

# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

FIFTY-EIGHTH SESSION

HYDERABAD-Dn.

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## ADDRESS

By  
RAMANANDA TIRTH

Chairman, Reception Committee

**Mr. President, Delegates, Sisters and Brothers!**

I consider it a proud privilege to welcome you on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Session of the Indian National Congress. While doing so I am quite conscious of the inadequacy of the arrangements which is likely to cause much inconvenience to you. Whatever we have been able to do during the short period and with meagre resources at our disposal, has been done in all humility. It is natural that we have not been able to look to all the requirements of every individual. We have done our best. I beg to be excused for not having made arrangements befitting the occasion as this.

This is the first occasion for us in Hyderabad to have you all amidst us. Jaipur had the unique honour of holding the Session of the Congress for the first time in the former Indian State. The second opportunity has been given to Hyderabad, once the premier state of India. If I remember right, this Session of the Congress is being held in farther south of India after a lapse of about 12 years. In a way it has drawn the attention of a large number of southerners whose sympathy and goodwill has enabled us to shoulder this heavy responsibility. This gigantic gathering has attracted people from every part of India. On behalf of the people of Hyderabad I express my gratefulness to the members of the Working Committee for having encouraged us to hold the 58th Session of the Congress in this State.

Hyderabad has been a problem State of India. This erstwhile premier state has been described as the centre of gravitation of the British Empire in India. Moreover it was a formidable stronghold of the feudal elements. The reactionary forces were strongly entrenched in this part of the country and they threatened the very freedom which the people of India had won with great sacrifice and sufferings on the part of millions of men and women, young and old. The Azad Hyderabad slogan was not only raised by these sections here but armed preparations for its accomplishment were continuously being made. It was a threat to the freedom and security and integrity of the whole nation. The people of Hyderabad under the leadership of the Hyderabad State Congress refused to submit to these

forces of aggression and isolate themselves from the rest of India. The freedom struggle waged by the people of Hyderabad has been unique in character and noble in its contents. The Father of the Nation took personal interest in shaping the destiny of the people of Hyderabad and we had the privilege of his guidance in the most difficult periods of our history. In the ripeness of time we had the benefit of the wise counsels of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and also we had the privilege of seeking guidance from the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Many of those assembled in this gathering have blessed us and given us courage when we were engaged in a life and death struggle. The freedom struggle in Hyderabad which culminated in the Police Action was rightly described as the last battle of Indian freedom. 17th September 1948 is a red letter day not only for the people of Hyderabad but also for the people of India as a whole, because on this day 18 million people were liberated and Indian freedom was complete and whole. On this happy occasion I take the liberty to offer my homage to all those who have laid down their lives for the attainment of freedom.

Hyderabad has been and continues to be an All-India problem even to this day. Though many of the problems that face us are common with those in other parts of India, Hyderabad has to face certain peculiar problems and situations. It was in this part of the country that the Communists carried on an armed struggle to overthrow the Government of free India. The pangs which the people had to suffer in wake of this struggle are still green in our memory. It would not be incorrect to say that the democratic forces in Hyderabad have to face a formidable anti-national force. Secondly Hyderabad State will continue to draw the attention of the conscious sections of the Indian people even in future for yet another reason. This State consists of three linguistic zones, Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak which are contiguous to the borders of the respective linguistic states. The principle of the linguistic provinces has been accepted by the Congress and the process of its implementation has also started. The people of Hyderabad are closely linked up with those areas and the formation of the linguistic provinces is bound to have its own impact on the trends of life in Hyderabad State. Andhra State is in the offing. Sooner or later other linguistic states will have to be formed. We on this side of the country have hailed the announcement of the Prime

Minister in this connection as a step in the direction which would go to satisfy a formidable section of the people in this country. The formation of linguistic provinces is a matter of national importance. The policy in this connection has been decided and the process of its implementation has begun. Though this process has to be accelerated with due caution still it will have to be carried through with necessary fixity. As Hyderabad State is constituted of three linguistic areas its future is linked up with the impending linguistic provinces and it assumes national significance. The artificial barriers will have to disappear some day or other and the Congress will have to solve this problem also though we the people of Hyderabad should have a say in this matter.

We, the people of the erstwhile Indian States are suffering to some extent, under a disability even in this democratic set up of the nation. We feel that the rulers of the States who had waged wars against the people should not continue any longer as the Rajpramukhs. This institution of the Rajpramukhs is a misnomer in a democratic age. Whatever be the justification for creating this institution in a set of circumstances existing then, when a democratic regime has come into existence on the basis of adult franchise, the continuance of this pattern is rather unwholesome. In a period of transition, the assurances given to rulers might have been alright. But in the changed circumstances, there should be a reorientation of our attitude in this regard. Speaking on behalf of ten crores of the people of erstwhile Indian States, I wish to say that the institution of the Rajpramukhs should be done away with at the earliest and in its stead, the institution of the Governor, drawn from those known for their service in the cause of the nation should come into vogue.

The democratic life in India is still in its infancy. The General Elections, have proved, beyond doubt, that an average Indian in spite of his poverty and illiteracy is not ignorant of his problems. The vote that was exercised last year on a gigantic scale has shown that it was judiciously exercised. There were many pitfalls in the process. Casteism, sectionalism and narrow parochialism raised their head in between and intermittently vitiated the contents. But on the whole, it was a conscious and intelligent electorate which went into action and a secular democratic republic has been born. It is an achievement which we can very well be proud of.

The process of consolidating this democracy has now started. Economic and social freedom must come in wake of political independence. The Congress in power has an onerous duty to perform in this respect. The Five Year Plan which has been formulated after arduous labour of a few years can well be considered as the first step in this direction. It has its own drawbacks. Even those, who have formulated it, are conscious of the inadequacy contained in the Plan. At the same time, it should be remembered that its salient features also cannot be questioned. If instead of pointing out the loopholes and levelling unfriendly criticism, each one of us lends a helping hand, the nation shall have made no mean progress towards economic advancement. This Session of the Congress, therefore, will have to infuse new spirit in its deliberations and instil new faith in its workers so that a peaceful, democratic and co-operative way could be devised in order to bring into action what has been planned. Ways and means shall have to be found out to arouse people's enthusiasm and secure their active participation in the implementation of the Plan. People's initiative must be enlivened. How to do this? I am sure, the collective wisdom of those assembled here will show the way.

A new task awaits us, the Congressmen. It requires a new outlook, new vision and new perspective. Do we possess these or are we lacking in these requirements? These may appear to be impertinent questions. All the same they have to be put and answered. We do not put these questions to others nor others should be expected to answer these. These questions arise before us only and we alone have to answer them.

This question raises a very important issue which has exercised the minds of many of us and more particularly that of the President of this great organisation. Time and often we have expressed our notions about it. We have repeatedly stated that the Congress organisation should be revitalised and trimmed up to the new tasks. How to do this is a question and an answer will have to be found by this Session so that we go back with greater confidence and more intense faith in ourselves and the organisation which has been built brick by brick, by many of us.

In this period of transition, conflicts are bound to arise. Conflicts in ideas, approaches, and methods. In the

given situation, we witness a continuity of conflicts in the country. People's minds are distressed. People can be made to understand and assimilate simple words and simpler ways of translating them into practice. So far as the Congress is concerned, it has stated the way in unequivocal terms. The method to economic and social change should be democratic, peaceful and co-operative. People must be educated in these methods. Who will do this? It is all of us and others amongst us on whom lies the primary responsibility of leading the way. A social and political revolution, we envisage. The Congress, the instrument should undergo corresponding change in its mental frame and contents if these tasks are to be undertaken and successfully carried out.

And what is the condition of the Congress today? At times it appears to be a conglomeration of diverse elements full of internal contradictions. Yet another, power mania seems to have overtaken many of us. Times without number we have said that service and sacrifice should be the guiding principles for every Congressman. But we find a departure from these on many occasions. Integrity, the watchword of any political party aiming at an economic revolution seems to have suffered. Casteism is raising its head and ranks within the Congress are being consolidated on the basis of birth and caste. Malpractices have been in vogue in organisational elections and money has also played its part. The result of all this has been that sincere Congressmen with a long record of service are being defeated in elections because they cannot afford to resort to malpractices or have no desire to spend money for gaining a position in the organisation. In consequence the Congress has lost and is losing good many genuine elements and if this process continues for some time more, I am afraid, Congress will be enormously weakened.

We have often stated that we aim at the establishment of a classless and casteless society through peaceful, democratic and co-operative methods. Can this objective be attained by the Congress in its present form? This is a basic question which arises in our minds. On deeper thought, we find that the present shape of the Congress needs much overhauling if the onerous tasks expected of it are to be undertaken.

Common outlook, common objective and common action are necessary if any political party is to forge ahead.

Can we say the same about the Congress organisation of the present day? I feel that we cannot. The doors of the Congress are left open to all and sundry. A mere declaration that one is a Congressman is enough to entitle him to occupy vantage position in the organisation. He may not have clear vision of what he has to work for. Congress in power has a glamour for serving selfish motives and by hook or crook, by rousing caste and other feelings, with money let loose in enormous quantity, elections are fought resulting in grave malpractices. This has to be prevented. In a democratic organisation, elections are necessary and are the only way to build it up. But it behoves all of us to see that at least certain rules of conduct are laid down for individual and collective purposes and these are strictly and scrupulously adhered to.

This vast number of active members of the Congress are, to my mind, a sign not of strength but of weakness. When there is no definite direction, no definite check, no strict scrutiny, everything tends to become a mess. Let us stop this tendency in us. None of us should worry if the number is reduced. Some type of selective process is necessary if the Congress organisation is to function effectively. A process of selection in a democratic organisation may seem to be paradoxical. There is nothing of that kind in such a suggestion. The condition of personal participation in some kind of work, laid down by the Congress, should be a test which every active member should fulfil before he is elected to the membership of any executive committee in the organisation.

Having said all this, which I did, because I believe that we have gathered here not to sing hymn of praise about ourselves, but to lay before our people and ourselves the true state of affairs in the manner that our leader, the apostle of truth taught us, in order that through introspection we may rectify and through our collective wisdom we may devise ways for future action. I firmly believe that Congress is the only hope for the people and our firm anchor in the distressed world. Political parties may come up in the future and form Government and we should welcome that if we are to function as a democratic nation. But today Congress has a historic role to play, which no other party can fill. Because of its all-India outlook and its work in the last 70 years with one objective and common purpose knitting together the people of different regions and the arteries of its organisation running through

the whole country reaching the remotest village, Congress is the only party equipped and capable of building up a United Indian Nation. And that is a vital role. In spite of the many fissiparous tendencies, caste, communal and provincial loyalties—which in the period they dominated brought about our fall and reduced us to political slaves, and when they were subordinated to All-India outlook, contributed in writing the glorious chapters of our history—Congress has all along maintained an All-India character and has been building up an All-India outlook, and that process is not yet complete. I am convinced that any revival of these unhealthy trends will be to our peril. Congress and Congress alone, with all its limitations and apparent contradictions in professions and deeds of some Congressmen, can translate into reality the concept and intentions of the makers of our constitution, to which the country has sworn allegiance. There is yet another important role that Congress plays and must continue to play in the life of our nation, and that is its foreign policy. We have not only to build up the economic prosperity of our people, but what is equally important is that we have to see that that prosperity is maintained in the future also, so that the structure that we build up with so much love and labour does not collapse. It is not sufficiently realised that economic prosperity at home depends to a great degree on our relationships abroad, that is on our foreign policy. History of Europe is before us. Europe, the storehouse of culture and knowledge, rich in the quality of its human material, is lying smitten today because of the foreign policies pursued in that continent during the last 50 years. All that was laboriously built up yesterday is lying in ruins today and what it is rebuilding today is faced with an uncertain tomorrow.

These five years of our freedom have been eventful in more than one sense. India has played an effective role in world affairs. By refusing to align herself with anyone bloc in the world, we have steered clear through storms and helped the victims of aggression to look to an era of peace and amity with hope and confidence. The recent plan proposed by India for the cessation of the hostilities in Korea amply proves that no other nation except India is today in a position to command respect and hearing from a vast number of free nations of the world. This cannot be the result of a weakneed foreign policy. Our foreign policy has been a dynamic one. India is bound on a mission of peace and under the leadership of our President,



**this mission will be fulfilled in spite of the stress and storms that have overtaken the minds of men here as well as abroad.**

**To those who take pride in worshipping other Gods than their own I wish to point out that there is no other country in Asia, whatever their other achievements, that is more secure than India in the present day world. Unless that sense of security is realised we will live with a sense of fear, and however beautiful a house we build, it will be a house of care. The foreign policy that Congress has pursued has given us that sense of security and also a respected place in the comity of nations, and for the very economic development and prosperity at home, it would be fatal if this is in any way disturbed, or a shock is given to it, which any other party in power, however well intentioned, will give it.**

**These are important roles which Congress has to play that makes us cling to it with hope. This I say not in defence of Congress Party, but these are the dictates of history. And to those, who are tempted to exchange new glittering lamps for old, I would say 'Pause and reflect'.**

**The problem of revitalising the Congress organisation is of paramount importance to us. This session of the Congress will have turned a new leaf in its history if practical ways and means are devised to achieve this objective.**

**Various other problems equally important need serious consideration by this Session of the Congress. I have ventured to submit to you only a few of these which have been exercising the minds of camp-followers like me. We look to you for new inspiration and fresh impetus in our work in days to come. I am sure collective decisions of this august gathering will ensure that. I once again heartily welcome you and offer my felicitations to you.**

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Jawaharlal Nehru

I am here at your bidding. I need hardly tell you how very greatly I appreciate this honour and the confidence and affection that accompanied it. And yet, I feel a little unhappy that I should have been chosen once again as Congress President. I agree entirely with those friends and comrades of ours who have objected to the high offices of Prime Minister and Congress President being held by one and the same person. I tried hard that this should not occur and pleaded with my comrades in the Congress to make some other choice, but their insistence and the circumstances were against me in this matter. I felt that for me to go on saying "No", in spite of the advice of so many of my valued colleagues, would not be proper. Facts and circumstances hemmed me in and I had no alternative left but to accept, in all humility, this position of high responsibility. I did so in the faith that you will help me to shoulder the burden and that our faith in the great tasks which face the Congress and the country will inspire me to put forth such strength and energy as still remain with me.

2. We meet after fifteen months. During this period, we have had our General Elections and new Governments have been formed at the Centre and in all the States of India. All but one of these Governments owe allegiance to the principles and policies laid down by the Congress. This is a tremendous responsibility not only for those who are directly associated with these Governments, but for this great organisation which has fathered India's independence and which has to take us along the next stage of our long journey as well. Unlike all other groups and parties in India, we have to face our problems

with our responsibility in Government and not merely negatively in opposition or in an academic manner which need pay little attention to the realities that face us. Because of this and because of the past history of the Congress, we cannot function along narrow and party lines. Always we must think in terms of the country as a whole and shape all our action with that larger end in view. Whenever we fail to do so and fall into the narrow grooves of party politics, or, still think of group advantage, we stray from the ideals that have given us strength and from the basic outlook of the Congress. We make ourselves less effective and less in tune with the spirit of our great national movement. We are, however, a party and we must have the discipline of a party. This is vital and essential. But we are much more than a party also and must always keep that wider vision before us always.

3. Some of our old comrades have left us and formed other groups and parties. Some who left us have come back to us and they have been welcomed. We bear no illwill to those who might have left our ranks owing to differences of principle or of conviction. If their aim is to serve the causes which are dear to us, we shall always willingly cooperate with them and if they choose to come back to the Congress, they will always be welcome. Only those whose objectives or methods are completely alien to those of the Congress can find no place in this organisation. We have been wedded in our domestic as well as our international policy to methods of peace. Those who believe in violence must go their own way and will have to be opposed by us with all our strength. So also, those who believe in separatism of any kind, whether it is communalism or provincialism or casteism, have to be

opposed, for they would break up the unity of India, obstruct and delay our progress and even imperil our hard-won freedom.

4. The General Elections bore evidence, which the world recognised, that democracy had deep roots in our country and that our people had discipline and good sense. The elections demonstrated, yet again, the faith of the people in the Congress and its ideals.

5. We have tremendous problems to face in our country and in the world. We would have liked to concentrate our energy on the development of our own country and the advancement of our people and, as far as possible, not to get entangled in international affairs. We have no ambition to guide others or for leadership elsewhere. Our own tasks are heavy enough to absorb all our energy and strength. But we cannot choose our destiny. India, free and independent, cannot escape from or ignore her responsibilities to the world or as a member of the comity of nations. Nor will the world ignore her or exempt her from such responsibilities. There is something of the inevitability of destiny in the way India is compelled by circumstances, even against our wishes, to take an ever-increasing part in world affairs. We have to accept that destiny and try to live up to it. Even though we have no great power in the shape of organised armed might or great economic or financial power, India is respected more and more in the councils of the nations. It is only five years since we attained our independence. In these brief five years, India has built up for herself a position which commands respect and which brings additional responsibilities. There are hardly any instances in history of a country establishing

itself in this way during the first five years of its freedom.

6. In the political sphere, from this larger point of view, we have succeeded to an extent which is not only surprising but is embarrassing to us. What of our internal conditions and our economic position? The basic strength of a nation does not come from political activity, but from economic strength. That is the key to its own security and its progress. It is out of that that political strength comes. We have many critics in our own country who tell us that little has been done and our pace is slow. I welcome criticism and nothing is worse in this respect than complacency. Even in our ranks of the Congress, there are many critics. It is right that we should never be satisfied with what we do and should ever aim higher and farther. And yet, it is significant that competent observers who look at India from afar, or who come to India and see what has been done, have expressed their astonishment at the progress made during these five years and have sensed a certain excitement at the way this ancient country is renewing her youth and building herself anew. Perhaps we are too near our own achievements to judge of them correctly. Those achievements stand out and, I have no doubt, will be recorded in history.

7. In the world today there is much disharmony, friction and conflict between nations and races. There is a menacing lack of equilibrium. The ominous spectre of war and mounting armaments are ever before us. Fear dominates men's minds and the policies of nations and the resources of the world are disproportionately allocated to preparation for or against war according to how one looks at it. Old empires fell before the

advancing tide of nationalism or faded away. New countries came into existence and grew in strength and power. This fact was not easily understood or appreciated by people used to the old world which had passed away. They ignored facts and tried to struggle against them. Even now, some colonial powers cling on to the remnants of their empire, though it is patent that imperialism and colonialism are doomed, and that the urges and determination to win national freedom cannot be put down. Our place is with those who, like ourselves in the past, seek the freedom of their motherland.

8. The great revolutionary forces of science and technology have transformed human life and changed not only political, social and economic organisations, but have also changed even human thought. New philosophies develop and traditional beliefs fade away. Nevertheless, old traditions hold, even when they are demonstrably untrue, and superstitions flourish in this country, as elsewhere. In spite of the world becoming more and more one, in many respects, national rivalries continue. Education spreads, but does not bring either wisdom or vision. Countries think that their policy or outlook is in the nature of self-evident truth and not to accept it is regarded as a denial almost of some divine law. And so, those who do not accept their view are considered wicked and almost enemies. It is curious that in this age of science, we seem to have less of the true spirit of criticism, of tolerance and receptivity to other views and ideas, which are the basis of scientific thinking. It has become an ominous possibility that science might lead to the extinction of the human race.

9. In the world today, the two largest and most powerful countries are the United States of



**America and the Soviet Union.** From the point of view of population and potential resources alone, there are two other countries, China and India, both relatively undeveloped yet. East and South-East Asia contain the largest aggregate of human populations, no longer quiescent but demanding the good things of life. These are basic facts from which far-reaching consequences flow.

10. The foreign policy of a country must depend on the facts of the world situation and on the strength of the country itself. Wishful thinking does not alter such facts or add to that strength. Our foreign policy is based on friendly relations with all countries and no interference with any. It is never easy to sustain such a policy and more especially when there is so much bitterness and mutual suspicion in the world and when every move by any one party is suspect. Nevertheless I am happy to say that our relations with other countries are good. The only country which unfortunately is somewhat of an exception to this is our neighbour, Pakistan. One recognises that it is not easy to forget recent history or to heal the deep wounds caused during the past few years. We have, however, always held that it is essential to establish and maintain friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan. This is in our mutual interest and would be an example to the world of good neighbourly relations and a contribution to peace itself. Despite disappointments and provocations, we have striven consistently to this end. Unfortunately the response from the other side has been disappointing and there is frequent talk even of war against us. We cannot surrender to threats, nor any vital principle. In any event, we shall protect our territory and our basic interests if they are attacked.

Our policy thus has been one of friendliness as well as firmness, and we have avoided, in so far as we could, any action which might increase the tension between our country and Pakistan. Some critics of ours have called this a policy of weakness and appeasement and suggest and demand what they call "strong" action. This can only lead to a major conflict. That is a folly from every point of view and I am glad that the great majority of our people are entirely opposed to it. We shall continue to pursue the policy to which I have referred because we think not only that it is the right policy, but that it yields good results both in the short run and in the long run.

11. We have four major points of dispute with Pakistan—Kashmir, the treatment of minorities in East Pakistan resulting in large numbers of refugees coming over, evacuee property, and canal waters. The Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council for five years and recently the Council passed a resolution which we could not accept. During all these years we have waited patiently for a proper consideration of the problem, and yet it is most strange that the Security Council has never given thought to the basic issues underlying the Kashmir problem. Because the Security Council has ignored basic facts and tried to bypass fundamental issues, it has often gone wrong. Its last resolution to which I have referred was even contrary to some of the decisions of the U. N. Commission itself. It is also opposed to the pledges and assurances we have given and from which we cannot resile. It has distressed us that two great countries should have sponsored such a resolution, which appears to us to be grossly unfair. We took this issue to the Security Council on the basis of Pakistan's aggression. Our territory had

been invaded. We proposed on our own initiative a reference to the people. Even though part of our territory was in enemy occupation, we proposed a cease-fire and gave effect to it immediately. We proposed to Pakistan that both countries should make a no-war declaration. This was refused. Constant threats of war against us have been made and we have not retaliated. The whole history of these years shows how patient and peaceful we have been in spite of aggression, invasion and continuous provocation. We have adhered to every assurance that we have given, because we have been anxious to secure a settlement by peaceful methods. We propose to continue this policy, because we are convinced that that is the right policy. But we could not keep the Jammu and Kashmir State in a condition of political and constitutional inertia waiting for something that does not eventuate because of no fault of ours. Therefore, a Constituent Assembly was convened. This Assembly is in the process of framing the State Constitution in tune with the Constitution of India and has already passed important laws affecting land reform. In spite of the travail that Jammu and Kashmir has gone through, the State has made progress in many directions.

12. Unfortunately there has been an agitation in Jammu Province which ostensibly aims at a closer union with India but, in fact, has the contrary effect. It is a disruptive agitation which can only do good to the enemies of the State and of India. I recognise that the people of Jammu have certain legitimate grievances and that economic conditions there are difficult. These matters should be attended to cooperatively and peacefully. The present agitation is basically communal and encouraged by communal

organisations. It strikes, therefore, at the very root of the policy according to which we are trying to build up our new India.

13. We know that Pakistan was the child of communalism and the recent report of the Basic Principles Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly makes it clear that the present leaders of Pakistan intend it to be a medieval theocracy, where non-Muslims may perhaps be tolerated but will have no equal or honourable existence. That also makes it evident what the basic difficulty of non-Muslims in Pakistan is. It is not surprising that they are unhappy in the present and look to the future with apprehension. It is not for me to criticise the internal policies of Pakistan. But we cannot shut our eyes to a policy which creates problems for these minorities and for us. Behind this narrow communal outlook, lies a wider policy which is utterly different from that pursued by us in our country. This is evident in many ways, most noticeably in the fact that one of the bravest soldiers of freedom and peace and reconciliation, has been in prison in Pakistan for about five years. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not only our great leader but the leader of those also who live in Pakistan now and his continued incarceration is a tragedy and a portent of the first magnitude. Our hearts go out to him.

14. How then are we to meet this situation? Not by war or threats of war, because that is not policy but a failure of policy, and will not solve any problem, much less bring relief to those with whom we sympathise. It will only bring disaster to them and to all concerned.

15. Nor can we adopt the communal policy of Pakistan in retaliation or as a corrective. That

policy is bound to fail in any country which adopts it, because it is wrong and out of tune with the modern age. It is strange that certain organisations in India, which raise their voices loudly against Pakistan, tend to become themselves more and more replicas of the Pakistan communal organisation. Evil cannot be conquered by evil. Our policy may appear slow and might not bring immediate results. That is the fate of many a problem in the world today, but delay in achieving our objective does not mean that we should, in our excitement, adopt evil or wrong courses of action and bring about disaster. In respect of those who suffer in Pakistan and with whom we are profoundly in sympathy, it is both a wrong and a dangerous course to seek to excite others and raise expectations when we are in no position to render effective assistance. Such course of action on our part would only render worse the position of those who already suffer.

16. There is the problem of evacuee properties which affects millions of people. It is distressing that even this problem has not been solved yet. It is eminently a problem which can be dealt with dispassionately and even judicially. But all our proposals to this end have been rejected by Pakistan.

17. The Canal Waters issue again should depend for its decision on facts and a correct appreciation of the situation. This also is capable of easy solution if the proposals we have made are accepted. I am glad that an attempt is being made now with the help of the International Bank to get at these facts. Meanwhile, entirely false charges are continuously being made in Pakistan, accusing us of having stopped the flow of water through the canals. It is unfortunate

that all these questions, which raise national and international issues, should be exploited for party purposes by communal organisations in India. The plight of the refugees is a matter which concerns the whole of India. It is not a party issue and all of us should join together in trying to help them and rehabilitate them. The Kashmir issue has become entangled in the web of international affairs and power politics. It is not considered objectively or dispassionately and it will take all our strength and patience to resolve the disentanglements. It is an issue which requires unity of national outlook on our part. Some of our people and our communal organisations, referring often to India's culture of the past, forget the very basis of that culture, which was a long tradition of tolerance. From the Buddha to Gandhiji, all the great souls of India have reminded us that it is through following right means that we achieve right ends, that it is through tolerance and compassion that people really advance. India is a country with a basic unity, but of great variety in religion, in cultural traditions and in ways of living. It is only by mutual forbearance and respect for each other, as the great Asoka taught, that we shall build up a strong, stable and cooperative community in the whole of India. Any other approach means disruption and disaster, apart from giving up the basic tradition of our rich heritage.

18. Some people talk of one nation, one culture, one language. That cry reminds me of some of the fascist and Nazi slogans of old. We are one nation of course, but to try to regiment it in one way will mean discord and conflict and bitterness. It will put an end to the richness and variety of India and confine and limit the creative spirit and the joy in life of our people.

19. We have fourteen languages of India listed in the Eighth Schedule to our Constitution. They are all great languages, from the ancient magnificent Sanskrit, which has still so much life in it, to the other languages nurtured by our ancestors in the soil of India. We have rightly decided that Hindi should be the national language of India, because Hindi, more than others, fulfils the qualifications of a national language for this country. We must encourage it in every way and make it a fitting vehicle for modern thought and a suitable instrument for our work and creative activity. But at the same time, we have to encourage the other great provincial languages also. There should be or need be no rivalry between them. I have been surprised to hear voices raised against Urdu. Urdu does not compete with Hindi now. It only claims a place which is its right by inheritance in the large household of India. It is our language, nurtured in our country, adding to the cultural richness of our people. Why should we reject it or consider it as something foreign? It is this spirit of intolerance, this parochial outlook, which is more dangerous for our cultural and other growth than anything else that can happen to us.

20. In the name of culture, we hear slogans and loud cries which have no relation to culture or the growth of the mind or spirit. In particular, the communal organisations are guilty of this narrow outlook which kills the spirit and the mind and weakens the nation. In a sense, they represent some medieval mentality; they stand for reaction in the political and the economic field, even though sometimes they talk in terms of some advanced social doctrine. They are the replicas in this country of what was known in Europe as Fascism and Nazism.

21. Language is both a binding force and a separating one and we have to be very careful in the matter of languages in India, lest in our enthusiasm for unity we might not encourage disruption. We have seen how powerful are the sentiments for linguistic provinces. There is reason behind that sentiment. At the same time, provinces cannot be carved out merely on the basis of language. There are other very important factors which have to be taken into consideration. It is true that where there is a powerful demand, we should pay heed to it, unless there are some insuperable obstacles in the way. It must be remembered that political changes delay other kinds of progress. A multiplicity of governmental machinery means more expense and less efficiency. The formation of linguistic provinces means the diversion of our energy and resources from the major economic tasks of the day. If we get entangled in this business now, what happens to our Five-Year Plan? And if, in addition, such attempted redistribution involves conflict and bitterness, then, indeed, the ultimate result will be much worse. We are a mature people and we should not allow ourselves to be led away by sentiment without giving the fullest consideration to every aspect of the question.

22. We have stated that where there is a well-established demand and the proposal meets with the general consent of those concerned, we should give effect to it. We have decided to do so in the case of Andhra and steps are being taken to that end. I earnestly hope that this will be achieved cooperatively with the least disturbance possible. Even so, there is going to be a great deal of upset and our meagre resources will have to be spent in other ways than intended.



The decision to form the Andhra State has led to a renewal of demands for some other linguistic provinces. Some of these demands can probably be justified. Others have no such justification. But, in any event, it has to be realised that any widespread and more or less simultaneous change in the political geography of India will create very great problems and will strain our resources to the utmost. It would mean definitely our putting a stop to any real progress in accordance with our Five-Year Plan. It might weaken national unity which is the foundation for everything else. Therefore, I would earnestly suggest that while establishing the Andhra State, we should wait to see the consequences that flow from it and then take into consideration any like problems elsewhere. We should concentrate now on the Five-Year Plan and having accomplished it, we can then go ahead with added strength to solve other problems.

23. There is talk of the disintegration of Hyderabad State. Such disintegration would upset the whole balance of the South and lead to innumerable new problems. To all these we should give the most careful consideration and due time. For the next few years at any rate we must postpone consideration of such problems and concentrate on economic advance. We dare not play about with our country or do things that weaken it when the world hovers on the brink of war.

24. We have a large number of States in the country, Part A States have a great deal of autonomy. Part B States are approximating to the Part A States and before long there will be no major difference left. Part C States are generally small. The integration of Part B States has been

a great achievement and has brought improvement in many ways to them. But it has also brought a higher scale of expenditure on the machinery of government and this is a great burden. The addition to the number of States and thereby to the expenditure on governmental machinery will add to this burden and will result in reducing standards, when we are anxious to improve them. We should think rather in terms of reducing the number of States or in having some common features in States which would lessen the expenditure at the top. We have to choose between the development of the country and balkanization and consequent continuing low standards of life.

25. The major and most urgent problem for us today is that of economic advance, advance not only for the nation as a nation but in the conditions of masses of people who live in it. We have to fight poverty and unemployment and improve the conditions of life of our people. Our resources are limited, even though our wish to progress is great. It is for this purpose that the Five-Year Plan has been evolved, after a great deal of thought and consultation. This Plan initiates a process of balanced economic development of the country with a view to raising the standard of living and bringing about an increasing measure of economic equality and opportunities for employment. I shall not discuss this complicated Plan here, because the argument is given in the Plan itself, to which I would invite attention. That Plan is not based on any doctrinaire approach and is not rigid. It is modest in a sense, and yet it has far-reaching consequences. I have no doubt that if we succeed in implementing this Plan, we shall then be in a position to go ahead at a much faster pace. The Plan does not limit our growth in any direction.

Although there is a private sector, our stress is laid on the public sector which should progressively expand.

26. Though the development of industry is exceedingly important, special stress has been laid on agriculture, because that is the basis of our economy. In particular, we must make our country self-sufficient in food. From recent statistics and results obtained, I have no doubt that we can do so in the course of the next few years. Our object is to prevent monopoly control and to limit private profit, so as to bring about a distribution of economic power. Our great river valley schemes are magnificent examples of what we can do. They have been admired by all who have seen the work done there. But it is not by a few major schemes that we will ultimately be judged, but rather by the general improvement all over the country. Our great National Laboratories have laid well the foundations for future scientific advance. Great factories have also sprung up in various parts of the country for basic and key industries. Even last year our industrial productivity increased by about ten per cent. It is our pride and good fortune to take up this Five-Year Plan now and make it a full success.

27. I have referred to agriculture. That depends upon land policy. We have to complete the abolition of the zamindari, jagirdari and like systems as rapidly as possible. We have to put a ceiling on land and we have to encourage co-operative farming. In industry we have to encourage, by all means in our power, village and cottage industries. That is the surest and swiftest method of relieving unemployment. There is no conflict between that and the big industry that we wish to develop. But this big industry will not

solve the problem of unemployment except for a relatively small number of persons. Hence the importance of small and village industries.

28. A very important part of our Five-Year Plan consists of the community centres which have been started in various parts of India and which it is intended to increase every year. Through them we hope not only to increase production in rural areas but more especially to raise the level of community life in every direction. Their success, as indeed the success of the whole Five-Year Plan, depends largely on voluntary effort and the spirit with which our people take up this great task of building new India.

29. We live in an age of what is called cold war, which, at any moment, may develop into something worse. In this world of conflict, the only guarantee of our safety and our freedom is our own strength. That strength ultimately depends upon the economic condition of the country and of the people. The Five-Year Plan is an answer to the challenge of the times and on its success depends our survival as a great nation. Those who criticise that Plan and wish to be merely onlookers when this great work calls for endeavour, do little service to the country. If the Plan does not go far enough, let us try to improve it and take it further. Nothing prevents us from doing so except our own lack of resources or incapacity. If we can do more or go ahead faster, we should certainly attempt it.

30. We talk of the possibility of war, but, as a matter of fact, wars are going on in various parts of the world—in Korea, in Indo-China and elsewhere. They are serious enough, though from the world point of view they may be limited in

scope. As you know, we have been intensely interested in the promotion of peace. We have not tried to interfere and we have no desire to play a dramatic role. But quietly and persistently, for a long time past, we have sought to help in some way so that the tension in the Far East might be relieved and the threat of world war might lessen. Unfortunately, the major changes that have taken place in the Far East during the last three or four years have not been fully appreciated yet by many people who still try to hold on to their conception of a world that no longer exists. The emergence of China as a great unified and vital country has completely changed the balance of power in the Far East and, to some extent, in the world. The revolution in China was no sudden development, although the final change appeared to be sudden and unexpected. That revolution had nearly 40 years of history behind it, during which period this great country suffered from invasion and civil war. The non-recognition by some countries of this new People's Government of China was a refusal to see one of the major and obvious facts of the age. That refusal has led step by step to grave consequences. There cannot be any final settlement in the Far East without the full recognition of this new China. This is not a question of likes and dislikes. A country or a Government is recognised because it exists and functions effectively, not because the political or economic structure there is approved or liked by others. The world can only carry on if there is acceptance of the fact that each country has freedom to develop according to its own way of thinking and there is no interference with it. There is far too much interference today and attempts to impose one country's will on another.

31. During the last sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, a resolution was put forward on our behalf in regard to the Korean war. That resolution was ultimately passed by a very great majority, but unfortunately two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, did not accept it. And the result is that the deadlock in Korea continues. Our resolution was meant as a proposal to show a way out of this deadlock. It was no mandate and it was based entirely on the Geneva Convention, about which so much has been said. It did not recognise voluntary repatriation of prisoners, nor was there any question of prisoners being asked whether they wish to return or decline to do so. It did not recognise the right of asylum for prisoners of war which applies to political refugees. There was to be no screening of prisoners. It ensured that all prisoners would be released from the custody of the detaining side and in neutral territory. The presumption was that they would go back to their country of origin. In fact, repatriation would have begun as soon as these prisoners were released from detention. The resolution did say that if an individual prisoner of either side refused to go over to his country from the neutral zone, force would not be used or obliged to be used against him. This is fully in accordance with the Geneva Convention which does not lay down an obligation to lift a prisoner of war physically and put him on the other side in spite of his opposition.

32. I do not wish to argue about this resolution. Our purpose was not to raise legal quibbles, but to help in arriving at a settlement. We made an honest attempt and we failed. I think, however, that even though we failed then our attempt did some good and may perhaps lead

to a more fruitful result later. So far as we are concerned, we shall gladly help in every effort which might lead to peace.

33. While there is cold war between great nations, there is also something very much like a race war developing in Africa. The policy of the South African Government has been opposed by us in so far as people of Indian origin are concerned. That policy has progressively emphasized racial discrimination and indeed the overlordship of one race over another. The movement in South Africa has now become widespread and the Africans are taking a leading part in it. It is being carried on peacefully in accordance with the technique discovered by Gandhiji in South Africa itself long years ago. While passive resistance is taking place in South Africa, in East Africa a very different situation has developed. On the one side, there have been terroristic outrages, on the other, severe and widespread repression. I have no desire to balance these, but I am concerned at the grave consequences that are already flowing from this conflict. I am exceedingly sorry that some people in Kenya took to methods of violence which can only do them harm and will not strengthen their cause in any way. They have suffered long and I can understand their feeling of utter frustration and despair. But they will not achieve anything by methods of violence. On the other hand, repression will never solve the problem of Africa and the grave danger is that something in the nature of race war will develop and bring disaster in its train. I earnestly hope that a wiser and a more positive approach to these problems will be made. It must be understood quite clearly that no doctrine based on racial inequality or racial suppression can be tolerated for long. There will be no peace in the

world if one race tries to dominate over another or one country over another.

34. We have to deal with our own internal problems in the Congress. The mere fact that our organisation is strong and widespread and controls Governments, has brought many evils in its train. They are the evils of success and we have to be very careful, lest we allow these evils to corrupt and enfeeble the Congress. During recent Congress delegate elections, many such evils came to light. We tried to tackle them and have taken stern measures in many places. We propose to be vigilant in this matter and I must ask your fullest cooperation for this purpose. Some amendments to the Congress Constitution will be placed before you which are intended to help us in removing some of these evils.

35. Recently, in the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, certain developments took place which have distressed me greatly. They are a warning to all of us. During the last forty years or so of my public life, I do not know of anything so disgraceful and so degrading in our public life as these recent happenings in Pepsu. If in our passion for power we forget standards of public behaviour and the principles that have guided us in the past, then indeed we are doomed and we deserve to perish. But we must not judge the whole of our organisation by these instances. I am sure that there are all over the country any number of earnest Congressmen of high integrity who are carrying on their work without expectation of reward or profit. They are the backbone of the Congress and are in our true tradition. It is they who give strength and life to this organisation of ours.



36. During the past five years we have been trying to build up our new Republic. We have failed in many things and we have not succeeded in others in the measure that we desire. But I think I am justified in saying that our record has been a creditable one, which can bear comparison with any elsewhere. Let us remember our failures and try to avoid them in the future, but let us also keep in mind our successes which have raised the reputation and credit of the country all over the world. We have now to carry on this process and build up in a more conscious, deliberate and planned way. The path has been chalked out. The journey, however, is not an easy one. But then let us remind ourselves constantly that we have not been used in the past to soft living or easy reward. We have to develop that old spirit again, that temper which forgets self and is not depressed by any difficulty or temporary lack of success. I invite you all to march along this path with good heart and faith in the destiny of our country.

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
FIFTYEIGHTH SESSION

RESOLUTIONS

Hyderabad-Dn.  
January 17 & 18, 1953

## 1. Condolence

The Congress expresses its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of:

1. Lala Deshbandhu Gupta	Delhi
2. Shri B. N. Maheshwari	Bombay
3. Swami Govindanand	Bombay
4. Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas	Bombay
5. Shri Ramdeo A. Podar	Bombay
6. Shri Darbar Gopaldas Desai	Gujarat
7. Shri Harnarain Bajpai	Mahakoshal
8. Shri Agamdas	Mahakoshal
9. Shri Jagannath Shastri	Mahakoshal
10. Shri Chhotelal Gupta	Madhya Bharat
11. Shri K. G. Mashruwala	Nagpur
12. Shri G. M. Thawre	Nagpur
13. Shri S. Vedachala Mudaliar	Tamilnad
14. Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar	Tamilnad
15. Thakur Lal Singh	Bhopal
16. Qazi Ataullah Shah	N.W.F.P.
17. Shri Shivdas Daga	Mahakoshal
18. Shri Badri Nath Dubey	Mahakoshal
19. Shri Sahib Singh Gour	Vindhya Pradesh
20. Shri S. Manohar Rao	Hyderabad
21. Shri M. Ramchandra Rao	Hyderabad
22. Shri N. K. Rao	Hyderabad
23. Shri D. N. Chaudhury	Maharashtra
24. Shri Potti Sriramulu	Andhra
25. Shri Ramakrishna Punja	Karnatak
26. Shri Panda Sant Ram	Punjab
27. Shri Jiwanlal Diwan	Gujarat
28. Shri T. Thimmarayappa	Mysore
29. Shri Dhewar Kondappa	Mysore
30. Mufti Kifayatullah	Delhi
31. Maulvi Md. Siddiqi	Sind

## **2. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan**

This Congress has learnt with great concern of the continuing illness of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been kept in prison in Pakistan for the last five years. Khan Saheb's memory is cherished both in India and Pakistan as a man of truth and peace, and as one of the bravest and noblest soldiers of freedom, whose life has been a shining example of service and sacrifice, and who taught the brave Pathans the way of non-violence and peaceful struggle for righteous causes. It is a grievous tragedy that the man who helped greatly in bringing freedom to India and Pakistan and whom any nation would have delighted to honour, should become a victim of the very independence that his labours helped to bring. In the days of India's subjection to foreign rule, he spent the best years of his life in the hard prisons of the North West Frontier Province. The same prisons have claimed him even after independence, and not even his continuing and grave illness has brought him release from this unending confinement.

This Congress sends its respectful greetings and homage to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

## **3. Bhoodan Yagna**

The annual session of the Indian National Congress deeply appreciates the Bhoodan Yagna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and appeals to the countrymen, specially the Congress workers, to give active support and cooperation to this movement. It also requests the Central and the State Governments to do their best for its success.

## **4. Foreign Policy and the World Situation**

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever-growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival power blocs, engaged in a

"cold war", and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, and threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust, and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has not only rendered the desires of the common people for peace ineffective, but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and governments to one another, and as between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the cold war and by other conflicts, should be encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disarmament, and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand dead-locked in world affairs. The broaden-

ing of the United Nations Organisation, by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularised by the real Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency.

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of the United Nations Organisation in the social, economic and humanitarian field, even though they fall far short, measured against the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge on the other.

While recognising the advance made in the colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplors that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed. Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict, exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause of war and human misery and should be ended.

The Congress records its appreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unhindered by set-backs, inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and international cooperation, and non-alignment with Power Blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contribution towards international understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law.

The people of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves

and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others. By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world.

## 5. South Africa

The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence, Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descent and Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial cooperation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organisation which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilised world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations.

The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who cooperate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and



cooperation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

The Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their whole-hearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be opened to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilised nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace, and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

## 6. The Five-Year Plan

The most important and urgent task before the country is to ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unemployment by greater production and equitable distribution, and thus realise the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the Constitution. To this end all the resources of the nation must be directed in a planned manner, aiming more particularly at providing productive employment for all, so that everyone becomes a partner in the welfare state, sharing in its burdens and benefits alike.

The Congress welcomes the first Five Year Plan, the adoption of which is an event of great significance and promise for the people of India, as it initiates a process of planned economic development of the country with the purpose of realising progressively the objectives aimed at. The Plan is a realistic and flexible approach to this great problem and its full implementation will lay the sound foundation of rapid progress in the future.

The Congress agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realised at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the Plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries, and the building of the community on cooperative lines.

The Congress views the Plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives. The Plan depends for its success on the cooperation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implementation. It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership, at all levels, to mobilise this cooperation and voluntary effort of the people. To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up New India, the Congress invites all the people of the country.

## **7. Disapproval of Communal Activities**

The Congress reiterates its faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international.

In view of the repeated attempts on the part of certain groups in the country to rouse communal bitterness by the reiteration of slogans on the basis of religion which tend to turn the thoughts of men to violence and conflict, this Congress expresses its disapproval and condemnation of these activities, which retard the growth of good feeling and mutual tolerance amongst people professing different religions, to which the Congress is irrevocably pledged. The activities of such

groups in Indian union in regard to the minorities in East Pakistan, who suffer so much from the policy of the Pakistan Government, do not promote in any way the interests of these minorities but make the settlement of the problem more difficult, and further hinder the regulated and progressive rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Congress notes with deep regret the interference of some communal organisations in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir State, which is fraught with grave evil, and hopes that the people of the State will not allow themselves to be misled by such propaganda, which can only lead to the disintegration of the State and most unfortunate consequences.

#### **8. Reorganisation of States**

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State. These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress.

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganisation of the present States in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial consideration and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each State. The successful implementation of the Five Year Plan must always be kept in view. Any further steps in the direction of reorganisation of States on the basis of language or any other basis will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State.

#### **9. Changes in the Congress Constitution**

This Congress ratifies the changes made by the All India Congress Committee at its session at Indore in the

Constitution of the Congress. In view of certain irregularities and malpractices that have been reported from some parts of the country in connection with the election of delegates for the Congress and in the enrolment of members, the Congress directs the Working Committee to review the entire question of enrolment of members, and elections, and other matters, with a view to suggesting such changes in the Constitution that may be found necessary to maintain the integrity and efficiency in the working of the organisation. The Working Committee may appoint a special Committee for this purpose. The Working Committee will forward its recommendations to the All India Congress Committee which is authorized to take necessary steps under Article XXX for the amendment of the Constitution.

#### 10. Ceylon

This Congress views with grave concern the latest developments in Ceylon in regard to the people of Indian origin, who have long been resident there and who have not been or who are no longer citizens of India. The administrative measures and economic sanctions taken against these people have not only caused them considerable hardship but intend to make them stateless and thus create a grave situation. The Congress is of opinion that these measures of the Ceylon Government are not in conformity with justice or international practice, and appeals to the Government of Ceylon to give further consideration to this question which is not only important because it affects large numbers of people, but comes in the way of the friendly and cooperative relations which should exist between such near neighbours as India and Ceylon which have had so much in common from immemorial times.

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**58TH SESSION**  
**OF THE**  
**Indian National Congress**

**REPORT OF**  
**THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE**

**NANAL NAGAR,**

**HYDERABAD-Dn.**

**1953.**

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*Pawles Art Studio*

HYDERABAD, INDIA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress



## Introduction

Though India attained Independence in 1947, and all the Indian States acceded to and later merged in the Indian Union, the Ruler of Hyderabad refused to join the Indian Union. He dreamt of an Independent Hyderabad State isolated from the rest of India. The people of Hyderabad, who never thought that they were separate from the people of India and who always held that the formation of Hyderabad State was a historical accident, opposed this move of the Nizam tooth and nail and through statements and resolutions of their political organisation, the Hyderabad State Congress made known to the world that they were not one with the Nizam in this move. People also opposed the communalism that was being encouraged by the Government by leaving the initiative in the hands of the Razakars who with their fanatic determination took the law in their own hands and tried to suppress the majority community by oppressive means like loot, murder etc. The Hyderabad State Congress which has now been named as the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee started the struggle for the establishment of Responsible Government and for the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union in 1947 and continued to fight without compromise. Thousands of lives were lost, lot of property was looted and still the people fought with a determination never to bend their knees before the autocratic ruler and the communal forces. When the Government of India saw that dis-order and chaos prevailed in the State and people were oppressed, they were forced to move. Thus the struggle of the people for democratisation of the State and its accession to the Indian Union ended with the Police Action by the Government of India, as a result of which the Nizam surrendered to the Indian forces and made way for the establishment of a democratic rule in Hyderabad.

As there was much confusion immediately after the Police Action, a Military Governor was appointed with full powers to act as the administrative head of the State. Later a Civil Government was established with Sri M. K. Vellodi, as the Chief Minister of Hyderabad State. Then came the period of association of popular elements with the governance of the country. Four Congressmen were taken in as Ministers with Sri Vellodi as Chief Minister. In December 1952 came General Elections. Congress contested all the seats and was voted to power having gained a majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly. Thus full popular Government was established in Hyderabad in March 1952.

Though Hyderabad State Congress right from its inception sought guidance from Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress, technically it remained an independent body. After the Police Action, the State Congress leaders wished that the organisation should be affiliated to the Indian National Congress and the State Congress made a formal request to the Indian National Congress. But due to various political considerations, the Working Committee preferred not to sanction the affiliation. It was only in 1951 the Congress accepted the request of the Hyderabad State Congress to be a part and parcel of the Indian National Congress and gave it a Pradesh status.

### **The Invitation**

Though, the Congress held 57 sessions in the past, in various parts of the country, Hyderabad had no opportunity to either request for a session or to convene it since its political situation never allowed such a possibility. Though, many politicians from Hyderabad had been to Congress Sessions in their individual capacity, people of Hyderabad as a whole had no opportunity to witness such an august body functioning in this august manner. Immediately after the affiliation the people in Hyderabad were eager to see that a Congress Session was held in

Hyderabad. Perhaps the leaders and workers from various states of India must have been anxious to see the resurgent Hyderabad with its tragic past and a transitional present. Thus, when the President of Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee invited the Congress Session to be held in Hyderabad in 1952, the Congress Working Committee, meeting in Delhi on 20 June 1952, accepted the invitation and decided that the 58th Session of the Indian National Congress should be held in Hyderabad from 16th January 1953.

Indeed, it was a high honour for the people of Hyderabad to have the Congress session. But it was an honour as well as a heavy responsibility. Workers were new to the task and huge arrangements had to be made. They began studying the arrangements made at different sessions particularly at Jaipur, Nasik and other places. They asked for reports and guidance from workers of the different sessions. They sought help from the A. I. C. C. also.

### **Provisional Reception Committee**

The Hyderabad Pradesh Congress met on 28rd August 1952 and appointed a provisional Reception Committee consisting of 120 members with Swami Ramanand Tirth, the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee as the chairman and Sri Bakar Ali Mirza and Sri Narendrajī as General Secretaries. (The names of members of the provisional Reception Committee are given as Appendix (A) to this report.)

The Reception Committee had to make all arrangements which included selecting a site convenient for holding the Open Session, Subjects Committee and for boarding and lodging of the delegates and other dignitaries who would be attending the Session. To supply drinking water for lakhs of visitors who were expected to attend the session, to make lighting arrangements, was not an easy job. Last of all, but most important was the

question of collecting money for execution of the work. Hence the Reception Committee in its first meeting held on 18th September 1953 appointed a Finance Sub-Committee with Raja Pannalal Pitti as the Chairman and Sri Vasudev Naik as the Secretary. It was the function of this Committee to collect finances, to make payments as per the sanctioned budget, and to look to the proper keeping of accounts. Apart from the Finance Sub-Committee, the following other sub-committees were formed:—

### **The Sub-Committee**

**THE STORE PURCHASE SUB-COMMITTEE:—**To make purchases of materials required for the Session (except food stuffs.)

**FOOD SUB-COMMITTEE:—**To make necessary arrangements for boarding of the delegates and other dignitaries.

**HOUSING SUB-COMMITTEE:—**To make necessary arrangements for the accommodation of delegates, members of the A. I. C. C. and other visitors. Apart from this, sub-committee was entrusted with the work of receiving the delegates and visitors at the Railway station and Airport and to arrange for their transport and luggage.

**EXHIBITION SUB-COMMITTEE:—**To arrange for a Sarvodaya Exhibition on the basis of the Gandhian ideology.

**HEALTH & SANITATION SUB-COMMITTEE:—**To arrange for medical aid and to make necessary sanitary arrangements.

**PROPAGANDA AND PUBLICITY SUB-COMMITTEE:—**The purpose of forming this sub-committee was to issue information bulletins about the progress of work done by the various sub-committees so as to keep the Congressmen and others in touch with the work.

**THE VOLUNTEER SUB-COMMITTEE:—**The Volunteer Sub-Committee was entrusted with the work of raising volunteers for the session and train them in a proper way so that they may be able to work systematically and in a disciplined manner.

**PLANNING SUB-COMMITTEE:**—The work of this sub-committee was to co-ordinate and guide the various other sub-committees. The Construction of Pandal, making arrangements for water supply and light, laying out roads, construction of bath-rooms and latrines and other constructional work was entrusted to this Committee. In fact this committee began work along with the Finance Sub-Committee.

Apart from these sub-committees, as per the needs of the situation, various temporary sub-committees like Procession sub-committee, Ticket-sales sub-committee, Carpets and Shamianas Sub-Committee were formed.

### **Selection of Site**

The same meeting of the Provisional Reception Committee discussed the problem of selecting a site for the venue of the Session. It was decided that the session should be held in the City of Hyderabad. Two or three places were suggested by the members present. A sub-committee consisting of Nawab Zain Yar Jung, Dr. Chenna Reddy, Srimati Padmaja Naidu, Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung, Raja Pannalal Pitti and Pandit Narenderji was appointed for the purpose of going round the various places suggested and ultimately to select a site and report to the Reception Committee. These members considered the various aspects with regard to the convenience of the delegates as well as from the point of view of economy. They selected a maidan near the foot of Golkonda Fort and the Reception Committee finally decided that the Congress Session should be held in this place. The maidan had, attached to it a number of Military barracks and officers quarters which could be usefully utilised for accommodating the delegates and other members of the A. I. C. C. Apart from this maidan, there was another maidan which could be utilised for the construction of a Pandal for the meeting of the Subjects Committee and housing the Exhibition.

## The "Nanal Nagar"

The Reception Committee in a subsequent meeting decided that the venue of the Congress Session should be named as "Nanalnagar". Shri Govindrao Nanal was the first President of the Hyderabad State Congress who was also the first Satyagrahi to rebel against the despotic rule of the Nizam. It was a fitting memory to him to name the venue of the Congress Session as "Nanalnagar". In the same meeting it was decided that the main entrance to the Congress Session should be named as 'Shoebullah Gate.' Sri Shoebulla was the martyr who gave his life for the cause of democracy. He was the editor of an Urdu daily, 'Imroz', who wrote against the communal policy of the Hyderabad Government with a powerful pen and suffered death at the hands of a fanatic for his advocacy of democratic ideals. The main gate of the open session was decided to be named as "Sarojini Gate" after the late Sarojini Naidu,

### Membership Categories

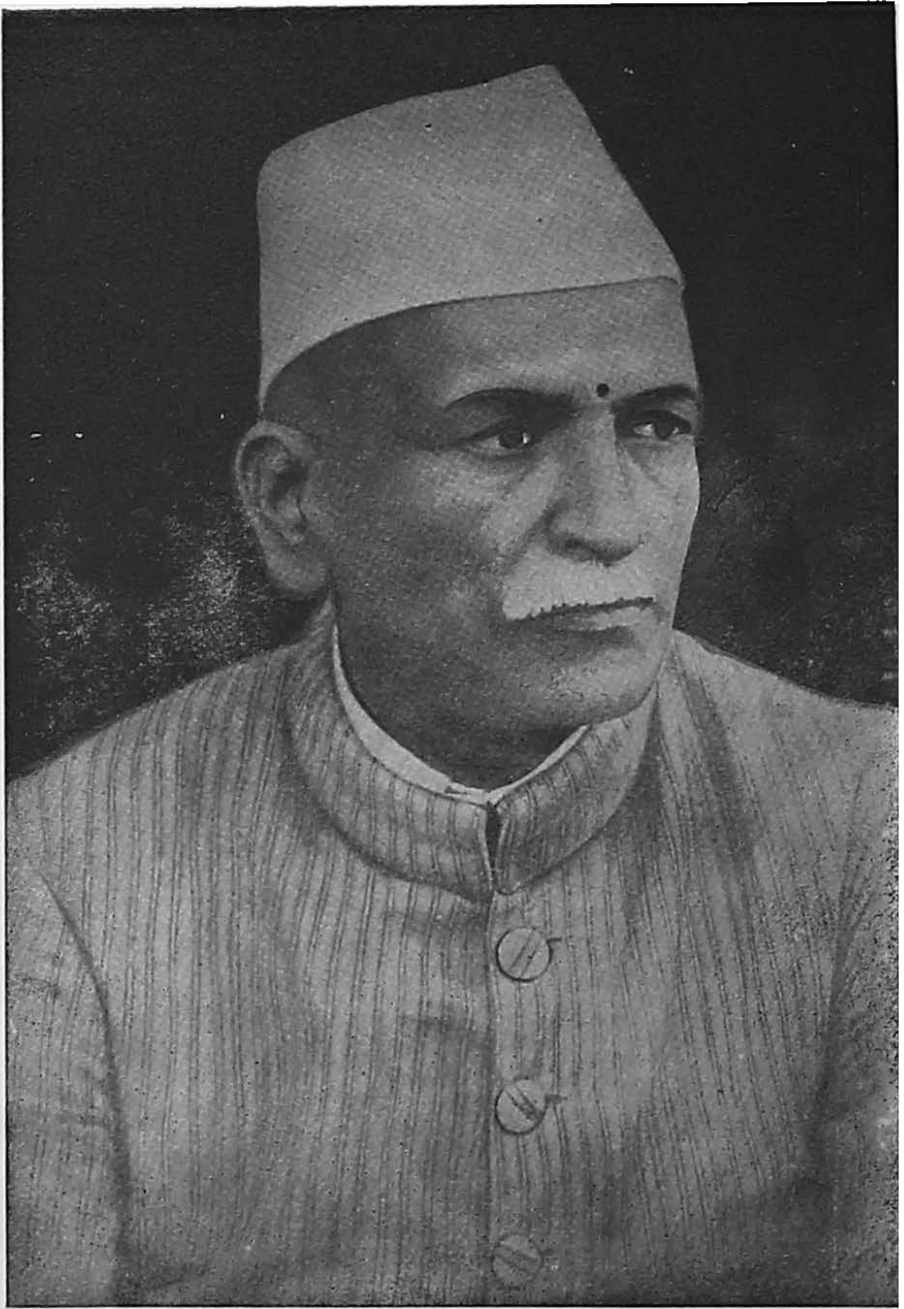
The Provisional Reception Committee in its meeting of 23rd August 1952 decided that there should be six categories in the Reception Committee membership:—

- (a) Rs. 1000/- or more (b) Rs. 500/- or more (c) Rs. 250/- or more  
(d) Rs. 100/- or more (e) Rs. 50/- or more (f) Rs. 25/- or more.

Apart from this, the Reception Committee decided that the Congress workers certified by the Presidents of D. C. Cs. should be enrolled as Reception Committee members at a concessional rate of Rs. 10/-. It fixed September 30 as the last date for the enrolment of members of the Reception Committee.

### Election of the Executive

On 5th October 1952, the meeting of all the members of the Reception Committee was convened and elections took place. Swami Ramananda Tirtha was elected as the Chairman of the



Shri Govinda Rao Nanal, first President of the Hyderabad State Congress in whose memory the venue was named as "Nanalnagar "

Reception Committee. Raja Pannalal Pitti, Sri Akbar Ali Khan, Sri K. V. Ranga Reddy and Sri Janardan Rao Desai were elected as Vice-Presidents. Sri J. K. Pranesacharya, Sri Vasudev Naik and Sri Narendrajī were elected as General Secretaries. The various sub-committees were requested to continue their good work. It was decided that convenors of the various sub-committees should be ex-officio members of the Executive of the Reception Committee. (The list of the members of the Executive is given as appendix (B) to this report).

Having selected the site, the various sub-committees began rapidly to make preparations for the session. The Finance Sub-Committee which was charged with the task of enrolling members of the Reception Committee, raising donations and to find out other sources of revenue, met a number of times and discussed various methods of raising funds. According to the original estimate of the Reception Committee, it was felt that a minimum of Rs. 10 lakhs was required to finance the session.

### Collections

Enrolment forms and the Receipt books were sent to the District Congress Committees and through them to Taluk Congress Committees. To give an impetus to the work, Collection Committees were formed in different parts of the State. To supplement the work, the sub-committee arranged tours of influential persons and Congress leaders in the State. It was also found that many people who hailed from Hyderabad had settled for business purposes outside the State and some big businessmen from outside Hyderabad had business interests in Hyderabad State. The Sub-Committee decided to approach such people at their headquarters. Sri Janardan Rao Desai and Sri D. G. Bindu went to Calcutta to organise collections for the Session. Swami Ramananda Tirth and Raja Pannalal Pitti went to Bombāy for donations. Sri Bankatlal Badruka, Sri Thokarshi L. Kapadia Sri D. D. Italia, Sri Annarao Ganamukhi, Sri Vinayakrao



Vidyalankar, Sri Sridhar Naik and others toured different parts of the State. In spite of all efforts, the sub-committee felt that the necessary amount of Rs. 10 lakhs was difficult to forthcoming. Therefore, they adopted a policy of strict control over expenditure. It was decided that while maximum comfort and convenience should be afforded to the delegates and visitors coming from various parts of the country, the arrangements should be simple. Wherever possible the Sub-Committee got materials on loan and thus saved expenditure. Even the pipes which were laid for the supply of water, furniture and cots were brought on hire and thus a large amount that would have been otherwise incurred was saved. Simplicity and comfort were the key-note of the arrangements made. Even the paintings and other decorations in the Pandal were symbol of simplicity and taste. The Finance Sub-Committee and its secretary Sri Vasudev Naik deserve all the praise for the splendid success of the session.

### **The Accommodation**

The task of the Housing Committee was also a stupendous one. To find accommodation for the delegates and other leaders, to look after them and to construct barracks and huts for the visitors was too heavy a burden. From the Railway Station to Nanalnagar, it was about five miles and the Housing Sub-Committee undertook to make arrangements for their conveyance. Pandit Nehru, the members of the Working Committee, Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees and other distinguished guests were accommodated in the Nilloufer Hospital. For the general visitors it was decided to build Tatti barracks and single room and double room huts for which it was decided to charge. Arrangements for the supply of hot water to the delegates and A. I. C. C. members were made. Number of temporary bathrooms were constructed with slab-flooring and zinc sheet cover. A number of latrines were also constructed apart from those which already existed. The housing sub-committee had to accommodate



Swami Ramananda Tirtha  
Chairman of the Reception Committee

a Telegraph office, a Post office, a Bank, a Hospital, three Police Stations, a few neat refreshment rooms etc. within the delegates camp. They had to find out accommodation for pressmen also in the same camp. Place was also required to house the Teleprinters of the various newspapers and other news agencies for the quick despatch of news from the place. All these arrangements, the committee made with amazing speed and efficiency. Workers from the City of Hyderabad under the able guidance and chairmanship of the then Law Minister, Sri Jagannathrao Chandarki worked very hard and with discipline for the execution of this heavy task which was entrusted to them. Special mention must be made of Sri Keshav Prasad and Sri Ramdev who worked untiringly in making splendid arrangements.

The Delegates from various parts of India were accommodated in the permanent buildings in the Mahammadi lines. The accommodation was provided Pradesh-wise. All the delegates were provided with cots. Each delegate was charged Rs. 7/- for all these arrangements as accommodation fee. Members of the A. I. C. C. were also housed in other buildings in the same lines and they were also charged similarly. The accommodation for workers who produced certificates from their respective Pradesh Congress committees was provided in permanent buildings at Makkai Darwaza and visitors were accommodated in the Tatti barracks specially constructed for the purpose. These were charged from Rs. 100 to Rs. 10/- depending upon the convenience given and the space allotted to them. Apart from this, arrangements were also made in the City in the Vivek Vardhini High School, Keshav Memorial High School etc. to accommodate others coming from within the State.

### **Transport Arrangements**

As mentioned earlier the Housing Committee made transport arrangements with the co-operation of the Road Transport Department. No less than 150 buses, a majority of which were

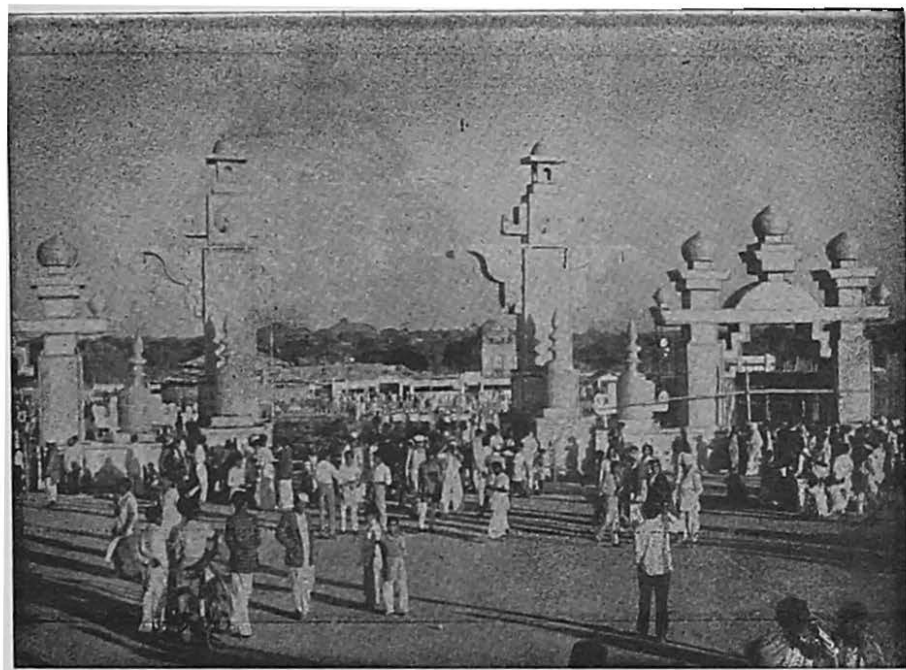
new were commissioned into service; the new buses having been received through a happy coincidence just prior to the Session. These buses were operated from Raniganj, Nampalli and Afzalganj to Nanalnagar and back carrying what seemed like endless traffic. There was a regular stream of buses all along these routes and one could see almost 2 to 3 buses every minute. All this was made possible by mobilising the entire resources of the Road Transport Department, enlisting the co-operation of all categories of staff, who without exception, joined in the marathon effort in making the arrangements so thorough.

The total number of visitors transported was 2,27,625. Arrangements made for the transport of delegates and visitors arriving by trains at Hyderabad and Kachiguda stations to Nanalnagar and back were also very elaborate. In the estimation of the delegates who came from outside the State, these arrangements were particularly appreciated in that the transport both of passengers in the new "Guy Orter" buses and their luggage in exclusive lorries was arranged in just under one hour for whole train loads of visitors.

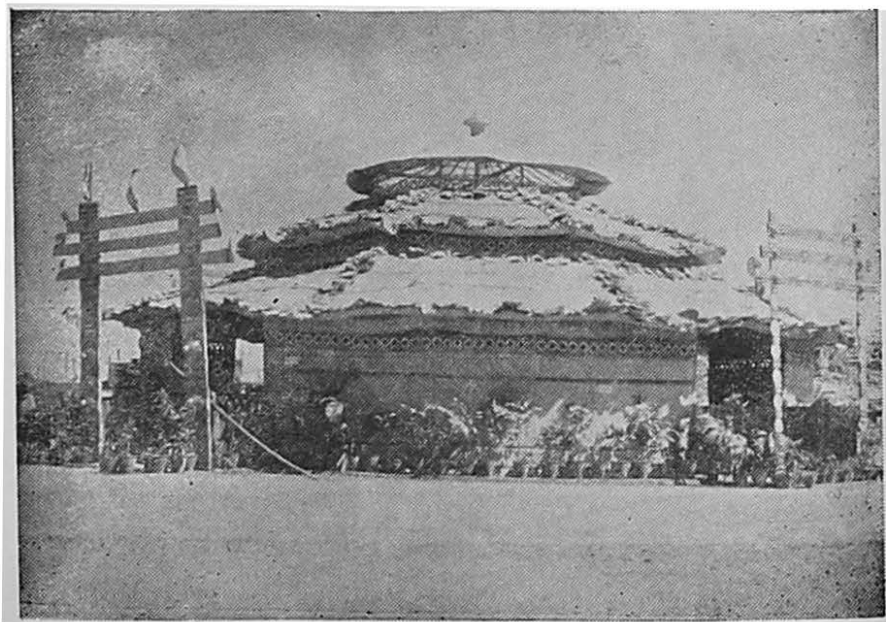
The Road Transport Department of Hyderabad deserves appreciation for the magnitude and efficiency of the transport provided for the Congress Session.

## **Railway Arrangements**

To meet the rush on account of the Congress Session specially from 14th of January 1953 to 18th January 1953, additional booking windows were opened at Hyderabad, Kachiguda as well as Nanalnagar. Reservation, enquiry and left luggage offices were opened at Nanalnagar, Nampally and Kachiguda Stations. Extra staff was deputed to cope with the arrangements. A parcel office was opened at Nanalnagar to deal with Parcel traffic which was expected for Sarvodaya Exhibition. The Parcel and enquiry offices were opened at Nanalnagar from 15th January to



**The main gate of the Sarvodaya Pradarshini, organised under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha**



**The Bapu Mandap, which was located in the centre of the Exhibition ground, attracted a large number of people**

deal with the inward parcels and to maintain liaison with Congress authorities regarding probable arrivals and departures of Congressmen. From 6th onwards advanced parties of volunteers and Congress visitors started arriving at Kachiguda and Hyderabad Stations. On 14th and 15th, eight specials on Broad gauge and two specials on metergauge were received at Hyderabad and Kacheguda Stations. Charts were prepared for the various trains and specials in advance and put up at different enquiry offices to enable intending passengers to find their seats early. Additional refreshment and food-stalls were opened at Hyderabad and Kachiguda Stations. The Reception Committee congratulates the Central Railways for the elaborate arrangements made by them during the Session.

### **Sarvodaya Exhibition**

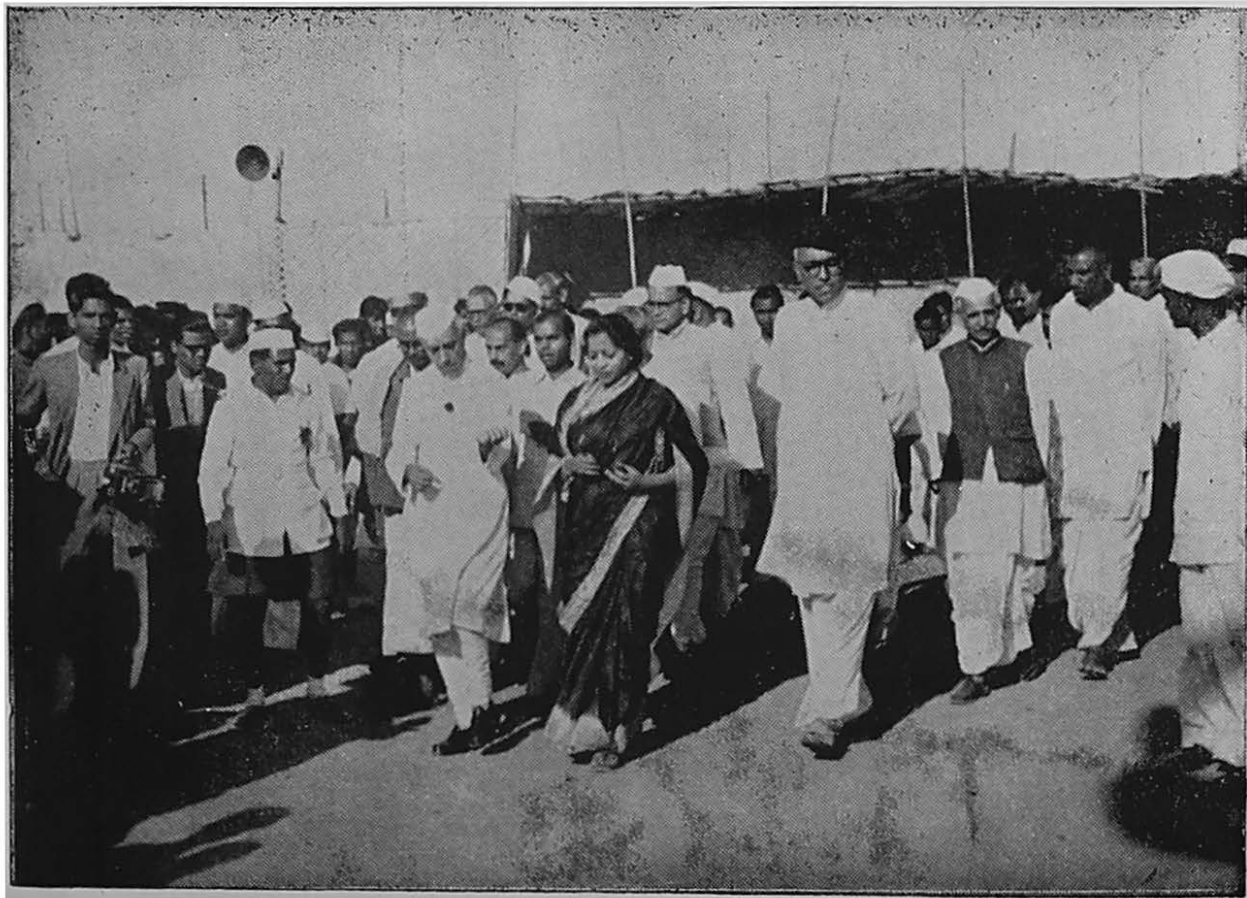
As a part of the Congress Session the Sarvodaya Exhibition was also held under the guidance of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha.

Originally, the Reception Committee at its first sitting nominated a local committee with Shri Ramakrishna Dhoot as the Convener to organise the Exhibition. Later, the local Committee in consultation with Shri Shanker Rao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh thought that it would be in the fitness of things if the Sarva Seva Sangh were requested to shoulder the responsibility. Accordingly, the chairman addressed the Sarva Seva Sangh, who were pleased to accept the invitation and nominated a Committee of representatives of different constructive organisations at Wardha and Sevagram and included therein the members of the Local Committee also. Shri A. T. Nanavati of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha was appointed as the Convener. The entire committee together with a number of A. I. S. A. and other workers had come much earlier to attend to the work, the Reception Committee giving them all assistance whenever needed and called for.

The Exhibition covered an area of 1000' x 800' which included the space for the accommodation of workers and their boarding arrangements. In consonance with the principles of Sarvodaya, everything there, construction and art were purely of local materials and the food stuffs were of gramodyog. Nearly 1000 persons were fed daily, which included workers who were engaged in construction, accounts, supervision, volunteers, stall-holders and demonstrators. Shri Pandya Gurujee, the Principal of the National College, Khamgaon with a band of his pupils had come a couple of months earlier and worked at the gate and inner decorations. The Gates were magnificent and attracted a large crowd.

The following institutions took part in the demonstration Section :—

- 1 All India Spinners' Association.
- 2 All India Village Industries Association.
- 3 Gandhi National Fund, New Delhi.
- 4 Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi.
- 5 Go-Seva Sangh, Wardha.
- 6 Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- 7 Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund.
- 8 Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevegram.
9. Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha.
- 10 Go-seva Mandal, Hyderabad.
- 11 Nisargopachar (Nature Cure Home) Urei-Kanchan
- 12 Nature Cure Clinic, Bolarum.
- 13 Kora Kendra, Bombay,
- 14 Sarvodaya Ashram, Sarvail.
- 15 Gas Plant from Bombay.
- 16 Bone Meal Digester.
- 17 Japanese method of Paddy cultivation.
- 18 Palm Gur Section; Ministry of Agriculture, Govt of India,



Panditji visits Sarvodaya Exhibition.



- 19 Governments of Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, United Provinces, Bihar and Bombay.
- 20 All the Departments of Hyderabad:—Viz. Agriculture, Co-operative, Industries, Veterinary, Statistics, Information, Archeological, Education, Engineering Research.

Besides, in the Bazar Section, the following institutions participated —

- 1 All India Spinners' Association, Kashmir Branch, Bombay Branch, Punjab Branch.
- 2 Hyderabad Khadi Samiti, Hyderabad-Dn.
- 3 Hyderabad Karnatak Gram Seva Sangh.
- 4 Khadi and Gramodyod Prachar Samiti (Adilabad).
- 5 Gandhi Ashram, Meerut (U. P.)
- 6 Gandhi Ashram, Thiruchengodu (S. India.)
- 7 Orissa Govt. Khadi Section.
- 8 West Bengal Khadi Section, Silk Production.
- 9 Andhra Fine Khadi.
- 10 Gram Seva Mandal, Nalwadi, Wardha.
- 11 Bihar and U. P. Govts. Publications Depts.
- 12 News paper section Hindu, and Indian Express.

A number of Sundry producers viz. embroidery, ivory works, perfumery, ceramics were also there.

The Exhibition was opened on 13-1-1953 by Shri Satish Chandra Dass Gupta and was held for 5 days. About 1½ lakhs of visitors took advantage of the Exhibition.

The entire arrangements, demonstrations, etc. were very much appreciated. The centre of attractions were the Bapoo-Mandap where relics of Bapuji, Photos, writings and books were kept, and the Bhoo-Dana Yagna Mandap which depicted the latest peaceful socio-economic revolution that is being brought in our country by Poojya Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

## Constructions

As mentioned earlier, the Planning Committee was entrusted with the work of Planning out the details of construction. Under the guidance of Nawab Zain Yar Jung the Committee did splendid work. The Public works department allowed Shri Veeranath Rai, Executive Engineer, Special Division to render honourary service after his office-hours. The enclosure for the Open Session was meant to accommodate two lakhs people. A spacious dias to seat about two hundred distinguished guests was also built. Bath-rooms, Latrines were built and roads were laid. The Electricity Department, the Water Works Department and Drainage Department co-operated splendidly in making the Session a great success.

## Postal Arrangements

To cater to the needs of the delegates attending the Session the Post and Telegraphs Department had made elaborate arrangements. A delivery post-office for the convenience of the public called Nanalnagar Post office was opened opposite the main Pandal where the session was held. A no-delivery post office called Sarvodaya Pradarshini Post office was opened at the exhibition grounds. A special booth for the sale of Mahatam Gandhi Pictorial postcards was opened at the entrance gate. Seventeen letter boxes were installed in various central localities for the Delegates and visitors to post their letters. A Telegraph office and a Telephone exchange was also opened at Nanalnagar. A 200 line multiple local exchange with Telephone connections to important persons and officers attending the session was also opened. The latest type trunk exchange in conjunction with long distance equipment and with direct circuit to Bombay, New Delhi, and Culcutta and junction to Trimulghery was opened. Two public call offices were also opened at Nanalnagar for the use of the Public. A departmental Telegraph office associated with long distance voice frequency Telegraph equipment was opened.

Telegraph circuits working directly with Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta and Madras were provided. Arrangments had also been made for booking and transmission of Hindi Telegrams, Direct Circuits to Bombay and Madras were extended to Press Agencies for their exclusive use for working Teleprinters.

## Publicity

Along with the preparations and arrangments which were being carried on at Nanalnagar, to give publicity to the news was also equally important. This task was left to a separate sub-committee. This committee was in constant touch with the journalists of Hyderabad and supplied necessary information to them. The Newspapers of Hyderabad State and also of the whole of India co-operated fully with the Reception Committee, in giving full publicity to the activities of the Reception Committee.

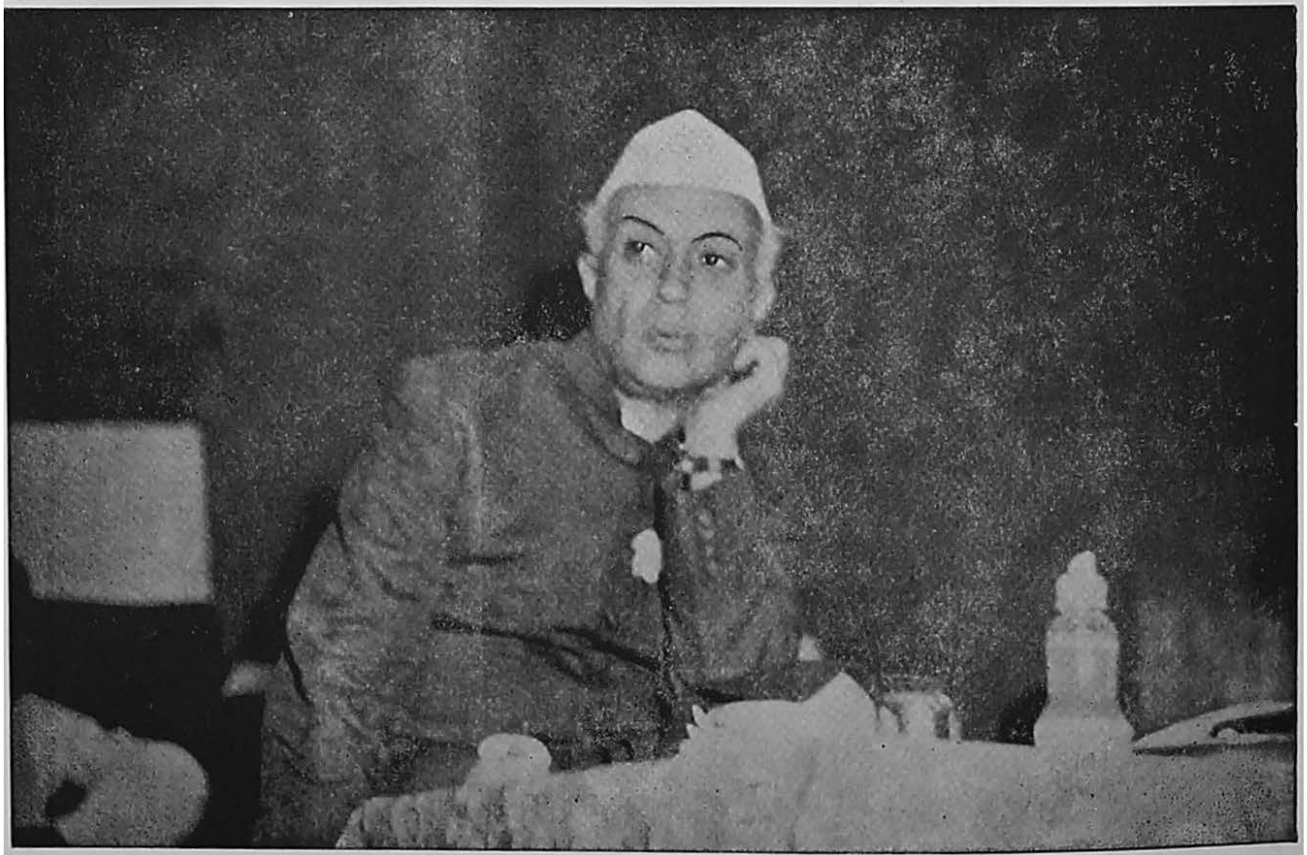
Apart from what the newspapers published, information bulletins were published by the Sub-committee and were distributed inside and outside the State. The sub-committee also prepared bulletins containing general information regarding the Historical places like Golkonda, Dowlatabad, Ajanta and Ellora Caves, the Salar Jung Musiwm, Osmania University, Falkanuma Palace etc., along with a map showing the various places. This was of much help to the people coming from various parts of the country. Similarly arrangements regarding reception, conveyance, residence, meals, meetings and what charges the Deligates should pay for all these conveniences, were conveyed in detail through another bulletin. The Sub-committee was also responsible for publishing a map of the Nanalnagar showing the different places and offices. The sub-committee framed certain rules for the issue of Press Passes and looked after the conveniences of attending journalists.

## Boarding

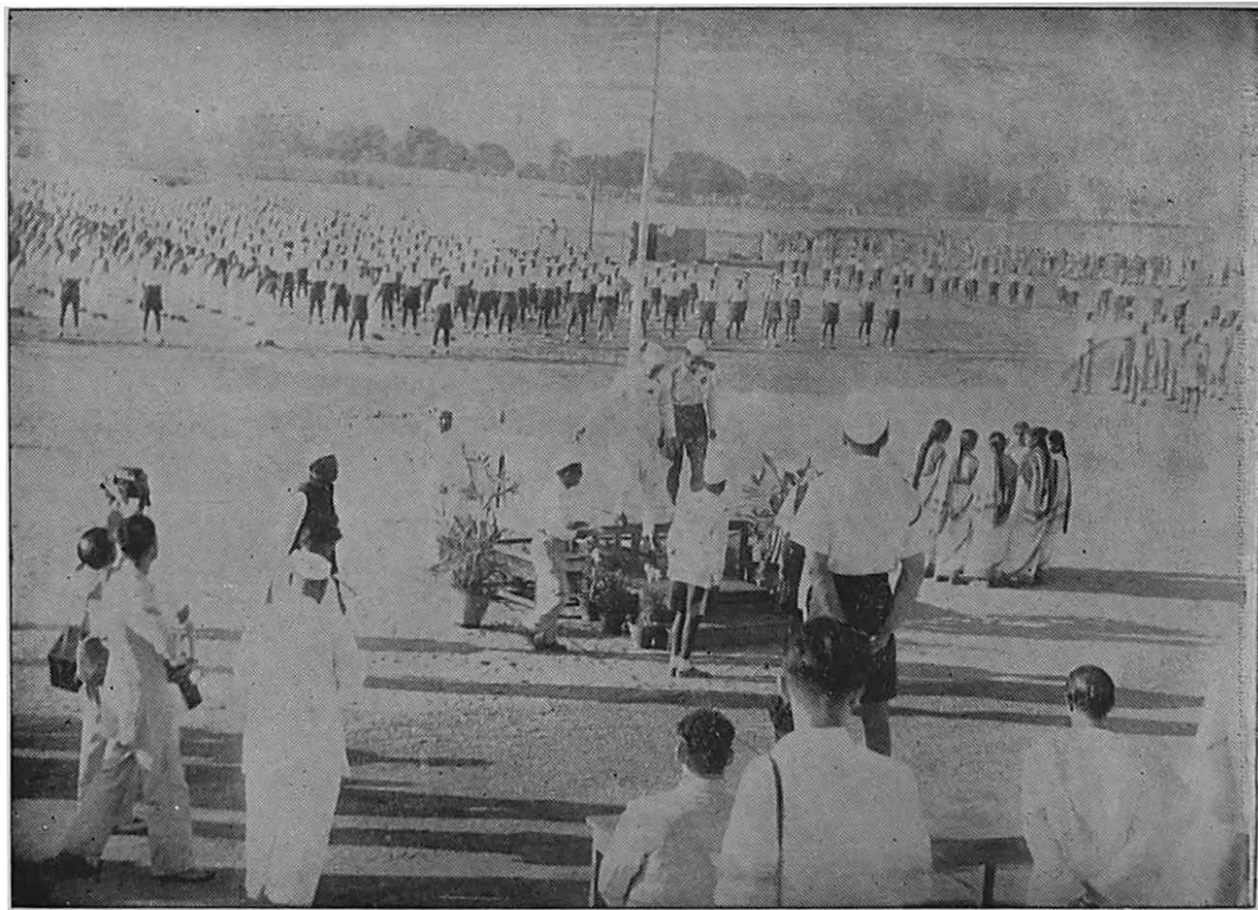
Food arrangements for all the delegates and other visitors was a difficult problem. Food Sub-committee estimated that they would have to feed two lakhs of persons. Apart from this, the Committee made separate arrangements for the boarding of volunteers and workers who were working on the ground long before the the Session actually began. There was a kitchen also attached to the Sarvodaya Exhibition. Shri Kotturi Seetaiah Gupta, was the Convenor of the Sub-committee, while Shri Kalva Suryanarayana, Shri B. Kishenlal and others helped him in this huge task. It was decided that only Delegates and Congress workers should be given entrance to the kitchen of the Reception Committee. For Visitors, a number of Hotels were established under the direct supervision of the Health and Sanitation Committee. The Delegates were charged Rs. 1-4-0 for each meal. A spacious dining hall with platforms to serve as dining tables to accommodate 2000 plates at a time was constructed. Sanitary arrangements made in the kitchen are worth mentioning. Though thousands of people were fed every day, not a fly could be seen in the dining hall or in the Kitchen. A Municipal lorry was in attendance at the Kitchen and when meals were over, the leaves were thrown into the lorry which took the waste to a far off place.

The people of Nizamabad district, through Shri K. V. Ranga Reddi promised to supply the whole quantity of rice required for the Session free of cost. Shri Bankatlal Badruka supplied the oil and table salt needed for the whole session and thus lightened the burden of the Reception Committee.

The Gujarati Mandal was incharge of all Food Arrangements for the dignitaries at the Nilofour Hospital. Shri Phoolchand Gandhi took keen interest in making all arrangements and giving all conveyances to the members residing in the Hospital.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Dinner



The Seva Dal Rally.

## Volunteers

The volunteer sub-committee also began its work in a planned manner. It took a long range view and decided to take the advice of Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Sanchalak of the All India Congress Seva Dal. Dr. Hardikar was kind enough to go to Hyderabad and guide in the formation and functioning of the Sava Dal. He advised the Committee to establish a training camp for the volunteers and only enlist such of the volunteers who underwent this prescribed training. While this trained personnel would be of great help in undertaking various types of work during the session, they would also form a nucleus for the future working of the Seva Dal in the State. With this purpose in view, it was decided that a certain number of volunteers should also be taken from the 16 districts of the State apart from the City of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Those who satisfied a minimum educational qualification equal to the matriculation standard were given one months training in a camp at the Nanalnagar itself. The All India Congress Seva Dal sent Shri Tilwawala of Gujarat, Shri Subbarao of Mysore for this purpose. They imparted the training for men and women volunteers. These volunteers after the completion of one month's training were expected to go to their districts and raise volunteers there and train them in turn. Thus 481 volunteers from the districts, 444 volunteers from Secunderabad and 614 volunteers from Hyderabad, worked during the Session.

The Volunteer sub-committee decided to appoint Shri N. R. Raghavendra as G. O. C. and Shri Mudgalkar as the Asst. G O. C. The sub-committee supplied with uniforms of blue half-pants, white shirts, white caps, brown shoes and white socks to all men volunteers while women volunteers were supplied with white sari with a blue border, blue blouse and brown shoes with white socks.

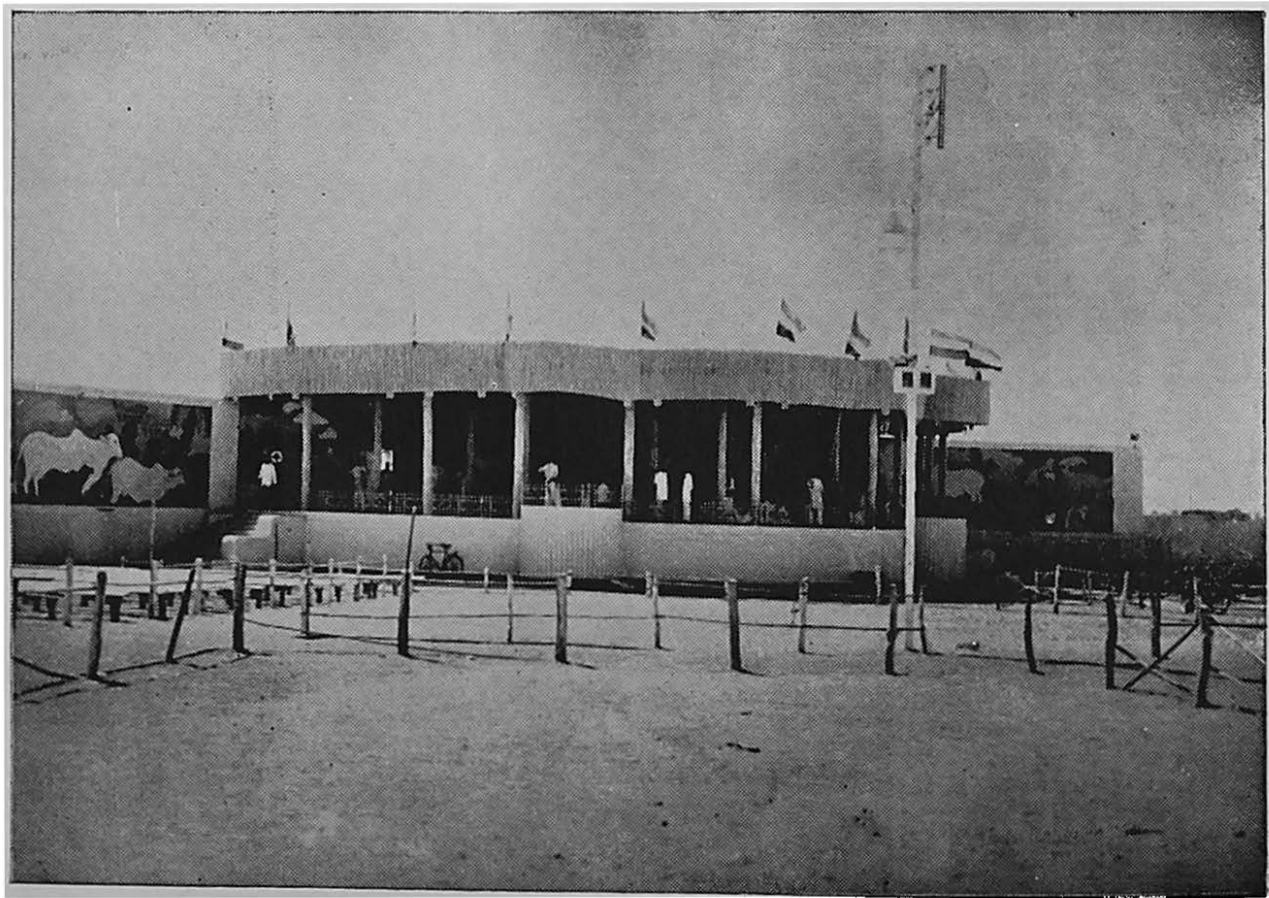
## Health Services

The health and sanitation sub-committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Melkote, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, organised the medical and health section. They also planned the sanitary arrangements to be made at Nanalagar. Dr. Bhandari was the convenor of the sub-committee. The Medical and Public Health Department of the Government of Hyderabad gave full co-operation in the task of the Sub-committee. Hyderabad Municipal Corporation extended its hands of co-operation in making sanitary arrangements. Shri Gulabchand Nagori, a veteran Congressman of Aurangabad planned Wardha type latrines and got them constructed. The drainage arrangements were looked after by the drainage dept. Dr. B. K. Naik was made in-charge Civil Surgeon. Seven Medical Officers, two Lady Doctors, Three Asst. Health Officers, Six compounders, Two sisters, Two Nurses were on duty at Nanalagar.

One well equipped dispensary was established in two decent Bunglows within the close proximity of the Delegates' Campus with special arrangements for in-patients with sufficient accommodation. This dispensary actually functioned from 9th. to 20th January 1953 day and night with the medical staff posted there for the purpose. The total number of patients treated by Medical and Health Staff during the above period was 3968 with daily average of 331 patients. The total number of in-patients treated were 52 out of which 26 patients were transferred to other Hospitals for further treatment.

In the field of Public Health, nine Health Inspectors and other staff worked hard. Four First-Aid posts with necessary equipment and well trained staff were erected at four important and conspicuous centres in order to cater to the immediate needs of the injured. Two Health Inspectors were posted in each post for day and night duties from 9th. to 20th January 1953. In addition to this staff, two Medical students and one Red cross





The front view of the pedanal of the open session.

Dai in each post were also deputed to work in co-ordination with the Health Staff. The total number of patients attended by these four First-Aid posts were 498 during the above said period.

Besides this, separate arrangements for immediate medical aid in the Volunteers' Camp was also made and one Assistant Health Officer as well as one Health Inspector were posted for the purpose with necessary medicines and village Medicine Boxes in order to obviate inconvenience to the volunteers. The total number of patients treated in this camp was 1592 with daily average of 133.

Two ambulance Cars were kept ready at Nanalnagar dispensary to carry patients. Out of the two one was always kept ready in the vicinity of the important pendals where subjects committee and open session meetings were held with a view to meeting any emergency. Volunteers as well as other people who became unconcious were shifted instantaneously to the Nanalnagar hospital in the Ambulance Car which was kept ready for all such emergencies during important gatherings at the venue of the Congress Session. Two Health Inspectors were also kept in Sultan Bazar Hospital under reserve for relief work.

### **Cultural Programmes**

During the three days of the Congress Session, it was thought fit to organise some cultural programme. Hence an entertainment sub-committee was formed with Shri Ekbote as the Convenor. This sub-committee was entrusted with the work of organising a Cultural Variety Entertainment Programme which was staged during the congress Session. The net collection which amounted to Rs. 3551-14-8 was sent as an aid for the struggle carried on by the South African people for their emancipation. This sub-committee with the active co-operation of many ladies and gentlemen successfully enacted one Act from the famous drama "Pathan" staged by Shri Prithviraj, a renowned

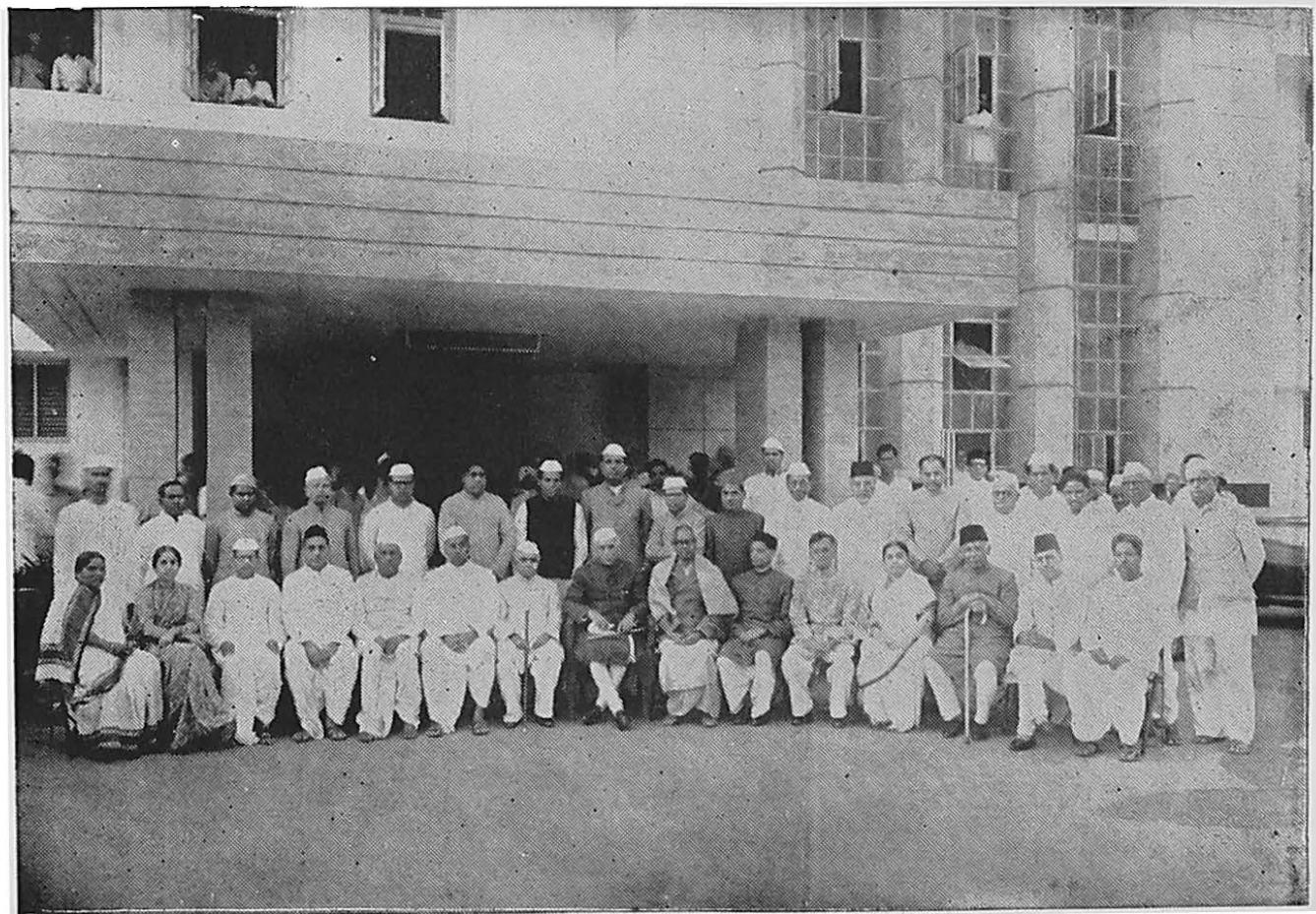
star, Swami Ramanand Tirth, addressed the gathering and thanked Shri Prithviraj and his ballet for the co-operation. Folk dances and songs were given by Adibasis from districts and Social Service department took active interest in organising this part of the programme. Members of Sadhana Sangh staged a small drama which was very much appreciated by the audience. The committee provided facilities for the members of the Moral-Rearment troupe to stage a drama "Jotham Valley". The setting of different scenes and the marvellous acting of different actors was very much appreciated by the audience.

A troupe consisting of nearly forty boys and girls from Wardha were invited to give a cultural performance. Their performance was also greatly appreciated, particularly the folk songs.

The entertainment sub-committee entertained the guests for three consecutive days. First day after collecting some amount for the South African people, the other two days visitors were allowed free of charge.

### Thanks

The Reception Committee congratulates the convenors and members of the various sub-committees for the splendid co-operation they gave in making the congress session a great success. They also thank the Government of Hyderabad for extending their co-operation by asking the Medical and Public Health Dept. Electricity and Water Works Depts. etc. to help the Reception committee.

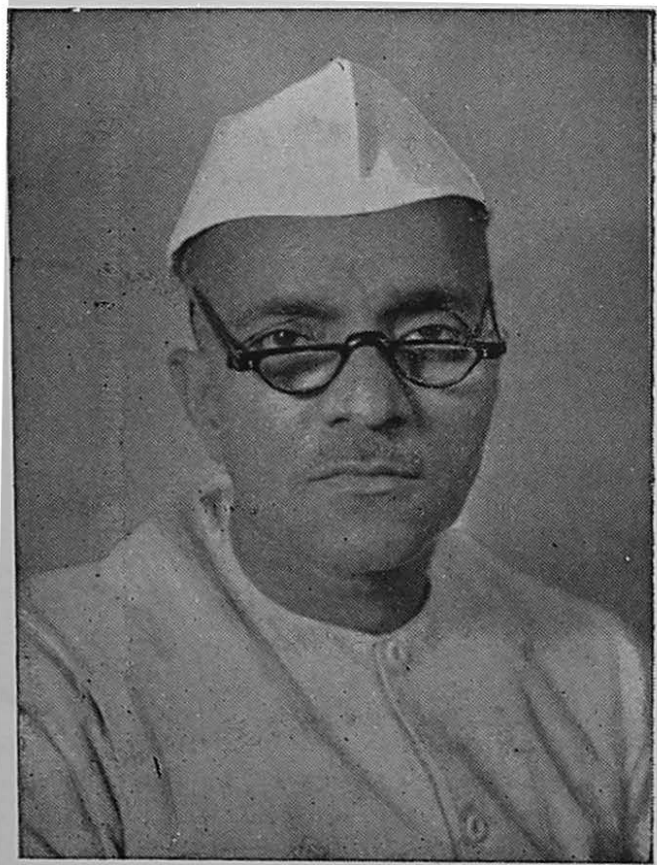


Pandit Nehru with the members of the Reception Committee.

## Appendix A. Members of the Provisional Reception Committee

- 1 Swami Ramanand Tirth, Chairman
- 2 Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao
- 3 Shri D. G. Bindu
- 4 Shri V. B. Raju
- 5 Shri Poolchand Gandhi
- 6 Shri K. V. Ranga Reddy
- 7 Dr. Chenna Reddy
- 8 Dr. G. S. Melkote
- 9 Shri Devisingh Chauhan
- 10 Shri Jagannatha Rao Chanderki
- 11 Shri Vinayak Rao Vidyalankar
- 12 Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung
- 13 Shri Shanker Dev
- 14 Shri G. Anna Rao
- 15 Shri J. K. Praneshacharya
- 16 Shri Bakar Ali Mirza
- 17 Shri B. V. Gurumurthy
- 18 Shri P. V. Narsimha Rao
- 19 Shri Shanker Rao Chauhan
- 20 Shri Muralidhar Rao Komtikar
- 21 Shri Virupakshappa
- 22 Shri Jamalapuram Keshav Rao
- 23 Shri Manick Chand Pahade
- 24 Shri P. Hanmanth Rao
- 25 Shri K. Venkat Rama Rao
- 26 Pandit Narendraji
- 27 Shri Janardhan Rao Desai
- 28 Shri M. V. Goutam
- 29 Shri S. V. Naik
- 30 Shri Mukund Rao Pedgaonker
- 31 Shri Vasudeo Krishnaji Naik

- 32 Shri Tokarshi Lalji Kapadia
- 33 Shri Ramakrishna Dhoot
- 34 Shri Madapati Hanumanth Rao
- 35 Dr. Thimma Raju
- 36 Raja Pannalal Pitti
- 37 Raja Bankatlal Badruka
- 38 Shri Puranmal Lahoti
- 39 Shri Lakshmi Chand Chellani
- 40 Shri Siddamsetti Rajeshwar Rao
- 41 Shri Belde Jagadeshwariah
- 42 Shri D. D. Italia
- 43 Shri Taraporewala
- 44 Shri Nawab Jain Yar Jung
- 45 Shri Kazi Dawar Hussain
- 46 Shri Mir Akbar Ali Khan
- 47 Shri C. S. Tyabji
- 48 Shri Varadaraj Rajeshwar Rao
- 49 Shri A. S. Abdul Khader
- 50 Shri Kondal Rao (Devarkonda)
- 51 Shri Minnu Shroff
- 52 Shri Bapu Saheb Deshpande
- 53 Shri Sriram Bhangdia
- 54 Shri Pukhraj Jain
- 55 Shri Anandji Bhai
- 56 Shri Vithal Reddy
- 57 Raja Ramadev Rao
- 58 Shri Babasaheb Savneker
- 59 Shri Ramachander Rao Paikaji
- 60 Shri K. Ashanna
- 61 Shri K. Keshav Reddy
- 62 Shri M. Lakshmaiah
- 63 Shri J. B. Mutyal Rao
- 64 Shri K. R. Veeraswamy
- 65 Shri Arege Ramaswamy
- 66 Shri Gopal Rao Ekbote



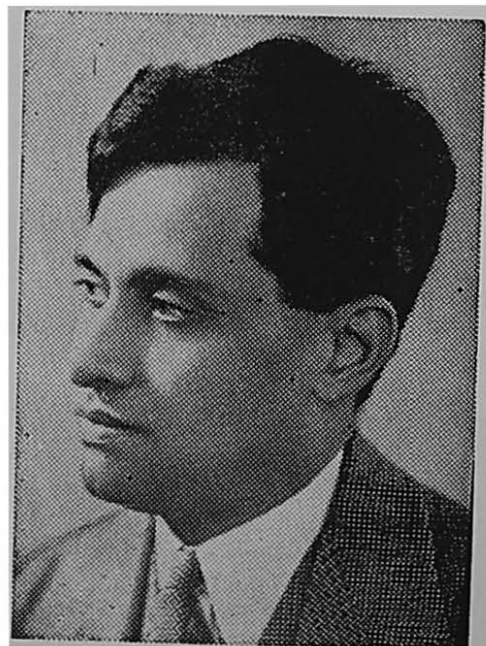
**K. V. Ranga Reddy**  
**(Revenue Minister) Vice-Chairman**



**Raja Pannalal Pitti**  
**Vice-Chairman**



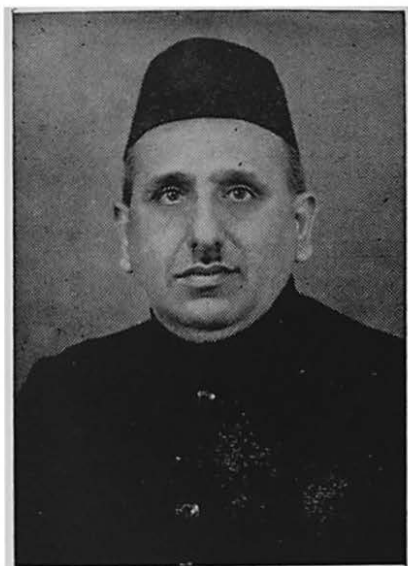
Janardhan Rao Desai  
Vice-Chairman



Nawab Akbar Ali Khan  
Vice-Chairman



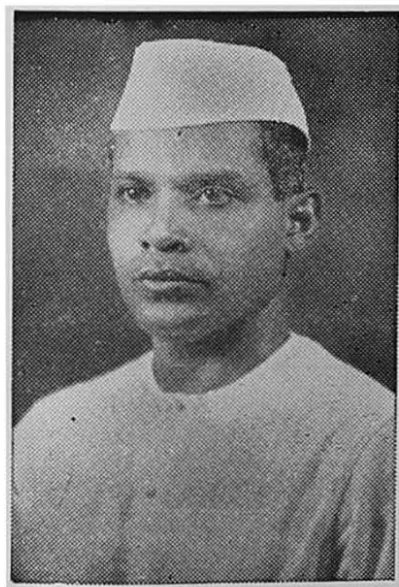
## OUR SECRETARIES



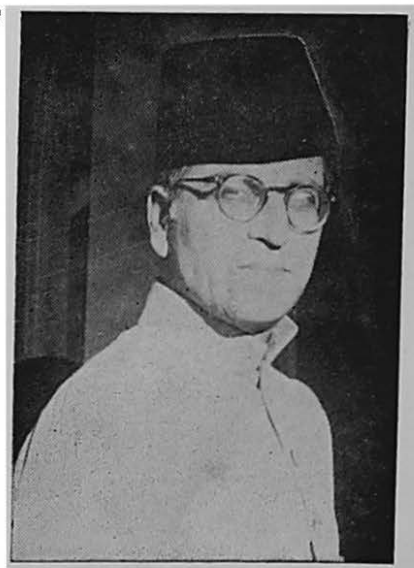
Vasudeo Naik



J. K. Praneshacharya



Pandit Narendraji



Bakar Ali Mirza



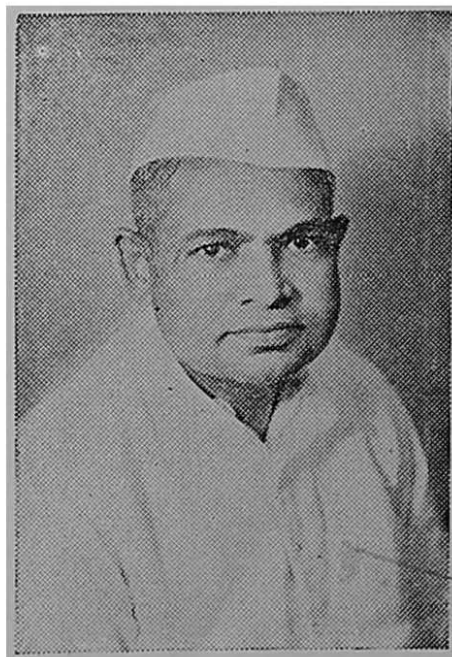
**Dr. Melkote ( Minister Finance )  
Chairman, Health and Sanitation**



**Nawab Zain Yar Jung  
Chairman, Planning Sub-Committee**

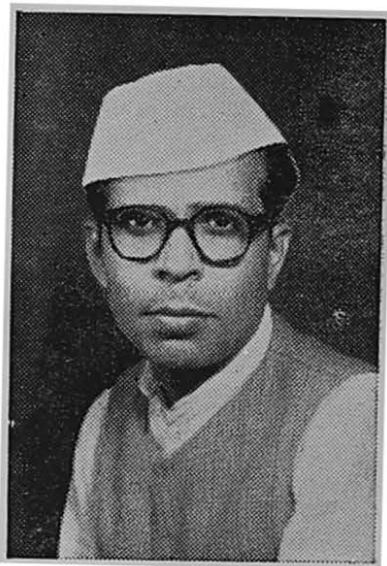


**Jagannath Rao Chandarki  
Chairman, Housing Sub-Committee**

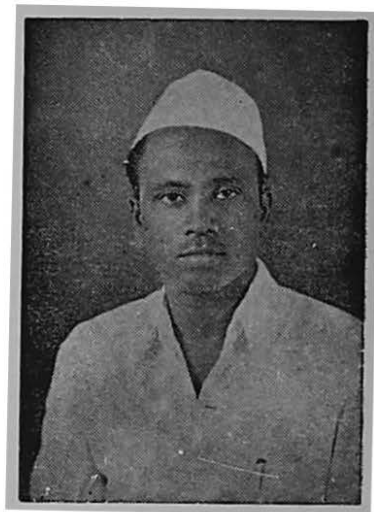


**Phooleband Gandhi  
In-charge Nillofor Hospital**

## OUR CONVENERS



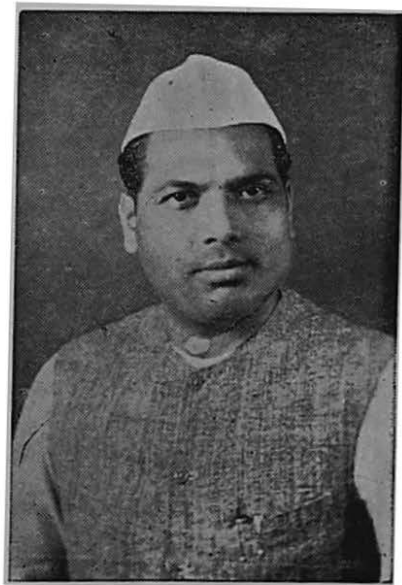
**Gopal Rao Ekbote**  
**Entertainment Sub-Committee**



**B. V. Gurumurthy**  
**Volunteer Sub-Committee**



**Thokarsi Lalji Kapadia**  
**Store Purchase Sub-Committee**



**Kottur Seethiah Gupta**  
**Food Sub-Committee**

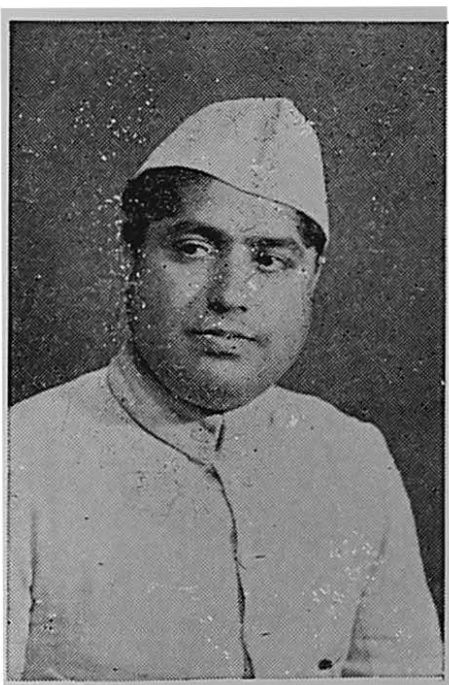
## OUR CONVENERS



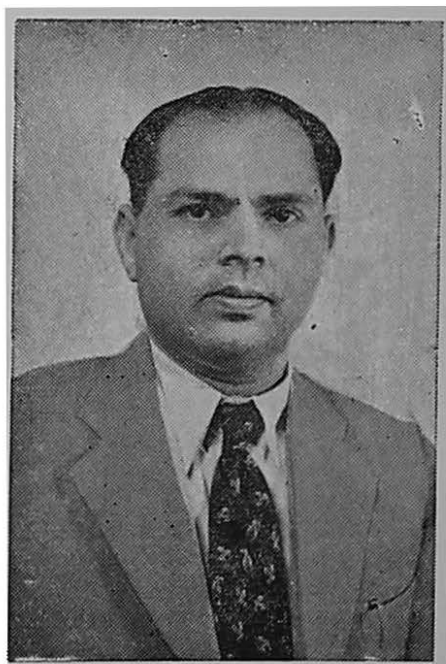
**V. B. Raju**  
Planning Sub-Committee



**Madhav Rao Anvari**  
Propaganda & Publicity Sub-Committee

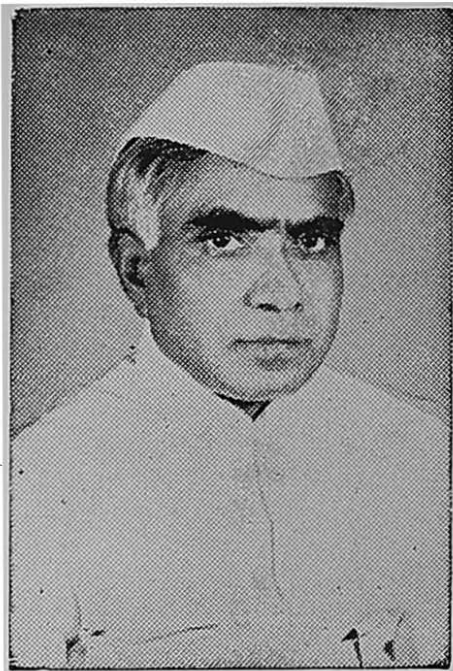


**Keshav Prashad Mishra**  
Housing Sub-Committee

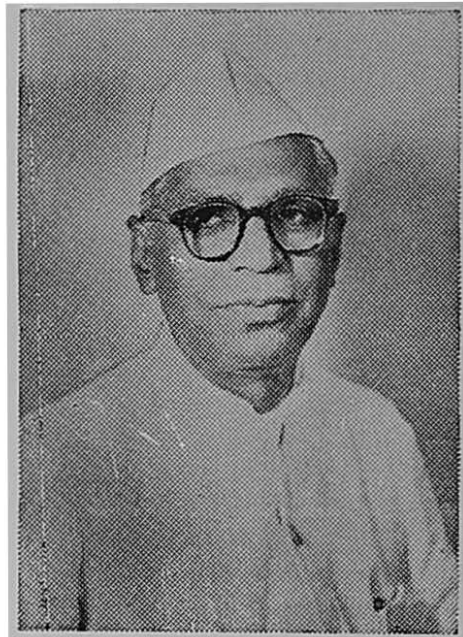


**Dr. Bhandari**  
Health & Sanitation

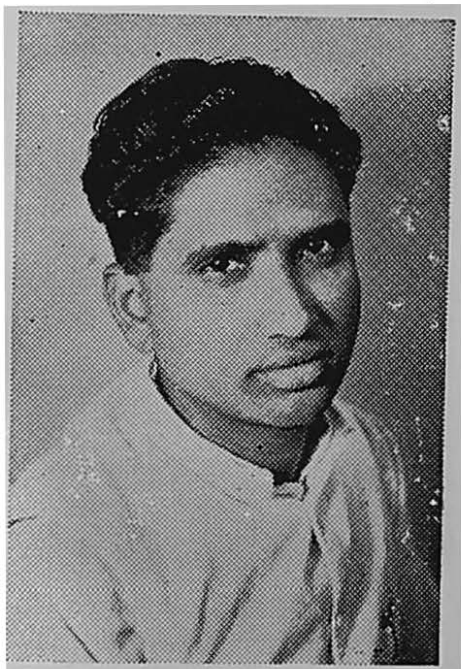
# OUR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS



**B. Ramakrishna Rao**  
Chief Minister



**D. G. Bindu**  
Home Minister

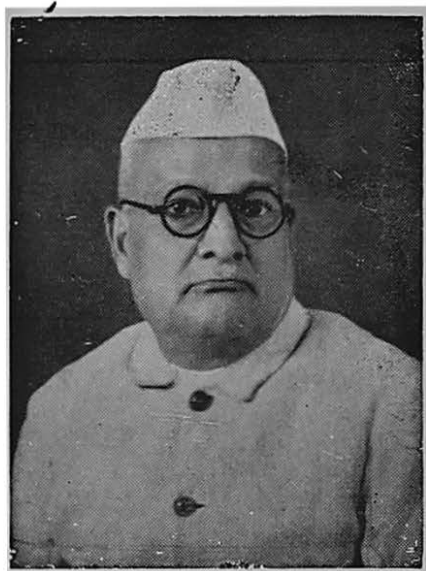


**Dr. Chennareddy.**  
Supply Minister



**Vinayak Rao Korntakar**  
Labour Minister

OUR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS



M. Hanmanth Rao



Smt. Vimalabai Melkote

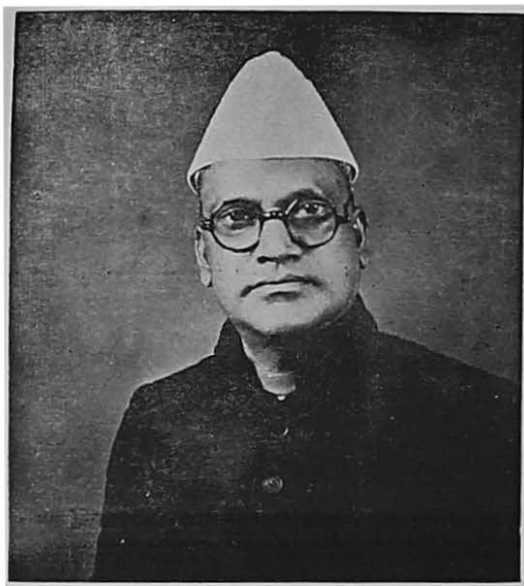


Smt. Sangam Laxmibai



Smt. Shahan Jahan Begum

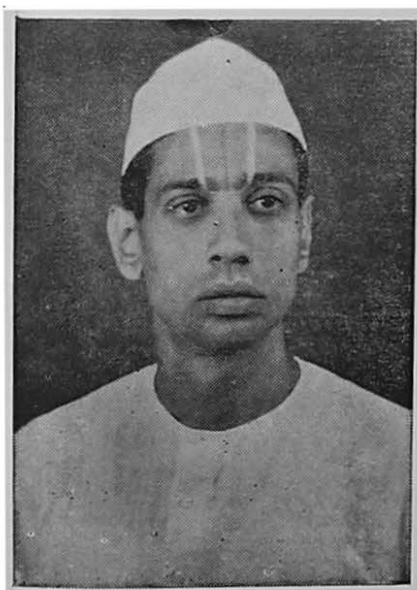
OUR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS



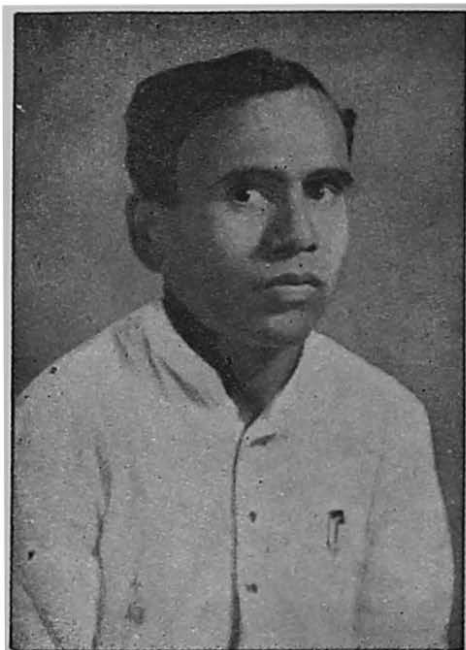
S. Venkatswami



Yerram Satyanarayana



Ramnivas Sharma

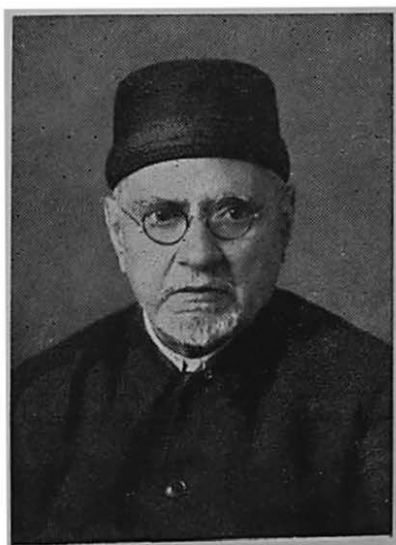


N. R. Raghavendra G. O. C.

OUR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS



Raja Bankatlal Badruka



D. D. Italia



67. Shri Veerendra Patil
68. Shri Bishop Mandal
69. Smt. Padmaja Naidu
70. Smt. Gyankumari Heda
71. Smt. Saraswathi Bai Deshpande
72. Shri Madapati Ramachender Rao
73. Shri J. V. Narsing Rao
74. Shri Kottur Seetaiah
75. Shri Narsing Prashad Jain
76. Shri Jagat Narayan Pandya
77. Shri J. Ramareddi
78. Shri Mallappa Kollur
79. Shri Donti Gopal Reddy
80. Shri G. Madhav Rao
81. Shri Peddi Narayana
82. Shri Mukundas Malani
83. Shri Laxminiwas Ganeriwal
84. Shri Dwarkadass, Advocate, Aurangabad
85. Shri Purushottam Rao Chepalgaonker
86. Shri Madanlal Choubisa, Jalna
87. Shri S. Venkat Swamy
88. G. B. Bhan

### **Appendix B.**

#### **Executive of the Reception Committee**

1. Shri Swami Ramanand Tirth, Chairman
2. Raja Pannalal Pitti, Vice-Chairman
3. Nawab Akbar Ali Khan, Vice-Chairman
4. Shri K. V. Ranga Reddy, Vice do
5. Shri Janardan Rao Desai, Vice do
6. Shri B. Ramkrishna Rao
7. Shri D. G. Bindu
8. Shri Vinayak Rao Vidyalankar
9. Dr. Chenna Reddi

- 10 Shri M. Haomanth Rao
- 11 Srimathi Vimala Bai Melkote
- 12 Smt. Sangam Laxmi Bai
- 13 Smt. Shahajahan Begum
- 14 Shri D. D. Italia
- 15 Raja Bankatlal Badruka
- 16 Shri Yerram Sathyanarayana
- 17 Shri Gopal Rao Ekbote
- 18 Shri B. V. Gurumurthy
- 19 Shri Tokershi Lalji Kapadia
- 20 Shri K. Seetaiah Gupta
- 21 Nawab Zain Yar Jung
- 22 Shri V. B. Raju
- 23 Dr. Bhandari
- 24 Shri Keshav Prasad Mishra
- 25 Shri Madhav Rao Anwari
- 26 Shri Amritlal Nanawati
- 27 Shri Ramanivas Sharma
- 28 Shri S. Venkat Swamy
- 29 Shri N. R. Raghavendra
- 30 Dr. G. S. Melkote
- 31 Shri Jagannath Rao Chandarki
- 32 Pandit Narendraji General Secretary
- 33 Shri J. K. Praneshacharya do
- 34 Shri V. K. Naik do

### Appendix C.

### Sub-Committees

#### FINANCE SUB-COMMITTEE:—

- 1 Raja Pannalal Pitti, Chairman
- 2 Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao
- 3 Shri Puranmal Lahoti
- 4 Raja Bankatlal Badruka
- 5 Shri D. D. Italia

- 6 Shri Sridhar Naik
- 7 Shri Thokersi Lalji Kapadia
- 8 Shri Laxmichand Chellani
- 9 Shri Poolchand Gandhi
- 10 Shri K. V. Ranga Reddi
- 11 Shri C. S. Tyabji
- 12 Raja Mahabubkaran Bahadur
- 13 Shri Ahmed Mohiuddin
- 14 Shri Mukundas Malani
- 15 Shri Bapurao Deshpande
- 16 Shri Minno Shroff
- 17 Shri Akbar Ali Khan
- 18 Nawab Dawood Jung
- 19 Shri Anandji Bhai
- 20 Shri Laxminivas Ganeriwal
- 21 Shri Venkat Swamy
- 22 Shri Bhagat Ramji
- 23 Shri Narayandas Daga
- 24 Shri Belde Jagadeshwariah
- 25 Shri C. S. Modi
- 26 Shri A. Rangapandu
- 27 Shri Gopikishen Malani
- 28 Shri Govardhanlalji
- 29 Raja Dhanraj Girji
- 30 Shri Aziz Ahmed
- 31 Shri Babu Khan
- 32 Raja Chaturbhan Girji
- 33 Shri T. R. Parekh
- 34 Shri Vasudeo Naik, Convener-Secretary

**VOLUNTEER SUB-COMMITTEE:—**

- 3 Dr. G. S. Melkote, Chairman
- 1 Shri B. V. Gūrumurty, Convenor
- 2 Capt. V. B. Joshi

- 4 Shri Babu Rao Mudgalkar
- 5 Shri N. R. Raghavendra
- 6 Shri Vyas Thirth
- 7 Shri Manick Rao
- 8 Shri Shankerdevji Vidyalkar
- 9 Shri Lele
- 10 Shahjahan Begum
- 11 Shri V. Gopal Reddy
- 12 Smt. Sangam Laxmi Bai
- 13 Shri Sardar Singh

**PROPAGANDA AND PUBLICITY SUB-COMMITTEE:—**

- 1 Shri Madhav Rao Anwari, Convenor
- 2 Shri Bhojraj, Member
- 3 Shri Jagirdar, R. G.
- 4 Shri Narottam Reddy
- 5 Shri Tuljapurker
- 6 Shri J. N. Sharman
- 7 Shri M. Narsinga Rao
- 8 Shri Ahmadullah Ansari
- 9 Shri Harischandra Heda
- 10 Shri Abid Ali Khan

**STORES PURCHASE SUB-COMMITTEE:—**

- 1 Shri Thokersi Bhai Kapadia, Convenor
- 2 Raja Bankatlal Badruka
- 3 Shri Bhagat Ramji
- 4 Shri Pratap Bhai
- 5 Shri E. Balaram
- 6 Shri Yerram Satyanarayana
- 7 Shri G. B. Bhan

**PLANNING COMMITTEE:—**

- 1 Nawab Jain Yar Jung, Chairman
- 2 Shri V. B. Raju, Convenor
- 3 Shri Ali Raza
- 4 Shri Premraj
- 5 Shri Ahmed Mirza
- 6 Shri Janardan Rao Desai
- 7 Miss. Padmja Naidu
- 8 Shri Mukund Rao Pedgaonker
- 9 Shri S. Chennareddi
- 10 Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung

**EXHIBITION SUB-COMMITTEE:—**

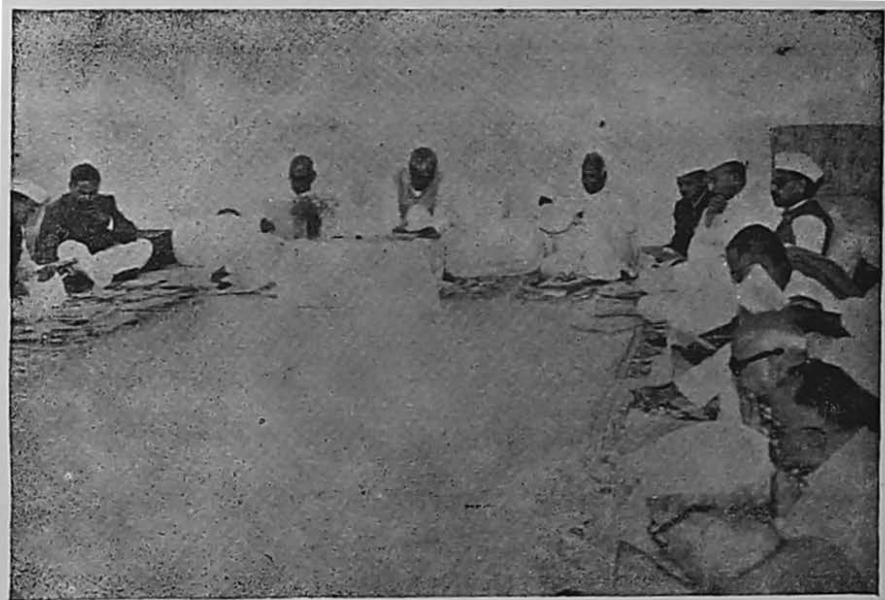
- 1 Shri Amrithlal Nanawati, Convenor
- 2 Shri Devi Leleji
- 3 Shri K. R. Subaraman
- 4 Shri K. Vaidyanathan
- 5 Shri B. H. Inamadar
- 6 Shri Lochandassji
- 7 Shri Radhakishen Joshi
- 8 Shri Vinayak Rao Koratkar
- 9 Shri M. S. Rajalingam
- 10 Shrimati Gyankumari Heda.

**FOOD SUB-COMMITTEE:**

- 1 Shri Kottur Seetiah Gupta, Convenor
- 2 Shri Venkat Ranga Reddi
- 3 Shri Ramchandra Gowd
- 4 Shri B. Kishen Lal
- 5 Shrimati Sangam Laxmi Bai
- 6 Shri Kalva Suryanarayana
- 7 Shri Vasudeo Naik
- 8 Shri S. Venkatswamy
- 10 Shri Chennareddi
- 11 Shri Devisingh Chauhan

**HEALTH & SANITATION SUB-COMMITTEE:—**

1. Dr. G. S. Melkote, Chairman
  2. „ R. K. Bhandari, Convener
  3. „ Col. K. N. Waghray
  4. „ Shaukat Ansari
  5. „ Mrs. Rebellow
  6. „ Govindraaj
  7. „ Digamber Singh
  8. „ Gandhi
  9. Sri Gulabchand Nagori
-



Congress Working Committee meets  
on 14th January in Hyderabad

# **BALANCE SHEET**



# The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress

## Income and Expenditure Account for the

EXPENDITURE.	O. S.			O. S.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
<b>To CONSTRUCTION EXPENSES.</b>						
Works construction at Nanalnagar	1,39,470	4	6			
Drainage construction	26,418	10	10			
Electricity Installation	53,417	12	8			
Internal Electric connections	23,475	13	0			
Purchase of Ballies	12,000	0	0			
Water Works	25,216	7	2			
Telephone Installation	11,385	9	4	2,91,384	9	6
<b>To PURCHASE OF STORES.</b>						
Construction Materials etc.	19,411	12	2			
Purchases of Stones	1,111	15	0			
Pottery purchases	30	0	0			
Khadi purchases	2,000	0	0	22,553	11	2
<b>To OFFICE EXPENSES Etc.</b>						
Salaries and Wages	13,147	5	6			
Stationery for office	2,151	3	4			
Electricity charges	366	12	10			
Rent	3,341	10	3			
Interest charges	0	12	0			
Postage and Telegrams	448	13	10			
Bank Commission and charges	82	10	5			
Fire Insurance	2,735	8	8			
Office contingencies	125	14	6			
Office Sundries	2,090	1	2			
Meeting expenses	54	6	0			
Printing charges	7,006	12	2	31,551	14	8
<b>Carried over</b>				<b>3,45,490</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

(Held at Nanalnagar during January 1953)

*Period ending 31st July 1953*

INCOME	O. S.			O. S.		
	Rs	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
<b>By MEMBERSHIP FEES, DONATIONS Etc.</b>						
Reception Committee						
Membership fees	..	1,17,397	1	4		
Donations	...	98,115	8	8		
Sale of Exhibition Tickets	...	35,329	11	1	2,50,842	5 1
<b>By TICKET COLLECTIONS.</b>						
Open Session Tickets	..	1,92,276	8	0		
Subject Committee tickets	..	1,06,388	5	4		
Workers' concession tickets	...	24,284	2	8		
Accommodation	...	19,785	8	0		
Meals tickets	..	20,733	2	0		
Meals concession tickets	...	900	10	8	3,64,368	4 8
<b>By MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS.</b>						
Water charges collected	...	345	0	0		
Sale of used materials for cash	..	13,625	11	5		
do on credit	..	2,324	13	0		
Interest received	..	29	7	0		
Rent for Cycle stands	..	350	0	0		
Photographer's passes	..	1,570	13	4		
Tender Deposit lapsed	...	13	8	0		
Rentals for stalls	...	10,315	0	0	28,574	4 9
<b>Carried over</b>	...				<b>6,43,784</b>	<b>14 6</b>

# The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress

## Income and Expenditure Account for the

EXPENDITURE—(contd.)	O. S. Rs	O. S.	
		Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ...	...	3,45,490	3 4
<b>To ADVANCES TO SUB-COMMITTEES FOR EXPENSES.</b>			
Volunteer Sub-Committee ...	25,563 2 0		
Exhibition Sub-Committee ...	60,282 9 2		
Publicity Committee ...	2,933 5 4		
Stores Purchase Committee ...	59,808 1 2		
Food Sub-Committee ...	60,250 0 0		
Housing Committee ...	7,177 8 4		
Camp Working Committee ...	1,500 0 0	2,17,514	10 0
<b>To CONVEYANCE &amp; TRANSPORT.</b>			
Petrol purchases ...	22,216 14 9		
Conveyance to staff members ...	471 3 8		
Taxi fares ...	8,464 11 0		
Travelling expenses ...	2,984 7 8	34,137	5 1
<b>To SESSION EXPENSES</b>			
Loudspeaker Arrangements ...	7,385 13 4		
Paintings expenses ...	4,009 13 9		
Dias Decoration ...	1,239 15 0		
Furniture Hire chages ...	11,951 9 3		
Water charges ...	1,894 6 10		
Free Tooth camp ...	49 0 0		
Miscellaneous expenses ...	2,982 13 4	29,513	7 6
<b>To DEFECTIVE NOTES AND COINS</b> ...		155	8 0
<b>To EXCHANGE ADJUSTMENTS</b> ...		18	8 11
Carried over ...		6,26,829	10 10

(Held at Nanalnagar during January 1953)

*Period ending 31st July 1953*

INCOME—(contd.)	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ...			6,43,784	14 6
Carried over ...			6,43,784	14 6

# The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress

## *Income and Expenditure Account for the*

EXPENDITURE—(Contd.)	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ...			6,26,829	10 10
To ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEES OFFICIALS' EXPENSES ...			6,767	11 9
To Surplus carried to Balance Sheet ...			10,187	7 11
Total O. S. Rs. ...			6,43,784	14 6

Examined and found correct.

**(Sd.) Rajaram & Co.,**

*Chartered Accountants,*

**(Sd.) Swami Ramananda Tirtha,**

*President,*

*Reception Committee.*

**(Sd.) Pannalal Petti,**

*Chairman,*

*Finance Sub-Committee.*

Hyderabad-Dn.

Dated 31st July 1953. }

(Held at Nanalnagar during January 1953)

*Period ending 31st July 1953*

INCOME—(Contd.)	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ...			6,43,784	14 6
Total O. S. Rs. ...			6,43,784	14 6

Sd/- Zain Yar Jung  
 ,, Janardan Rao Desai  
 ,, Bankatlal Badruka  
 ,, N. R. Raghavendra  
 ,, S. Venkatswami  
 ,, Erram Satyanarayana  
 ,, R. K. Bhandari  
 ,, Ramnivas Sharma  
 ,, K. Seethiah Gupta  
 ,, Tokarshi L. Kapadia

J. K. Praneshacharya,  
*Secretary,*  
*Reception Committee,*  
 Vasudev K. Naik,  
*Reception Committee,*  
*and Finance Sub-Committee.*

## The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress

## Balance Sheet

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
<b>SUNDRY CREDITORS</b>			...	
For supplies and services ...			90,333	11 1
<b>INCOME &amp; EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT</b>				
Surplus as per annexed Income and Expenditure account ..			10,187	7 11
Carried over O. S. Rs. ...			1,00,521	3 0

(Held at Nanalnagar during January 1953

as at 31st July 1953

PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	O. S.			O. S.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
<b>FIXED CAPITAL</b>						
<b>EXPENDITURE:</b>						
Office furniture at cost ...	348	8	8			
Office equipment at cost ...	4,078	11	6			
Motor cycle at cost ...	2,741	10	8	7,168	14	10
<b>LOANS AND ADVANCES:</b>						
Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee ...	69,047	2	9			
Advances towards expenses ...	4,082	2	11	73,129	5	8
<b>SUNDRY DEBTORS</b> (considered good)						
For sale of old materials etc. ...	7,874	4	4			
Cheques returned awaited fresh cheques from donors ...	2,459	3	4	10,333	7	8
<b>CASH AND BANK BALANCES:</b>						
Cash on hand with the Accountant ...	25	6	3			
Cash with Canara Bank Ltd. on C/A ...						
I. G. Rs. 6671-8-11 and with Hyderabad State Bank on C/A I. G. Rs. 1783-5-4 ...	9,864	0	7	9,889	6	10
Carried over ...				1,00,521	3	0



# The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress

## Balance Sheet

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ...			1,00,521	3 0
Total O. S. Rs. ...			1,00,521	3 0

### Report of the Auditors.

To,  
 The President, A. I. C. C.,  
 The Reception Committee Members,  
 58th Session, Indian National Congress,

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st July 1953 and the Income and Expenditure Account for the period ending 31st July 1953 with the accounts, vouchers, Receipt Books and with the statement of Accounts submitted by various Sub-Committees and that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that they have been found to be satisfactory; that in our opinion the Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Statement are a full and fair one and are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a fair and correct view of the affairs of the Session.

Hyderabad-Dn. }  
 31st July 1953. }

Sd/- Rajaram & Co.,  
 Chartered Accountants.

(Held at Nanal nagar during January 1953)

as at 31st July 1953

PROPERTY AND ASSETS	O. S.		O. S.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ..			1,00,521	3 0
Total O. S. Rs. ...			1,00,521	3 0

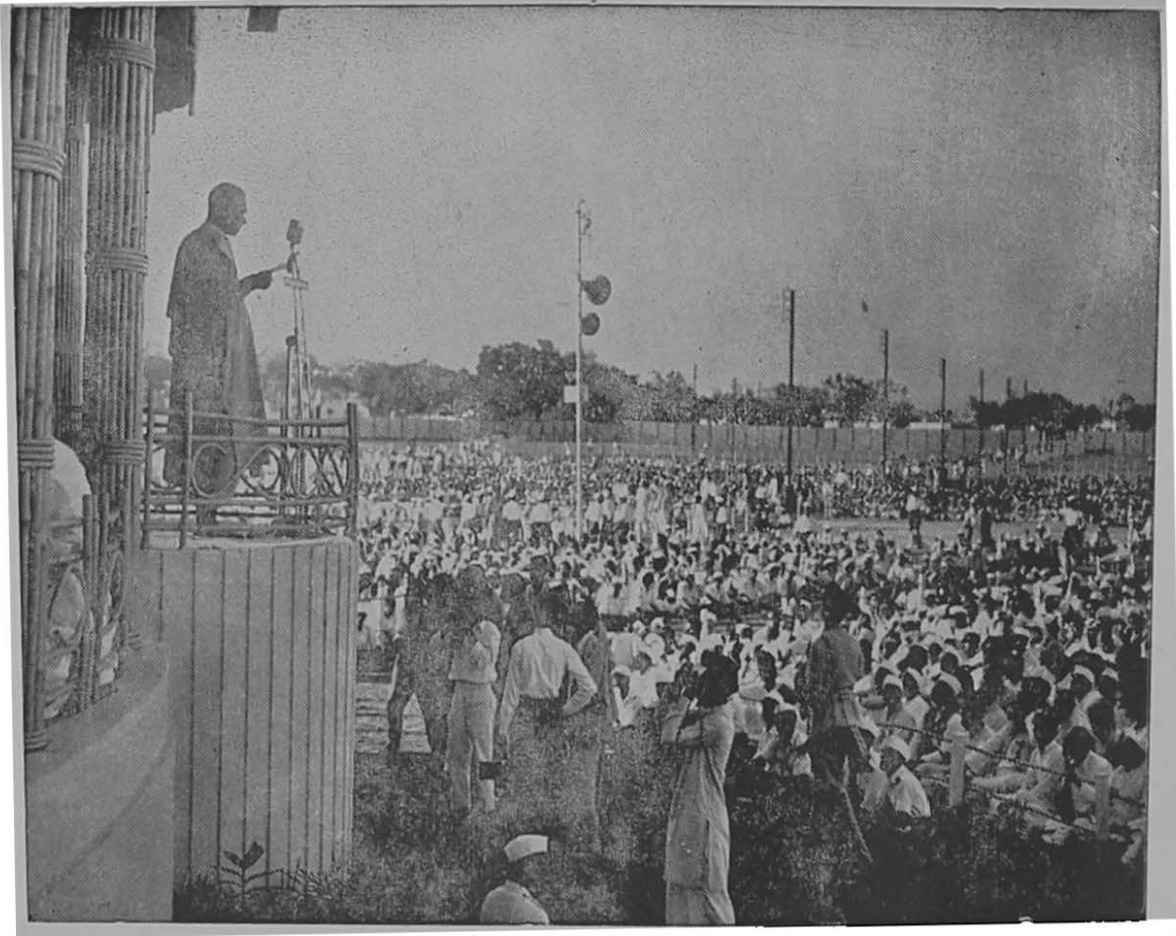
Sd/- Zain Yar Jung  
 ,, Janardan Rao Desai  
 ,, Bankatlal Badruka  
 ,, S. Venkatswami  
 ,, Erram Satayanarayana  
 ,, Ramnivas Sharma  
 ,, K. Seethiah Gupta  
 ,, Hanmanthrao  
 ,, R. K. Bhandari  
 ,, Tokarshi Lalji Kapadia

Sd/- J. K. PRANESHACHARYA  
*Secretary*  
*Reception Committee.*

Sd/- SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTHA  
*President*  
*Reception Committee.*

Sd/- PANNALAL PITTI  
*Chairman*  
*Finance Sub-Committee.*

Sd/- VASUDEV NAIK  
*Secretary*  
*Finance Sub-Committee.*



Swami Ramananda Tirtha, the Chairman of the Reception Committee is welcoming the delegates.

**Speech made by  
Swami Ramananda Tirtha,  
Chairman of the Reception Committee.**

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Mr. President, Delegates, Sisters and Brothers !

I consider it a proud privilege to welcome you on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Session of the Indian National Congress. While doing so I am quite conscious of the inadequacy of the arrangements which is likely to cause much inconvenience to you. Whatever we have been able to do during the short period and with meagre resources at our disposal, has been done in all humility. It is natural that we have not been able to look to all the requirements of every individual. We have done our best. I beg to be excused for not having made arrangements befitting the occasion as this.

This is the first occasion for us in Hyderabad to have you all amidst us. Jaipur had the unique honour of holding the Session of the Congress for the first time in the former Indian State. The second opportunity has been given to Hyderabad, once the premier state of India. If I remember right, this Session of the Congress is being held in farther south of India after a lapse of about 12 years. In a way it has drawn the attention of a large number of southerners whose sympathy and goodwill has enabled us to shoulder this heavy responsibility. This gigantic gathering has attracted people from every part of India. On behalf of the people of Hyderabad, I express my gratefulness to the members of the Working Committee for having encouraged us to hold the 58th Session of the Congress in this State.

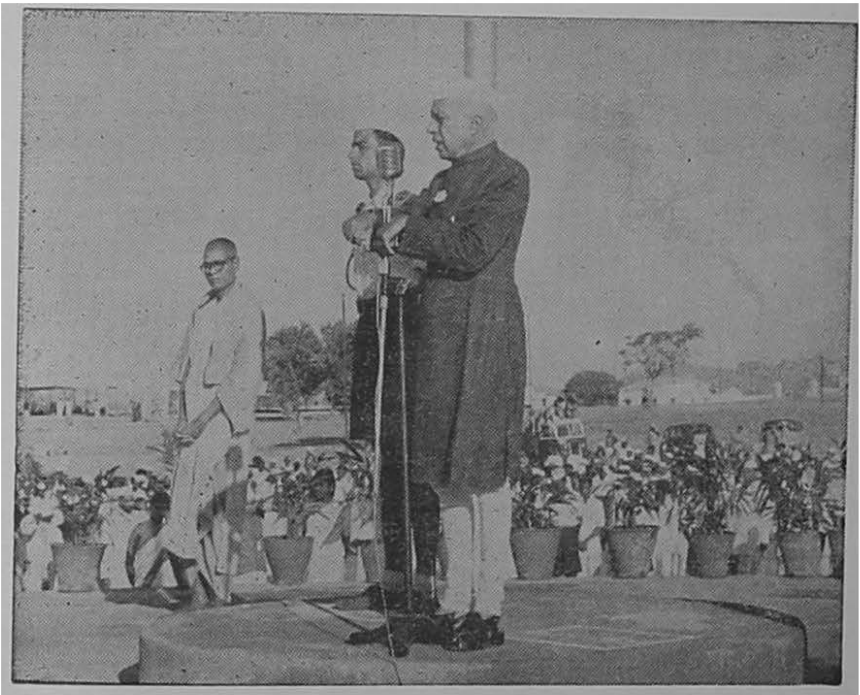
Hyderabad has been a problem State of India. This erst-while premier state has been described as the centre of gravitation of the British Empire in India. Moreover it was a formidable stronghold of the feudal elements. The reactionary forces were

strongly entrenched in this part of the country and they threatened the very freedom which the people of India had won with great sacrifice and sufferings on the part of millions of men and women, young and old. The Azad Hyderabad slogan was not only raised by these sections here but armed preparations for its accomplishment were continuously being made. It was a threat to the freedom and security and integrity of the whole nation. The people of Hyderabad under the leadership of the Hyderabad State Congress refused to submit to these forces of aggression and isolate themselves from the rest of India. The freedom struggle waged by the people of Hyderabad has been unique in character and noble in its contents. The Father of the Nation took personal interest in shaping the destiny of the people of Hyderabad and we had the privilege of his guidance in the most difficult periods of our history. In the ripeness of time we had the benefit of the wise counsels of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and also we had the privilege of seeking guidance from the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Many of those assembled in this gathering have blessed us and given us courage when we were engaged in a life and death struggle. The freedom struggle in Hyderabad which culminated in the Police Action was rightly described as the last battle of Indian freedom. 17th September 1948 is a red-letter day not only for the people of Hyderabad but also for the people of India as a whole, because on this day 18 million people were liberated and Indian freedom was complete and whole. On this happy occasion I take the liberty to offer my homage to all those who have laid down their lives for the attainment of freedom.

Hyderabad has been and continues to be an All-India problem even to this day. Though many of the problems that face us are common with those in other parts of India, Hyderabad has to face certain peculiar problems and situations. It was in this part of the country that the Communists carried on an armed struggle to overthrow the Government of free India. The pangs which the people had to suffer in wake of this struggle are still green in our



A view of the Sarojini Dwar the main entrance to the Congress Session



Panditji is addressing Volunteers and others on the occasion of the flag hoisting ceremony

memory. It would not be incorrect to say that the democratic forces in Hyderabad have to face a formidable anti-national force. Secondly, Hyderabad State will continue to draw the attention of the conscious sections of the Indian people even in future for yet another reason. This State consists of three linguistic zones, Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak which are contiguous to the borders of the respective linguistic states. The principle of the linguistic provinces has been accepted by the Congress and the process of its implementation has also started. The people of Hyderabad are closely linked up with those areas and the formation of the linguistic provinces is bound to have its own impact on the trends of life in Hyderabad State. Andhra State is in the offing. Sooner or later other linguistic states will have to be formed. We on this side of the country have hailed the announcement of the Prime Minister in this connection as a step in the direction which would go to satisfy a formidable section of the people in this country. The formation of linguistic provinces is a matter of national importance. The policy in this connection has been decided and the process of its implementation has begun. Though this process has to be accelerated with due caution still it will have to be carried through with necessary fixity. As Hyderabad State is constituted of three linguistic areas its future is linked up with the impending linguistic provinces and it assumes national significance. The artificial barriers will have to disappear some day or other and the Congress will have to solve this problem also though we the people of Hyderabad should have a say in this matter.

We, the people of the erstwhile Indian States are suffering to some extent, under a disability even in this democratic set up of the nation. We feel that the rulers of the States who had waged wars against the people should not continue any longer as the Rajpramukhs. This institution of the Rajpramukhs is a misnomer in a democratic age. Whatever be the justification for creating this institution in a set of circumstances existing

then, when a democratic regime has come into existence on the basis of adult franchise, the continuance of this pattern is rather unwholesome. In a period of transition, the assurances given to rulers might have been alright. But in the changed circumstances, there should be a re-orientation of our attitude in this regard. Speaking on behalf of ten crores of the people of erstwhile Indian States, I wish to say that the institution of the Rajpramukhs should be done away with at the earliest and in its stead, the institution of the Governor, drawn from those known for their service in the cause of the nation should come into vogue.

The democratic life in India is still in its infancy. The General Elections, have proved, beyond doubt, that an average Indian inspite of his poverty and illiteracy is not ignorant of his problems. The vote that was exercised last year on a gigantic scale has shown that it was judiciously exercised. There were many pitfalls in the process. Casteism, sectionalism and narrow parochialism raised their head in between and intermittently vitiated the contents. But on the whole, it was a conscious and intelligent electorate which went into action and a secular democratic republic has been born. It is an achievement which we can very well be proud of.

The process of consolidating this democracy has now started. Economic and social freedom must come in wake of political independence. The Congress in power has an onerous duty to perform in this respect. The Five Year Plan which has been formulated after arduous labour of a few years can well be considered as the first step in this direction. It has its own drawbacks. Even those, who have formulated it, are conscious of the inadequacy contained in the Plan. At the same time, it should be remembered that its salient features also cannot be questioned. If instead of pointing out the loopholes and levelling unfriendly criticism, each one of us lends a helping hand, the nation shall have made no mean progress towards economic advancement. This Session of the Congress, therefore, will have to infuse new



spirit in its deliberations and instil new faith in its workers so that a peaceful, democratic and co-operative way could be devised in order to bring into action what has been planned. Ways and means shall have to be found out to arouse people's enthusiasm and secure their active participation in the implementation of the Plan. People's initiative must be enlivened. How to do this? I am sure, the collective wisdom of those assembled here will show the way.

A new task awaits us, the Congressmen. It requires a new outlook, new vision and new perspective. Do we possess these or are we lacking in these requirements? These may appear to be impertinent questions. All the same they have to be put and answered. We do not put these questions to others nor others should be expected to answer these. These questions arise before us only and we alone have to answer them.

This question raises a very important issue which has exercised the minds of many of us and more particularly that of the President of this great organisation. Time and often we have expressed our notions about it. We have repeatedly stated that the Congress organisation should be revitalised and trimmed up to the new tasks. How to do this is a question and an answer will have to be found by this Session so that we go back with greater confidence and more intense faith in ourselves and the organization which has been built brick by brick, by many of us.

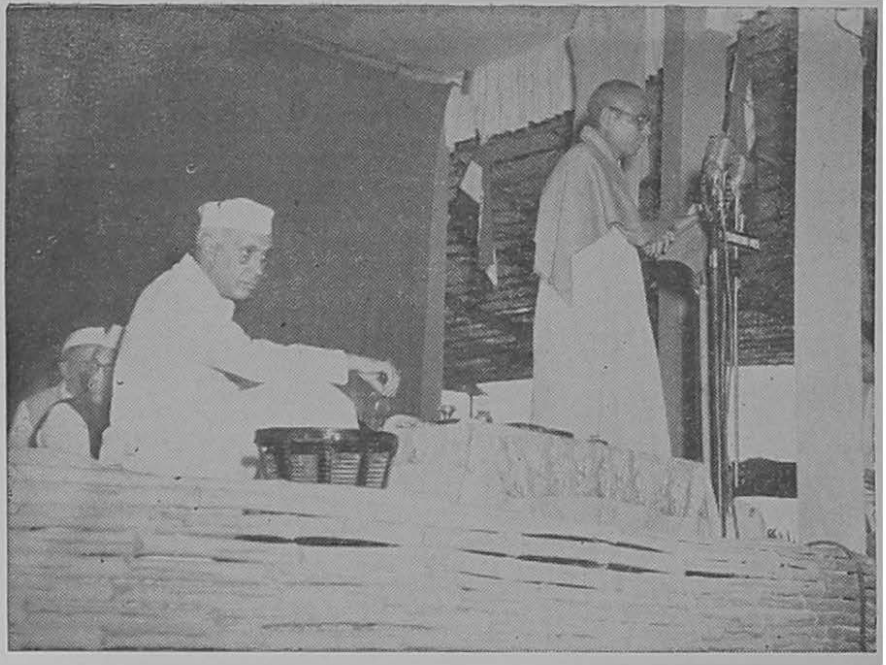
In this period of transition, conflicts are bound to arise, conflicts in ideas, approaches, and methods. In the given situation we witness a continuity of conflicts in the country. People's minds are distressed. People can be made to understand and assimilate simple words and simpler ways of translating them into practice. So far as the Congress is concerned, it has stated the way in unequivocal terms. The method to economic and social change should be democratic, peaceful and co-operative. People must be educated in these methods. Who will do this? It is all of

us and others amongst us on whom lies the primary responsibility of leading the way. A social and political revolution, we envisage. The Congress, the instrument should undergo corresponding change in its mental frame and contents if these tasks are to be undertaken and successfully carried out.

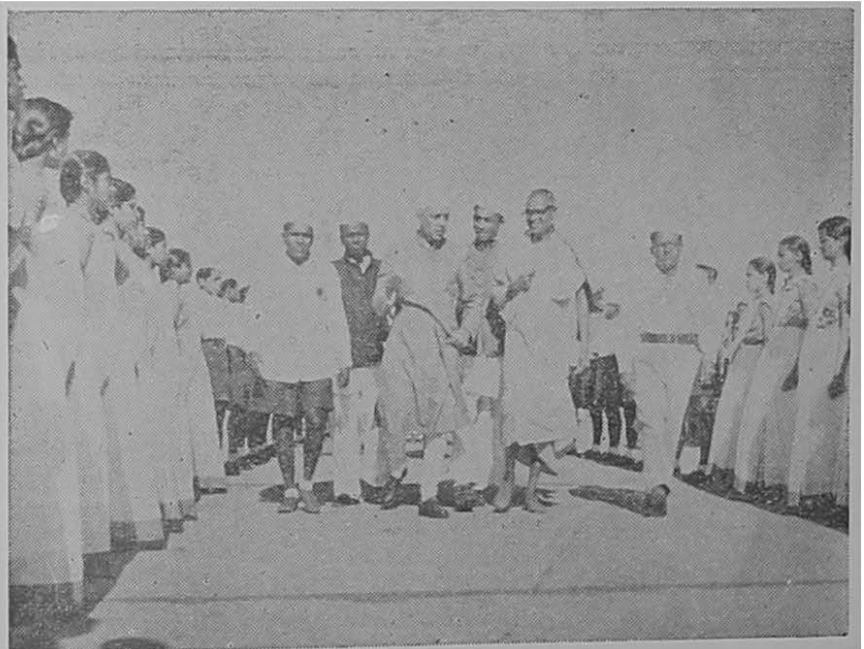
And what is the condition of the Congress today? At times it appears to be a conglomeration of diverse elements full of internal contradictions. Yet another, power mania seems to have overtaken many of us. Times without number we have said that service and sacrifice should be the guiding principles for every Congressman. But we find a departure from these on many occasions. Integrity, the watchword of any political party aiming at an economic revolution seems to have suffered. Casteism is raising its head and ranks within the Congress are being consolidated on the basis of birth and caste. Malpractices have been in vogue in organisational elections and money has also played its part. The result of all this has been that sincere Congressmen with a long record of service are being defeated in elections because they cannot afford to resort to malpractices or have no desire to spend money for gaining a position in the organisation. In consequence the Congress has lost and is losing good many genuine elements and if this process continues for some time more I am afraid, Congress will be enormously weakened.

We have often stated that we aim at the establishment of a classless and casteless society through peaceful, democratic and co-operative methods. Can this objective be attained by the Congress in its present form? This is a basic question which arises in our minds. On deeper thought, we find that the present shape of the Congress needs much overhauling if the onerous tasks expected of it are to be undertaken.

Common outlook, common objective and common action are necessary if any political party is to forge ahead. Can we say the same about the Congress organisation of the present day? I feel



**Swami Ramananda Tirtha is addressing the Subjects Committee**



**Pandit Nehru is inspecting a Guard of Honour, presented by the  
Volunteers of the Sevadal**

that we cannot. The doors of the Congress are left open to all and sundry. A mere declaration that one is a Congressman is enough to entitle him to occupy vantage position in the organisation. He may not have clear vision of what he has to work for. Congress in power has a glamour for serving selfish motives and by hook or crook, by rousing caste and other feelings, with money let loose in enormous quantity, elections are fought resulting in grave malpractices. This has to be prevented. In a democratic organisation, elections are necessary and are only way to build it up. But it behoves all of us to see that at least certain rules of conduct are laid down for individual and collective purposes and these are strictly and scrupulously adhered to.

This vast number of active members of the Congress are to my mind, a sign not of strength but of weakness. When there is no definite direction, no definite check, no strict scrutiny, everything tends to become a mess. Let us stop this tendency in us. None of us should worry if the number is reduced. Some type of selective process is necessary if the Congress organisation is to function effectively. A process of selection in a democratic organisation may seem to be paradoxical. There is nothing of that kind in such a suggestion. The condition of personal participation in some kind of work, laid down by the Congress, should be a test which every active member should fulfil before he is elected to the membership of any executive committee in the organisation.

Having said all this, which I did, because I believe that we have gathered here not to sing hymn of praise about ourselves, but to lay before our people and ourselves the true state of affairs in the manner that our leader, the apostle of truth taught us, in order that through introspection we may rectify and through our collective wisdom we may devise ways for future action. I firmly believe that Congress is the only hope for the people and our firm anchor in the distressed world. Political parties may come up in the future and from Government and we should welcome that if we are to function as a democratic nation. But today Congress

has historic role to play, which no other party can fill. Because of its all India out-look and its work in the last 70 years with one objective and common purpose knitting together the people of different regions and the arteries of its organisation running through the whole country reaching the remotest village, Congress is the only party equipped and capable of building up a United Indian Nation. And that is a vital role. In spite of the many fissiparous tendencies, caste, communal and provincial loyalties— which in the period they dominated brought about our fall and reduced us to political slaves, and when they were subordinated to All-India outlook, contributed in writing the glorious chapters of our history—Congress has all along maintained an All-India character and has been building up an All-India outlook, and that process is not yet complete. I am convinced that any revival of these unhealthy trends will be to our peril. Congress and Congress alone, with all its limitations and apparent contradictions in professions and deeds of some Congressman, can translate into reality the concept and intentions of makers of our constitution, to which the country has sworn allegiance. There is yet another important role that Congress plays and must continue to play in the life of our nation and that is its foreign policy. We have not only to build up the economic prosperity of our people, but what is equally important is that we have to see that prosperity is maintained in the future also, so that the structure that we build up with so much love and labour does not collapse. It is not sufficiently realised that economic prosperity at home depends to a great degree on our relationships abroad, that is on foreign policy. History of Europe is before us. Europe, the storehouse of culture and knowledge, rich in the quality of its human material, is lying smitten today because of the foreign policies pursued in that continent during last 50 years. All that was laboriously built up yesterday is lying in ruins today and what is rebuilding today is faced with an uncertain tomorrow.

These five years of our freedom have been eventful in more than one sense. India has played an effective role in world affairs. By refusing to align with anyone bloc in the world, we have steered clear through storms and helped the victims of aggression to look to an era of peace and amity with hope and confidence. The recent plan proposed by India for the cessation of the hostilities in Korea amply proves that no other nation except India is today in a position to command respect and hearing from a vast number of free nations of the world. This cannot be the result of a weak-kneed foreign policy. Our foreign policy has been a dynamic one. India is bound on a mission of peace and under the leadership of our President, this mission will be fulfilled in spite of the stress and storms that have overtaken the minds of men here as well as abroad.

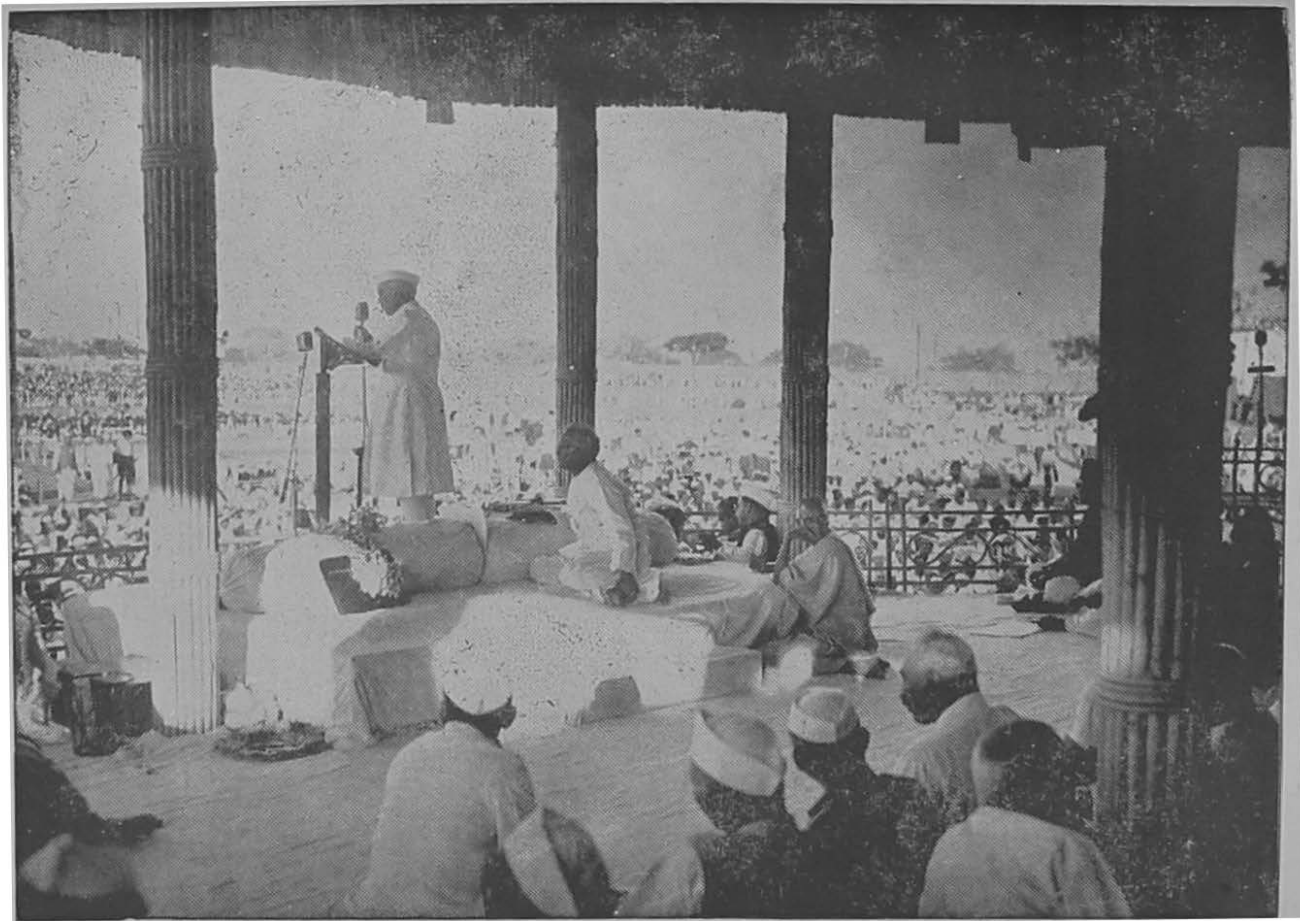
To those who take pride in worshipping other Gods than their own I wish to point out that there is no other country in Asia, whatever their other achievements, that is more secure than India in the present day world. Unless that sense of security is realised we will live with a sense of fear, and however beautiful a house we build, it will be a house of care. The foreign policy that Congress has pursued has given us that sense of security and also a respected place in the comity of nations, and for the very economic development and prosperity at home, it would be fatal if this is in any way disturbed, or a shock is given to it, which any other party in power, however well intentioned, will give it.

These are important roles which Congress has to play that makes us cling to it with hope. This I say not in defence of Congress Party, but these are the dictates of history. And to those, who are tempted to exchange new glittering lamps for old, I would say 'Pause and reflect'.

The problem of revitalising the Congress organisation is of paramount importance to us. This session of the Congress will have turned a new leaf in its history if practical ways and means are devised to achieve this objective.

Various other problems equally important need serious consideration by this Session of the Congress. I have ventured to submit to you only a few of these which have been exercising the minds of camp-followers like me. We look to you for new inspiration and fresh impetus in our work in days to come. I am sure collective decisions of this august gathering will ensure that. I once again heartily welcome you and offer my felicitations to you.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is delivering his presidential address to the 58th Session of the Indian National Congress.



**Speech delivered by  
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,  
President of the Indian National Congress**

I am here at your bidding. I need hardly tell you how very greatly I appreciate this honour and the confidence and affection that accompanied it. And yet, I feel a little unhappy that I should have been chosen once again as Congress President. I agree entirely with those friends and comrades of ours who have objected to the high offices of Prime Minister and Congress President being held by one and the same person. I tried hard that this should not occur and pleaded with my comrades in the Congress to make some other choice, but their insistence and the circumstances were against me in this matter. I felt that for me to go on saying "No", in spite of the advice of so many of my valued colleagues, would not be proper. Facts and circumstances hemmed me in and I had no alternative left but to accept, in all humility, this position of high responsibility. I did so in the faith that you will help me to shoulder the burden and that our faith in the great tasks which face the Congress and the country will inspire me to put forth such strength and energy as still remain with me

2 We meet after fifteen months. During this period, we have had our General Elections and new Governments have been formed at the Centre and in all the States of India. All but one of these Governments owe allegiance to the principles and policies laid down by the Congress. This is a tremendous responsibility not only for those who are directly associated with these Governments, but for this great organisation which has fathered India's independence and which has to take us along the next stage of our long journey as well. Unlike all other groups and parties in India, we have to face our problems with our responsibility in Government and not merely negatively in

opposition or in an academic manner which need pay little attention to the realities that face us. Because of this and because of the past history of the Congress, we cannot function along narrow and party lines. Always we must think in terms of the country as a whole and shape all our action with that larger end in view. Whenever we fail to do so and fall into the narrow grooves of party politics, or, still think of group advantage, we stray from the ideals that have given us strength and from the basic outlook of the Congress. We make ourselves less effective and less in tune with the spirit of our great national movement. We are, however, a party and we must have the discipline of a party. This is vital and essential. But we are much more than a party also and must always keep that wider vision before us always.

3. Some of our old comrades have left us and formed other groups and parties. Some who left us have come back to us and they have been welcomed. We bear no ill-will to those who might have left our ranks owing to differences of principle or of conviction. If their aim is to serve the causes which are dear to us, we shall always willingly co-operate with them and if they choose to come back to the Congress, they will always be welcome. Only those whose objectives or methods are completely alien to those of the Congress can find no place in this organisation. We have been wedded in our domestic as well as our international policy to methods of peace. Those who believe in violence must go their own way and will have to be opposed by us with all our strength. So also, those who believe in separatism of any kind whether it is communalism or provincialism or casteism, have to be opposed, for they would break up the unity of India, obstruct and delay our progress and even imperil our hard-won freedom.

4. The General Elections bore evidence, which the world recognised, that democracy had deep roots in our country and that our people had discipline and good sense. The elections demonstrated, yet again, the faith of the people in the Congress and its ideals.

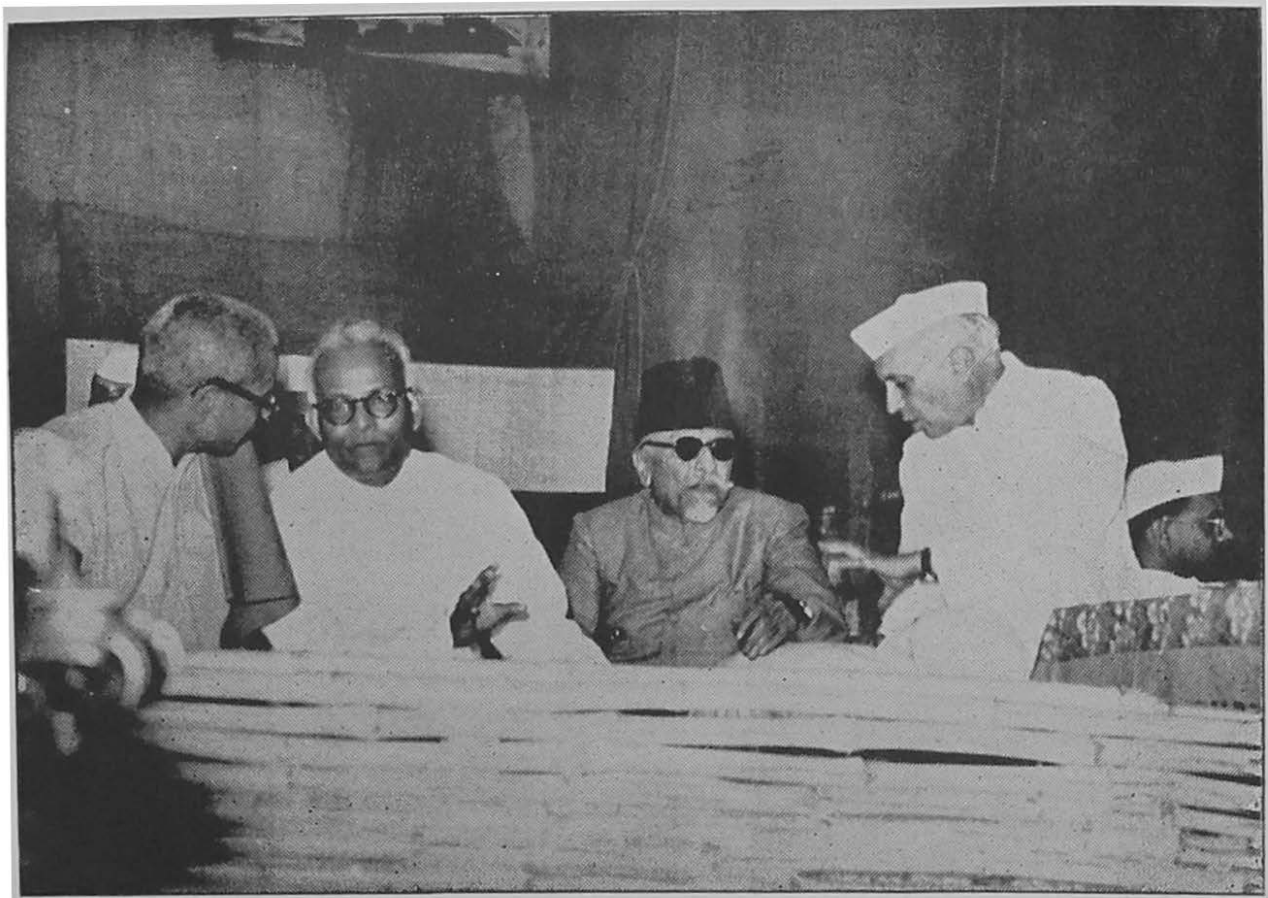
5. We have tremendous problems to face in our country and in the world. We would have liked to concentrate our energy on the development of our own country and the advancement of our people and, as far as possible, not to get entangled in international affairs. We have no ambition to guide others or for leadership elsewhere. Our own tasks are heavy enough to absorb all our energy and strength. But we cannot choose our destiny. India, free and independent, cannot escape from or ignore her responsibilities to the world or as a member of the comity of nations. Nor will the world ignore her or exempt her from such responsibilities. There is something of the inevitability of destiny in the way India is compelled by circumstances, even against our wishes, to take an ever-increasing part in world affairs. We have to accept that destiny and try to live up to it. Even though we have no great power in the shape of organised armed might or great economic or financial power, India is respected more and more in the councils of the nations. It is only five years since we attained our independence. In these brief five years, India has built up for herself a position which commands respect and which brings additional responsibilities. There are hardly any instances in history of a country establishing itself in this way during the first five years of its freedom.

6. In the political sphere, from this larger point of view, we have succeeded to an extent which is not only surprising but is embarrassing to us. What of our internal conditions and our economic position? The basic strength of a nation does not come from political activity, but from economic strength. That is the key to its own security and its progress. It is out of that that political strength comes. We have many critics in our own country who tell us that little has been done and our pace is slow. I welcome criticism and nothing is worse in this respect than complacency. Even in our ranks of the Congress, there are many critics. It is right that we should never be satisfied with what we do and should ever aim higher and farther. And yet, it is

significant that competent observers who look at India from afar, or who come to India and see what has been done, have expressed their astonishment at the progress made during these five years and have sensed a certain excitement at the way this ancient country is renewing her youth and building herself anew. Perhaps we are too near our own achievements to judge of them correctly. Those achievements stand out and, I have no doubt, will be recorded in history.

7. In the world today there is much disharmony, friction and conflict between nations and races. There is a menacing lack of equilibrium. The ominous spectre of war and mounting armaments are ever before us. Fear dominates men's minds and the policies of nations and resources of the world are disproportionately allocated to preparation for or against war according to how one looks at it. Old empires fell before the advancing tide of nationalism or faded away. New countries came into existence and grew in strength and power. This fact was not easily understood or appreciated by people used to the old world which had passed away. They ignored facts and tried to struggle against them. Even now, some colonial powers cling on to the remnants of their empire, though it is patent that imperialism and colonialism are doomed, and that the urges and determination to win national freedom cannot be put down. Our place is with those who, like ourselves in the past, seek the freedom of their motherland.

8. The great revolutionary forces of science and technology have transformed human life and changed not only political, social and economic organisations, but have also changed even human thought. New philosophies develop and traditional beliefs fade away. Nevertheless, old traditions hold, even when they are demonstrably untrue and superstitions flourish in this country, as elsewhere. In spite of the world becoming more and more one, in many respects, national rivalries continue. Education spreads, but does not bring either wisdom or vision. Countries



Panditji is conferring with Moulana Azad in the course of the Subjects Committee meeting; Swamiji is seen discussing with Shri Balwantrai Mehta.

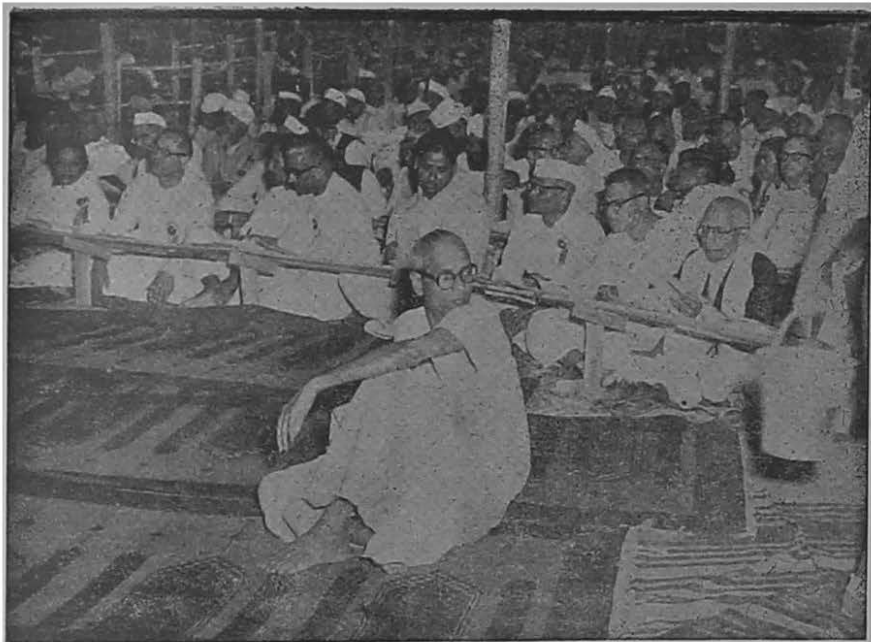
think that their policy or outlook is in the nature of self-evident truth and not to accept it is regarded as a denial almost of some divine law. And so, those who do not accept their view are considered wicked and almost enemies. It is curious that in this age of science, we seem to have less of the true spirit of criticism, of tolerance and receptivity to other views and ideas, which are the basis of scientific thinking. It has become an ominous possibility that science might lead to extinction of the human race.

9 In the world to-day, the two largest and most powerful countries are the United States of America and the Soviet Union. From the point of view of population and potential resources alone, there are two other countries, China and India, both relatively undeveloped yet. East and South-East Asia contain the largest aggregate of human populations no longer quiescent but demanding the good things of life. These are basic facts from which far-reaching consequences flow.

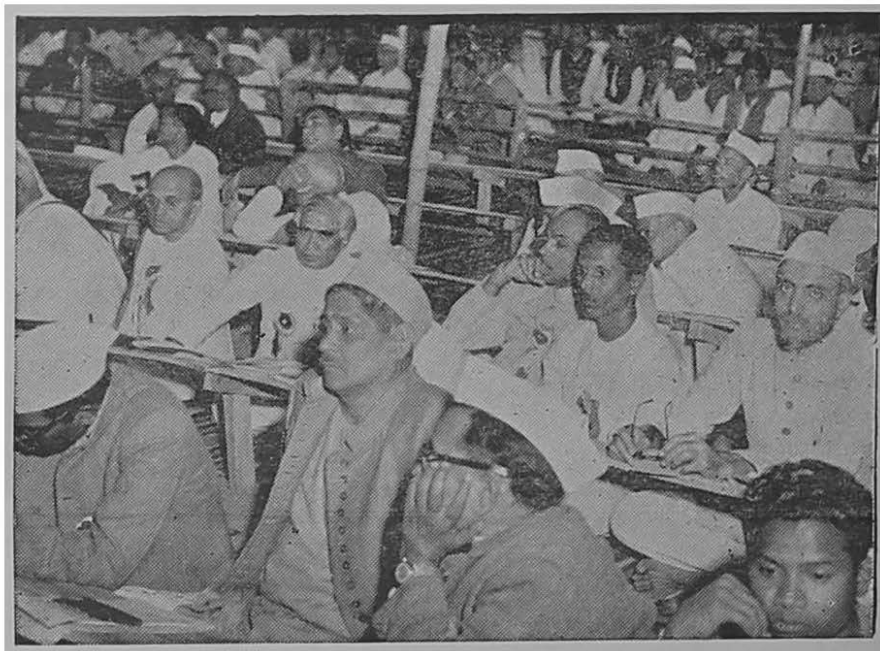
10. The foreign policy of a country must depend on the facts of the world situation and on the strength of the country itself. Wishful thinking does not alter such facts or add to that strength. Our foreign policy is based on friendly relations with all countries and no interference with any. It is never easy to sustain such a policy and more especially when there is so much bitterness and mutual suspicion in the world and when every move by any one party is suspected. Nevertheless I am happy to say that our relations with other countries are good. The only country which unfortunately is somewhat of an exception to this is our neighbour, Pakistan. One recognises that it is not easy to forget recent history or to heal the deep wounds caused during the past few years. We have, however, always held that it is essential to establish and maintain friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan. This is in our mutual interest and would be an example to the world of good neighbourly relations and a contribution to peace itself. Despite

disappointments and provocations, we have striven consistently to the end. Unfortunately the response from the other side has been disappointing and there is frequent talk even of war against us. We cannot surrender to threats, nor any vital principle. In any event, we shall protect our territory and our basic interests if they are attacked. Our policy thus has been one of friendliness as well as firmness, and we have avoided, in so far as we could, any action which might increase the tension between our country and Pakistan. Some critics of ours have called this a policy of weakness and appeasement and suggest and demand what they call "strong" action. This can only lead to a major conflict. That is a folly from every point of view and I am glad that the great majority of our people are entirely opposed to it. We shall continue to pursue the policy to which I have referred because we think not only that it is the right policy, but that it yields good results both in the short run and in the long run.

11. We have four major points of dispute with Pakistan—Kashmir, the treatment of minorities in East Pakistan resulting in large numbers of refugees coming over, evacuee property, and canal waters. The Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council for five years and recently the Council passed a resolution which we could not accept. During all these years we have waited patiently for a proper consideration of the problem, and yet it is most strange that the Security Council has never given thought to the basic issues underlying the Kashmir problem. Because the Security Council has ignored basic facts and tried to by-pass fundamental issues, it has often gone wrong. Its last resolution to which I have referred was even contrary to some of the decisions of the U. N. Commission itself. It is also opposed to the pledges and assurances we have given and from which we cannot resile. It has distressed us that two great countries should have sponsored such a resolution, which appears to us to be grossly unfair. We took this issue to the Security Council on the basis of Pakistan's aggression.



**In spite of his heavy responsibility as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Swamiji steals some time to hear the members of the A. I. O. C.**



**The Chief Minister of Hyderabad along with Shri K. V. Rangareddy attends the Subjects Committee**



Our territory had been invaded. We proposed on our own initiative a reference to the people. Even though part of our territory was in enemy occupation, we proposed a cease-fire and gave effect to it immediately. We proposed to Pakistan that both countries should make a no-war declaration. This was refused. Constant threats of war against us have been made and we have not retaliated. The whole history of these years shows how patient and peaceful we have been in spite of aggression, invasion and continuous provocation. We have adhered to every assurance that we have given, because we have been anxious to secure a settlement by peaceful methods. We propose to continue this policy. Because we are convinced that that is the right policy. But we could not keep the Jammu and Kashmir State in a condition of political and constitutional inertia waiting for something that does not eventuate because of no fault of ours. Therefore, a Constituent Assembly was convened. This Assembly is in the process of framing the State Constitution in tune with the Constitution of India and has already passed important laws affecting land reform. In spite of the travail that Jammu and Kashmir has gone through, the State has made progress in many directions.

12. Unfortunately there has been an agitation in Jammu Province which ostensibly aims at a closer union with India but, in fact, has the contrary effect. It is a disruptive agitation which can only do good to the enemies of the State and of India. I recognise that the people of Jammu have certain legitimate grievances and that economic conditions there are difficult. These matters should be attended to co-operatively and peacefully. The present agitation is basically communal and encouraged by communal organisations. It strikes, therefore, at the very root of the policy according to which we are trying to build up our new India.

13. We know that Pakistan was the child of communalism and the recent report of the Basic Principles Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly makes it clear that the present

leaders of Pakistan intend it to be a medieval theocracy, where non-Muslims may perhaps be tolerated but will have no equal or honourable existence. That also makes it evident what the basic difficulty of non-Muslims in Pakistan is. It is not surprising that they are unhappy in the present and look to the future with apprehension. It is not for me to criticise the internal policies of Pakistan. But we cannot shut our eyes to a policy which creates problems for these minorities and for us. Behind this narrow communal outlook, lies a wider policy which is utterly different from that pursued by us in our country. This is evident in many ways, most noticeably in the fact that one of the bravest soldiers of freedom and peace and reconciliation, has been in prison in Pakistan for about five years. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was not only our great leader but the leader of those also who live in Pakistan now and his continued incarceration is a tragedy and a portent of the first magnitude. Our hearts go out to him.

14. How then are we to meet this situation? Not by war or threats of war, because that is not policy but a failure of policy, and will not solve any problem, much less bring relief to those with whom we sympathise. It will only bring disaster to them and to all concerned.

15. Nor can we adopt the communal policy of Pakistan in retaliation or as a corrective. That policy is bound to fail in any country which adopts it, because it is wrong and out of tune with the modern age. It is strange that certain organisations in India, which raise their voices loudly against Pakistan, tend to become themselves more and more replicas of the Pakistan communal organisation. Evil cannot be conquered by evil. Our policy may appear slow and might not bring immediate results. That is the fate of many a problem in the world today, but delay in achieving our objective does not mean that we should, in our excitement, adopt evil or wrong courses of action and bring about disaster. In respect of those who suffer in Pakistan and with whom we are

profoundly in sympathy, it is both a wrong and a dangerous course to seek to excite others and raise expectations when we are in no position to render effective assistance. Such course of action on our part would only render worse the position of those who already suffer.

16. There is the problem of evacuee properties which affects millions of people. It is distressing that even this problem has not been solved yet. It is eminently a problem which can be dealt with dispassionately and even judicially. But all our proposals to this end have been rejected by Pakistan.

17. The Canal Waters issue again should depend for its decision on facts and a correct appreciation of the situation. This also is capable of easy solution if the proposals we have made are accepted. I am glad that an attempt is being made now with the help of the International Bank to get at these facts. Meanwhile, entirely false charges are continuously being made in Pakistan, accusing us of having stopped the flow of water through the canals. It is unfortunate that all these questions, which raise national and international issues, should be exploited for party purposes by communal organisations in India. The plight of the refugees is a matter which concerns the whole of India. It is not a party issue and all of us should join together in trying to help them and rehabilitate them. The Kashmir issue has become entangled in the web of international affairs and power politics. It is not considered objectively or dispassionately and it will take all our strength and patience to resolve the disentanglements. It is an issue which requires unity of national outlook on our part. Some of our people and our communal organisations, referring often to India's culture of the past, forget the very basis of that culture, which was a long tradition of tolerance. From the Buddha to Gandhiji, all the great souls of India have reminded us that it is through following right means that we achieve right ends, that it is through tolerance and compassion that people really advance. India is a country with a

basic unity, but of great variety in religion, in cultural traditions and in ways of living. It is only by mutual forbearance and respect for each other, as the great Asoka taught, that we shall build up a strong, stable and co-operative community in the whole of India. Any other approach means disruption and disaster, apart from giving up the basic tradition of our rich heritage.

18. Some people talk of one nation, one culture, one language. That cry reminds me of some of the fascist and Nazi slogans of old. We are one nation of course, but to try to regiment it in one way will mean discord and conflict and bitterness. It will put an end to the richness and variety of India and confine and limit the creative spirit and the joy in life of our people.

19. We have fourteen languages of India listed in the Eighth Schedule to our Constitution. They are all great languages from the ancient magnificent Sanskrit, which has still so much life in it, to the other languages nurtured by our ancestors in the soil of India. We have rightly decided that Hindi should be the national language of India, because Hindi, more than others, fulfils the qualifications of a national language for this country. We must encourage it in every way and make it a fitting vehicle for modern thought and a suitable instrument for our work and creative activity. But at the same time, we have to encourage the other great provincial languages also. There should be or need be no rivalry between them. I have been surprised to hear voices raised against Urdu. Urdu does not compete with Hindi now. It only claims a place which is its right by inheritance in the large household of India. It is our language, nurtured in our country, adding to the cultural richness of our people. Why should we reject it or consider it as something foreign? It is this spirit of intolerance, this parochial outlook, which is more dangerous for our cultural and other growth than anything else that can happen to us.

20. In the name of culture, we hear slogans and loud cries which have no relation to culture or the growth of the mind or

spirit. In particular, the communal organisations are guilty of this narrow outlook which kills the spirit and the mind and weakens the nation. In a sense, they represent some medieval mentality; they stand for reaction in the political and the economic field, even though sometimes they talk in terms of some advanced social doctrine. They are the replicas in this country of what was known in Europe as Fascism and Nazism.

21. Language is both a binding force and a separating one and we have to be very careful in the matter of languages in India. In our enthusiasm for unity we might not encourage disruption. We have seen how powerful are the sentiments for linguistic provinces. There is reason behind that sentiment. At the same time, provinces cannot be carved out merely on the basis of language. There are other very important factors which have to be taken into consideration. It is true that where there is a powerful demand, we should pay heed to it unless there are some insuperable obstacles in the way. It must be remembered that political changes delay other kinds of progress. A multiplicity of Governmental machinery means more expense and less efficiency. The formation of linguistic provinces means the diversion of our energy and resources from the major economic tasks of the day. If we get entangled in this business now, what happens to our Five-Year Plan? And if, in addition, such attempted redistribution involves conflict and bitterness, then indeed, the ultimate result will be much worse. We are a mature people and we should not allow ourselves to be led away by sentiment without giving the fullest consideration to every aspect of the question.

22. We have stated that where there is a well-established demand and the proposal meets with the general consent of those concerned, we should give effect to it. We have decided to do so in the case of Andhra and steps are being taken to that end. I earnestly hope that this will be achieved co-operatively with the least disturbance possible. Even so there is going to be a great

deal of upset and our meagre resources will have to be spent in other ways than intended. The decision to form the Andhra State has led to a renewal of demands for some other linguistic provinces. Some of these demands can probably be justified. Others have no such justification. But in any event, it has to be realised that any widespread and more or less simultaneous change in the political geography of India will create very great problems and will strain our resources to the utmost. It would mean definitely our putting a stop to any real progress in accordance with our Five-Year Plan. It might weaken national unity which is the foundation for everything else. Therefore, I would earnestly suggest that while establishing the Andhra State, we should wait to see the consequences that flow from it and then take into consideration any like problems elsewhere. We should concentrate now on the Five-Year Plan and having accomplished it, we can then go ahead with added strength to solve other problems.

23. There is talk of the disintegration of Hyderabad State. Such disintegration would upset the whole balance of the South and lead to innumerable new problems. To all these we should give the most careful consideration and due time. For the next few years at any rate we must postpone consideration of such problems and concentrate on economic advance. We dare not play about with our country or do things that weaken it when the world hovers on the brink of war.

24. We have a large number of States in the country. Part A States have a great deal of autonomy. Part B States are approximating to the Part A States and before long there will be no major difference left. Part C States are generally small. The integration of Part B States has been a great achievement and has brought improvement in many ways to them. But it has also brought a higher scale of expenditure on the machinery of Government and this is a great burden. The addition to the number of States and thereby to the expenditure on Governmental

machinery will add to this burden and will result in reducing standards, when we are anxious to improve them. We should think rather in terms of reducing the number of States or in having some common features in States which would lessen the expenditure at the top. We have to choose between the development of the country and balkanization and consequent continuing low standards of life.

25. The major and most urgent problem for us today is that of economic advance, advance not only for the nation as a nation but in the conditions of masses of people who live in it. We have to fight poverty and unemployment and improve the conditions of life of our people. Our resources are limited even though our wish to progress is great. It is for this purpose that the Five-Year Plan has been evolved, after a great deal of thought and consultation. This Plan initiates a process of balanced economic development of the country with a view to raising the standard of living and bringing about an increasing measure of economic equality and opportunities for employment. I shall not discuss this complicated Plan here because the argument is given in the Plan itself to which I would invite attention. That Plan is not based on any doctrinaire approach and is not rigid. It is modest in a sense and yet it has far-reaching consequences. I have no doubt that if we succeed in implementing this Plan, we shall then be in a position to go ahead at a much faster pace. The Plan does not limit our growth in any direction. Although there is a private sector our stress is laid on the public sector which should progressively expand.

26. Though the development of industry is exceedingly important, special stress has been laid on agriculture, because that is the basis of our economy. In particular, we must make our country self-sufficient in food. From recent statistics and results obtained, I have no doubt that we can do so in the course of the next few years. Our object is to prevent monopoly control

and to limit private profit, so as to bring about a distribution of economic power. Our great river valley schemes are magnificent examples of what we can do. They have been admired by all who have seen the work done there. But it is not by a few major schemes that we will ultimately be judged, but rather by the general improvement all over the country. Our great National Laboratories have laid well the foundations for future scientific advance. Great factories have also sprung up in various parts of the country for basic and key industries. Even last year our industrial productivity increased by about ten percent. It is our pride and good fortune to take up this Five-Year Plan now and make it a full success.

27. I have referred to agriculture. That depends upon land policy. We have to complete the abolition of the zamindari, Jagirdari and like systems as rapidly as possible. We have to put a ceiling on land and we have to encourage co-operative farming. In industry we have to encourage, by all means in our power, village and cottage industries. That is the surest and swiftest method of relieving unemployment. There is no conflict between that and the big industry that we wish to develop. But this big industry will not solve the problem of unemployment except for a relatively small number of persons. Hence the importance of small and village industries.

28. A very important part of our Five-Year Plan consists of the community centres which have been started in various parts of India and which it is intended to increase every year. Through them we hope not only to increase production in rural areas but more especially to raise the level of community life in every direction. Their success, as indeed the success of the whole Five-Year Plan, depends largely on voluntary effort and the spirit with which our people take up this great task of building new India.

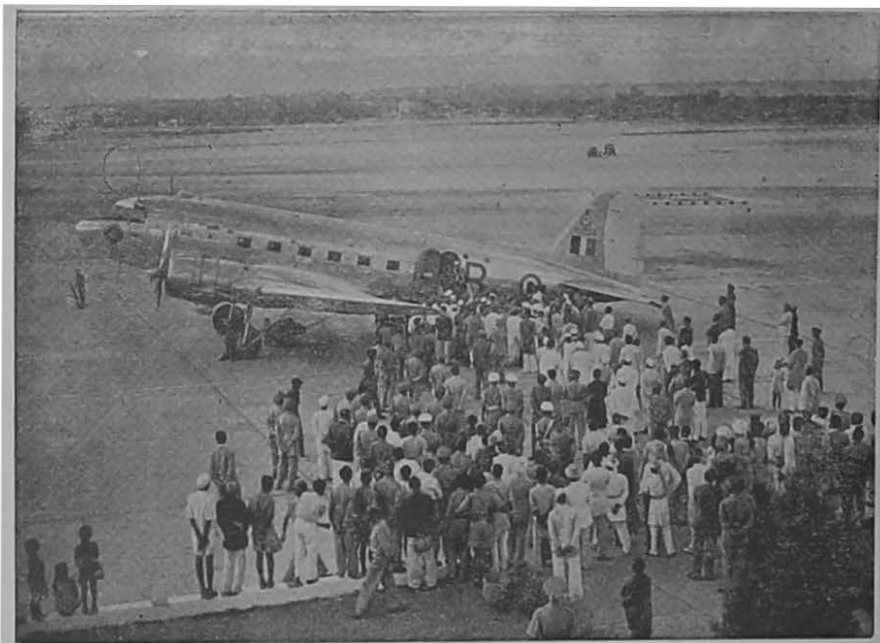


29. We live in an age of what is called 'cold war, which at any moment, may develop into something worse. In this world of conflict, the only guarantee of our safety and our freedom is our own strength. That strength ultimately depends upon the economic condition of the country and of the people. The Five-Year Plan is an answer to the challenge of the times and on its success depends our survival as a great nation. Those who criticise that Plan and wish to be merely onlookers when this great work calls for endeavour, do little service to the country. If the Plan does not go far enough, let us try to improve it and take it further. Nothing prevents us from doing so except our own lack of resources or incapacity. If we can do more or go ahead faster, we should certainly attempt it.

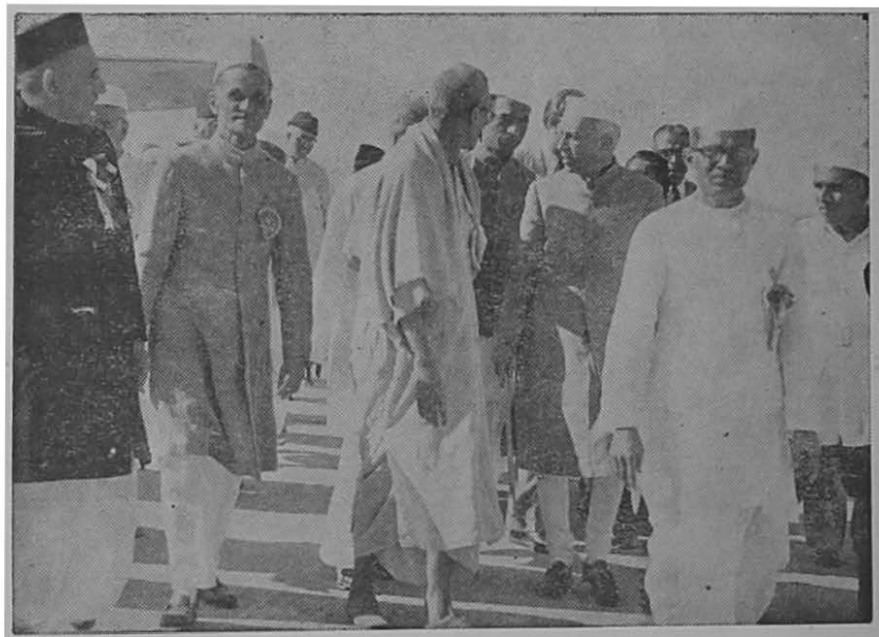
30. We talk of the possibility of war, but, as a matter of fact, wars are going on in various parts of the world—in Korea, in Indo—China and elsewhere. They are serious enough, though from the world point of view they may be limited in scope. As you know, we have been intensely interested in the promotion of peace. We have not tried to interfere and we have no desire to play a dramatic role. But quietly and persistently, for a long time past, we have sought to help in some way so that the tension in the Far East might be relieved and the threat of world war might lessen. Unfortunately, the major changes that have taken place in the Far East during the last three or four years have not been fully appreciated yet by many people who still try to hold on to their conception of a world that no longer exists. The emergence of China as a great unified and vital country has completely changed the balance of power in the Far East and, to some extent, in the world. The revolution in China was no sudden development, although the final change appeared to be sudden and unexpected. That revolution had nearly 40 years of history behind it, during which period this great country suffered from invasion and civil war. The non-recognition by some countries of this new People's Government

of China was a refusal to see one of the major and obvious facts of the age. That refusal has led step by step to grave consequences. There cannot be any final settlement in the Far East without the full recognition of this new China. This is not a question of likes and dislikes. A country or a Government is recognised because it exists and functions effectively, not because the political or economic structure there is approved or liked by others. The world can only carry on if there is acceptance of the fact that each country has freedom to develop according to its own way of thinking and there is no interference with it. There is far too much interference today and attempts to impose one country's will on another.

31. During the last sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, a resolution was put forward on our behalf in regard to the Korean war. That resolution was ultimately passed by a very great majority, but unfortunately two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, did not accept it. And the result is that the deadlock in Korea continues. Our resolution was meant as a proposal to show a way out of this deadlock. It was no mandate and it was based entirely on the Geneva Convention, about which so much has been said. It did not recognise voluntary repatriation of prisoners, nor was there any question of prisoners being asked whether they wish to return or decline to do so. It did not recognise the right of asylum for prisoners of war which applies to political refugees. There was to be no screening of prisoners. It ensured that all prisoners would be released from the custody of the detaining side and in neutral territory. The presumption was that they would go back to their country of origin. In fact, repatriation would have begun as soon as these prisoners were released from detention. The resolution did say that if an individual prisoner of either side refused to go over to his country from the neutral zone, force would not be used or obliged to be used against him. This is fully in accordance with the



Pandit Nehru is alighting from the plane.



Office bearers of the Reception Committee talking to Panditji.

Geneva Convention which does not lay down an obligation to lift a prisoner of war physically and put him on the other side in spite of his opposition.

32. I do not wish to argue about this resolution. Our purpose was not to raise legal quibbles, but to help in arriving at a settlement. We made an honest attempt and we failed. I think, however, that even though we failed then our attempt did some good and may perhaps lead to a more fruitful result later. So far as we are concerned, we shall gladly help in every effort which might lead to peace.

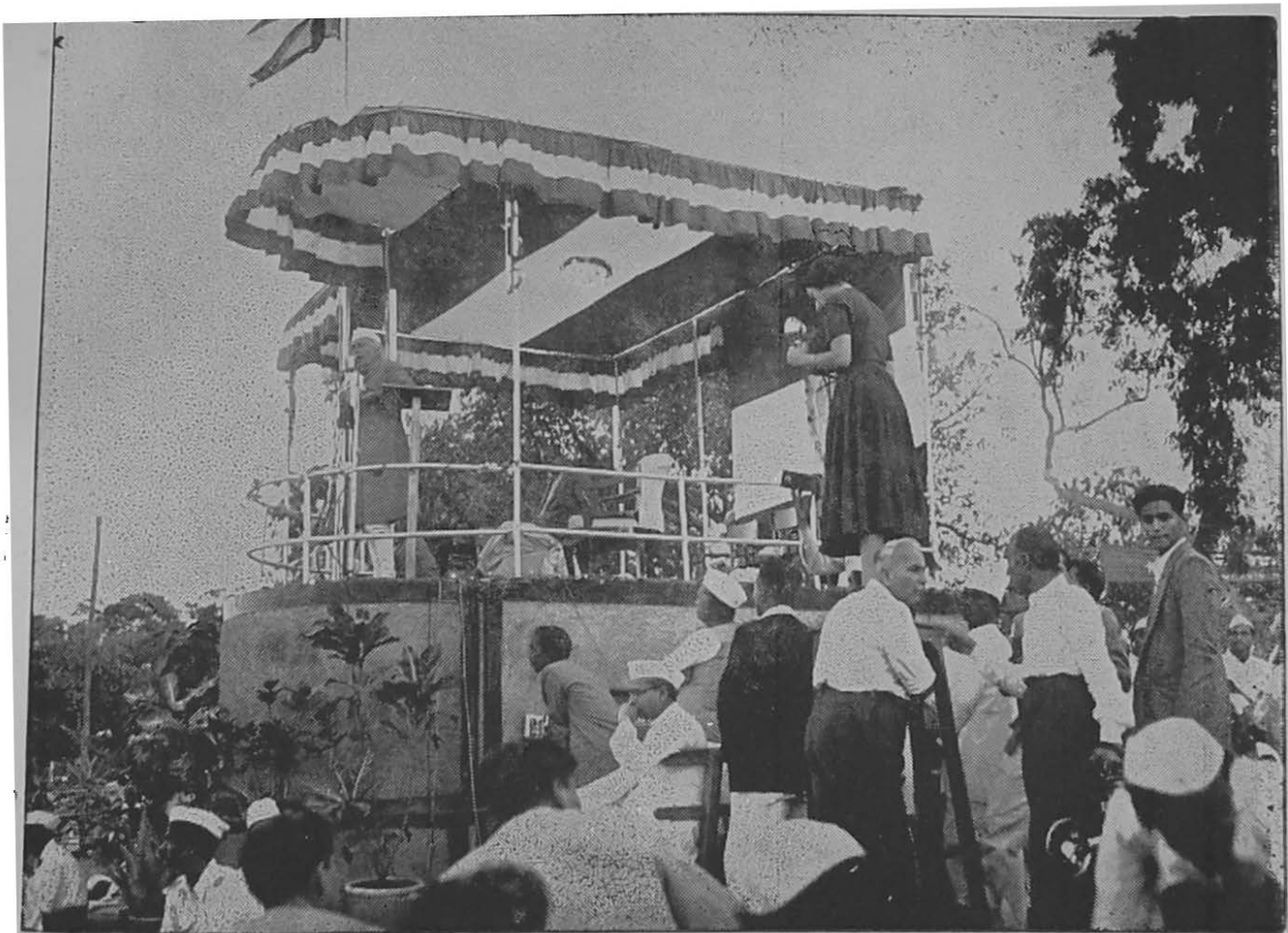
33. While there is cold war between great nations, there is also something very much like a race war developing in Africa. The policy of the South African Government has been opposed by us in so far as people of Indian origin are concerned. That policy has progressively emphasized racial discrimination and indeed the overlordship of one race over another. The movement in South Africa has now become widespread and the Africans are taking a leading part in it. It is being carried on peacefully in accordance with the technique discovered by Gandhiji in South Africa itself long years ago. While passive resistance is taking place in South Africa, in East Africa a very different situation has developed. On the one side, there have been terroristic outrages, on the other, severe and widespread repression. I have no desire to balance these, but I am concerned at the grave consequences that are already flowing from this conflict. I am exceedingly sorry that some people in Kenya took to methods of violence which can only do them harm and will not strengthen their cause in any way. They have suffered long and I can understand their feeling of utter frustration and despair. But they will not achieve anything by methods of violence. On the other hand, repression will never solve the problem of Africa and the grave danger is that something in the nature of race war will develop and bring disaster in its train. I earnestly hope that a

wiser and a more positive approach to these problems will be made. It must be understood quite clearly that no doctrine based on racial inequality or racial suppression can be tolerated for long. There will be no peace in the world if one race tries to dominate over another or one country over another.

34. We have to deal with our own internal problems in the Congress. The mere fact that our organisation is strong and wide spread and controls Governments, has brought many evils in its train. They are the evils of success and we have to be very careful, lest we allow these evils to corrupt and enfeeble the Congress. During recent Congress delegate elections, many such evils came to light. We tried to tackle them and have taken stern measures in many places. We propose to be vigilant in this matter and I must ask your fullest co-operation for this purpose. Some amendments to the Congress Constitution will be placed before you, which are intended to help us in removing some of these evils.

35. Recently, in the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, certain developments took place which have distressed me greatly. They are a warning to all of us. During the last forty years or so of my public life, I do not know of anything so disgraceful and so degrading in our public life as these recent happenings in Pepsu. If in our passion for power we forget standards of public behaviour and the principles that have guided us in the past, then indeed we are doomed and we deserve to perish. But we must not judge the whole of our organisation by these instances. I am sure that there are all over the country any number of earnest Congressmen of high integrity who are carrying on their work without expectation of reward or profit. They are the backbone of the Congress and are in our true tradition. It is they who give strength and life to this organisation of ours.

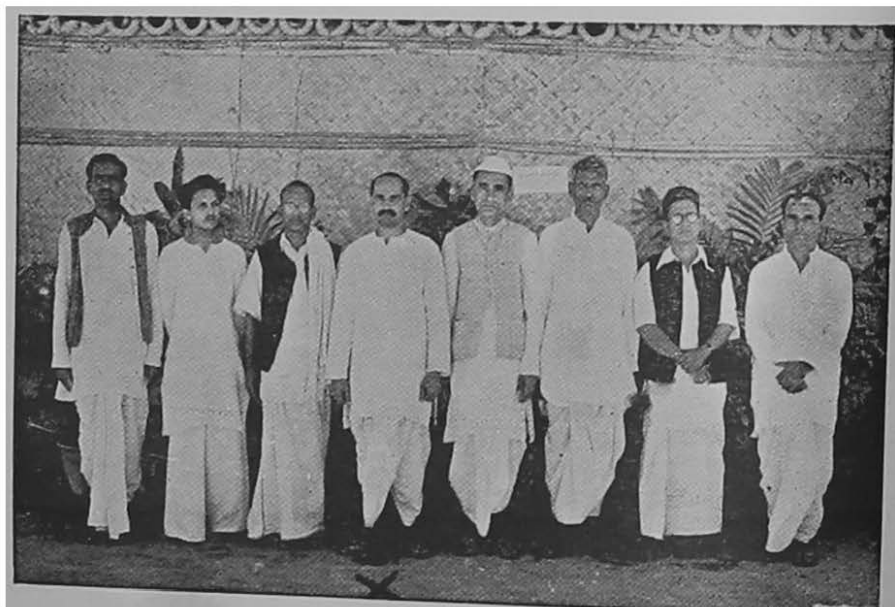
36. During the past five years we have been trying to build up our new Republic. We have failed in many things and



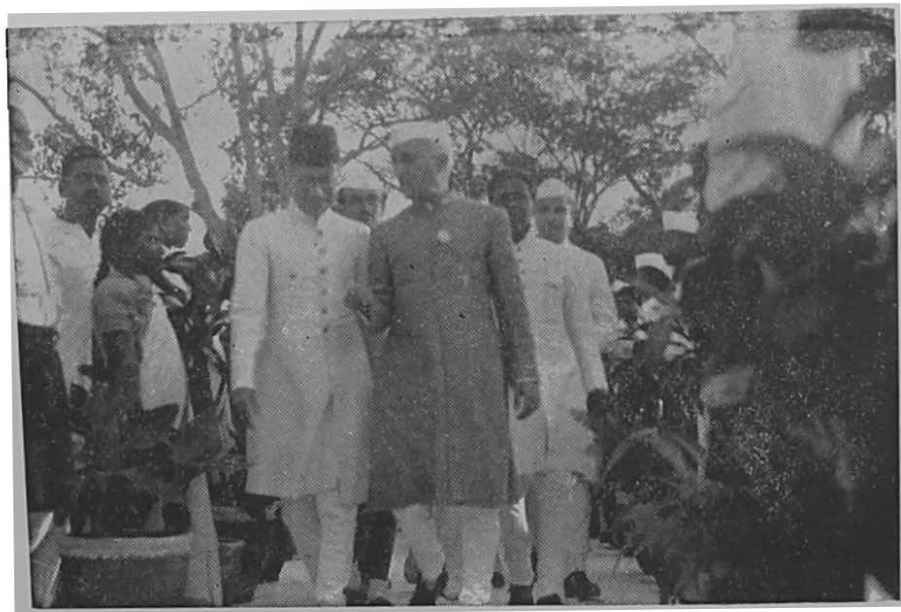
Panditji addressed a large public meeting at Secunderabad after the Congress Session was over.



The President & Secretary  
What are they thinking ?



Members of the Sarvodaya Exhibition



Pandit Nehru is discussing with Bakur Ali Mirza,  
General Secretary of the Pradesh Congress Committee.



we have not succeeded in others in the measure that we desire.

But I think I am justified in saying that our record has been a creditable one, which can bear comparison with any elsewhere. Let us remember our failures and try to avoid them in the future, but let us also keep in mind our successes which have raised the reputation and credit of the country all over the world. We have now to carry on this process and build up in a more conscious, deliberate and planned way. The path has been chalked out. The journey, however, is not an easy one. But then let us remind ourselves constantly that we have not been used in the past to soft living or easy reward. We have to develop that old spirit again, that temper which forgets self and is not depressed by any difficulty or temporary lack of success. I invite you all to march along this path with good heart and faith in the destiny of our country.

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**The following resolutions were passed in the  
58th session of the Indian National Congress  
held in Hyderabad**

*On 17th and 18th, January 1953.*

**I Condolence**

The Congress expresses its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of:

1	Lala Deshbandhu Gupta	Delhi
2	Shri B. N. Maheshwari	Bombay
3	Swami Govindanand	Bombay
4	Shri Shoorji Valladhdas	Bombay
5	Shri Ramdeo A. Podar	Bombay
6	Shri Darbar Gopaldas Desai	Gujarat
7	Shri Harnarain Bajpai	Mahakoshal
8	Shri Agamdas	Mahakoshal
9	Shri Jagannath Shastri	Mahakoshal
10	Shri Chhotelal Gupta	Madhya Bharat
11	Shri K. G. Masbriwala	Nagpur
12	Shri G. M. Thawre	Nagpur
13	Shri S. Vedachala Mudaliar	Tamilnad
14	Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar	Tamilnad
15	Thakur Lal Singh	Bhopal
16	Qazi Ataullah Shah	N. W. F. P.
17	Shri Shivdas Daga	Mahakoshal
18	Shri Badri Nath Dubey	Mahakoshal
19	Shri Sahib Singh Gour	Vindhya Pradesh
20	Shri S. Manohar Rao	Hyderabad
21	Shri M. Ramchandra Rao	Hyderabad
22	Shri N. K. Rao	Hyderabad
23	Shri D. N. Chaudhury	Maharashtra

24	Shri Potti Sriramulu	Andhra
25	Shri Ramakrishna Punja	Karnatak
26	Shri Panda Sant Ram	Punjab
27	Shri Jiwanlal Diwan	Gujarat
28	Shri T. Thimmarayappa	Mysore
29	Shri Dhewar Kondappa	Mysore
30	Musti Kifayatullah	Delhi
31	Maulvi Md. Siddiqi	Sind

## 2 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

This Congress has learnt with great concern of the continuing illness of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been kept in prison in Pakistan for the last five years. Khan Saheb's memory is cherished both in India and Pakistan as a man of truth and peace, and as one of the bravest and noblest soldiers of freedom whose life has been a shining example of service and sacrifice, and who taught the brave Pathans the way of non-violence and peaceful struggle for righteous causes. It is a grievous tragedy that the man who helped greatly in bringing freedom to India and Pakistan and whom any nation would have delighted to honour, should become a victim of the very independence that his labours helped to bring. In the days of India's subjection to foreign rule, he spent the best years of his life in the hard prisons of the North West Frontier Province. The same prisons have claimed him even after Independence, and not even his continuing and grave illness has brought him release from this unending confinement.

This Congress sends its respectful greetings and homage to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

## 3 Bhoodan Yagna

The annual session of the Indian National Congress deeply appreciates the Bhoodan Yagna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and appeals to the countrymen, specially the Congress workers, to give active support and cooperation to this movement. It also requests the Central and the State Governments to do their best for its success.

## 4 Foreign Policy and the World Situation

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever-growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival power blocs, engaged in a "cold war" and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, and threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust, and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has not only rendered the desires of the common people for peace ineffective, but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and governments to one another, and as between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the cold war and by other conflicts, should be encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disar-

moment, and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand dead-locked in world affairs. The broadening of the United Nations Organisation, by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularised by the real Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency.

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of the United Nations Organisation in the social, economic and humanitarian field, even though they fall far short, measured against the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge on the other.

While recognising the advance made in colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplores that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed. Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict, exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause of war and human misery and should be ended.

The Congress records its appreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unhindered by set-backs, inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and international co-operation, and non-alignment with Power Blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contribution towards international understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law.

The people of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others. By the performance of this duty they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world.

## 5 South Africa

The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence, Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descent and Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial co-operation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organisation which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilised world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations.

The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who cooperate with them on their courage and deter-

mination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and co-operation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

The Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their whole-hearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be opened to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilised nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace, and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

## 6 The Five-Year Plan

The most important and urgent task before the country is to ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unemployment by greater production and equitable distribution, and thus realise the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the Constitution. To this end all the resources of the nation must be directed in a planned manner, aiming more particularly at providing productive employment for all, so that everyone becomes a partner in the welfare state, sharing in its burdens and benefits alike.

The Congress welcomes the first Five Year Plan, the adoption of which is an event of great significance and promise for the people of India, as it initiates a process of planned economic development of the country with the purpose of realising progressively the objectives aimed at. The Plan is a realistic and flexible approach to this great problem and its full implementation will lay the sound foundation of rapid progress in the future.

The Congress agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realised at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the Plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries, and the building of the community on co-operative lines.

The Congress views the Plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives. The Plan depends for its success on the cooperation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implementation. It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership at all levels to mobilise this co-operation and voluntary effort of the people. To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up New India, the Congress invites all the people of the country.

## **7 Disapproval of Communal Activities**

The Congress reiterates its faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international.

In view of the repeated attempts on the part of certain groups in the country to rouse communal bitterness by the reiteration of slogans on the basis of religion which tend to turn the thoughts of men to violence and conflict, this Congress expresses its disapproval and condemnation of these activities, which retard the growth of good feeling and mutual tolerance amongst people professing different religions, to which the Congress is irrevocably pledged. The activities of such groups in Indian union in regard to the minorities in East Pakistan, who



suffer so much from the policy of the Pakistan Government do not promote in any way the interests of these minorities but make the settlement of the problem more difficult and further hinder the regulated and progressive rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Congress notes with deep regret the interference of some communal organisations in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir State, which is fraught with grave evil, and hopes that the people of the State will not allow themselves to be misled by such propoganda which can only lead to the disintegration of the State and most unfortunate consequences.

## **8 Reorganisation of States**

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State. These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress.

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganisation of the present States in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial consideration and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each State. The successful implementation of the Five Year Plan must always be kept in view. Any further steps in the direction of reorganisation of States on the basis of language or any other basis will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State.

## **9 Changes in the Congress Constitution**

This Congress ratifies the changes made by the All India Congress Committee at its session at Indore in the Constitution of the Congress. In view of certain irregularities and malpractices

that have been reported from some parts of the country in connection with the election of delegates for the Congress and in the enrolment of members, the Congress directs the Working Committee to review the entire question of enrolment of members, and elections, and other matters, with a view to suggesting such changes in the Constitution that may be found necessary to maintain the integrity and efficiency in the working of the organisation. The Working Committee may appoint a special Committee for this purpose. The Working Committee will forward its recommendations to the All India Congress Committee which is authorized to take necessary steps under article XXX for the amendment of the Constitution.

## 10 Ceylon

This Congress views with grave concern the latest developments in Ceylon in regard to the people of Indian origin, who have long been residents there and who have not been or who are no longer citizens of India. The administrative measure and economic sanctions taken against these people have not only caused them considerable hardship but intend to make them stateless and thus create a grave situation. The Congress is of opinion that these measures of the Ceylon Government are not in conformity with justice or international practice, and appeals to the Government of Ceylon to give further consideration to this question which is not only important because it affects large numbers of people, but comes in the way of the friendly and co-operative relations which should exist between such near neighbours as India and Ceylon which have had so much in common from immemorial times.

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