyeing and colour printing. Demonstration of toy-making by the Eti Koppaka Toy Works Co., was particularly appreciated. There were several parties of silk and wool weaving.

(3) Spinning competition was held both for professionals and amateurs.

(4) The sale stalls containing swadeshi cloth and articles commanded very satisfactory sales. The Exhibition continued from the 25th December up to 1st January, 1924. 27,000 visitors' tickets were sold. The rush was so great that many thousands of anxious visitors had to be disappointed. A party of pipers was in attendance throughout.

It was originally proposed that the address of the President of the Congress should be read simultaneously all over India on the opening day of the Congress. But the time was not sufficient. The address was however, printed in four languages,—English, (4500 copies), Hindi (5000 copies), Urdu (1800 copies), and Telugu (5000 copies). A message was received from Benares that the Hindi translation of the presidential address was read over to a public meeting held on the Congress Day. Although 16,300 copies of the address were printed in all the languages put together, they were found insufficient to meet the demand.

*The  
Presidential  
address  
in four  
languages.*

*Cocanada's  
Welcome to  
the Congress  
President.*

The welcome which Cocanada gave to Maulana Mahomed Ali, the President of the 38th Session of the Indian National Congress, surpassed any in the past history of the Congress in the spontaneous outburst of the enthusiasm of both the classes and the masses, especially the ryots of the villages. Over a lakh of Andhras participated in the Welcome.

The President was expected to arrive at Cocanada at 12 noon on the 24th December. But the train was about three hours late. The date of his arrival was previously announced throughout Andhradesha. People from the remotest parts of the interior poured into Cocanada even from the previous day. The forenoon of the 24th witnessed the arrival of huge crowds of ryots from the villages in the neighbourhood. By midday the whole road from the railway station to the bridge was filled with an ever swelling mass of humanity. The citizens of Cocanada whitewashed their houses as if for a festival and decorated them with festoons and *thoranams*. There were flags and buntings every 50 yards of the whole route from the station to the Presidential quarters which was more than four miles in all. Several pandals were put up at intervals and arches were constructed with inspiring mottoes of national ideals. The mottoes were in Telugu, Hindi, Urdu and English, 'Swaraj is my birth-right', 'Fear God, not man,' 'Search for the key of Yerrawada Jail', 'Cocanada welcomes the President of the Congress', '*Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah*', 'India expects every son to do his duty' 'There can be no Swaraj without Hindu Muslim Unity,' and so forth. About 500 volunteers were posted at several junctions of the main roads to keep order and to divert carriage traffic from the main route. At about 2 P. M., the crowds began to move towards the Railway Station in order to have the earliest glimpse of the President. But the volunteers repeatedly and successfully persuaded them to keep themselves stationed on either side of the route with patience. The platform of Cocanada Town Railway Station was properly controlled and the rush and pressure of crowds was prevented by the discipline of the volunteers. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, Janab Anwaruzzama Khan Saheb, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Khilafat Conference, the Vice-Chairmen, General Secretaries and other office-bearers and prominent members of both the reception committees were in attendance and formed into lines. Several members of the Municipal Council, the Taluk and District Boards also joined in the welcome. Almost all the leading citizens of the city were present on the platform and greeted the president.

As the train steamed into the station at about 3 P. M., the whole atmosphere was rent with a tremendous outburst of the joyful cries of 'Mahatma Gandhiki Jai', 'Aila Ho Akbar', from the eager crowds outside. As soon as the Ali Brothers stepped out, Messrs. Venkatappayya and Anwaruzzamakhan Saheb garlanded both the Presidents of the Congress and the Khilafat and almost all the gentlemen present greeted the Brothers with garlands and bouquets of flowers. Srimati Kasturi bai Gandhi, *Bi-amma*, Mrs. Mahomedali and party were received by the lady

volunteers and lady members of the Reception Committee. The presence of Srimati Kasturibai Gandhi brought home to the minds of those present the picture of that great soul that captivated the heart of all India by the high ideals of suffering and sacrifice that he taught. Bi-Amma has since passed away in the full glory of her age, proud of her two sons who won the esteem and affection of all the people. She was an inspiring figure on the platform and all men and women greeted her with respectful salutations.

*Cocanada's  
Welcome to  
the Congress  
President.*

As almost perfect order was maintained, the usual inconvenience was not felt by the presidential party in easily reaching the procession carriage. It was a beautiful and well decorated four wheeled waggonette drawn by four Australian horses. Maulana Mahomed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Janab Unwaruzzamakhani Sahab were seated in this carriage. The Captain of the Volunteer corps had the honour of driving it. Behind was the motor car occupied by Srimati Kasturibai Gandhi, Mrs. Mahomedali and party. Immediately behind was the car of the General Secretary and party. Several other motor cars and carriages followed. Dr. Profulia Chandra Ray, Janab Yakub Hassain, Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, Peter Zavitsky, T. Prakasam, K. Nageswararao and other distinguished gentlemen followed in the procession throughout. The pilot car was occupied by the Secretaries of the procession committee and one of the General Secretaries. The procession was led by an elephant bearing the picture of Mahatma Gandhi in a *howdah* with a large Swarajya Flag flying thereon. The *Naubat* carriage came behind. A band of the best pipers in Andhradesha were arranged next in order. Then came the dignified rows of volunteers, 500 in number, marching in an orderly manner throughout the whole route. The corps was led by Mr. Sayyapirazu Venkatarazu the big lieutenant on horse back in strange contrast to the Big Brother in the carriage. Lieutenants on bicycles were in attendance. Five sets of flutists then came behind and played exquisite music. Next in order was a body of 100 female volunteers who adorned the procession throughout and walked on foot. Then came the Bhajan parties of the City. The local worthies and other Andhra Leaders followed behind on foot immediately in front of the President's carriage. When the signal for starting was given, the assembled mass of humanity burst out into thundering applause. As the procession moved on, flowers were profusely showered over the president. People sat even on the roofs of buildings. All the avenue trees were occupied by visitors. The carriage was stopped at the Sitaramaswami's temple and the Ali Brothers were garlanded and the camphor Arti was given to them by the priests. The President of the Congress thanked the temple authorities in a small felicitous speech. As the procession reached the mosque, the Mahomedans gave a tremendous cheering of Alla Ho Akbar. In front of the building of one of the rich merchants on the bridge road was a charka placed on a high platform. A Vysya boy was plying the charka, and when the procession came near, got down, garlanded the president and burnt heaps of camphor. All

*Cocanada's  
Welcome to  
the Congress  
President.*

along the route, further on, until the bridge, flowers were raining down from the flower caskets arranged overhead in the arches. The procession marched on to Jagannaikpur where the peculiar arrangement was that all the ladies were systematically on one side of the route and the males on the other. Almost at every house the ladies were offering *Artis*. The sun set in all his glory and by the time of *Namaz* the carriage arrived just in front of the house of an orthodox pundit. At the request of the General Secretary the pundit invited the Ali Brothers and their Muslim friends into his house and the ladies invited Mrs. Mahomed Ali. The house of one of the leading Sastris thus served as a prayer hall for the Muslim guests and this incident is still remembered by the people with considerable pleasure.

As the procession moved on again into Cocanada proper, it came to the Bheemeswaraswamy temple where the authorities offered the Brothers *Arti* and broke many cocoanuts as a mark of honour and distributed them to the spectators. The pagoda road was practically full of people and it was all galaday. The Big Brother exchanged garlands of flowers with boys. As the shades of the night were coming on, the procession was hurried under gas lights and it was almost 7 P. M., when the president reached his cottage in Gandhinagar. The incidents of this reception are still green in the memory of the people of Andhra Desha, and the Andhras speak with pride and joy of that brilliant ovation. A film of the procession photographed by Mr. T. Rangayya of Madras is still the favourite with the men, women and children of Cocanada.

The huge crowds in the procession were clad entirely in khaddar and feasted the eyes of the spectators. Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray was absolutely overwhelmed with pleasure. The splendour and enthusiasm of the reception accorded by the Andhras to the President of the Congress was so great and real that it would never be forgotten by those that witnessed it.

*The Hoisting  
of the  
Swarajya  
Flag.*

On the morning of the opening day of the Congress sessions huge crowds of people poured into Gandhinagar to witness the function of the unfurling of the flag of National Freedom by the President of the Congress. In the early hours of the morning, the volunteers and the Bhajan parties from the various provinces marched in procession all over Gandhinagar in ecstasy and rallied round the flag staff with national flags in their hands. The flagstaff 100 feet in height was put up in the spacious quadrangle where the offices of the Reception Committee were located. Over 30,000 people assembled to witness the august function and the President, Maulana Mohamed Ali delivered a soul-stirring address before he hoisted the flag of freedom. It runs as follows :—

Sisters and Brothers!

As commanded by you I am here to unfurl the Flag of the Nation. This Flag is nothing if it is not the Flag of Freedom. But it cannot be the Flag of our Freedom unless it is also the Flag of our national unity. You have

commanded me to unfurl this Flag and hoist it. I ask you, are you prepared to stand by the Indian nationality against all difficulties? (Cries of Yes, yes). Then you pledge yourself solemnly under God's sky and on God's earth, that you will fight, in your own non-violent fashion, every one who is opposed to India's unity and integrity, whether it be the stranger outside the gate or the enemy inside the gate. It is a very poor thing to fight against the aggressor from outside the gate. Every nation does that. Every nation has been doing it, good nations and bad nations alike. But for those who have not won freedom it is more important to consider the enemy within the gate and that enemy is our own evil nature which wants personal ambitions to be placed above national honour, above national freedom or independence. (Cheers.)

*The Hoisting  
of the  
Swarajya  
Flag.*

Then, you will have to forget to-day that you are separated into Hindus and Mussalmans, for you are all of one faith in defence of the National Flag. (Hear, hear). You will also recognise that you are all one, whether you are Moderates, Nationalists or Liberals. Whosoever you are, so long as you are here you will have to sink all party differences and go out as one man because you are one nation. If you solemnly pledge to forget all these differences, then and then only ask me to unfurl this Flag. (Cries of yes, yes, we shall forget). Down with the differences that degrade and demoralise us, down will rancour down with ill-will,—are you prepared, I ask you? (loud and repeated cries of "Yes, we are"). Then I call God to witness, for you and for me, and in God's name, I unfurl it. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

On the 1st January 1924, the Reception Committee gave a Farewell Dinner to all the Congress delegates and distinguished visitors. The whole of the *General Dining Hall* was tastefully decorated and chains of arc lights fitted at regular intervals shed peculiar brilliance over the floor below. About 4,000 guests sat together without any distinction of caste, creed or religion. The Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Parsees, the Sikhs and the Christians squatted on the floor side by side. Separate accommodation was reserved for orthodox gentlemen and several hundreds of guests chose to dine there. The guests were satisfied at this special arrangement. Maulana Mohamed Ali, the President of the Congress, was the principal guest of the night. He was seated in the very centre of the cosmopolitan gathering in the General Dining Hall. Almost all the Congress leaders participated in the feast. Mrs. Mohamed Ali had the place of honour in the company of the Hindu ladies. A profusely rich menu was served to suit the tastes of the multitude of guests representing all the provinces of India. The Proprietor, Andhra Bhavan, Cocanada, deserves congratulations on the exquisiteness of the preparations so promptly got up. Pundit Motilal Nehru, Srimathi Sarojini Devi, Babu Siva Prasad Gupta, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. Rajagopalachari, Sjt. Gangadharow Deshpande, Maulana Shaukat Ali and all the guests went into ecstasies over the hearty brotherhood of the night. They pronounced the gathering to be unique and unparalleled in the annals of modern India. Mr. Peter Zavitski of America attended in his khaddar dress with Gandhi cap and was profoundly impressed with the sight. In reply to the toast proposed by Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Maulana Mohamed Ali expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at the hospitality of the Andhras to the Indian Nation, and, in one word, characterised the Dinner as "magnificent".

*The Farewell  
Dinner.*

*Change in the  
Congress  
Creed.*

In view of the fact that a resolution for a change in the Congress Creed proposing "Swarajya" to be defined as 'Complete Independence', was moved in the open session of the Cocanada Congress and was lost, a brief outline may be given of the historical development of the creed.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the President of the 1st Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885, classified the objects of the Congress under the following heads:—

(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our *country's cause* in the various parts of the Empire.

(b) The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of *national unity* that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

(c) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the *social questions* of the day.

(d) The determination of the lines upon, and the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for *native politicians* to labour in the public interests.

Considerable discussion having arisen as to the aims and objects of the Congress, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the 2nd Congress, Calcutta, 1886, clearly pointed out that the Congress was a purely political body and that, while he was himself alive to the necessity of social reforms, he held that the Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to Class Congresses. The 3rd Congress, held at Madras in 1887, appointed a committee to consider what rules, if any, might be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress. Nothing substantial was done until 1898, when the 14th Congress, held at Madras, appointed a committee to submit a definite scheme of constitution to the next Congress. The Lucknow Congress of 1899 considered and adopted a constitution, the first Rule of which was as follows:—

"The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire."

The popular interest in the Congress grew by leaps and bounds, and the Government attacked it as a seditious body. The feeling of resentment against the wrongs under which India was suffering had increased considerably and developed into an "Urest" in the first decade

of the twentieth century and finally gave birth to a party which sought, in despair, the breaking of the English connection. The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon was followed by Russian methods of Government. As President of the Calcutta Congress, 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji claimed for India Self-Government or "Swaraj" like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies. The differences between the Moderates and Extremists became emphasised and it was apprehended by the former that some of the latter believed that the Congress would only work for the complete independence of India and was not for its retention within the British Empire. This led to the split of the Surat Congress in 1907 and a National Convention was formed. The Convention Committee met at Allahabad in April 1908 and drew up a constitution for the Indian National Congress. Article I was as follows:—

*Change in the  
Congress  
Creed.*

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting National Unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."

This was adopted as the creed of the Congress by the Calcutta and Bankipur Congresses in 1911 and 1912 respectively. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, President of the Madras Congress in 1914, repudiated both the extremes of perpetual subordination of India to England and of separation from England and absolute independence. He asserted that the ideal that we must pursue and which the Congress had set before itself, was that of joint partnership on equal terms. Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Dr. Besant started the Home Rule Leagues and advocated Home Rule. The Great European War of 1914-1919 brought out the principle of Self-determination and evoked new aspirations and ideals in the Indian People. Montagu's declaration of August 1917, promised the establishment of responsible Government in India. The Reforms Act of 1919 passed by Parliament, embodied the Montagu-Chelmsford recommendations. The 35th Congress, Amritsar, 1919, pronounced the Act inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory. The Punjab Atrocities and the Khilafat fraud culminated in the Non-Co-Operation movement. The Council elections of 1920 were boycotted by the Indian Nation. As a logical result of the new political spirit, the creed of the Congress was changed at the 35th Congress held at Nagpur in 1920.

The resolution on Article I of the constitution of the Congress was moved by Mahatma Gandhi and carried. It was as follows:—

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means".

In moving the resolution, he said, "I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end British connection at all cost unconditionally.

*Change in the  
Congress  
Creed.*

If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it ; but if it is inconsistent with our National Self-Respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it”.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in seconding the resolution, said, “ We are here assembled in this Congress not to express our individual views but, according to the old traditions of the country to focuss public opinion of this country and to place it in the form of a resolution. What does the change in the creed aim at ? A notice to the British Public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to go out of this British Empire or what we may call the British Commonwealth, but if we remain in the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody. We shall remain there by our own free choice and free-will, and that free-choice and free-will, we can only exercise and express, when we are allowed to do so by legitimate and peaceful means.”

The mass of the Indian people was moved to Non-Co-Operation and Civil Disobedience in 1921. The Government carried on wholesale repression and the leaders openly refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the British Courts.

At the 36th Congress held at Ahmedabad in December 1921, Maulana Hazrat Mohani moved the following resolution for change in the Congress Creed, but it was lost.

Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence, free from all foreign control, by the people of India, by all legitimate and peaceful means.”

At the Gaya Congress in 1922 Babu Basanta Kumar Mujumdar moved the following resolution, but it was lost.

Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj, that is, the attainment of complete independence without any foreign connection by the people of India by all legitimate and proper means”.

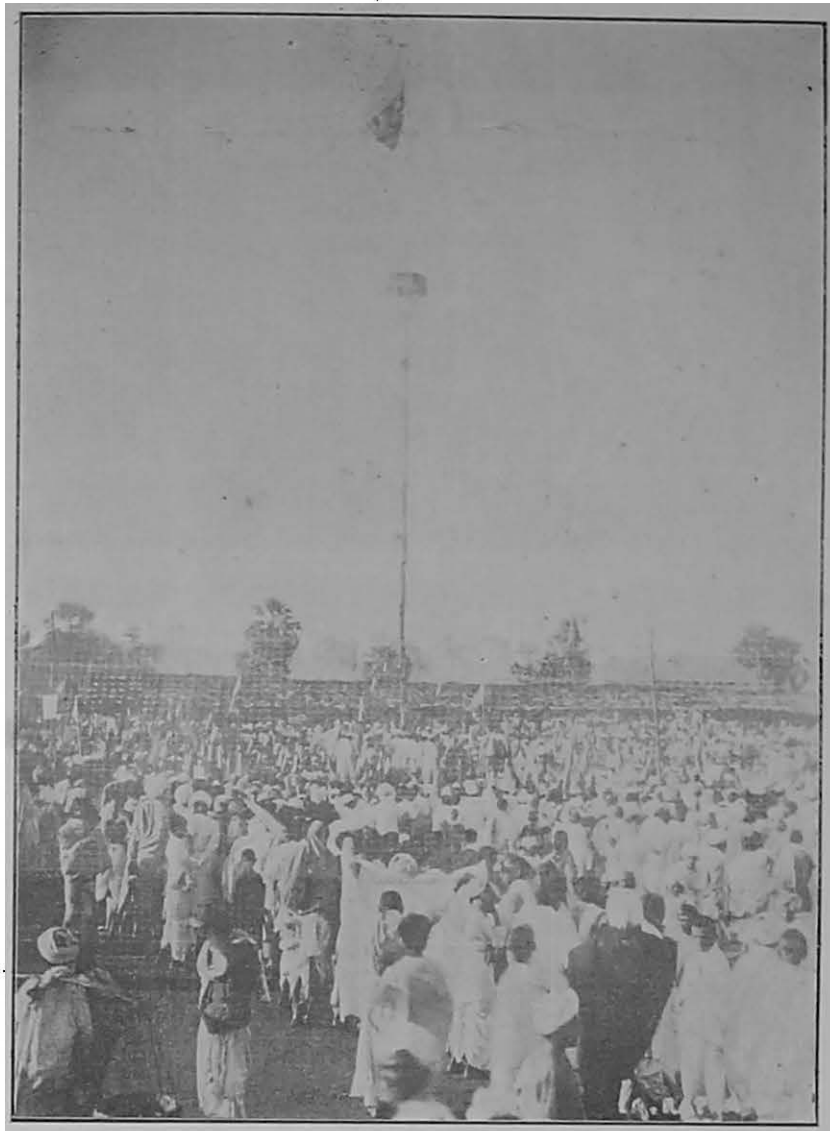
Again Pandit Ramprasad Misra moved at the Cocanada Congress, 1923, the following resolution, and it was lost.

Resolution :—“ The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya i. e., complete independence, by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means”.

The brief resume shows that there is an ever growing political spirit in India which does not rest satisfied with Dominion status within the British Empire but aims at COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE of India, free from all foreign control.

B. S. M.

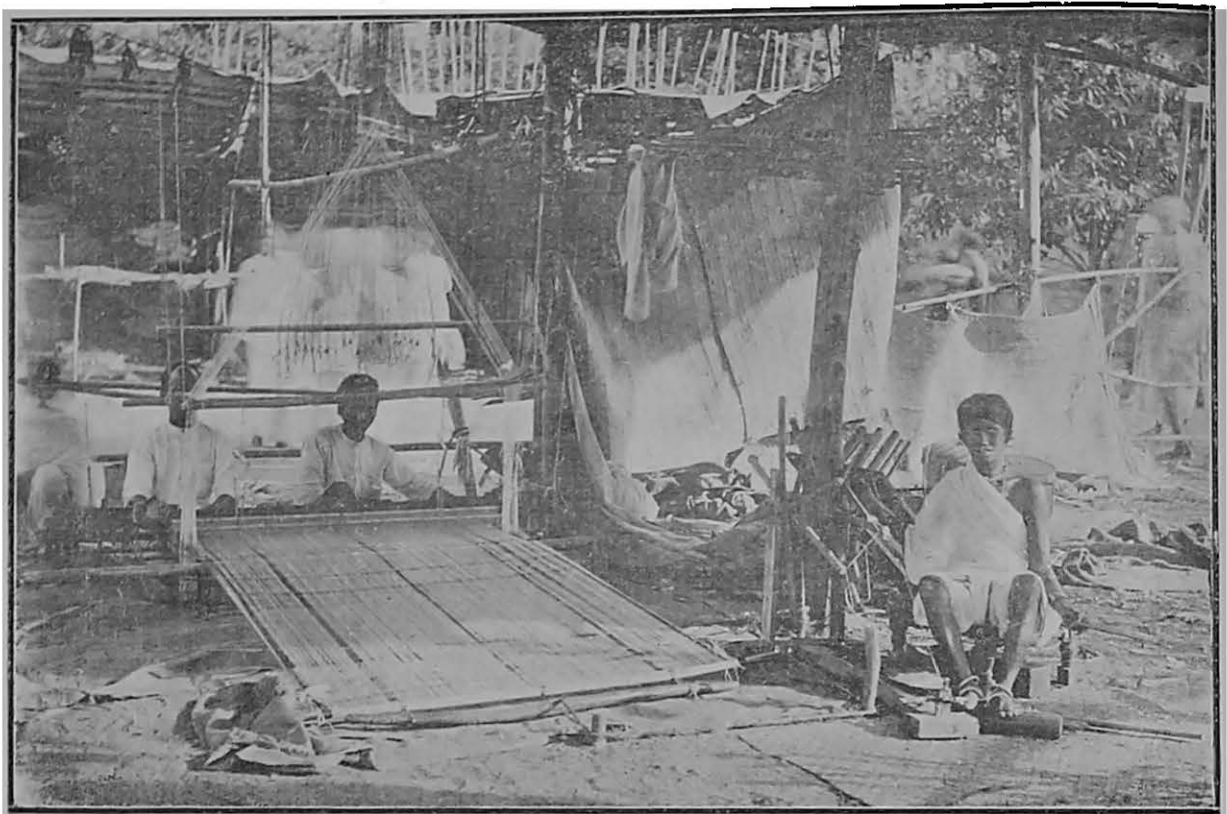




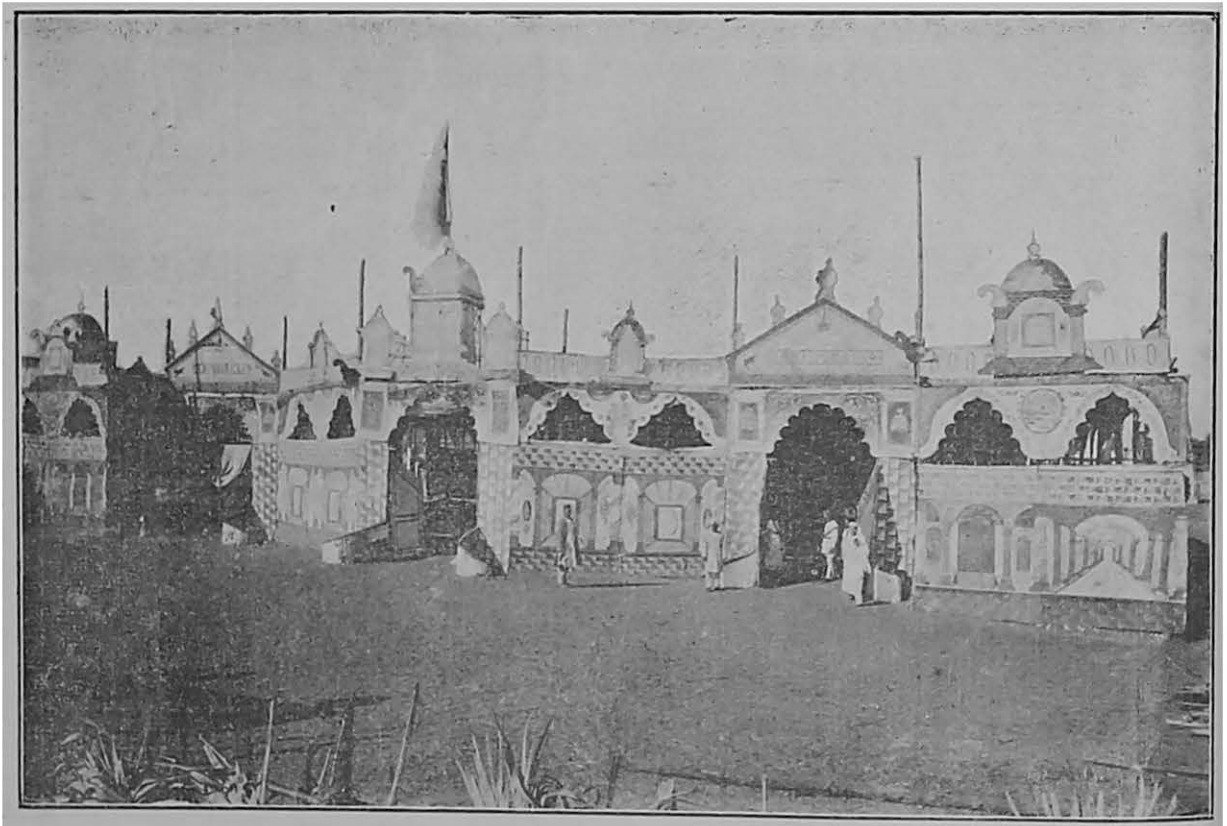
**THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT HOISTING THE SWARAJYA FLAG.**



**DELEGATES' CAMPS IN GANDHINAGAR,**



**A WEAVING PARTY IN THE EXHIBITION.**



**THE KHILAFAT PANDAL.**

# RESOLUTIONS

Passed At The

## 38th Indian National Congress Held At COCANADA.



*On the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December 1923 and 1st January 1924.*

### SECOND DAY.

#### I.

#### Condolence Resolution.

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sriman S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Sriyut Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pundit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi, who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

#### II.

#### Amendments to the Constitution.

Resolved that the following amendments to the Constitution of the Congress be adopted:—

Article II—(a) Instead of “during Christmas holidays”, have “during the last week of December”.

(b) This should read as follows:—

“An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

(b)

Article III. This should read as follows:—

“The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) The All India Congress Committee.
- (c) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (d) District Congress Committees.
- (e) Sub-divisional, Taluka or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.
- (f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

*Note.*—Provincial, District, Taluka, Tahsil or other conferences may be recognised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Article V. The Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces are to be made into one Province. The number of Provinces are to be changed accordingly. Delete the last paragraph beginning with “the existing Provincial Congress Committees” to the end of the Article.

Article VI-(c) should read as follows:—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the Province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

- (d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.
- (e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Article VII. Add:— “The year of the four anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.”

III.

### **The Indian National Pact.**

Read the draft of the Indian National Pact.

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticisms and submit further

(c)

report by the 31st March, 1924, to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and Sirdar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the Committee in place of Sirdar Mehtab Singh who is now in jail.

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### THIRD DAY.

IV.

#### **The Late Sir N. Chandavarkar.**

This Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-President of the Congress.

V.

#### **The All India Volunteer Organisation.**

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All India Volunteer organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

VI.

#### **Amendments to the Congress Constitution.**

Article VII. Instead of the words "any organisation", insert "any primary organisation".

Article VIII. Instead of paragraph 2, read as follows:—

"No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation".

In the third paragraph, instead of "last census", have "census of 1921".

In the seventh paragraph, the words beginning with "The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee" to "receipt thereof" should be deleted, and instead of it, the following should be put in at the end of the preceding paragraph:

"Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress."

(d)

8th paragraph beginning with "Each Provincial Congress Committee".—Instead of "the 15th day of December every year.....such sessions", have:

"ten days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All India Congress Committee:

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## **FOURTH DAY.**

### **VII.**

#### **Congress Departments.**

Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control;

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments;

That this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

### **VIII.**

#### **Amendments to the Constitution.**

Article XVIII. Make the existing paragraph clause (a) and add the following:—

- (b) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

(e)

Article XIX. Paragraph 4 should read as follows:—

“The allotment shall be as far as possible on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces as given in Appendix B.”

Paragraph 7.—Delete the whole paragraph. Instead, have as follows:—

“Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death or absence from India, or otherwise shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.”

In the present paragraph 8, change “15” to “30”. Add to this paragraph—“When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the same”.

Add after the above paragraph another paragraph as follows:—

“The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty”.

IX.

**Non-Co-operation.**

**THE COMPROMISE.**

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation Resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the Principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of Constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

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The All India Khaddar Board.

**FIFTH DAY.**

**Secretary's Report.**

Resolved that the Secretary's report for the last year be adopted.

(f)

XI.

### **Greetings to Kenya.**

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

XII.

### **Ceylon Labourers.**

This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Sjts. M. A. Arulanandam, A. V. Dias, Periasundaram, and L. Muthukrishna to investigate into the conditions of life to which the South Indian Labourers in Ceylon are subjected and to make a report to the Working Committee.

XIII.

### **Satyagraha Committee.**

Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi sessions of the Congress, and further resolved that the Satyagraha Committee do henceforward cease to exist as a separate Committee.

XIV.

### **Akali Struggle.**

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

This Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

XV.

### **The All India Khaddar Board.**

It is resolved that an All India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jamnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwalla, Shaukat Ali and Shankerlal Banker (Secretary), with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general



(g)

supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor, in addition to the allotments that may be made from the General Funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the All India Congress Committee at its annual meeting whenever else called for. The Board will act as Central Authority on behalf of the All India Congress Committee with regard to Khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees. It will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by the Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the Provincial Congress Committees where they do not exist.

## XVI.

### **Amendments to the Congress Constitution.**

Article XXIV. Delete the present article and have as follows:  
"The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters".

"All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee."

Article XXIX. Add the following below it:—

"At each sitting of the Congress, the order, in which business shall be transacted, shall be as follows:—

- (a) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects—Committee.
- (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the constitution and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present."

Article XXXI Delete the article, and instead, have the following:—  
"The All India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting every year nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants and the President shall choose the third."

(h)

Article XXXIII. The Proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani, English or the language of the Province may also be used. All other consequential changes are to be made in the Articles and appendices.

XVII.

### Indians Abroad.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All India Congress Committee.

XVIII.

### Office Bearers.

Resolved that the following Office-bearers be appointed:—

*General Secretaries:*— Pundit Jawaharalal Nehru.

Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew.

Sjt. Gangadharow Deshpande.

*Treasurers:*— Sjt. Velji Lakshmsi Nappu.

Sjt. Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri.

XIX.

### Auditors.

Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co., be appointed auditors for the year.

XX.

### Thanks to the Out-going Officers.

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries.

XXI.

### The Next Congress.

This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Karnatak.

XXII.

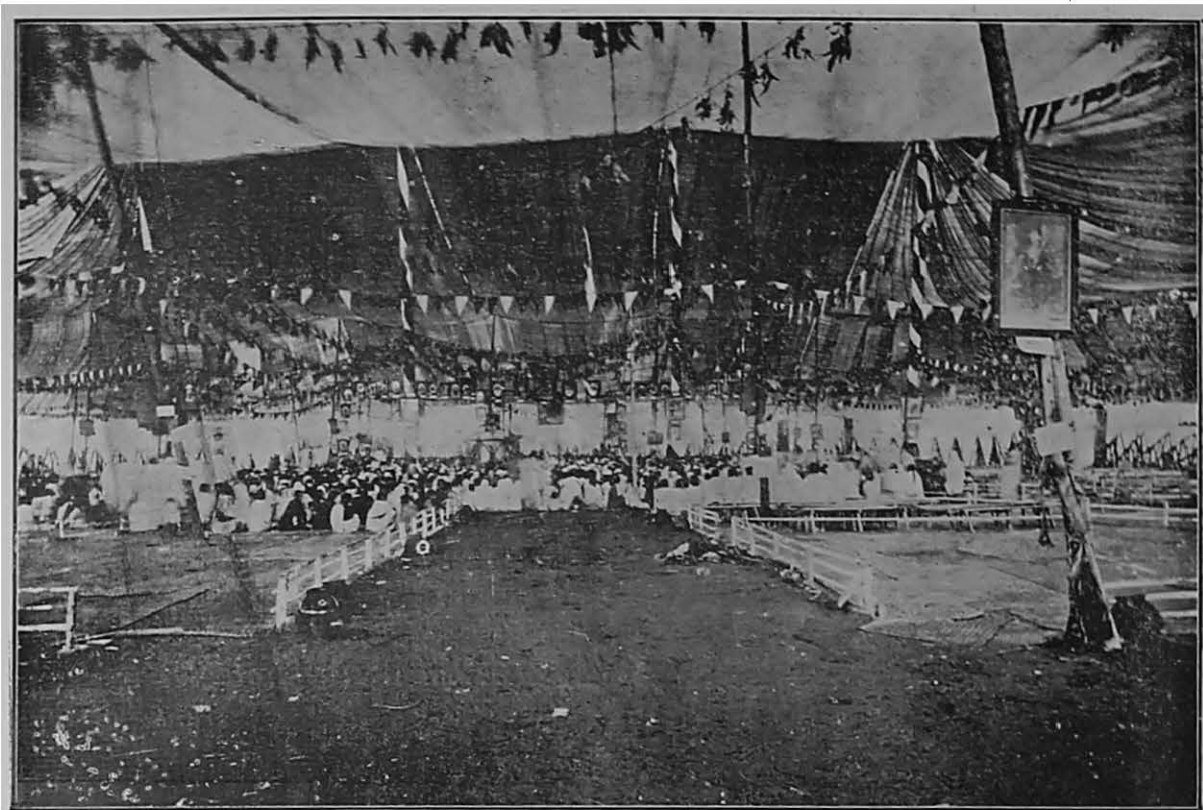
### Sjt. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

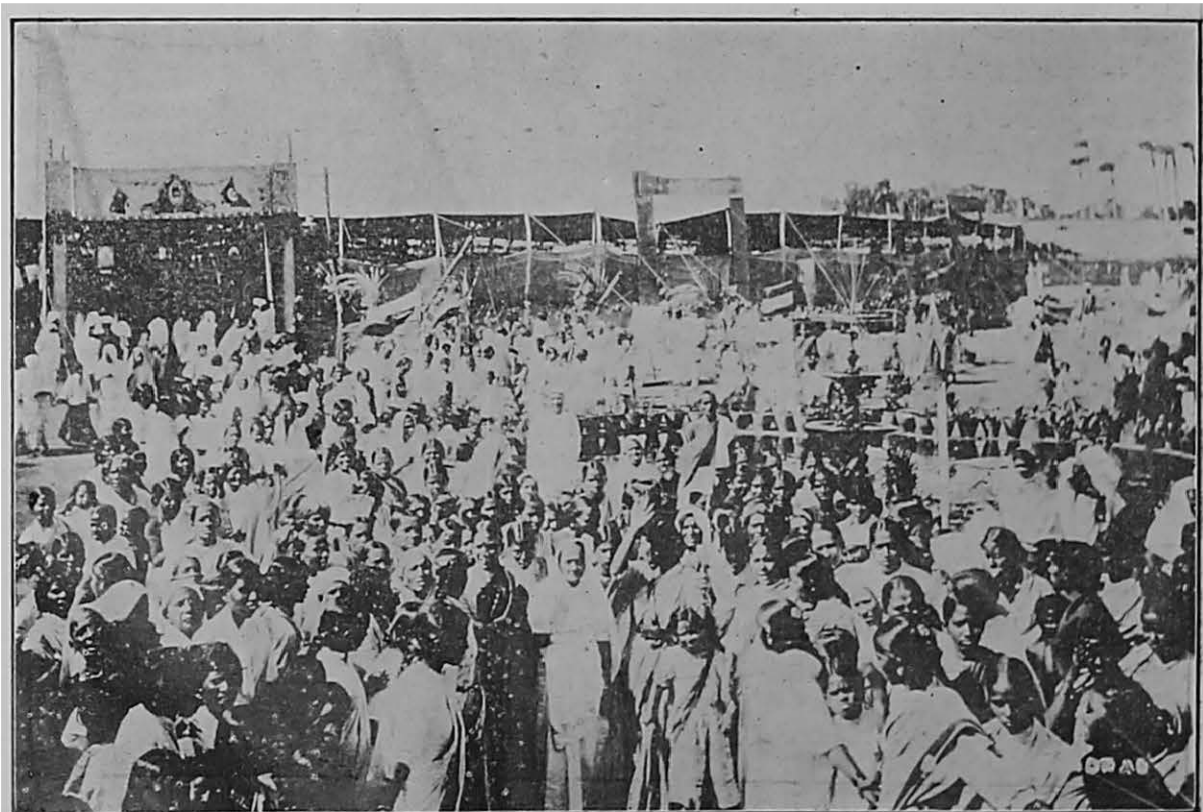
XXIII.

### Vote of Thanks





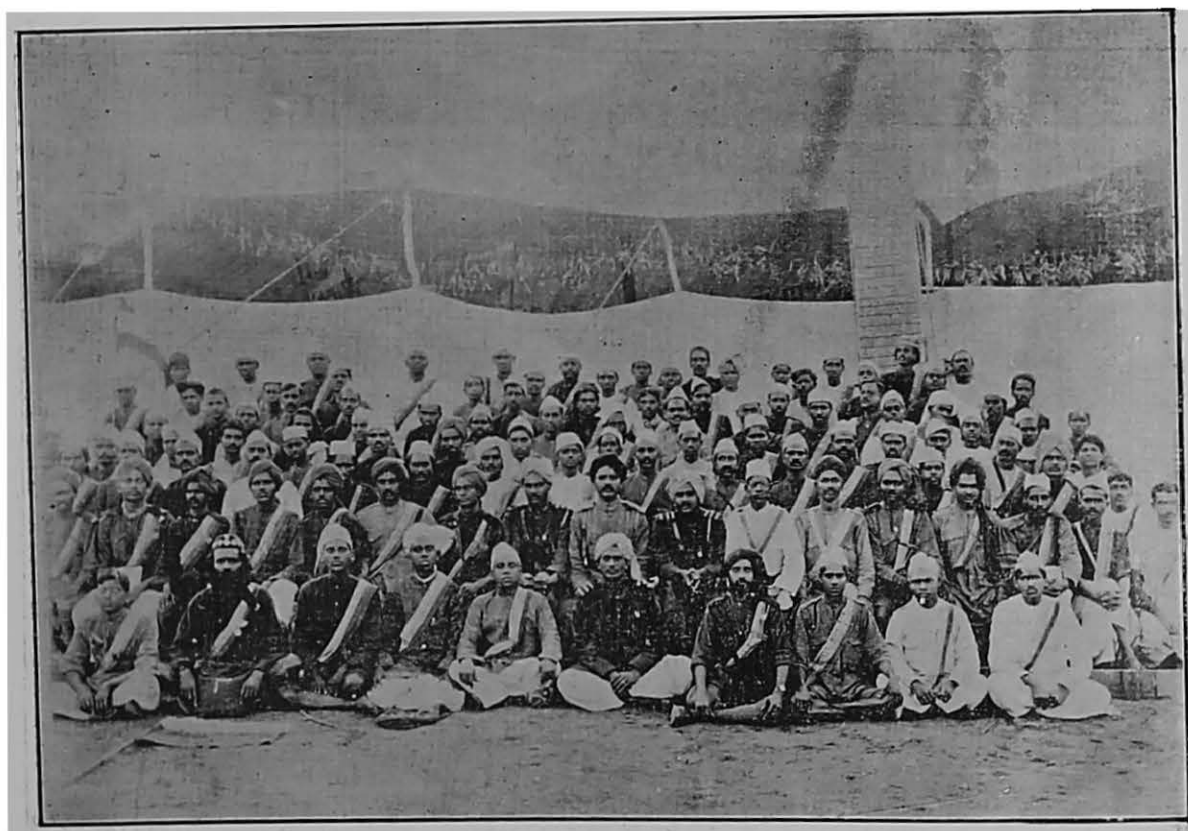
**ALL INDIA LADIES' CONFERENCE. COCANADA, 1923**



**SRIMATI KASTURIBAI GANDHI AND LADIES LEAVING THE PAVILION AFTER THE CONFERENCE.**



LADY VOLUNTEERS.



VOLUNTEERS.

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS AMENDED BY  
*The Cocanada Congress, 1923.*

*Article I.—*

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

*Object.*

*Article II.—*

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

*Sessions  
of the  
Congress.*

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

*Article III.—*

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

*Component  
parts of the  
Congress.*

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) The All India Congress Committee.
- (c) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (d) District Congress Committees.
- (e) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.
- (f) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

Note: Provincial, District, Taluqa, Tahsil or other Conferences may be organised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

*Article IV.—*

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

*Congress  
membership.*

*Article V.—**Provincial  
Congress  
Committees.*

The following shall be the provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the head-quarters from time to time.

<i>Province</i>		<i>Head-quarters</i>
(1) Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana	(Hindustani)	Ajmer
(2) Andhra	(Telugu)	Bezwada
(3) Assam	(Assamese)	Gauhati
(4) Behar	(Hindustani)	Patna
(5) Bengal and Surma Valley	(Bengali)	Calcutta
(6) Berar	(Marathi)	Amraoti
(7) Burma	(Burmese)	Rangoon
(8) Central Provinces	(Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
(9) Central Provinces	(Marathi)	Nagpur
(10) City of Bombay	(Marathi and Gujarati)	Bombay
(11) Delhi	(Hindustani)	Delhi
(12) Gujarat	(Gujarati)	Ahmedabad
(13) Karnatak	(Cannada)	Gadag
(14) Kerala	(Malayalam)	Calicut
(15) Maharashtra	(Marathi)	Poona
(16) Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	(Punjabi and Hindustani)	Lahore
(17) Sind	(Sindhi)	Hyderabad
(18) Tamil Nadu	(Tamil)	Trichinopoly
(19) United Provinces	(Hindustani)	Allahabad
(20) Utkal	(Oriya)	Cuttack

*Indian States.*

Provided that the All India Congress Committee may from time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

*Article VI.—**Provincial  
Organisation.*

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.

*Provincial  
Organisation.*

(e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

*Article VII.—*

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of four annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

*Franchise.*

The year of the four-anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

*Article VIII.—*

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

*Electorates  
and  
Delegates.*

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921: provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress committees deducting the number of the elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee in their respective provinces from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

## D

### *Electorates and Delegates.*

Each Provincial Congress committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than 10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All India Congress Committee.

### *Article IX.—*

### *Provincial Subscriptions.*

(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

### *Subscription in arrears.*

(b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates, or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

### *Article X.—*

### *Delegation Certificate.*

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked Appendix A, and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

### *Article XI.—*

### *Delegate's Fee.*

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

### *Article XII.—*

### *Voting at Congress.*

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

### *Article XIII.—*

### *Reception Committee.*

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

### *Article XIV.—*

The Reception Committee shall elect chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members

### *Article XV.—*

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session, to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication.



of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the session of the Congress. *Reception Committee.*

*Article XVI.*

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by Provincial Congress Committees, or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise, of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held. *Election of the President.*

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso,

*Article XVII.—*

(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

*Article XVIII.—*

(a) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress, to the All India Congress Committee. *Audit.*

*Audit.*

(b) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Committees.

(c) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

*Article XIX.—*

*All-India  
Congress  
Committee.*

The All India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected President, past Presidents of the Congress, if they sign Article I of this Constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the General Secretaries and the Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix B.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All India Congress Committee.

*Article XX.—*

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons so elected.

*Article XXI.—*

The All India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

*Function of  
A. I. C. C.*

*Article XXII.—*

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee for the year following.

*General  
Secretaries*

*Article XXIII.—*

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries and two Treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

*Article XXIV.—*

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters.

*Working  
Committee.*

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

*Article XXV.—*

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

*Subjects  
Committee.*

*Article XXVI.—*

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open Session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside, and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

*Article XXVII.—*

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

*Article XXVIII.—*

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress session.

*Article XXIX.—*

*Contentious  
Subjects  
and Interests  
of Minorities.*

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

*Article XXX.—*

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows :—

(a) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the Constitution and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

*Article XXXI.—*

The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

*Article XXXII.—*

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the President shall choose the third.

*Article XXXIII.—*

The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible, in Hindustani, English or the language of the province may also be used.

J

APPENDIX A.

(VIDE ART. X OF THE CONSTITUTION.)

I hereby certify that

Full Name.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Religion.....

Address.....

is a member of the.....Congress Committee and

has been duly elected by.....Congress Committee as

a delegate to the Indian National Congress to be held at.....

in the month of.....

.....

*Secretary,*

.....Congress Committee..



## K

## APPENDIX B.

Number of members of the All India Congress Committee allotted to the different provinces.

<i>Province.</i>	<i>No. of members.</i>
1. Ajmer	7
2. Andhra	24
3. Assam	5
4. Behar	33
5. Bengal and Surma Valley	48
6. Berar	7
7. Burma	12
8. Central Provinces (Hindustani)	13
9. Central Provinces (Marathi)	7
10. City of Bombay	7
11. Delhi	8
12. Gujarat	12
13. Karnatak	15
14. Kerala	8
15. Maharashtra	16
16. Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	37
17. Sindh	9
18. Tamil Nadu	25
19. United Provinces	45
20. Utkal	12

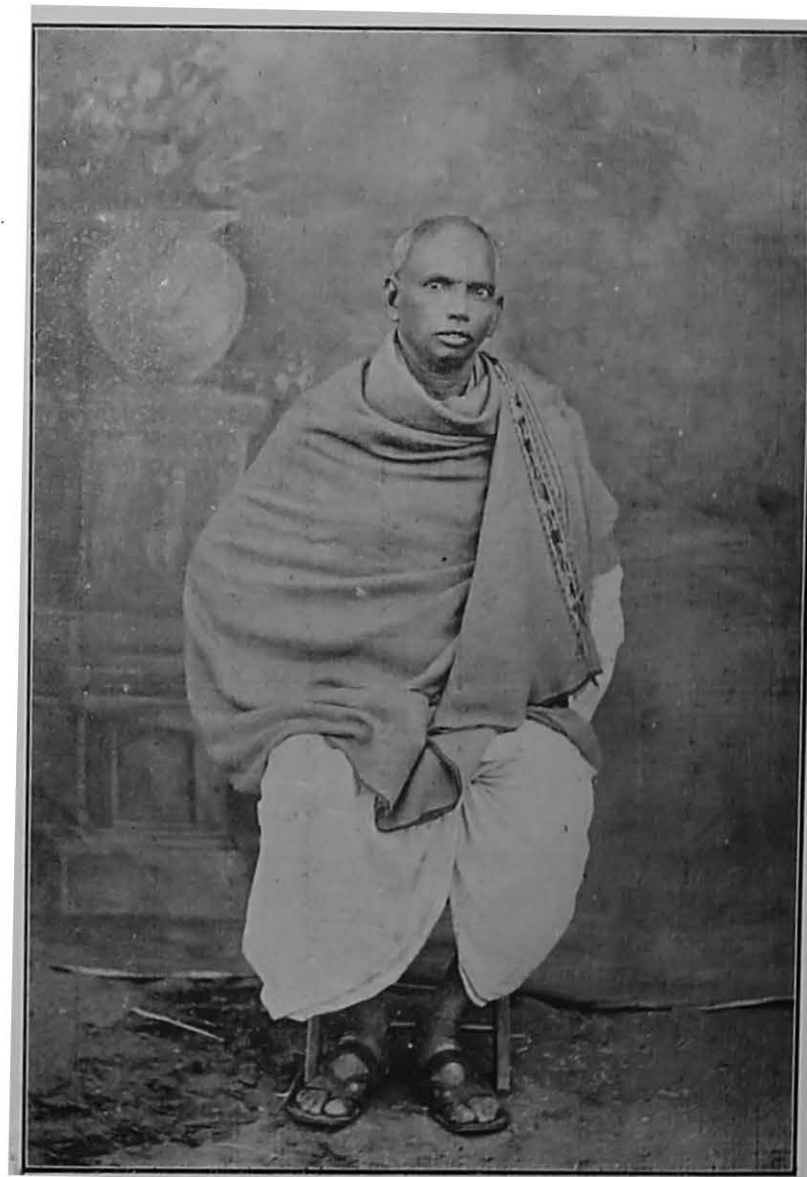


## 38th Indian National Congress,

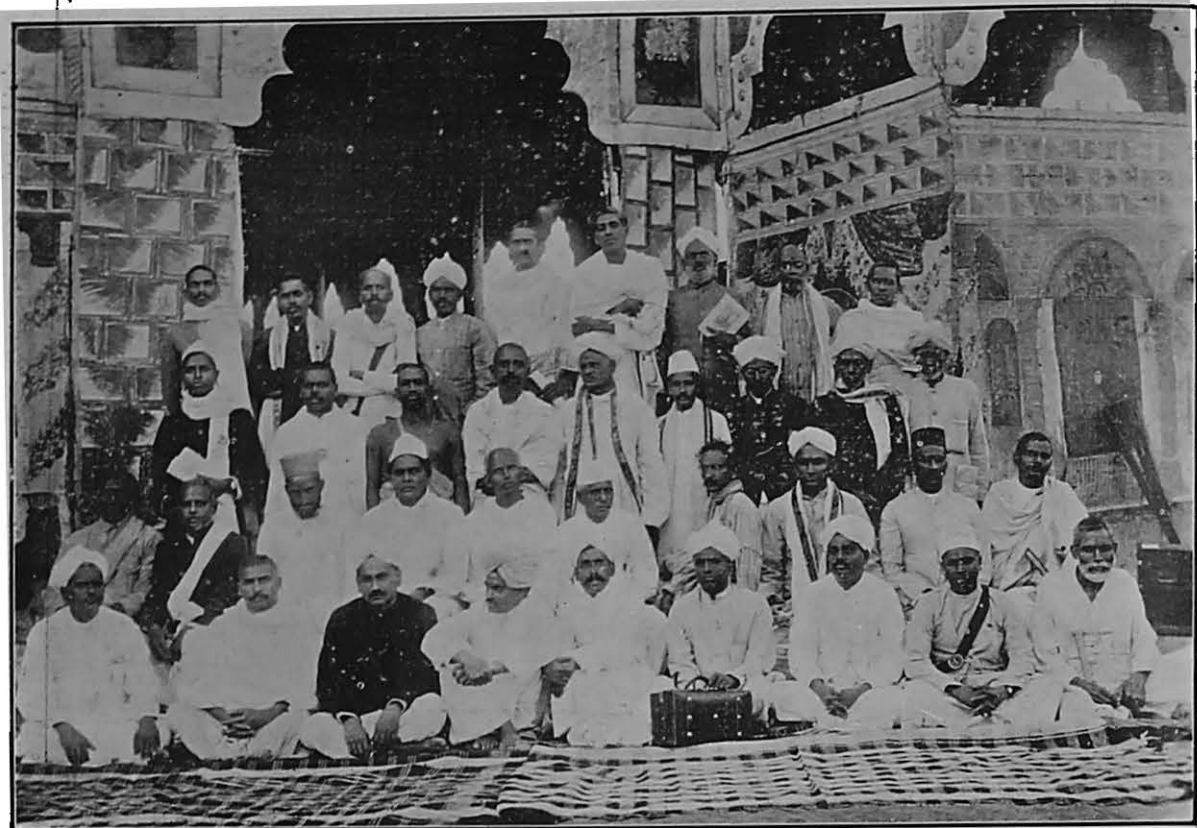


MAULANA MOHAMED ALI,  
*PRESIDENT.*

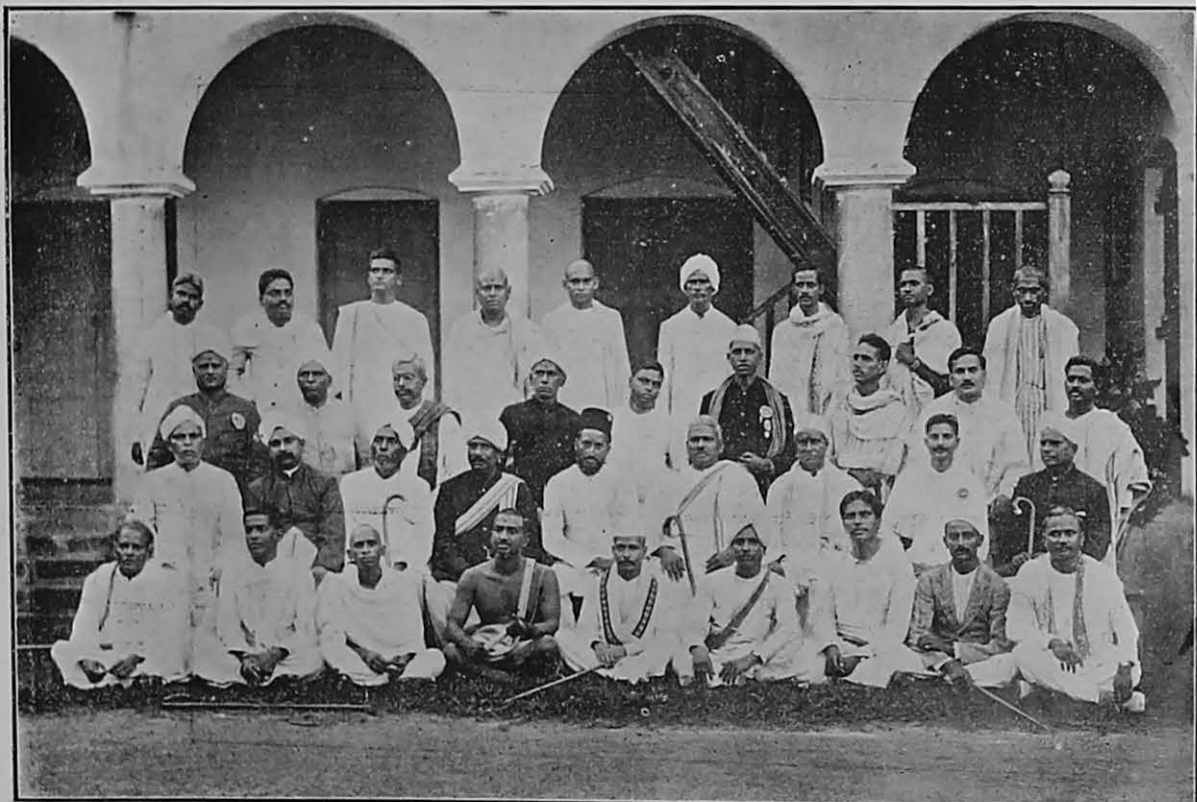
COCANADA.  
1923.



Desabhakta KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA,  
Chairman, Reception Committee.



**MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**



**RESIDENT WORKERS.**