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OF THE

48th ANNUAL SESSION

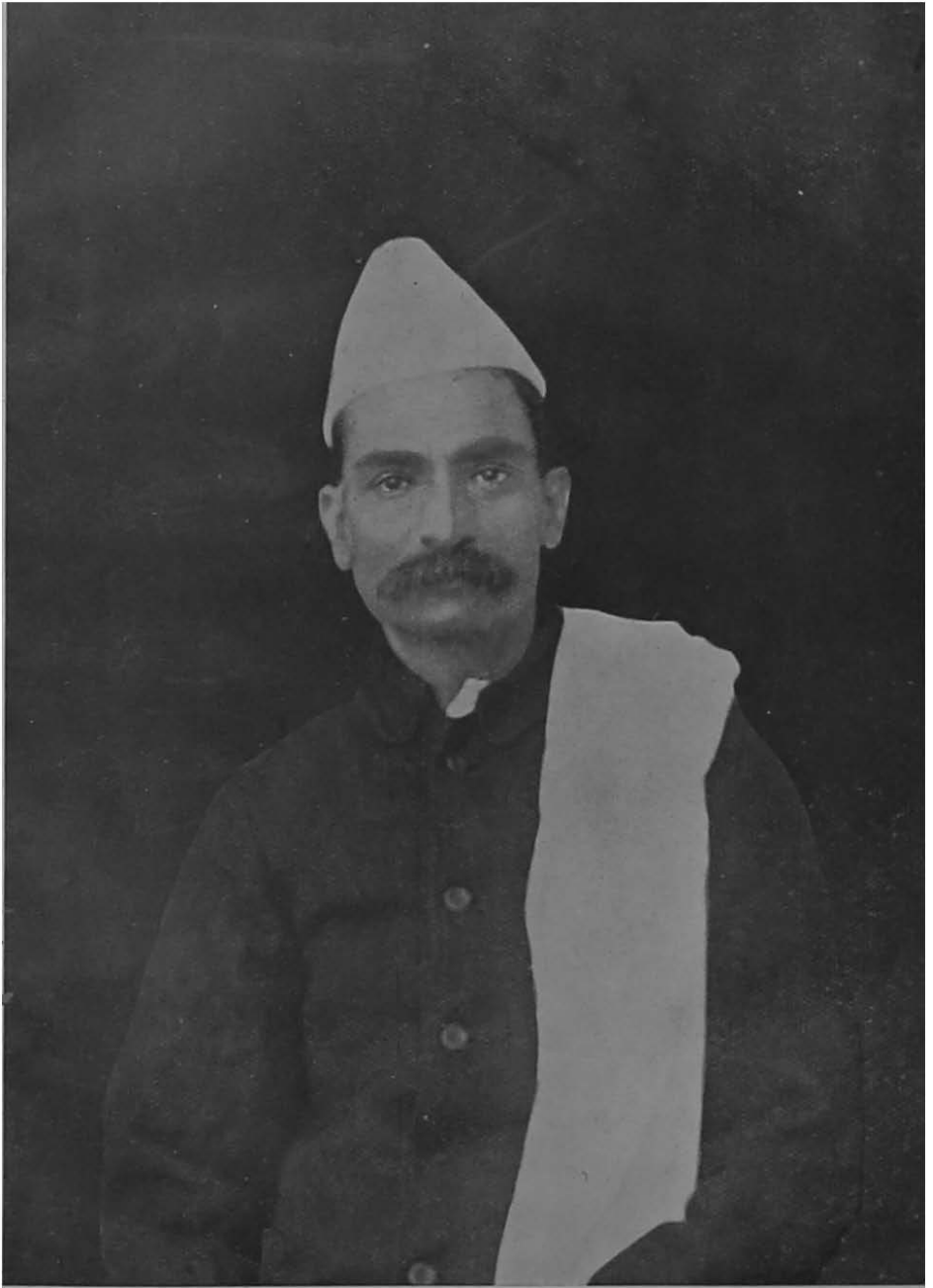
OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

ABDUL GAFFAR NAGAR, BOMBAY.

IN OCTOBER 1934.



BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
President of the Session.

ABOUT OURSELVES.

For the sixth time during the history of the Indian National Congress, the City of Bombay had the rare honour of holding a successful session of this premier National Institution. The foundation of the Congress was laid in this city in the year 1885 when a band of gallant patriots met in the spacious hall of Gokuldas Tejpal Pathashala and called that gathering the first session of the Congress. Mr. W. C. Bonnerji was the unanimously elected President of the first Congress. In the year 1889 Bombay had again the honour of holding the fifth session of the Congress under the presidentship of Sir William Wedderburn. Then there was a long gap of fifteen years and once more in the year 1904, Bombay won the laurels by holding the twentieth session with Sir Henry Cotton as its President. A decade more and in the year 1915 the thirtieth session of the Congress was held in Bombay, Sir S. P. Sinha presiding. Within a brief period of three years more, Bombay got the opportunity of holding a special session of the Congress in 1918. Syed Hussan Imam presided over this session. Then followed a long period of awaiting. The Congress during all these years of gradual expansion had become a very live institution and the other provinces and cities in the country had become increasingly politically-minded and jealous of their rights and privileges. For full sixteen years Bombay had to wait till the honour was once again conferred on her of holding an annual session. This time it was the forty-eighth session over the deliberations of which Babu Rajendra Prasad presided.

The five years that preceded the Bombay Session were years of great activity and greater actions.

After good many political experiments, the Indian National Congress had now decided upon a scheme of direct action in the form of Civil Disobedience movement, the first campaign of which was launched in 1930. Hardly

had the nation recovered from the effects of the first campaign the Congress was dragged into a second campaign of Civil Disobedience much grimmer and more sustained than the previous one. It was a severe ordeal through which the whole nation and especially the nationalist India had to pass. The second C. D. movement lasted for about 30 months at the end of which the ban on the Congress organisations was lifted by the Government of India. The regular annual sessions of the Congress could not be held in 1932 and 1933 owing to abnormal circumstances through which the nation was passing. The session of 1934, therefore, had naturally assumed more than ordinary importance coming as it did after such a long time of trouble and anxiety.

There was almost a universal desire in the country that a Congress session must be called immediately after the suspension of activities to review the political situation and chalk out a new line of action. The depression consequent upon the suspension of the C. D. movement was so dense all over the country that it was foolish to expect the usual race among various provinces to invite the Congress session. It was at a time like this that the city of Bombay rose to the full height of its responsibility and at an informal conference of Congressmen held in the Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Hall, situated next to the birthplace of the Congress, on 21st of April 1934, it was unanimously decided to invite the plenary session of the Congress to Bombay. This invitation was readily accepted by the A. I. C. C. which assembled at Patna on the 18th and 19th of May 1934 and resolved to hold the Congress session in Bombay in the first week of October 1934. The Working Committee that met a month later in Bombay changed the dates of the session from the first week to the last week of October owing to prevalence of monsoons.

The Congress House, Headquarters of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, which was under police

occupation for full two years and a half was reoccupied by the B. P. C. C. on the 17th of June 1934 and it was after this that the B. P. C. C. could think of the arrangements in connection with the session.

We had only four months at our disposal during which to complete all arrangements beginning with the fixing of the site and ending with the colossal structure where later on a mammoth gathering of no less than 75000 people was to meet. The task was stupendous and the atmosphere was depressing. The B. P. C. C. was, however, alive to its self-imposed responsibilities and on the 10th June, the provisional Reception Committee was formed. It was not earlier than the 15th of July that the regular Reception Committee met and elected its office-bearers and the Executive Council.

Shortness of time and the general atmosphere of depression were not the only difficulties which the Reception Committee had to encounter. We had to grapple with the important problem of securing the best and most convenient site for the session. We were all the time banking upon the reclaimed areas near Churchgate station as by far the most suitable site for the Congress. But all this was counting without the host. The reclamation ground was in possession of the Bombay Government and this could not be had without their permission. As early as the 3rd of July 1934 an application was made to the Government requesting permission for the use of these reclaimed plots. For reasons best known to themselves the Government took about six weeks to give their definite reply. On the 14th of August the Working Committee of the Reception Committee had finally to abandon the idea of holding the session on the reclamation grounds, anticipating Government's reply which came the very next day. The Government in their reply turned down the Reception Committee's request on the grounds of "Traffic Difficulties" and "Danger to Public health for want of adequate sanitary

and water arrangements." The difficulties imagined by the Government were, in no sense, insurmountable. The inference is obvious and the less said about it the better. The belated refusal of the Government, however, put the Reception Committee into an awkward position. All plans, drawings, estimates and other preparations made on the assumption of securing the reclaimed grounds had to be scrapped without any relief whatsoever. The labours of the Committee for over six weeks had gone waste. The Reception Committee then fixed the Worli waste land as the site of the session as this was the only available piece of land suitable for the purpose. The Bombay Municipality was approached for permission to use the land on the 15th August and the same evening the permission was granted. We are extremely thankful to the Improvement Trust and other departments of the Municipality for their most timely and valuable co-operation and assistance. The services rendered by Health and Hydraulic Departments deserve unstinted praise.

After having obtained the Worli site, the Reception Committee started preparations in right earnest. All the seventeen sub-committees were set in motion and the result of their devoted labour soon began to be seen. Nearly a month had to be wasted in trying to get a contractor who would undertake to do the work of construction within a reasonable amount. But hopes in this connection could not be realized as the tenders received from various local contractors were much in excess of what the Reception Committee regarded as a reasonable price. A sudden decision had to be taken to do the work departmently and a "Board of Construction" was appointed to do the job. The board had to toil day and night for the whole of the last month. One by one various kinds of structures began to spring up and within less than 30 days what was a mere expanse of barrenness was converted into a veritable dreamland. The citizens of Bombay spared nothing.

Money, materials, and, what was more, the man-power were harnessed ungrudgingly in the service of the Congress.

It is impossible to name individually the names of the persons and the institutions that contributed their mite, big and small, towards the success of this great session. Architects, designers, contractors, engineers, journalists, accountants, decorators, musicians—all vied with one another, to make the session a triumphant success actuated by no other motive than an unflinching sense of service. All honour to these servants of the nation who considerably lightened the burden of the Reception Committee. No wonder then that at the end of this historic session the citizens of Bombay felt justifiably proud of their great achievement.

We are conscious of many shortcomings which were left in our arrangements despite our anxious attempts to serve our numerous guests—the delegates and the visitors—that had come from various provinces in India. We are, however, confident that our guests have pardoned us knowing as they did, the limitations of time and space under which we had to work. May we hope to serve the nation's delegates better when the Congress next comes to Bombay?—Vande Mataram.

RECEPTION 48th Indian National

Income & Expenditure Account for the period

To	Expenditure :	
Construction Board Expenditure (Net) (It includes expenditure on the construction of the A. G. Nagar proper as per plan, with Road, Sanitary and Water arrangements, Decoration and Exhibition.		Rs. 1,30,364 13 11
Disbursement on account of Sub-Committees		
Exhibition (Excluding construction and electric installation and consumption charges).	Rs. 11,130 9 8	
Mess (Including mess charges of volunteers and workers at Worli)	,, 21,749 4 9	
Film Board	,, 359 13 9	
General Purposes	,, 3,247 4 0	
Delegates' Reception	,, 2,443 7 0	
Lighting & Broadcasting	,, 13,118 0 4	
Music & Entertainment	,, 136 11 0	
Medical relief	,, 88 1 6	
Volunteers (Excluding mess charges of Volunteers)	,, 9,760 10 0	
Water-supply & Sanitation	,, 23,087 7 9	
Accommodation	,, 6,522 5 3	
President's Reception arrangements	,, 3,005 4 9	
Decoration	,, 856 6 0	
Ticket office	,, 127 13 3	
Requirements	,, 325 13 9	
Publicity and Propaganda	,, 189 4 0	
R. C. General Office Expenditure and expenditure unallocated to Sub Committees		,, 97,134-4-0
		30,432-12-9
Excess of Income over Expenditure		,, 5,157-4-1
		<u>Total Rs. 2,63,103-3-6</u>

Examined and found correct
(Sd.) **Datal & Shah**
Incorporated Accountants
Registered Accountants
(Sd.) **Nanubhai & Co.**
Registered Accountants

} Hon. Auditors.

Bombay, 30th May, 1935.

COMMITTEE

Congress, Bombay 1934

from 22nd June 1934 to 28th May 1935

By	Income :			
Reception Committee Membership fees			44,825	0 0
Donations			11,493	4 0
Sale Proceeds of Visitors' tickets of admission to the :-				
Subject Committee Pandal		10,875	0 0	
Congress Session Pandal :-				
Rs. 2 Tickets	80,742	0 0		
„ 100 „	11,900	0 0		
„ 250 „	1,000	0 0		
„ 500 „	3,500	0 0		
4 degits	3,500	0 0	1,00,642	0 0
			1,20,517	0 0
Sale Proceeds of admission tickets of the public meeting held in Congress Pandal			809	12 0
One-fifth part of the Delegates Fees received from All India Congress Committee under Congress Constitution.			2,102	0 0
Sale Proceeds of Camera Permits			200	0 0
Rent of :-				
Stalls in A. G. Nagar	4,975	0 0		
Space for Advertisement in A.G. Nagar (Net)	3,721	10 6	8,696	10 6
Rent of :-				
Delegates' Quarters	3,044	0 0		
Visitors „	1,716	0 0		
Family „	750	0 0		
			5,510	0 0
Interest on current account with Banks			101	14 0
Receipts through Sub-Committees				
Exhibition	54,837	5 0		
Mess	5,477	4 0		
Film Board	5,000	0 0		
General Purposes	2,112	0 0		
Delegates Reception	933	0 0		
Lighting & Broadcasting	397	6 0		
Music & Entertainment	90	9 0	68,847	11 0
			<u>2,63,103</u>	<u>3 0</u>

Velji Lukhamsi
 Govindlal Bansilal
 Mulraj Karsondas
 Vaikunth L. Mehta
 Mathuradas Tricumjee

Abid Ali Jafferbhai
 S. K. Patil
 G. N. Desai
 G. V. Kapadia
 D. S. Babrekar

Treasurers

General Secretaries

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

48th Indian National Congress, Bombay 1934

Balance Sheet as at 28th May 1935

Liabilities :-		Assets -	
Amount payable to two contractors as per award which is not accepted by the Contractors concerned	Rs. 3,114 4 2	Amount due by sundry persons	Rs. 197 8 0
Amount provided for printing the report of the proceedings of the Congress Session and of the Reception Committee	1,000 0 0	Amount due by B. P. C. O. Municipality :-	678 10 0
Amount payable for erection charges of advertisement boards (in dispute)	100 0 0	Estate Agent	Rs. 300 0 0
Excess of income over Expenditure	5,157 4 1	Dy. City Engineer	106 4 0
Total	9,431 8 3	Balance in current account with Central Bank of India Ltd.	8,149 2 3
		Total	9,431 8 3

We have examined the Balance Sheet of the Reception Committee of the 48th Indian National Congress, Bombay, as at 28th May, 1935 above set forth, with Books, Vouchers, and Statements of the committee and find the same to be correct.

(Sd.) Dalal & Shah
Incorporated Accountants
Registered Accountants
(Sd.) Nanubhai & Co.
Registered Accountants

Hon. Auditors.

Velji Lukharni
Govindlal Bansilal
Mulraj Karsondas
Vaikunth L. Mehta
Mathuradas Tricumjee

Treasurers

Abid Ali Jafferbhai
S. K. Patil
G. N. Desai
G. V. Kapadia
D. S. Babrekar

General Secretaries

Bombay, 30th May, 1935

SUB-COMMITTEES
OF THE
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

- 1 Finance Sub-Committee.
 - 2 Pandal and Delegates Camp Construction Sub-Committee.
 - 3 Volunteers Sub-Committee.
 - 4 Exhibition Sub-Committee.
 - 5 Reception Sub-Committee.
 - 6 Accomodation Sub-Committee.
 - 7 Medical Sub-Committee.
 - 8 Publicity and Propaganda Sub-Committee.
 - 9 Requirements Sub-Committee.
 - 10 President's Reception Arrangement Sub-Committee.
 - 11 Mess Sub-Committee.
 - 12 Music and Entertainments Sub-Committee.
 - 13 Decoration Sub-Committee.
 - 14 Light and Broadcasting Sub-Committee.
 - 15 Water Supply and Sanitation Sub-Committee.
 - 16 Ticket Office Sub-Committee.
 - 17 General Purposes Sub-Committee.
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LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED

BOMBAY CONGRESS 1934.

1. Ajmer	96
2. Andhra	177
3. Assam	...	...	...	8
4. Bengal	...	...	...	208
5. Behar	...	...	...	188
6. Berar	...	...	...	47
7. Bombay	...	...	...	23
8. Burma	...	...	...	74
9. C. P. (Hindi)	...	...	...	128
10. C. P. (Marathi)	...	...	...	39
11. Delhi	...	...	...	35
12. Frontier	...	...	...	3
13. Gujrat	...	...	...	165
14. Karnatak	...	...	...	142
15. Kerala	...	...	...	30
16. Maharastra	...	...	...	221
17. Punjab	...	...	...	46
18. Sindh	...	...	...	44
19. Tamil	...	...	...	94
20. U. P.	...	...	...	192
21. Utkal	...	...	...	20
22. Foreign (Japan)	...	...	...	2

Ex-Officio Delegates.

1992

110

Total. 2102



Sjt. K F. NARIMAN,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

HISTORIC SESSION

THE 48TH SESSION

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

WAS HELD IN

“ABDUL GAFFAR NAGAR”

WORLD, BOMBAY, ON THE 26TH OCTOBER AND THE
TWO FOLLOWING DAYS

FIRST DAY, 26TH OCTOBER

It was a great day for the citizens of Bombay. From early afternoon all roads led to Abdul Gaffar Nagar. The spacious open-air enclosure where the open session was held, had nine gates. At every one of these gates, there were huge crowds waiting to rush in. The volunteers had a busy time of it guarding the entrance gates and checking tickets and passes. The women volunteers, were working at a speed with an efficiency that elicited admiration of all the 75,000 persons who had gathered on this historic occasion. The gathering was the largest on record.

The seating arrangements, the decorations, the control of traffic, the lighting arrangements, the loud speakers, were all excellent.

The presidential seat with its national decorations, had all the appearance of a throne on which sat the uncrowned king of the Indian people for the year. To his right sat the ladies and to his left sat the distinguished visitors. To the left of the latter, were seated the members of the Reception Committee.

In front of the President's canopy was the illuminated rostrum, from where songs and speeches were broadcast.

Four hours before the appointed hour, the compound was filled.

PRESIDENTIAL PROCESSION

Preceded by the tri-colour National Flag, volunteers playing band and women volunteers in their smart uniforms, the presidential procession entered the pandal through the gates named after Deshbandhu Das. As soon as the procession entered the pandal there was a roar of applause, which reverberated from all corners of the huge enclosure.

After the president and members of the Working Committee had taken their seats, Pandit Omkarnath and his party sang the Vande-Mataram in a manner that kept the huge audience spell-bound.

This item was followed by a song welcoming the delegates. Four young ladies belonging to the Bhagini Samaj sang this beautiful song.

While all this was going on, the Cinema Car was busy filming the whole show for the benefit of many who could not be present at the Abdul Gaffar Nagar to witness the largest national gathering ever held in India.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

At about 7-30 p. m. Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman, Reception Committee, appeared on the rostrum and was lustily cheered. His address which was completed in about 20 minutes was punctuated with applause.

BROTHER & SISTER DELEGATES & FRIENDS,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the 48TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, I offer you a most cordial and hearty welcome to this commercial capital of India and this centre of Congress politics. Nearly 16 years have passed since Bombay had the honour of holding a Special Session of the Indian National Congress and all these years have been years of

strenuous activity and steady advance in the field of politics. It is, indeed, a noteworthy coincidence that when the Congress met in 1918 it was to discuss and record the Nation's verdict on the scheme of constitutional reforms which the British Cabinet were anxious to introduce into India. Only the previous year, the historic pledge about Self-Government had been given and Mr. Montagu had come to India on a special deputation. On the basis of the report that he submitted a Bill was drawn up embodying recommendations intended to give Indians a larger share in their own Government. The representatives of the Nation who had assembled then rejected the reforms as "disappointing, inadequate and unsatisfactory." Despite the opposition of the Nation, the Reforms Bill was passed but it failed to bring that peace in India which British Statesmen had fondly hoped for.

A PROCESSION OF COMMITTEES

The Act that was then passed contained a provision that more reforms would be granted after a lapse of 10 years and in accordance with that provision, an unending procession of Commissions and Committees have been coming to this country and making reports and recommendations. As if to supplement them, there were three more big gatherings glorified under the name of Round Table Conference and as a result of the combined labours of all these conclaves of statesmen and diplomats there has emerged a new scheme of reforms which is to-day on the legislative anvil. The need has arisen again for the Nation to stand up as one man and reject every attempt of Imperialists to forge tighter links to bind India to the chariot wheels of the Empire. And Bombay is legitimately proud that the delegates of the Nation are to-day assembled here to reiterate their determination to be free, and to renew their allegiance to the ideal of Purna Swaraj.

A PRINCE AMONG PUBLIC WORKERS

It is another noteworthy coincidence that three Bombay sessions of the Congress should have been presided over by three illustrious sons of Bihar. Lord Sinha presided over the 1915 session and Syed Hasan Imam guided the deliberation of the special session in 1918. To-day we have the good fortune of meeting under the presidentship of Babu Rajendra Prasad the foremost leader of Bihar—a peasant in his garments but a prince among public workers. The unanimous vote by which he has been elected to guide the destinies of the nation during the coming year is a testimony to the esteem and affection in which his countrymen from one end to another hold him. In his own province the name of Rajendra Babu is a name to conjure with. The call to national leadership has come to him in the midst of a trying time. His own province has been recently rent by a paroxysm of Nature causing the most widespread havoc. His own family has suffered shocking bereavements. And he himself is the victim of a nerve-racking illness which with every little exertion becomes more malignant. If in the midst of these ordeals he has cheerfully responded to the Nation's call and taken his place of responsibility it is only an indication of his unbending devotion to duty and his utter readiness to shoulder every burden in the cause of India's freedom.

A TRIBUTE TO THE DEAD

As we meet to-day, it is but natural that we should miss the sagacious counsel of some of our trusted leaders and dear departed colleagues. Sjt. Vithalbai Patel, who on the last occasion acted as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, is with us no more. Broken by disease but with his faith in India's freedom bright and steady, he went to a foreign land where he had hoped to recoup his health and to come back to take his due and proper share in the struggle for freedom with redoubled vigour but death snatched him away even

before his dream could be realised and he expired in Switzerland with a last exhortation to his countrymen not to relax the fight for liberty. In the 25 years of his public life, Sjt. Vithalbai Patel, proved himself the most doughty champion of India's emancipation and in parliamentary warfare he proved to be a master tactician without a peer.

Another great figure has passed away in Deshpriya Sen Gupta on whom had fallen the mantle of Chitaranjan Das. Bengal will sorely miss his leadership and the Nation his sterling services.

In Madras death has prematurely claimed Sjt. A Ranga-swamy Iyengar, an ex-General Secretary of the Congress and later on of the old Swaraj Party. Ever since the decline of the Civil Disobedience campaign, Mr. Iyengar had busied himself with the revival of Parliamentary warfare and it is a matter for great regret that the Parliamentary Board has been even at the outset left without his valuable guidance.

Dr. Annie Besant has also passed away without witnessing the realisation of her heart's desire to see India free.

A cruel fate has, indeed, deprived India of the services of these leaders but they have left behind them a record of devotion and service which must inspire us to further and greater efforts.

HOW BOMBAY TOOK THE LEAD

In 1918 when the Congress met in this City, Bombay was the centre of the Moderate school of politics. The objective of the Congress was the attainment of "Self-Government within the British Empire" by all constitutional means. During the years which had led to that session, the spirit of Liberalism was the dominating force in Indian politics. Sir Phiroz Shah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were the giants of those days. And the weapons in their armoury ranged from "humble petitions" to "grave disapprovals" and

"emphatic protests." Indian politics have far advanced from that stage. The object is no longer the attainment of Self-Government within the British Empire. It is the achievement of "Purna Swaraj". The means are no longer memorials or petitions, but peaceful and legitimate direct action. And in working this change it has been Bombay's privilege that she has always been in the vanguard. Shortly after the introduction of the Montague Reforms, Gandhiji entered the political arena with his matchless weapon of Satyagraha. At the Nagpur Congress he pleaded for its adoption as a means for India's emancipation but before it could be given a trial it was withdrawn in 1922. For 8 years from that day, the Nation was fitting itself for the struggle and when the ultimatum given at Calcutta expired on 31st December 1929, the Congress unfurled the banner of Independence and called upon the Nation to assert and win her freedom by the adoption of Satyagraha. By the success with which she organised the boycott of the Prince of Wales and the generous enthusiasm with which she contributed over 60 lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay took over the leadership of the Congress struggle even as early as 1921.

THE FIRST STRUGGLE

When Satyagraha was adopted as the means for implementing of the Lahore resolution, Bombay set about evolving new tactics and to her belongs the proud distinction of having fashioned a technique under which the forces of nationalism were enabled to score their most spectacular victories. The organisation of mammoth processions on a scale and with numbers hitherto unknown was the first step in mobilising public opinion in the cause of the freedom struggle. These perfectly peaceful and orderly demonstrations were often illegal and always defiant and gave the first assurance to the mass mind that against alert and active public opinion the forces of constituted authority were helpless. From mere

processions and demonstrations the raids and the marches were the next step. The quiet assertion of popular strength developed into a brilliant non-violent offensive where it was quickly transformed into a test between the capacity of the Police to inflict physical injury and the capacity of Congress volunteers to bear it. And at hundreds of places in this city, during those fateful months, did the non-violent soldiers of freedom score over the servants of law and order. The initial successes that attended these efforts galvanised the city, and the planning of mass offensives there-after became easier. From the squatting of the Shoapur Day procession to the Jhanda Vandan on the Azad Maidan, from the dignified defiance of Police orders at Bori Bunder to the dashing raids on the Wadala Salt pans it was a normal transition. Week after week the forces of authority got more and more dispirited and demoralised, and the Congress was winning all along the line.

BOYCOTT AND PICKETTING

While processions and raids inflicted the more spectacular defeats on the forces of Government it was the organisation of Boycott and the intensification of picketing that kept up a steady and crushing pressure over them. The cheerfulness with which many merchants came forth to sacrifice their immediate interests, the generous enthusiasm with which the public came to help, and the bravery with which Congress volunteers discharged their duty often at grave personal risks—all these made Boycott effective and elevated Picketing into a major front. Government's remedy was always to resort to brute force and every exhibition of brute-force meant an additional triumph to the Congress and a fresh accession of public strength. The rapidity with which Ambulance Associations sprang up and the spontaneity with which the Congress Hospital and other relief agencies were organised were unmistakable testimonies as to on which side the nation was

ranging itself. Hundreds of persons were injured in every clash with the Police but still thousand were anxious to participate in every demonstration. And on all those occasions when the obscure Congress volunteer was called upon to make the supreme sacrifice to lay down his life calmly and unresistingly as a sacred offering in a sacred cause, Bombay with her hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Jews, felt, moved, and acted like a single being. She prided herself in the purity of her struggle; she gloried in the martyrs' strength and sacrifice. Such were the days when Harjivan Lalji fell with the Flag at Bori Bunder, when Babu Genu was crushed by the wheels of a foreign cloth lorry in Kalbadevi and Kali Shanker sank under a Police bayonet on Queen's Road. Bombay shed a mother's tear over them and the other unknown volunteers but she swelled with pride to know it was her sons who were dying so that India might be free.

CONGRESS WAR CABINET

The triumphs of that struggle were made possible only because of the clarity of purpose, unity of control and generosity of support. United, aggressive and effective action against bureaucracy was the single purpose for which all activity was co-ordinated. Unity of control and direction was secured through the emergence of the Congress War Cabinet or the Steel-Frame. It was a body of workers knit together by no other ties save those of a common determination, a common policy and a common purpose. A scientific departmentalisation of the Congress war activities soon infused a happy team spirit into them. And the joys of common achievement and the fears of common risks brought them closer every day and built up a tradition of loyalty, comradeship and service hardly paralleled at any other time.

WOMEN'S PART

Another factor which contributed to Bombay's success was the enthusiasm with which the city's womanhood threw

itself into the struggle. Immediately following the declaration of the war, organisations sprang up under the inspiration of spirited women and placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the Congress. They were drawn from all classes but all united in one purpose. In processions, in demonstrations, in raids, in picketing—on every front they formed an integral part and each triumph was made possible only by their extraordinary sense of discipline, display of courage and deep-rooted feelings of patriotism. The organisation of Vanar Sena was another special feature of 1930 struggle. It made an instantaneous appeal to the imagination and succeeded in harnessing juvenile enthusiasm to the national cause. The cheery youngsters shouting National slogans were effective examples to older men. And the courage with which they invited and withstood Police charges during their rallies was of a type that a battalion of veterans might envy.

PUBLICITY METHODS

While the courage and devotion of the Congress workers enabled Bombay to gain these victories it was due to her publicity methods that all concentration was possible and effective massing of popular strength. With the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act the nationalist press ceased to be a useful medium and all Congress announcements had to depend upon the Bataki, the Bhoi Patrika and the Bulletins. The daily publication of the Congress Bulletin was a daily assertion of Congress strength. The Bulletin was meant to be a record of activities and a medium of announcements. But immediately on its appearance it became an issue in the fight and frantic attempts were made by Government to throttle the Bulletin. But the Bulletin continued to be published uninterruptedly and proved to be the most successful defiance of the Press Act and a host of other penal laws designed to stifle the voice of freedom. Another and a more sensational triumph was achieved when Congress announcements were put on the radio and broadcast

SECOND STRUGGLE

The 1930 struggle ended in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. It brought in a truce that was to establish peace. But the peace did not come. In its stead came the second struggle. The Civil Service which was vanquished in 1930 was hatching vengeance. The whole of the year was spent by Government in planning for a new struggle. They had learnt many lessons in 1930 and made every diligent provision against a similar event. They forged new weapons and prepared even ambushes. But the main body of the Congress fondly hoped for peace. And when after the Round Table Conference the Nation found itself trapped it was taken unawares. By clapping up Abdul Gaffur Khan and his Red Shirts in the Frontier and Pandit Jawaharlal in the U.P. the Bureaucracy threw down a challenge which the Working Committee could have ignored only at the peril of its honour. The Working Committee stood true and picked up the gauntlet. Government by virtue of its secret preparations and its unashamed and unscrupulous methods succeeded in taking the Congress by surprise. Ordinances poured out of Simla like lava out of a living volcano and Congress organisations were submerged under them. The Congress struggled hard and Congressmen fought for two years and more. The issue was in the balance for the first six months. But later the repression of the Government and the treachery of non-Congress men told. Congress forces had grown weary and the issues of the struggle—the no—tax campaign in U.P. and the Frontier ordinances—went into the back ground. And later steadiness was lost in direction with the result that the enemies of Indian freedom became more and more aggressive. The Reforms which were kept dangling in the background as a constructive alternative to repression began steadily to vanish. As the Sun of Satyagraha went down the light disappeared from the face of the Reforms and to-day they are a dark and inert mass. After 12 months of struggle, the Bureaucracy succeeded in taking the initiative out of the hands of the Congress and the Civil Disobedience campaign was

reduced to sporadic attempts at defiance of authority by individual Congressmen. The campaign went on for another six months when taking advantage of Mahatmaji's freedom a Conference was held of workers and leaders at Poona in July 1933 to review the progress of the struggle and to chalk out a new programme. As a result of that Conference the Congress suspended mass Civil Disobedience and restricted the campaign to select individuals. The Nation showed unmistakable signs of weariness and there was no proper response to the Poona decision.

LIFTING OF THE BAN

Meanwhile, a section of Congressmen had revived talks of Council-entry and their suggestion gathered so much support that in April 1934, Gandhiji came forward with a generous pledge to support that policy and the Congress Parliamentary Board was formed. Immediately after, Gandhiji announced his decision to suspend even the campaign for individual Civil Disobedience and thus made it necessary for Government to lift the ban on Congress organizations. The Congress regained its right to live and function, not as a result of its victory in the struggle but through the sufferance of its opponents. It was restored to freedom but not to that freedom which would enable it, to pursue its own ideals or its own methods. It can hereafter act only constitutionally or it must face another attempt at suppression. It is only natural that under these circumstances the A.I.C.C. which met at Patna decided that a session of the Indian National Congress should be held to review the position and to take new decisions. Bombay was anxious that she should be given the privilege of holding the session and the invitation was accepted.

BANS STILL IN FORCE

It is nothing surprising that even where Government professes to act as a matter of grace they should often act gracelessly. The organisations which were suppressed at the in-

auguration of Civil Disobedience campaign have not been all restored to freedom and it is further a matter for deep regret that many of our valued co-workers and colleagues are to-day prevented from coming and participating in this gathering by reason of the various restrictive orders under Emergency as well as Foreigners' Act against them not having been withdrawn. That several active Congress workers should have their liberty of action so rigorously curtailed is striking exposure of Government's plea that these restrictions were only meant against subversive activities. Government's intentions are to utilise every reasonable and unreasonable opportunity to curb the freedom movement in India. And the continuance of the ban on Red Shirts and the Hindusthani Seva Dal is a standing reputation of their profession that they would interfere with organisations only when they tended to violence of subversive activities. Both the organisations are integral parts of the Congress and if they are still not allowed to function it is because the Bureaucracy is convinced they are effective instruments in the cause of non-violent resistance. The non-removal of the ban is not only an indication of the Government's mind. But it is also an indirect recognition by the opponent of the excellent service these organisations had rendered during the last two struggles.

The vindictiveness of the Government is further evidenced in the fact that though nearly six months have elapsed since the suspension of Satyagraha they have not yet released all Civil Disobedience prisoners.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

They would not let even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru join us in this assembly to-day. They would not let him attend even on his ailing wife, without imposing irritating little-minded time-limits. Heavy is the cross the intrepid Pandit has been called upon to bear but his is a valiant heart which no power on earth can crush. The sufferings which a resent-

ful Bureaucracy heaps upon him only serve to shed additional lustre on his radiant personality. May his wife be soon restored to health and he to freedom.

NEED FOR RELIEF

While on the question of Government's treatment of Satyagrahis let me refer to the ravages of repression in the various provinces and stress the need for organised relief. In Karnatak, Gujerat and the United Provinces the peasants and farmers have suffered immensely and the Congress will be failing in its duty if it does not give the necessary succour to those who in responding to its call have lost their all. The sufferings of Khudai Khidmatgars are unexampled and they too call for relief and help.

RECLAIMED AREA NOT FOR CONGRESS

While the great gods at Simla have been racking their brains to keep isolated all the Congress forces, the chota gods of Bombay have been doing their bit in heaping impediments in the way of holding the congress session. Our application for the temporary use even on payment of rent, of the vast and unused tract of reclaimed land near Churchgate was turned down. That area certainly was more convenient being nearer the business quarters of the city and possessed of better facilities for transport and other amenities, than this distant outskirts of the City. But, so far as the actual results are concerned, this could not have and has not made any difference. Because thousands of patriotic and enthusiastic Indians would always cheerfully undertake this annual political pilgrimage, even though the sessions be held either on top of the freezing Himalayas or at the scorching lands-end of Cape Comorin. But this insolent rejection of our request by the Government, though insignificant by itself still demonstrates tragically our helplessness, impotence and dependence in our own country. That a large tract of vacant and unused piece of land, reclaimed at the cost of millions of rate

payers' money, cannot be made available for admittedly the greatest, the most representative and most popular political organisation in the country for a few days, to hold its annual plenary session, is a position neither edifying nor adding to our national self-respect, particularly when we are made to feel the additional galling fact, that any favourable spot in any part of the country, should be at the disposal of officials and their aristocratic friends, for their light-sports and even harmful gambling games. I am sure this helpless condition will awaken the country to the sad reality of our situation.

As contrasted with the obstructive attitude of the Government, the Reception Committee acknowledges gratefully the co-operation and prompt assistance received from all officials of the Bombay Municipality including the improvement Trust; and the facilities for transport afforded by the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., have helped considerably to reduce the hardship and inconvenience caused by this unreasonable rejection by the Government.

DATES OF THE SESSION.

Criticism has been levelled in regard to the fixing of dates of the session. Some friends believe that this particular time of the year selected for such an important session is very unsuitable. The month of October is climatically the worst part of the year, making both long journeys and camp life rather uncomfortable. Some time after the dates were fixed a request came from certain quarters for postponement of the session to a date after the Assembly elections, because they believed that this session would interfere with their election campaign. There is no doubt there is a good deal of force in both these arguments; but I would submit for your consideration the more weighty reasons that induced the Working Committee to fix these particular dates in spite of some inconvenience to certain friends; those of you who attended the Patna A. I. C. C. meeting will remember that

on the resolution for the formation of the Parliamentary Board, a constitutional objection was raised from a strong and considerable section of Congressmen, that in view of the Lahore resolution boycotting the Legislatures, the Council-entry programme could only be sanctioned by another plenary session of the Congress; hence it was necessary to arrange for an open session shortly before the Assembly elections, so that the resolution about the Parliamentary Board might be endorsed by this session, and the Lahore ban against the Council-entry could thus be formally and legally removed.

WHY THEY COULD NOT BE ALTERED

At a later date, when further requests came for postponement after the dates of Assembly elections were actually fixed, additional weighty reasons prevailed to adhere to these original dates and these requests could not be granted. In view of the difference of opinion on the Working Committee resolution on Communal Award, it is but fair that an opportunity should be given to all parties, including dissentients, to place their point of view before the session and obtain a final verdict. Pandit Malaviya and Sjt. Aney had openly declared their intentions to continue their endeavours in this direction till the last, that is, till this plenary session, to get the Working Committee resolution rescinded. Therefore it was necessary and fair that an early opportunity should be given to them to have their point of view ventilated and placed before this highest authority in the Congress constitution; otherwise, the Cabinet might have been charged with attempting to evade that issue and not giving an opportunity of facing it in the open session. It is hoped and expected that Panditji, having openly sought and invited the verdict and justly claimed the right of audience from this open session, will, as a rigid disciplinarian and one of the oldest Congressmen, abide by its mandate.

Besides I believe that this huge mass, political gathering, is bound to create a great additional demonstration and

propagandist effect, not only in this City and Presidency, but all over the country, and the fact that the Council-entry proposal has obtained the sanction of this plenary session, will by itself have great propagandist value and is bound to have greater effect on the Congress-minded electorate in all parts of the country, than any individual or group electioneering campaign; thus, far from hindering the election work this early session will certainly help the Congress candidates I have no doubt that the country will readily and willingly respond to the Congress call and give its whole-hearted support to Congress candidates. I wish them all success.

In advancing these arguments I have taken for granted that this session will endorse the Patna resolution on the formation of the Parliamentary Board. So long as Mahatmaji's blessings to this new parliamentary venture continues, there is no risk of its being successfully challenged from any Congress quarter.

It might be contended that it would be inopportune at this stage, on the eve of the elections to re-open the question of Council-entry. It would indeed be so if the principle of Council-entry was still an issue in dispute. But to-day it is an accepted plank in the Congress platform. And no one could think of tearing it out. And so it would only be in the fitness of things if the programme of the party is so amended as to make it an instrument for the furtherance of freedom.

Such suggestions and amendments as to details of the programme and policy and even in the manifesto would, I respectfully submit, be perfectly legitimate and within the province of every loyal Congressman because that would be in pursuance of and consistent with the Patna decision.

EMERGENCE OF SOCIALISM

In one other aspect also the Bombay session will be considered as unique. This is the first session in which an orga-

nised political group within the Congress makes its appearance with a radically different outlook and fundamentally different programme. The Congress Socialist Party born only a few months ago, has emerged with an ambitious programme. It is not for me to criticise or commend the policy and programme of this new Party. No political prophet can venture to foretell its fate in the future, but this much can be said that whether this lusty infant will grow into a powerful giant or would succumb to an untimely end would entirely depend upon the capacity of its programme to attune itself to the National ideal and help in the speedier attainment of National freedom.

The question of policy and attitude towards the Indian States will also engage the attention of and await disposal by this august assembly. Whether the Congress should continue the present policy of aloofness or whether the demand of the States' subjects to be merged into and identified with British Indians should be conceded will be another important issue that will have to be solved by the present session.

CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

Coming to the immediate political issue which the Congress will be called upon to tackle we must first take into consideration the change in the Government's attitude between 1932-1934. As soon as it was realised that the 'unlawful' Congress has ceased to be aggressive, Whitehall and Simla grew more and more boastful and vindictive. At the commencement of the struggle all they wanted was only that the Congress should drop 'Direct Action' and that if it did so the reconstruction of Indian politics would be proceeded with on the basis of maximum agreement. The Congress knew the assertion was false. That was why it fought. When the fight was on, the Loyalist, the Liberal, and the Constitutional Nationalist and Independents all found fault with the Congress

for carrying on a war in the face of such a clear declaration. Today the war is not there. Is the work of political reconstruction going on the basis of maximum agreement? Is not the Congress by common consent, and by hostile testimony the greatest political institution carrying with it the maximum popular support? Is not the new Constitution being hatched by ignoring, alienating this institution? The English Statesman knows his proclamations and professions are false but he has to make them for other reasons than he will care to confess. When our Liberals and Moderates know these proclamations and professions to be false have they also to support them for other reasons than they will care to admit? Perhaps they have. They have been the willing and enthusiastic dupes of Government's dual policy of Repression and Reforms.

ISSUES IN THE ELECTIONS

It is this policy of ruthless Repression and mock Reform that will form the issue in the coming elections. To buttress repression with 'popular' support and to paralyse the freedom movement with the opiate of councils, the Bureaucracy depends upon time-servers, toadies and self-seekers. Should they secure their services? God willing, No. The Congress is determined that the mockery of these Reforms shall be exposed and that these weaklings and self-seekers who would sell their own and their brothers' birthright for a mess of political pottage should not be allowed to proceed to the market. Your vote in the coming Assembly elections is a vote on this issue. A vote to a non-Congressman is a power of attorney to him to sell you and your children into perpetual serfdom to Britain. It is a warrant committing the Nation to political purgatory.

THE COMMUNAL TANGLE

The unity on the Congress election front has been unhappi-

ly disturbed by the needless controversy that has arisen over the Communal Award. The Working Committee has sternly set its face against every attempt to prejudice its decision refusing to discuss the Award as it is pledged to a National solution of the problem. The Working Committee would not be bullied into any situation which could be interpreted by interested communities as an admission of the justness of their misconceived demands. Viewed from the strictly national point of view, there is nothing like communal claim. Whenever there has been a dynamic programme, engaging the attention of the entire nation, these false claims have never had a hearing. When the call came to join the colours in the fight for freedom no soldier joined the ranks on the basis of his caste, creed or community. Wherever there has been an opportunity for service willing workers have come forward from every community.

A HAPPY EXAMPLE

Our own Reception Committee furnishes a happy example. Without any reservations or safeguards, by a pure and simple process of free voting and unhampered election, the results achieved have proved more satisfactory, than could have been achieved by any elaborate or complicated means of claims adjustment on a communal basis. The representation in our Reception Committee has by such natural process been adjusted almost in proportion to the numerical strength of each community. To those who charge the Congress with communalist tendencies I offer my own instance, as living, forceful and convincing refutation of that baseless charge. Though I am a member of the smallest community in the country, still purely by strength of non-communal votes I have always topped the polls not only in Congress elections but also in the elections to the Corporation and the Council. The fact that I have been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee is a complete vindication of the Congress position. Again,

although the offices in the Committee, are distributed purely according to the merits, without reference to major or minor communities, there is a Mahomedan General Secretary in entire charge of the whole Nagar arrangements. The office of G. O. C. a position of great responsibility and trust, is entrusted by unanimous choice to another nationalist member of the same community. In the same way, vice-chairmanships and other offices and memberships of various sub-committees are found to be distributed among the various communities and even sects. Such examples are indeed encouraging and ought to inspire confidence in us all, that this problem is capable of a satisfactory solution by us, provided we act in a proper national spirit and do not allow any outside agency to meddle with our domestic affairs.

APPEAL TO PANDITJI

The differences of opinion over the Communal Award have been unfortunately pushed to such a degree as to result in the formation of a distinct anti-Award group. The step that Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney have taken has caused some jubilation in the ranks of our opponents but their joy is bound to be short-lived. Panditji's intentions are to bring the Award for an open vote and the nation can confidently trust that he and his colleagues will abide by the Congress verdict whatever it might be. For, no one can realise today more fully than Panditji the need for unity in Congress ranks.

Whatever the differences, however strong the personal sentiments, or even conscientious objection, all should be subordinated to the final, national tribunal. Here must end all dissensions and bickerings. Thence forward stern discipline and loyal devotion should step in. Any opposition to the final verdict would certainly deserve the appellation of rebellion against the parent body.

GANDHIJI'S CONTEMPLATED RETIREMENT

Over-shadowing the political questions that will come up for discussion before you is the situation created by Gandhiji's decision to retire from active Congress leadership. The announcement has come as a shock to the entire country. It is a matter of some consolation that he has postponed the final withdrawal till after the present session had met. I am sure I am expressing the views and sentiments of all of you present as well as the citizens of Bombay when I tender to him our grateful thanks for the consideration he has displayed to the feelings of his numerous friends, colleagues and followers. The statements that he has issued and the course of action that he has chalked out for himself demonstrate the magnanimity and the utter selflessness of this noble soul and his undoubted democratic convictions. Both with a view to avoid the sense of oppression which his towering personality imposes on colleagues and workers and also to find relief for himself from a similar feeling he has after due deliberation decided upon this course. His main object in taking this step would appear to be to encourage fearless thinking and independent judgment in Congress circles.

His voluntary withdrawal is meant to remove all embarrassment to his followers. His critics will be given a fair field. The period of withdrawal is to him a period of personal purification and a preparation for a mightier endeavour. The Congress will miss the vigour of his inspiration and the masses will miss the light to which they had eagerly learnt to look all these fifteen years. But behind all this fear lies the certain hope that all such withdrawal could only be temporary. With an ideal hitched to Freedom, with a life dedicated to service, Gandhiji cannot in any accepted sense of the word 'retire'. Inside or outside the Congress he will be the living challenge to all oppression and tyranny and the guiding star to the Congress, to every votary of freedom.

NEXT PROGRAMME

Closely entwined with the question of leadership lies the question of the future programme. To every soldier of freedom the programme can only be a struggle or a preparation for a struggle. The preparation for the next struggle is our next programme. The attainment of complete National independence is our unalterable objective. The adoption of peaceful means of resistance is our unalterable means. And as our objective is clear and our faith unshaken, I am confident that suitable fresh tactics would soon be evolved leading to a new endeavour. This is the hour not of resting but of planning—planning not for tactical triumph but for an enduring achievement. In this planning, every devoted son of the Motherland has a part. The Congressman, the Congress Parliamentarian, the Congress Nationalist and the Congress Socialist have all to sit together and to devise new means of furthering freedom's cause. Each plan and each activity must be judged by only one test, its capacity to develop the nation's strength to assert her dignity, to claim her rights and to regain her freedom.

DIFFICULTIES IN OUR WAY

Now a word about ourselves. The arrangements for the holding of the Congress session constitute no easy task. Bombay had to take the work up at a very short notice. An unusually heavy Monsoon which lasted later than the usual period prevented the work of construction being taken on hand earlier. A petty-minded Government compelled the Reception Committee to choose an out-of-the-way place for constructing the Pandal and other camps. The monsoon has been succeeded by a season of sweltering heat which placed an additional handicap on the workers who had to race against time. The economic depression which the City has been feeling in a more and more acute form made it difficult for

the merchants and the professional classes to contribute generously to the coffers of the Reception Committee. The country is generally suffering from a feeling of exhaustion following a period of protracted political struggle and this factor also had its share in adding to the difficulties of the Reception Committee. But quiet and steady work surmounted all these obstacles. At various stages since the formation of our Committee differences of opinion and disagreements on smaller and bigger issues came to be evident and it was only the devotion of the workers to the Congress cause and their high sense of duty which enabled the work to be carried on uninterruptedly. A splendid spirit of accommodation and stern sense of discipline had rendered co-operation easy and fruitful. The construction of the Abdul Gaffar Nagar out of barren rocky wilderness reminds one of fairy tales in which cities sprang up almost over-night, thrown up by the genii. Such a magical transformation in real life has only been made possible by the powerful hold which the Congress exercises over the public mind. Merchants, engineers, artisans workmen, all vied with each other in co-operating for the success of the arrangements. It would be invidious for me to mention names where everyone has worked with such whole-hearted devotion. To each worker from the humble volunteer errand boy to the Construction Board and the Secretaries responsible for the work of the various departments I would publicly tender thanks on behalf of the Reception Committee and you all.

While I can claim on behalf of the Reception Committee that we have made every effort to secure the utmost convenience of visitors and delegates, I am conscious that there still might be several drawbacks in the arrangements that we have made. I have already referred to the difficulties against which we have had to contend. I must confess that in spite of our desire and our earnest endeavours we have not come up to the high standard that you will always expect of a City like Bombay. For such manifest failings and short-comings,

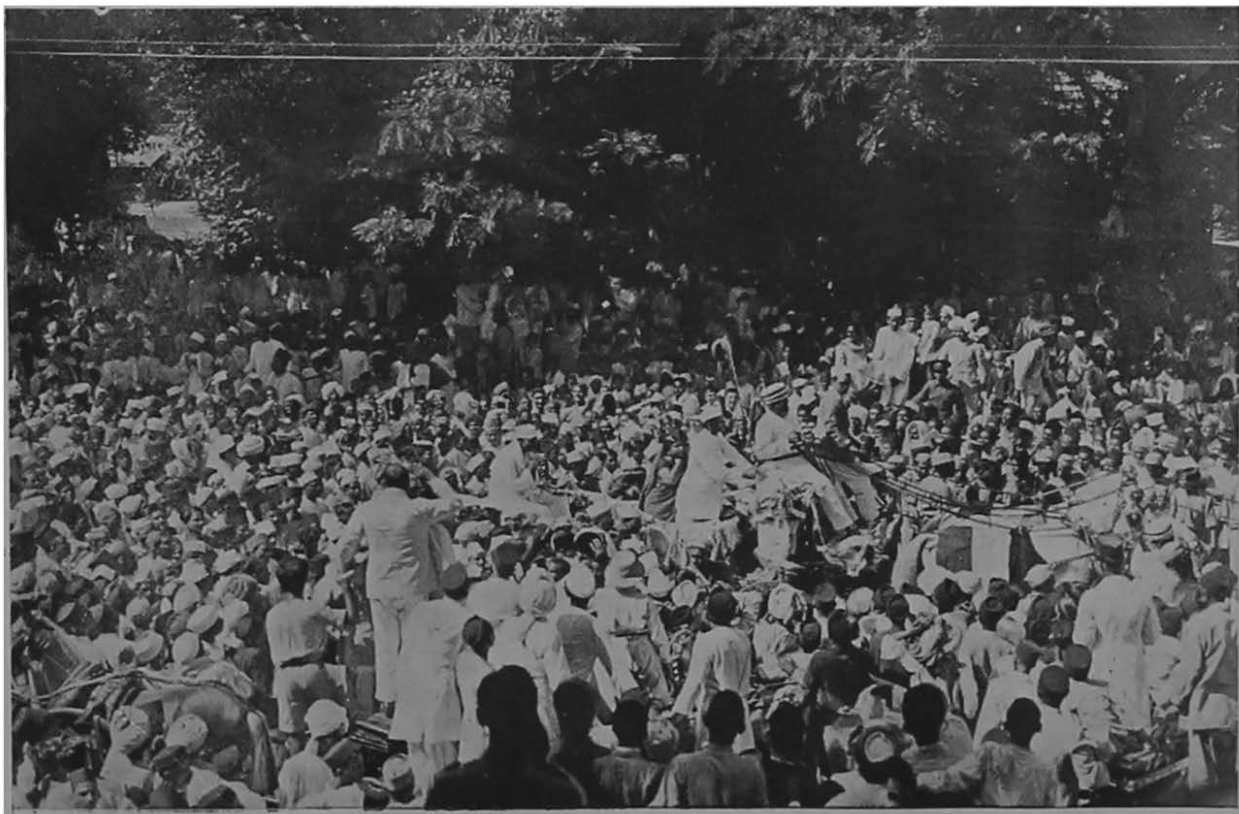
the Reception Committee expect to be excused. Nothing remains for me to add but to express the wish that your stay in this Nagar may be happy and pleasant.

May the just and benevolent Providence guide us in our onward march. May He vouchsafe to us the vision to see correctly and the strength to persevere steadily. In his ordering of progress He tempers every movement both in the heat of victory and the cold of defeat. And where the metal is true He stamps it with Enduring achievement !

Friends, I have done.

Vande. Mataram





Mammoth Procession in which the President-elect, BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD, was carried to the Congress House.

After Mr. Nariman's speech, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram read messages of good will received from Japan, Ceylon, South Africa and other parts of India. (Vide Appendix A).

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The President then appeared on the rostrum to deliver an extempore speech. There were loud and prolonged cries of " Bharat Mata Ki Jai ", " Rajan Babu Ki Jai ".

BROTHERS & SISTERS,

We are meeting after three years and a half of strenuous work and suffering. The country has had the misfortune of losing the guidance and mature judgment of a veteran worker like Dr. Annie Besant, whose life and work have been a source of inspiration to thousands. It has further had the misfortune of losing another veteran patriot in Sir Shankaran Nair and a valiant nationalist in Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, who 16 years ago, guided the deliberations of a special session of the Congress in this very city. The passing away of that uncompromising champion of our liberties, whether in or out of the Speaker's chair, Vithal-bhai Patel leaves a gap, which will be well-nigh impossible to fill. To many of us, the premature death of Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta was a personal calamity. In Mr. A Rangaswamy Iyengar the country has lost not only a distinguished journalist but also a constitutional lawyer, whose knowledge was frequently requisitioned.

Let me also remind you of the one, who is behind prison bars and who represents more than any one else the flower of the youth of our country and whose ardent spirit is undaunted by national set-backs or domestic anxieties. To Jawaharlal Nehru, our heartiest greetings and sympathy. Our thought, also must go to the sturdy

fighter, Subhas Chandra Bose, now in a foreign land. Nor may we forget all those who, though unknown, have suffered or are still suffering for the sake of the country.

To those servants of the nation, known and unknown, who have passed away we offer our homage.

You have called me to preside over the Congress at a very difficult and critical time. It will be natural on your part to expect me to carry on the national work till the next session of the Congress. I confess, I feel overwhelmed by the tremendous responsibility that the position carries with it. I would have been happy to be left alone to work in my own humble way in my corner of the country but the nation's call may not be disobeyed and I am here at your service. I am fully conscious of my limitations, and I have sense enough to know that this signal mark of confidence is not meant as a personal tribute, but is only a token of appreciation of the little contribution that my poor province has been able to make during the recent struggle and of the sympathy which it has been its good fortune to receive in such ample measure in its recent unprecedented calamity. It rests, however, with you to help me by your unstinted support and co-operation to carry on the difficult duties you have entrusted to me.

Coming as I do from a province which, during the last ten months or so, has been particularly selected as the victim of Nature's wrath, I desire to convey my heartfelt thanks to the country, which has shown practical sympathy with the people stricken by phenomenal earthquake followed by huge floods. The response, which has come from all quarters from all classes of people, inhabiting this vast country and from Indians abroad, and from foreigners show conclusively that if the disaster was unprecedented in its magnitude, the sympathy and fellow feeling it evoked was equally unparalleled. There have

been disasters in the past, which though not so vast in extent, were still some of the greatest recorded in history, and yet the country was never before roused to such a pitch of active sympathy. As the national feelings has grown and pervaded the country at large the wail of people in a corner of Northern India, has resounded and re-echoed from one end to the other and drawn out not only cash but tears and personal service. As the Bihar Central Relief Committee said in one of its early statements "Out of the great tragedy that has overwhelmed Bihar and taken its heavy toll of death and destruction and sorrow, some enduring good has come in the shape of a united nation joined together in common sorrow and common effort to overcome it having faith in each other and forgetting the petty differences that seemed so trivial in the face of a mighty disaster."

RECENT HISTORY

The Congress movement has passed through various phases during the last fifty years of its existence. One would feel tempted to take a birds-eye-view of its hope and aspirations, its weaknesses and failures, its successes and triumphs. But I would resist that temptation except in so far as its recent history may be necessary to elucidate the present and enable us to lay out a programme for the future.

It will be recalled that the last regular session of the Congress was held at Karachi in March, 1931, soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. It was much to be hoped that that Pact would open a way to permanent peace between Britain and India but that was not to be. Now that Civil Disobedience has been suspended it would be useless to go into a detailed examination of the circumstances, which forced the hands of the Congress to re-start Civil Disobedience after Mahatma Gandhi's return from the Second Round

Table Conference. I would content myself by stating that at every step the object of the authors of the Pact was frustrated by the officials who were in charge of affairs and had to give effect to its provisions. Lord Irwin had retired. Lord Willingdon had come in and there was undisguised resentment in official circles at what was regarded as a surrender on the part of Lord Irwin. And the moment he was away from the scene, a complete change in the Government policy came about and preparations were set afoot to take the Congress by surprise as soon as the Round Table Conference was over. It was known the Government could not afford and did not intend to accept the demands of the Congress. Events in England also proved favourable to this scheme of things. The Labour Government had resigned. The National Government with a big Conservative majority was formed and the whole policy of Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn was reversed. When Mahatma Gandhi returned from England he found himself faced with a situation which seemed to have been very carefully and meticulously prepared. An excuse was found in what was wrongly described and advertised as a No-Rent Campaign in the United Provinces, but which was really nothing more than suspension of payment pending negotiations, which had been going on between the Government on the one side and the Congress leaders on the other, to secure a settlement on an equitable basis on the very serious question of remission or suspension of rent on pure economic grounds, which had become necessary on account of unprecedented economic depression. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Sherwani and Mr. Tandon were arrested just two days before Mahatma Gandhi's arrival and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan with some of his colleagues was made a prisoner under an old Regulation. Bengal had already been selected for special treatment and a number of most drastic Ordinances had been promulgated. They were followed by equally drastic

Ordinances for the United Provinces and the Frontier. On his voyage, Mahatma Gandhi had been issuing statements offering co-operation but on landing he came to know of the removal, by arrests and imprisonment, of value colleagues and the promulgation of the Ordinances in the United Provinces and the Frontier; yet he offered, on behalf of the Working Committee to intervene and, if possible to bring about a settlement and applied to the Viceroy for an interview, which was unceremoniously rejected except under condition that the questions relating to Bengal, the U. P. and the Frontier would not be subjects of discussion. The interview having been rejected, Mahatma Gandhi had no option but to advise the Working Committee to be prepared for the revival of Civil Disobedience. But he made a last moment attempt and sent a second long telegram begging again for an unconditional interview failing which he thought it his duty to inform the Viceroy that the Working Committee would have to resort to Civil Disobedience. Reply came to this last moment request in the form of warrants of arrest for himself, the Congress President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and other prominent Congressmen throughout the country.

The Congress was taken unawares and the Government expected that they would be able to crash the whole movement within a fortnight. In spite of want of preparation, in spite of sudden removal of all the prominent Congress workers throughout the country within a few days to prison, when they were not able to give instructions to their followers as to how to organise the campaign, it must be said to the credit of the nation that the lead, which had been given by the Working Committee, was faithfully and spontaneously followed. Thousands again courted imprisonment, *lathi* charges, firings, heavy fines, confiscation of property and beatings on an extensive scale.

The movement was not crushed and went on for months and months without a break to the bewilderment of officials, who had hoped to crush it in a few days. Special sessions of the Congress were held at Delhi and at Calcutta amidst arrests and *lathi* charges and in spite of the vigilance of the police, who had concentrated upon them preventing. It is unnecessary to go into the details of this repression beyond stating that a bare summary of the provisions of the various ordinances, most of which were later converted into acts by obliging legislatures, will show how drastic they were in character and comprehensive in scope. The courts were ousted from jurisdiction and the executive armed with large powers. The press was muzzled. New offences were created and, in some cases, collective and vicarious punishments laid down. To these must be added numerous laws enacted for Bengal, particularly apparently to meet what is described as the terrorist manace, but resulting not in a few cases in a complete suspension of all political activities of a progressive type, lest their sponsors should incur the wrath and the penalty of the all powerful C. I. D. Now, the Congress has never concealed its view regarding the terrorist movement. It has condemned without hesitation and in an unequivocal language all terrorist outrages and under the great influence of Mahatma Gandhi has done all it could to create an atmosphere against the cult of terrorism. But at every step, it has felt hampered by the fact that impatient enthusiasts, who take to this wrong method cannot effectively be approached by public opinion on account of the stiffness of the Government attitude and its all-pervading blasting suspicion of the motives of even those who are its supporters and helpers in this respect. Apart from other considerations, the Congress condemns terrorism because it hampers the country's progress and tends to create forces which will lead to further disruption and trouble and because it is essentially wrong and un-

Indian. But these young men cannot be weaned from it by the equally indefensible method of unadulterated repression.

The country has been passing through a period of deep economic depression, which has been intensified by the Government policy of managing Indian affairs in the interests not of India but of Great Britain. The past few years have seen great distress of the peasantry unable to pay the heavy land revenue and rent and suffering great privations. They have witnessed curtailment of expenditure on nation-building departments, great slump in industry, export of more than 200 crores of distress gold, dislocation of trade and a tremendous increase in unemployment the extent of which even in the best of normal years the British Government have never dared to ascertain owing to its vastness. These years have been remarkable for heavy additions to the so-called Public Debt of India and the burdens of the already overtaxed tax-payer and the poverty-stricken population for carrying on an extravagant and top-heavy administration and partly for suppressing and crushing the movement for freedom.

The Ottawa Pact, which has been condemned with one voice by the best-informed opinion in the country as being detrimental to the best interests of India, and particularly of the masses of agriculturists, was ratified. Its working has proved that the apprehensions of its critics were well-founded. It has successfully tied India to the chariot wheels of the British policy of Imperial preference.

INDIANS ABROAD

The position of our countrymen abroad gives no ground for satisfaction. Their treatment in the colonies of the British Empire has been a long-standing cause of just grievance and has influenced not a little the change

in our outlook and opinion in favour of complete independence. One after another, Indians settled in these colonies and protectorates are being deprived of their inherent rights to which they are entitled by virtue of their long association, service and contribution to the prosperity of these colonies. They have, in fact, been instrumental in many cases in building up these colonies and many have been born in them and have their homes without any other in the world. One scheme after another is devised to get rid of them after they are no more needed, and although it is some consolation to know that the scheme of assisted repatriation has been given up, it is also to be noted that no place is found in the vast British Empire where they can live and settle with the same full rights to land and citizenship as others have in India. The latest application of this policy of squeezing out Indians is reported from Zanzibar where in spite of the best relations which Indians have maintained for generations with the Sultan and his subjects, ordinances have been hurriedly passed, which deprive them of the rights of acquiring land. The discrimination against Indians becomes flagrant when we know that this restriction does not extend to the new arrivals from Arabia. There is nothing surprising in all this when we know that Indians do not enjoy even elementary rights of citizenship in their own country and which even the proposed constitutional reforms are not going to confer on them. We can only give this assurance to our countrymen abroad that as our position at home improves their position will automatically improve. In this connection it is impossible not to mention with gratitude the great name of Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews, who has been frequently going to Africa to render such help as has been possible for him to render.

THE DUAL POLICY

The Government policy, which was enunciated by



CENTRAL FLAG STAFF.
(Height 128 ft.)

Lord Irwin towards the end of 1929 announcing the convening of the Round Table Conference, has always had a double aspect which has been emphasised more than once by Lord Willingdon's Government. It has been claimed by the Government that this double policy, on the one hand, aims at advancing constitutional reforms and, on the other, seeks to suppress what the Government considers to be subversive and revolutionary movements. In pursuance of the first, it is claimed that the Round Table Conference has been convened and proposals have been framed as a result of consultation with Indians and that a Joint Parliamentary Committee is considering them. These proposals are known as the White Paper. In pursuance of the second, the Government has thought it necessary to suppress the Civil Disobedience movement with a heavy hand. To Indians it seems that the second policy has not only been much more in evidence and has caused untold suffering to numberless people, but is responsible for the issuing of ordinances and the enactment of laws which have taken away even the ordinary rights of citizenship and laid down drastic penalties and suppressed not only what may be regarded as subversive movements, but effectively prevented perfectly constitutional agitation also. The reform side of the policy has succeeded only in feeding credulous people on hopes of something which may not come. We have, undoubtedly, had three Round Table Conferences, Committees and Sub-Committees *ad infinitum* and prolonged inquiry by a Joint Parliamentary Committee. It has dragged on in some form or other its interminable investigations for six or seven long years. It is yet to be seen if this long labour is going to produce anything acceptable even to the most moderate opinion in the country.

THE WHITE PAPER

The White Paper has been condemned by almost unanimous public opinion in India as highly disappointing

and unsatisfactory. And, of course, it does not in any way fulfil the requirements of the Congress, which has declared for independence meaning and including complete control over the Army, the finances, the foreign relations and the internal administration of the country. The White Paper is nothing if it is not a negation of all these items and if it does not bar even a gradual progress towards any of them. In view of the fact that very serious efforts are being made in England to whittle down even the White Paper proposals and that even Mr. Arthur Henderson, the leader of the Labour Party, is unable to concede anything in the nature of even diluted self-determination to India it may seem out of place for me to devote any time to its detailed criticism. But in as much as the White Paper proposals are the result of long and expensive consultations and are under-going detailed examination by the Joint Parliamentary Committee and have been put forward in justification of the Government policy of advancing constitutional reforms, I take leave to point out that the proposals of the White Paper do not take us anywhere near what our moderate countrymen aim at viz., Dominion Status, not to speak of complete independence which is the Congress goal. In fact, they take the country in some respects in the opposite direction and leave it in a position constitutionally worse than that now occupied under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

I will judge the White Paper proposals in the light of four tests, namely (1) how far the proposed new legislatures will be representative of the nation; (2) how far the powers alleged to be transferred to popular control are real in the centre and the Provinces; (3) what the Powers proposed to be transferred in regard to the finance are, and what additional burdens India will have to bear for the new constitution, and (4) whether the proposed constitution contains within itself any elements of growth and development.

1. COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

It is sought to replace the block of officials and non-officials nominated by the Government by nominees of Indian States, joining the Federation. The nominated officials and non-officials of British India cannot be said to be amenable to popular opinion but they have certainly a wider outlook and are more in contact with public opinion than any nominee of a State could be. They also feel a sense of responsibility even though it is to the British Government and not to the people of India. Will the State nominees have any information about or acquaintance with events happening in British India from which the States have been in a way kept segregated? The only effect of the replacement of the nominated block by States nominees will be a tightening of the British control coupled with traditions of a more autocratic rule and greater disregard of popular wishes than we are accustomed to in British India and which these nominees will bring with themselves. But apart from its bearing the character of a nominated block it will also be a larger block numerically. Under the Montagu Reforms out of 145 members of the Assembly 40 or 27.5 per cent. are nominated, if we exclude the member for Berar who, for practical purposes, is an elected member, under the White Paper proposals out of a house of 375 no less than 125 or 33.3 per cent are nominated by the States—an increase in the nominated element of 6 per cent. When we look at the composition of the elected element in the Federal Assembly we find that separate electorates have not only been retained but considerably extended and the number of those generally expected to side with the British and the Governor-General considerably increased. I believe, in the place of 41 out of 104 or 39 per cent. being returned by separate electorates under the existing constitution, we shall have 108 out of 250 or 43 per cent. returned by separate electorate under the White Paper scheme. Thus,

there can be hardly any doubt that the White Paper Federal Assembly will be a less progressive and more autocratically inclined body than the present Assembly. It is unnecessary to go into the constitution of the Second Chamber which is bound to be less progressive than the popular house. In a joint session which is provided for, the nominated element will be as much as 235 out of 636 or 37 per cent, and a motion of no-confidence in connection with a subject relating to British India against a British Indian minister can never secure a two-thirds majority if the State nominees chose to maintain the ministry.

In the provinces the nominated block is done away with, but several provinces like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces are going to be saddled in its place with a Second Chamber and, if the trend of opinion as it is developing in England gives any indication, other provinces are probably going to follow suit under the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Whatever justification there may be for a Second Chamber in the Federal Legislature, there is none whatever for it in a subordinate legislature like that of the provinces. Besides, there is no justification for the extra expenditure involved in setting up and maintaining these Second Chambers. Nor does the experience of the working of the Montford Reforms lend any support in their favour even in the provinces, which may be said to be radical or very progressive.

II. POWERS CLAIMED TO BE TRANSFERRED

Now, no constitution can be said to confer self-Government or responsible government or dominion status much less complete independence, which reserves to the Governor-General and refuse to transfer to ministers under the control of a popular legislature, the administration of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Ecclesiastical Departments. But leaving this alone which White Paper frankly reserves, let us

consider the departments it professes to transfer. In regard to these also, it is clearly laid down that the Governor-General will not be guided by the advice of ministers, if so to be guided would infringe on what are called the Reserve Departments, his special responsibilities and, I may add, also his discretionary powers. These are couched in such general terms that there are hardly any measures which the Governor-General could not hold up or prevent, if he considered it necessary to do so in his wisdom, which will be the final arbiter in the matter. These special responsibilities are so vague and widespread that they may be said to pervade all departments.

It is not inconceivable that the most innocent action taken by a minister not in favour with the Governor-General or the Governor—and in this respect the powers of both are identical for all practical purposes within their respective spheres—could easily be regarded as infringing upon his special responsibility in respect of one or other of the seven heads into which it is divided. The much advertised autonomy of the Provinces really gives more autonomy to the Governor than to the people or the minister and enables the Governor-General to have his orders executed in spite of the ministers even when they may happen to deal with a matter falling within the scope of the latter if only the Governor or the Governor-General decides that it infringes on the special responsibility of the one or the other.

Special responsibilities are laid down under seven heads for the Governor-General. They are (I) the prevention of grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof; (II) the safeguarding of the financial responsibility and credit of the Federation; (III) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities; (IV) the securing to the members of the Public Services of any right provided for them by the constitution Act and the

safeguarding of their legitimate rights; (V) the prevention of commercial discrimination; (VII) any matter which affects the administration of any department under the direction and control of the Governor-General, the Governor-General being empowered in each case to determine whether any special responsibility is involved in any given circumstance. The same powers are given *mutatis mutandis* to the Governor in so far as they are applicable to provinces. The first practically takes away with one hand what it purports to give with the other; law and order, though said to be transferred in the provinces, are thus kept quite safe within the double lock of special responsibility of the Governor-General and the Governor. The elasticity of this phrase is quite well known in this country and I am using no language of exaggeration if I say that it is mere camouflage and a fraud to say that law and order are being transferred when the special responsibility in this respect is reserved in the wide and all-pervasive terms as is done under the White Paper proposal.

As regards the second, admittedly definition of this responsibility is drawn in wide terms and enables the Governor-General to step in whenever any proposal of the minister regarding budgetting or borrowing is considered by him as prejudicing or endangering India's credit in the money market of the world. Past experience has shown that financial stability and credit of India are synonymous with British profit at the expense of India, and British interests have been served so often and so brazenfacedly in the name of India's stability and credit that no Indian is likely to be deceived by words which connote more than their ordinary dictionary meaning. The entire currency and exchange policy of the Government is said to be dictated by these considerations and we know it to our cost how a stroke of the pen or an apparently innocent notification of the Government has the effect of transferring crores from the hands of Indians to those of the British without the former realising it.

The third will, of course, come very handy in turning many an awkward corner. Our Muslim brethren and others who are in a minority are apt to run away with the idea that British Government is reserving special responsibility to safeguard their interest. Really speaking, if there is anything more calculated than another to keep all the communities warring with each other, it is this. Besides it is a delusion to think that the safeguards are devised to serve any of the Indian minorities. They will find in actual working that after all in all matters of moment it is not they who are meant but the small microscopic minority of those birds of passage, who come from thousand of miles and make hay while the sun shines and then disappear in the evening of their days to enjoy the fruits in their native land again.

The fourth destroys whatever is yet left of autonomy. We shall, indeed, be masters in our own house without having the power to order our servants about to whom we shall be bound to pay their unbearably high salaries, guarantee their pensions and leaves and promotion and what not. It will be easy enough for these so-called civil servants to set at naught not only the policy, decisions and orders of their so-called superiors, the ministers, but to create deadlocks, which will be set down to the discredit of Indians who will be branded as incompetent, and inexperienced ministers to whom it was a mistake, it will be said, to transfer powers.

In the name of preventing commercial discrimination against the British, it is really ensured that the Indian should be discriminated against in the future as he has been in the past. It must be the experience of all businessmen who have anything to do with the Government—and they cannot move an inch without coming across the Government in some form or another—how at every step they have to face situations which a Britisher here has

not to face. Go to the coal fields. They will tell you how it is difficult for an Indian colliery owner to get a railway siding to his colliery, how it is difficult for him to get wagons and how the Indian is every day discriminated against in practice. I am not mentioning how it has been possible for a few British concerns to get leases of practically the whole area with the best seams of coal and how Indians have to be content with second and third class collieries and even these they get with difficulty. I am not forgetting that colliery lands are largely owned by Indians. We know how these things are managed, specially when the owner happens to be a ward of court. The manipulation of railway freights offers an easy handle. When I was looking after the affairs of the All-India Spinners' Association in my province I calculated some years ago that the cost of transport of cotton from Sewan (in the district of Saran where cotton is largely grown) to Madubani in the district of Darbhanga where we produce our best and largest quantity of Khadi, both the districts being within the same division of Tirhut under a Commissioner, was the same as that of transporting cotton from Bombay to Japan and bringing back the cloth made of that cotton to Bombay. I do not know if there has been a change in this respect recently. Similarly, I was told that the cost of transporting coal from South Africa to Indian cotton mills was the same as that of transporting it from the coalfields of Bihar to the same mills. I am mentioning these few illustrations and they can be multiplied to show how in the past the whole policy of the Government of India has been regulated with an eye not to the benefit of Indians but of foreigners, and if by any chance any minister has temerity to try to be just he will at once be held up as discriminating against the Britisher and the Governor-General or the Governor will have no difficulty in invoking his special responsibility for perpetuating the injustice.

As regards the Indian States, we have already had illustrations how activities of their subjects in favour of constitutional reforms can be throttled and the special responsibility of the Governor-General or the Governor in this respect will be used for preventing the virus of democracy from spreading into these States.

So much for special responsibilities. The discretionary powers of the Governor-General and the Governors are of a most drastic kind. Under the existing constitution, the Governor has the power of certification and veto, but under the proposal embodied in the White Paper, he can also send messages to the legislature not to proceed with a certain measure of legislation as also to proceed in a certain way; not to pass certain laws as also to pass certain others or that a particular measure must be passed by a particular date and in the event of the legislature refusing or failing to obey his command, it will become a Governor-Generals' or Governor's Act which will have the force of an Act of legislature without having the odium attached to the name of "ordinance" and without the fetters of a limited duration, which an ordinance has. These proposals place India under a virtual dictatorship. Mr. Churchill described the position admirably in another context:

"The Viceroy or Governor-General was armed with all the powers of a Hitler or a Mussolini. By a stroke of pen, he could scatter the constitution and decree any law to be passed for martial law, which was no law at all. Of all these he was the sole judge. Such a functionary was a dictator and he had a very powerful army."

All this power is given not only to the Governor-General but even to Provincial Governors, who are, for the first time, to be invested with powers to pass ordinances and Governor's Acts and all other powers within their spheres which the Governor-General possesses in respect of the country as a whole.

The White Paper proposals further take away certain powers which are now possessed by the Assembly in however attenuated a form they may be. Thus, a discussion of the Railway budget used to furnish an opportunity for the ventilation of grievance in connection with railway administration. Railways could now be discussed and voted upon by the Central legislature but the creation of the proposed statutory railway authority would have the effect of precluding the future Government and legislature from making any effective criticism of any matter transferred to the statutory authority. That this is not a negligible matter is apparent from the fact that the Railways have some 800 crores invested in them and are very largely national concerns already and where they are not so they are soon passing into the hands of the State.

III. FINANCE

(3) When we come to consider the question of finance, the illusory nature of the so-called reforms becomes still more apparent. It has been calculated that 80 per cent of the Central revenue in the Central Government will be eaten up by army expenditure, debt, service, guaranteed pays, pensions and allowances, which will be outside the vote of the Assembly, and the remaining 20 per cent with which alone the minister, supposed to be responsible to the legislature, could play, would be subject to a vote of the upper chamber which could bring it, before a joint session of both Chambers for final determination. Further, if the Governor-General regards the demand for grants by the minister under any head inadequate for the discharge of his special responsibility, he may include any additional amount which he regards necessary for the discharge of such special responsibility, and the legislature will not be at liberty to vote on the same. Thus it is apparent that the control of the ministry over the public purse is practically nil in the centre.

Considering the proposals from the point of view of the burden they impose on the country it has been said on high authority that the introduction of provincial autonomy will involve an annual expenditure of 6½ to 8 crores and that of responsibility in the centre another 2 crores every year. In a country which is admittedly the poorest in the world, where the cost of administration is top heavy and certainly out of all proportion to the income per capita of the population under it, any addition to the already unbearable burden cannot but be regarded with the greatest misgivings, and no responsible person can easily reconcile himself to this additional burden as a price for reforms so illusory, so retrograde and so calculated to perpetuate and tighten the stranglehold on the country.

IV. FUTURE IN THE AIR

There is no provision for any automatic growth of development in the constitution. Everything does and will continue to depend on the sweet will and pleasure of the British Parliament. There is no pretence at self-determination and even the Federation which is to come after fulfilment of so many conditions precedent can come only after a second vote of the Houses of Parliament.

And what is this federation? It is a kind of federation which has no parallel in history. In it the rulers of one third of India will be called in to counteract through their nominees the progressive elected elements of the remaining two-thirds. There is absolutely no mutuality in any respect, the princes' nominees will have equal rights with the elected representatives of British India to interfere with the administration of British India without British Indian representatives having any the least voice in the administration of the States, which will continue their autocratic rule without so much as even declaring or guaranteeing the elementary, fundamental rights of citizenship, which

are, or rather ought to be, the basis and foundation of any allegiance which the people may be required to bear to the State. In other words, it will be a kind of federation in which unabashed autocracy will sit entrenched in one-third of India and peep in every now and then to strangle popular will in the remaining two-thirds. But the princes themselves will be more helpless than they are now and will soon realise the effect of a federation which is conceived to keep them free from the baneful interference of British India people but nonetheless subservient to the Viceroy.

SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—COUNCIL PROGRAMME

I have thus far discussed the dual policy of Government. I come now to our own policies and plans. Events have somehow so happened that since the breach of the Truce in 1932 we have had to steer our course clear of Government policies. The suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement was declared not with reference to any declaration of policy by Government, but with reference to the peculiar moral and spiritual character of our struggle.

I will not go into the events that led up to the historic Patna decision of May 1934—how Gandhiji successfully challenged from jail the Communal Award of the Premier which had threatened to vivisect the Hindu community in twain, how Gandhiji intensified the movement for the abolition of untouchability and his epic fast as part of it, and his release, the Poona Conference and how as a result of things he had heard and seen during the great Harijan tour he came to recommend to the A. I. C. C. suspension of the Civil Disobedience and confining it to himself. Let the country study the course of events in the statements Gandhiji has issued from time to time.

Some of the factors which must have weighed with Gandhiji when he recommended suspension of Civil Disobedience as a mass movement could not have escaped the notice of even casual observers. Two weaknesses seem to me to have dogged our footsteps.

Firstly, the Congress workers had been gradually, and perhaps unconsciously, led into adoption of methods of secrecy, which reduced what would have been an open battle of defiance into a battle of wits. It was not realised that *Satyagraha* is essentially a fight on a higher moral plane in which suffering is openly courted and cheerfully borne and which aims at conquering the opponent by an appeal to his moral sense and in which any attempt to over-reach him rebounds, with fatal effect on the *Satyagrahi* himself.

Secondly, it must be also admitted that the attack of the Government on a vulnerable point succeeded. People were not prepared to lose property to the extent they were prepared to lose liberty and even life, and when heavy fines and sequestration of property in lieu of fines and confiscations started on a wholesale scale, gradual demoralisation set in and ultimately broke the back-bone of the movement. Attempt was made to continue the struggle by confining it to those individuals who had faith in it, and taking it out of the methods of secrecy. That partly explains the Poona and the Patna decisions.

It has had to be suspended in the very interests of the movement and those of the country. The principal reason was our own weakness, and yet I do not feel that there is any reason to be down-hearted. Our object is nothing less than the liberation of a vast country which is as big as continent, with its varied population of many castes and creeds and speaking different languages. The response, which the country has made from one end to other to the call of the Congress, has been splendid and we have reason to be proud

of it. Because our object is great and the task difficult and tremendous we have to consider our own shortcomings and defects of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee. Naturally certain resolutions and certain announcements which Mahatma Gandhi has made have been subjected to very searching criticism. The value and importance of these resolutions and the statements of Mahatmaji consist in the fact that they have brought in the forefront of discussion certain fundamental considerations. The first statement, which Mahatmaji issued from Patna on the 7th April last, simultaneously with his correspondence with Dr. Ansari, announced his advice to the Congress and Congressmen to suspend Civil Disobedience, except with regard to himself and to those who believed in entry into legislatures, to take up the programme of Council-entry. Both these items were considered at great length at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Patna in the following May and were endorsed by it. The Council-entry programme naturally led to the creation of the Congress Parliamentary Board which has been entrusted with the work of organising, guiding and controlling propaganda in favour of election of Congressmen to the Assembly for the time being. Now, to-day we are in the midst of a campaign which has led to the formulation of the Congress policy in the legislatures in regard to the White Paper and the Government policy of ruthless repression on which all parties in it are agreed but also, unfortunately, on what has been called the Communal decision of the British Government on which all are not agreed. It will be recalled that after the Second Round Table Conference, the British Government announced its decision settling from its point of view the questions of communal representation in the legislatures under the reform constitution. The decision was given because the Indian members of the Round Table Conference were unable to arrive at an agreed settlement of the outstanding differences on the constitutional question

amongst the various communities in India. It has created the unfortunate position that whilst we are unable to agree among ourselves, it is also impossible to accept this decision which is anti-national in many respects and is calculated to retard the progress of the country towards a common national outlook. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some of the minorities, particularly the Mussalmans, are opposed to rejecting it or think in the main it safeguards their interests. The Working Committee had, therefore, to decide the question on which a large section of Hindus and Sikhs are on the one side and practically all Mussalmans, with a few leading exceptions, and perhaps members of some other minority communities, are on the other, the former favouring the unqualified rejection of the decision and the latter equally strongly favouring its acceptance, until it was replaced by an agreed settlement. Under the circumstances, the working Committee had no other alternative but to point out the unsatisfactory and anti-national nature of the decision hoping, at the same time to be able in course of time to replace it by an agreed settlement, and to that end not to divert the attention of the country by creating an agitation in favour of either accepting or rejecting it.

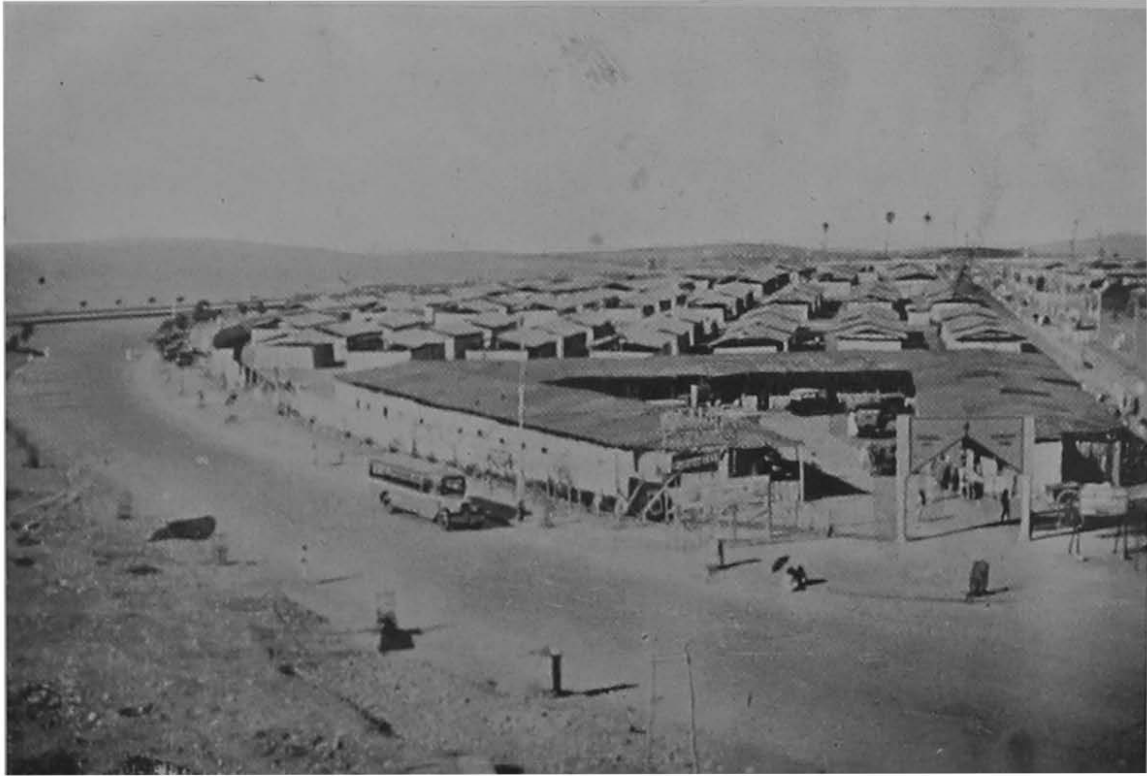
MAHATMAJI'S STATEMENT

But events have marched quickly during the past few weeks. Mahatma Gandhi has just made two statements of far reaching importance, in which he has recorded his reading of the history of the past fifteen years, placed his finger unerringly on the secret places of our heart and given us a warning for the future. Not even his worst critics have challenged his analysis and some have even gloated over the situation in an 'I told you so' spirit. It will be best for us and for our country if even at the end of these fifteen years of our struggle we realise the true situation. The first statement was in the nature of a

challenge and a feeler, the second is the result of the country's reaction to the first. In the first he declared the things that he holds dearer than life itself—truth and non-violence and khadi, reform and revolution through conversion and not compulsion—and said that as one section of the country was running away from these articles of faith and as the other was giving no effect to the allegiance to them which it professed from year to year there was nothing for it but for him to retire from the Congress. In the second statement he declares his conviction that his retirement is inescapable, but as he retires in order to be of more service to the Congress and the country than heretofore, he has also suggested a reform in the constitution which alone can save the Congress from disruption.

Now that leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Ansari and the Khan Brothers have given their hearty assent to the correctness of Gandhiji's decision I do not think it is necessary for me to take up your time discussing the pros and cons of the question of his retirement. I should certainly have done so if my own mind ran counter to the opinions of these colleagues, but I am in hearty agreement with them, though the mind and heart both boggle at the thought of his retirement. But I am steadied as soon as I remind myself that his decision proceeds out of the depth of his devotion to truth and non-violence and it must spur us on to further effort towards those ideals.

But though Mahatmaji has made up his mind not to seek the vote of the Congress on things that make up the warp and woof of his life, I would ask you not to dismiss those things without a thought, and would urge you to realise their implications and to give them some place at least in your programme and your policies. Though I do not claim to have the same living and active faith as Mahatma Gandhi in those things that he has thought some of us at



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ABDUL GAFFAR NAGAR.

least to hold dear, I must declare my creed and my conviction about them.

About the amendment in the creed, I would ask you only one question. Have we really understood by "peaceful and legitimate" anything but "truthful and non-violent" all these years? Has the world outside understood our creed differently? All the credit that we can take to-day and all the discredit that critics and our self-introspecting hearts pour upon us spring from the fact that we have kept that lofty creed as our ideal. The world should cease to watch our fight with interest if our creed meant anything less than it has meant all these years. Whatever the failure of our civil resistance to civilise our rulers, there is no gainsaying the fact that there should have been much more unashamed brutality than we have been the victims of, if there had not been this great creed proclaimed by us.

I next come to the yarn franchise and to the much discussed khadi clause. I may say without being guilty of national vanity that there is no other Flag in the world which expresses in itself purer and loftier ideals. It rules out in one sweep the fourfold curse of modern humanity, viz, imperialism, militarism, capitalism and industrialism. The spinning wheel and khadi are not only the living link between the classes and the masses, they are symbols of the country's determination to resist all forms of exploitation by non-violent means. They represent an era of purification of politics and private life. Remove the khadi clause and you will snap the living link between the cities and the villages.

To my mind Truth, Non-violence and Khadi represent a triple force whereby we can achieve the whole of the Karachi programme and more. There is a section of our countrymen who without having achieved even what we pledged ourselves to do at Karachi insist on crying for

more. Whilst I would have no objection to amplifying the Karachi programme and elucidating it wherever there may be any fear of a misunderstanding. I would say emphatically that we should do nothing that compromises by one iota the creed of non-violence. Whatever may be our failures, we have made rapid strides. Let us not by our impatience undo the work of the last fifteen years. My friends, the socialists, are keen on a more inspiring ideology and would hasten the elimination of all that stands for exploitation. I should like to tell them in all humility but with all the force at my command that there is no greater ideology than is expressed by the creed of truth and non-violence and the determination of the country not to eliminate the men that stand for exploitation but the forces that do so. Our quarrel is with the sin and not the sinner which we all are to a greater or less degree. Compulsion will react on us with redoubled force; conversion, however slow it may seem, will be the shortest cut and will mean a new contribution to history and civilisation.

Having said this, I would say a word about the reform in the constitution that Mahatmaji has suggested in his second statement. He recommends that the size of the Congress should be considerably curtailed and the representation in the Congress should reflect its hold on the country as a whole. It has been suggested that to make the Congress an efficient deliberative body, the number of delegates should be reduced from 6,000 to 1,000, and each delegate should be regarded not as a representative of a set number of people living within a particular area but should be regarded as in fact he is a representative of the members on the Congress roll and give to those places and provinces proportionally larger representation in the Congress, that will have more members on their rolls and that have been more active in carrying out the Congress programme. Whether they, the

members, represent the whole nation or not will depend upon the quantity and quality of service they render. The Congress influence and hold over the people have never depended upon the number on the actual register but they depend upon what it stands for and the sacrifice that the members have made for achieving the goal.

In conclusion, I would say that in considering Mahatma's statements you should remove from your minds any apprehension that you may have that he is going to retire from public life or that by not being physically connected with the Congress his interest will cease or that his help will not be available. I have no such apprehension. I am sure his separation is intended to strengthen and help us and not in any way to weaken or hinder us. I feel that Mahatma Gandhi outside the Congress which does not whole-heartedly accept his programme will be more helpful to the country and the Congress than Mahatma Gandhi inside the Congress with the drag of a big unbelieving majority at his back. I do not, therefore, feel any shock over his impending separation. I do not minimise the effect of such a decision, if he comes to it, but I wish you to have faith in him and I have no doubt that all will be right, whether he decides to work from within or from outside the Congress.

CONCLUSION

Let us start with a clean slate on the work in front of us. The need of the hour is not for a bigger or more inspiring programme, but for the determination to achieve what little we may set before ourselves. The task is immense. There is today a greater determination on the part of the rulers not to part with power, as they have succeeded in creating disruption in our ranks. The ordinance rule of the past four years indicates the extent to which Government can go to suppress

the movement for freedom, even though it may be probably non-violent. Bengal and N. W. Frontier have been raped seemingly beyond repair. It is difficult to breathe free in the one and it is impossible to understand the situation in the other. There have been deplorable acts of terrorism in Bengal, but unmanning the whole youth of vast areas is not the way to fight it. The N. W. Frontier Province which has had a severe spell of repression which the brave Pathans, led by that selfless and patriotic servant, Abdul Gaffar Khan, have borne with exemplary restraint is forbidden ground for him and for his brother. There is constructive work enough and to spare to occupy the time and energies of those who care for it. The resolution on cent per cent Swadeshi that Mahatmaji has embodied in his second statement is a vital one. If the infatuation with high-sounding slogans has not blinded our reasons we should see that khadi with cent per cent Swadeshi is enough to take us to our goal of complete independence which, in Mahatmaji's language, "is an impossible dream without the higher classes merging themselves in those millions who are miscalled lower classes."

There is lastly the Council programme. The All-India Congress Committee has decided to contest elections to the Legislative Assembly so that the country might pronounce its verdict on the White Paper and the repressive policy of the Government. I hope that the electors will show by unmistakable action that the Congress possesses their full confidence. Let us not, however, be led away by the idea that Swaraj can be achieved by anything we could do in the legislatures. We have to remember that the price for freedom must be paid before we can get it, and while we have every reason to be proud of what has been done and what the country has suffered it is, after all, yet inadequate for the great object we have in view. The task we have taken upon ourselves is great and glorious. It requires inexhaustible patience, unflinching

determination and unending sacrifice. Time and world forces are helping us and, above all, God is with us in this great epic struggle of an unarmed people, fighting with the weapons of Satyagraha, of Truth and Non-Violence, a most powerful Government armed cap-a-pie and equipped with the latest engines of destruction devised by science and human ingenuity. For us there is no turning back. The goal is clear. It is nothing short of Independence.

Independence is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has stood for. It cannot mean isolation, particularly when we remember that it has to be achieved by non-violence. It means the end of exploitation of one country by another and of one part of the population of the same country by another part. It contemplates a free and friendly association with other nations for the mutual benefit of all. It forbodes evil to none, not even to those exploiting us except in so far as they rely upon exploitation rather than good-will. The sanction behind this Independence movement is non-violence which in its positive and dynamic aspect is good will of and for all. We already see signs of how it has begun appealing to a certain extent to world opinion. This appeal has to become irresistible. It can do so according as the element of distrust and suspicion, which has its birth in fear, is eliminated and replaced by a sense of security born of confidence in the good-will of India. India having no designs on others, will not then need a large army either for its protection against foreigners or for internal peace which will stand guaranteed by the good-will of her inhabitants. Having no designs on others, she will be able to claim immunity from the evil designs of others and her safety will be buttressed and protected by the good-will of the world at large. Conceived in this light, our Independence ought not to frighten even the British unless they aim at perpetuating the present unnatural conditions.

The method too is crystal clear. It is active dynamic non-violent mass action. We may fail once; we may fail twice; but we are bound to succeed some day. Many have already lost their lives and all. Many more have sacrificed themselves in their struggle for freedom. Let us not be deterred by difficulties which confront us nor diverted from our straight course by fear or favour. Our weapons are unique and the world is watching the progress of our great experiment with interest and high expectation. Let us be true to our creed and firm in our determination. Satyagraha in its active application may meet with temporary setbacks but it knows no defeat. It is itself a great victory, for as James Lowell put it,

*“Truth for ever on the scaffold,
Wrong for ever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above His own.”*

BANDE MATARAM.

Amidst rapturous applause Rajen Babu concluded his speech. A delegate then drew the attention of the President to the Ajmer Satyagrahis, who had been lying in the open near the Subjects' Committee pandal for the previous two days.

The President said he had already suggested to the Satyagrahis to approach the Working Committee for the redress of their grievances.

The President then requested the House to revere the memory of those departed Congressmen, both leaders and workers, who had died in the service of the mother-land. The House stood up in silence for two minutes to do honour to the dead.

RESOLUTION:—

Endorsement Resolution:—

Dr. M. A. Ansari then moved the following resolution:

“This Congress endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee at their meetings held in May 1934 and thereafter, especially the resolutions regarding the Parliamentary Board and its policy and programme, the constructive programme, the status of Indian settlers overseas, condoleance resolution and the resolution on Swadeshi”.

Dr. M. A. Ansari in commending the resolution to the acceptance of the Congress said in Hindustani.

सदर साहब भाइयो और बहनो ! मैं आपके सामने यह रेजुलेशन पेश करने आया हूँ, रेजुलेशन अंगरेजीमें है, मैं उसका मआना समझा देना चाहता हूँ । आगे बोलते हुये आपने कहा कि मैं मुखतसर तौरपर उन रेजुलेशनोंको भी जिनकी बिनापर यह रेजुलेशन पेश किया गया है, बयान कर देना चाहता हूँ । पटनेमें वर्किंग कमेटी और ऑल इन्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक हुयी थी, जबकि महात्माजीके मशविरेपर सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन बन्द कर दिया गया था । जबतककि मुल्कमें सिविल नाफरमानीकी तहरीक जारी थी, काँग्रेस कौन्सिलोंमें जाने का ख्याल नहीं लासकतीथी । अब यह तहरीक बन्द कर दी गई है और यह इरादा तै पाया है कि जल्दसे जल्द एक Constituent Assembly (विधान सम्मेलन) बुलाया जाय जो मुल्कके लिये एक विधान तैयार करे । जबतक यह सब हो मुल्कको दूसरी आनेवाली लडाईके लिये तैयार किया जाय । वहां यह भी तै पाया गया था कि जबतक वह वक्त आये कि मुल्क दूसरी लडाई

लडनेके लिये तैयार हो, काँग्रेस वालोंको कौन्सिलोंमें जाकर गवर्नमेन्टसे लडना चाहिये । बहुतसे आदमी ऐसे हैं जो कौन्सिलोंमें जानेवालोंको हिंकारतकी निगाहसे देखते हैं, वे उनको डरपोक समझते हैं और ख्याल करते हैं कि वे बाहर रहकर लडाई करनेसे डरते हैं । यह बात नहीं है, मैं तो ऐसा नहीं समझता । हमारे मुल्कमें कौन्सिलोंमें जानेवालोंकी तादाद काफी है, जो वहाँ जाकर अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं और मुल्कको कोई नुकसान नहीं पहुंचा सकते । गवर्नमेन्टने मुल्कके सामने एक चैलेन्ज फेंका है और काँग्रेसने उसे मंजूर कर लिया है मैं मानता हूँ कि कौन्सिलोंमें जाकर काँग्रेसमेन कोई खास काम नहीं कर सकेंगे, लेकिन वह मुल्कको बहुतसे ऐसे कामोंसे जरूर बचायेंगे जिनसे मुल्क को नुकसान हो सकता है ।

यह अमरवाक्या है कि चन्द पिछले सालों में जो लोग मुल्कके नुमाइन्दा होकर असेम्बली और कौन्सिलों में गये, उन्होंने हमेशा मुल्कके खिलाफ सरकारकी राय दी । उन्होंने मुल्ककी खिदमात करनेवालोंके खिलाफ ऑर्डिनेन्सज बनवाये और उनको कानूनकी शकल दी । इतना ही नहीं Ottawa Pact, ऑटावा पेक्ट भी इसी लिये हो सका कि एसेम्बलमें ऐसे नुमाइन्दे मौजूद नहीं थे जैसे होने चाहिये थे । अब हमारा फर्ज है कि हम ऐसे नुमाइन्दों को वहाँ से हटाये । आप अगर ऐसे नुमाइन्दोंको भेजेंगे जो मुल्ककी बहवृदी को मध्यनजर रखेंगे तो जरूर वे सब वे चीजे तैयार करते हैं जो मुल्ककी आजादी के लिये जरूरी हैं ।

इस वक्त दर्शकों की गैलरीकी ओरसे मंचकी तरफ हल्ला हुआ और स्वयंसेवकोंकी सहायतासे भीड़को काबुमें लाया गया ।

डॉ. अन्सारीने बोलते हुए कहा कि काँग्रेसने काँग्रेस पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्डके लिये जो प्रोग्राम रक्खा है, उसकेलिये हम लड़ेंगे; उस प्रोग्राममें ३ बातें खास तौरपर रखी गई हैं । पहिली बात यह है कि आर्डिनेन्सको रद्द कराना, हमारे बहुतसे भाई हमारी तहरीकमें काम करते हुये जेलोंमें डाल दिये गये थे उनकी रिहाई करना, दूसरे White Paper सफ़ेद कागज़के कानूनको मुल्ककेलिये न बनने देना, गवर्नमेन्ट जो ऐसा कानून बना रही है उसे रद्द कराना और तीसरे, जो सबसे ज्यादा अहम बात है वह Constituent Assembly, (विधान सम्मेलन) को बुलाना और उसके ज़रिये ऐसा कानून तैयार कराना जिसको हम सब हिन्दू, मुसलमान सिख और पारसी अपने मुल्ककी बहवूदीके लिये ठीक समझते हों । Constituent Assembly ही हमारे बहुतसे मिसालोंको जैसे हिन्दू मुसलिम सवाल वगैरेह को सुलझा सकती है । मुल्तसरमें यह हमारी पॉलिसी रहेगी, इतना ही नहीं, हमारा ध्येय है मुकम्मिल आज़ादी । हम इस मुकम्मिल आज़ादीके ध्येयको लानेमें कोई बात उठा नहीं रखेंगे । हमें यकीन है कि आप इस रेजुलेशनको पास करेंगे ।

रेजोल्यूशनका दूसरा हिस्सा उस चीज़की तरह हवाला करता है जो Constructive Programme क्रियात्मक कार्यको बतलाता है और जिस तरहके प्रस्ताव हम कराची काँग्रेसमें पासभी कर चुके हैं । मसलन खदर और कातनेका काम, अखिल भारतीय चर्खा संघकी मदद, कौमीतालीमका फैलाना और ऐसी देशीय कारीगरीको मदद पहुंचाना जो हमारे मुल्कको मुफ़ीद साबित हो । देहातों की जिन्दगी सुधारना मज़दूरोंको संगठित करना और जो बेकारी मुल्कमें पैदा हो गई है

उसको हल करनेकी कोशिश करना जिससे लोगोंमें फिर Civil Resistance, सिविल नाफरमानीको कामयाब बनानेमें मदद मिले । (इस वक्त एक आवाज़ आई कि अंगरेजीमें बोलो)

तीसरा हिस्सा जैन्जीवारमें जो हिन्दुस्तानी रहते हैं, उनके जातीय हुकूकोके बारेमें है । आपको मालूम है कि जैन्जीवारकी गवर्नमेन्ट वहाँके रहनेवाले हिन्दुस्तानियोंपर कैसा जुल्म कर रही है, जिन्होंने उसे बढ़ाया, सरसब्ज किया, आज वहाँसे उन्हींको निकालनेकी फ़िक्र वहाँकी सरकारको है । हमारा फ़र्ज है कि हम अपनी आवाज़ बुलन्द करें । इसके बाद मातमपुरसीका ज़िक्र है और आखिरमें स्वदेशीके बारेमें कहा गया है । ऐसा तो कोईही होगा जो इन बातोंमें इत्तफ़ाकेराय न रखता हो । यह सब बातें ऐसी हैं जिनपर ज़्यादा बोलनेकी ज़रूरतही नहीं है । मुझे इसके बारेमें तो सिर्फ़ इतनाही कहना है । पहिले छ महिने के अन्दर अच्छीतरहसे सोचसमझकर वर्किंगकमेटी और ए. आय. सी. सी. ने जो तज़वीज़ें पेश की हैं । वेह सब इसमें आ गई हैं । मुल्ककी मौजूदा हालत देखकर यह सब तज़वीज़ें रखी गई हैं, मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप इन्हें पास करेंगे ।

इस वक्त फिर एक आवाज़ आई कि अंगरेज़ीमें बोलो । इसपर डॉक्टर साहबने कहा कि मेरे बाद जो अभी बोलनेवाले आयंगे उनमेंसे ज़्यादातर लोग अंगरेज़ीमें ही बोलेंगे और अगर अबभी हम अंगरेज़ीके बिना नहीं समझ सकते तो हम स्वराज्य लेनेके हक़दार नहीं हैं ।

फिर बोलते हुये कहा कि रेजुलेशनमें जो तरमीमात पेश की जायेंगी उनके पेश होनेके बाद मैं उनपर कुछ कहूँगा, क्योंकि उन्हें देखकर ही मैं कह सकूँगा कि क्या क्या बातें मुझे रेजुलेशन

पर थोड़ी तरमीमात मुतअल्लिक कहनी चाहिये । हमारे बहुतसे दोस्तोंने, जो हमारे नुक्रते-ख्यालके नहीं हैं, कौंसिलोमें जानेके खिलाफ़ आवाज़ बुलन्द की है और काँग्रेस पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्डकी पालीसीपर भी नुक्रताचीनी की गई है, यह भी कहा गया है कि काँग्रेस पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्ड reactionary है, इसपर मैं तो यही कहूँगा कि अगर काँग्रेस पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्ड reactionary है तो यह reactionary तभी हो सकता है अगर काँग्रेसभी reactionary है, क्यों कि काँग्रेसहीने पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्डको जन्म दिया है । काँग्रेसकी पॉलिसी ही पार्लमेन्टरी बोर्डकी पॉलिसी है, इसकी पॉलिसी reactionary नहीं है ।

इसके अलावा कुछ लोग (Constituent Assembly) पर नुक्रताचीनी करेंगे और अबतक इसपर बहुतसे लोगोंने अपने अपने ख्याल भी ज़ाहिर किये हैं । हमारा तो यह कामिल यकीन है कि यह मसला ऐसा है कि इसके ज़रियेसे ही हम अपने झगडे तै कर सकते हैं । जब मैं इंग्लैन्डमें था तो वहाँके लोग (Constituent Assembly) के प्रोग्रामके मुतअल्लिक हैरान थे, वह सोचतेथे कि यह क्या होगा उनको इसमें कामयाबी हो गई तो फिर बड़ी मुश्किल पड़ जायगी । वह कहतेथे कि अगर (Constituent Assembly) ने नौआबादीयातका मसला तै करलिया तो फिर अंगरेज हुकूमत हमारी मांगको " इनकार " नहीं कर सकती क्यों कि (Constituent Assembly) का फैसला फिर तो मुल्कका फैसला होगा ।

तीसरी चीज़ आपके सामने वह आयगी जिसके मुतअल्लिक वर्किंगक्लेमीने यह फैसला किया है कि वह Class-war के मुतअल्लिक जो गुवार कुल लोगोंके दिलमें बैठ गया है उसको

साफ़ साफ़ करदिया जाय । काँग्रेस अपनी ज़हनियत सोशलिस्ट रखती है, कराचीमें Fundamental Rights के बारेमें जो प्रस्ताव पास हुआ वह Socialism परभी मुबनी था और जो काँग्रेसकी पॉलिसीको इस बारेमें नुब्रताचीनी करते हैं वह Socialism को समझतेही नहीं । जो रेजोल्यूशन कराचीमें पास किया था वैसाही अब आपके सामने है । वेह चाहे जो मुल्कके बाहिर नहीं गये हों और साम्यवादपर सिर्फ़ किताबेंही पढ़ी हों वे साम्यवादकी practical शक़्त नहीं समझ सकते । जैसा मैंने कहा हैं कि हम ज़्यादा Socialists हैं, बनिस्बत उनके जो अपने आपको Socialists समझते हैं । यह हमारा दावा पक्का है सिर्फ़ फ़र्क इतना है कि हम कहते नहीं और दूसरे अपनेको कहते हैं कि हमही सचे Socialists साम्यवादी हैं ।

अगली चीज़ वह है जिसे मालवीयाजी और अण्णे साहब लानेवाले हैं, वह मसला है फिरके वियेन्ना समझौतेका मसला । इसके मुतअल्लिक़ मुझे इतनाही कहना है कि बजाय इसके कि हम अपने निजी मामलात को दूसरेके सामने लेकर जायं यही बेहतर है कि हम अपने मसलोंका समझौता खुद ही करलें । इसके अलावा यह बात भी तो है कि हमें उनसे कोई उम्मीद भी नहीं रखनी चाहिये । इस मसलेका फैसला Constituent Assembly के ज़रियेसे ही हो सकता है । काँग्रेस कभीभी यह गवाहा नहीं करसकती कि हमारे निजी मसलोंमें भी विदेशी दस्त-अन्दाजी करें । और चूँकि हम अभी इस मसलेपर किसी नतीजे पर पहुंचे नहीं हैं इसलिये काँग्रेसमे तो इस “फिरके विएन्ना समझौते” (Communal Pact) को मानती है और न उसे फेंकती ही है ।

एक और तरमीम थोड़े दोस्त लायेंगे वह यह कि फिरके वियेन्ना मसलेपर असेम्बलीमें अपनी अपनी ज़मीर के ख्याल से राय दें । अगर ज़मीर का सवाल पैदा हो गया तो कोई पार्टी भी Assembly में काम नहीं कर सकती । हमें तो एक पार्टी बनाकर काम करना चाहिये । मुझे उम्मीद है कि आमलोग इस रेजोल्यूशनके हर एक पहलूको समझ गये होंगे और उसे ज्योंका त्यों पास करेंगे ।

Mr. K. F. Nariman in seconding the resolution said:—

Friends, there are many amongst Congressmen who are saying that the policy of the Congress Parliamentary Board is harmful to the country's cause. Those who have read history know that there have always been two wings fighting for the country's freedom, one inside the legislatures and the other outside. I fully believe that nothing can be achieved within the council chambers, if there is nothing being done outside. As long as India has not won her freedom, there is no other programme before the country than the one which the Congress has put forth. The Congress Parliamentary Board is preparing the ground in that direction. They are preparing the mentality of the people to fight, so that when the fight commences after five or ten years, people can fight with greater strength and grit.

Now coming to the question of Communal Award, I say I am neither a Hindu nor a Muslim but a Nationalist. I consider both Hindus and Muslims my elder brothers and it is for them to listen to a few words from their younger brother regarding the question of Communal Award. They must know that the Award is a fraud and a piece of British diplomacy, which is meant to create division amongst Indians. The Congress by a counter-diplomacy has replied back to the Britisher that it neither accepts nor rejects it. It is agreed that both the

Congress and Pandit Malaviya do not want the Communal Award, but the Congress says, due to the present conditions in the country, that it will neither accept nor reject the Award. I appeal to Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney that whatever the decision of the House on the question they should follow the verdict of the majority. It must not be forgotten that the Congress is greater than Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya, and they should accept the verdict of the majority.

At this stage a delegate wanted to question the speaker but Mr. Nariman said that he would certainly reply to his questions, if allowed by the President.

Mr. Nariman continued and referred to the Constituent Assembly question also.

At this stage Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas (Socialist) moved the adjournment of the House to condemn the action of the Police Commissioner who had imposed a ban on the workers' procession. Mr. Purshottam said he had just heard that there had been a lathi charge on the unarmed workers. It was but meet that the Congress should express its sympathy with the wounded workers by adjourning for five minutes.

The President said that the House was not in full possession of the facts relating to the incident.

As for the ban, the President said that certain Labour leaders had approached him with a request that they wished to hold a peaceful demonstration in the Abdul Gaffar Nagar. The President had fixed the day and time for the purpose.

Some days ago the Commissioner of Police had written to the Reception Committee Secretary asking if the procession announced for Friday evening would be allowed in the Nagar. The Secretary, in reply, communicated

the understanding that had been reached between the President and the Labour leaders for a demonstration on Sunday and added that so far as the Congress authorities were concerned, they had no information about the Friday demonstration except what they had gathered from newspapers.

The President said it was possible that after receiving the letter the Commissioner might have imposed the ban. Anyway, the situation did not call for an adjournment of the House. He, therefore, ruled the motion out of order.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who was vociferously cheered when he mounted the rostrum, moved his amendment which are as follows:—

At the end of the Endorsement Resolution add the following:—

"Subject to the modifications noted below in Resolution 9* of the Working Committee passed on 18th June at Bombay".

- (i) In the preamble omit all the words after "the Communal Award" and substitute the following:—
"and the Working Committee having declared

* W. C. Resolution 9 adopted at Bombay on June 17 and 18 runs as under:—

White Paper and Communal Award:

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress Policy on the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress Policy on these matters as follows:

The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things it will be the duty of the

the Congress policy by its resolution 9 of 18th June last, the Congress defines its policy on these matters as follows:—

- (ii) In para 1, change the comma into full stop after the words "as near it as possible" and omit all the words after the word "possible" to the end of the para.
- (iii) Omit paras 2 and 3.
- (iv) Substitute the following for paragraph 4:—"As regards the communal questions."
- (v) At the end of the para 6 add the following: "The Congress therefore rejects the Award."
- (vi) Substitute "best" for "only" in the first line of para 7.
- (vii) Omit the words "essentially domestic" from line 4 of para 7."

Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian nation and therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts.

At the same time it is necessary to redeclare the policy of the Congress on the Communal question:

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of the national, which is agreed to by the parties concerned, and, conversely, to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds.

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.



ROSTRUM FROM WHERE SPEECHES WERE MADE.



JAWAHAR GATE
The main entrance of Abdul Gaffar Nagar.

मालवीयजीका भाषण

उक्त संशोधनपर पंडित मालवीयजीने बोलते हुए कहा कि मैं उस प्रस्तावपर संशोधन रख रहा हूँ जो प्रस्ताव अभी डॉक्टर अन्सारी साहब और श्री. नैरामनजीने आप लोगोंके सामने रखा है। जो प्रस्ताव वर्किंग कमेटीने पास किया है उसके दो अंग हैं; एक है व्हाइटपेपर White Paper और दूसरा है जातीय निर्णय, इनके विषय में जो प्रस्ताव पास किया गया है उसे तो आपने सुन लिया है उसमें व्हाइटपेपर को खूब ही धिक्कार किया है, लेकिन जातीय निर्णय के प्रश्न को लगभग कुछ भी नहीं छोड़ा। उसे जैसेके तैसे ही छोड़ दिया है। वर्तमान जातीय निर्णयका फल क्या होगा, आप इसे खूब जानते हैं; हर एक मनुष्य अपने अपने मज़हबके नामपर चुनकर अलग अलग आयगा, फिर वेह कैसे सब मिलकर एक नीतिको चला सकेंगे। काँग्रेसमें मेरे कुछ मित्रोंका ऐसा विश्वास है कि White Paper के साथही जातीय निर्णय भी चला जायगा अपने विश्वासके अनुसार तभी व कहते हैं कि व्हाइट पेपर को रद्द कर दो वस, जातीय निर्णय भी स्वयं रद्द हो जायेगा। इसमें विश्वाससे तो काम चलता नहीं, यह तो एक साफ़ बात है। मैं शुरूसे ही कह रहा हूँ कि यह बिलकुल गलत है कि व्हाइट पेपर के साथ जातीय निर्णय भी गिरजायगा। आप व्हाइट पेपर को तो धिक्कारते हैं, लेकिन जातीयनिर्णयके प्रश्नको अधूरा ही छोड़ देते हैं, यह क्या बात हुई कि न हम उसे मानते हैं। और न उसे रद्द करते हैं। वर्किंग कमेटीकाभी यह ख्याल गलत है कि व्हाइट पेपर के साथ ही जातीयनिर्णय का प्रश्न रद्द हो जायेगा। सेक्रेटरी ऑफ स्टेटने तो साफ़ साफ़ कहा है कि

व्हाइट पेपर में वे कुछ रद्दोबदल कर सकते हैं, लेकिन Communal Award जातीय निर्णय में, कुछ भी रद्दोबदल नहीं हो सकती जबतक कि हिन्दुस्तान की सब जातियां मिलकर एक ऐसा दूसरा निर्णय न तैयार करें जो सबको माननीय हो। गर्वनेमन्टने तो साफ़ २ कहा है कि व्हाइट पेपर और जातीयनिर्णयमें यह प्रश्न है कि व्हाइट पेपरके ठहराव बदल सकते हैं लेकिन जातीयनिर्णय तो ऐसाही होगा। इसलिये जबतक कोई ऐसा मसौदा सब जातियां मिलकर तैयार न करें जो सबको माननीय हो तबतक तो यह जातीय निर्णय कमसेकम १० वर्षकेलिये तो रहेगा ही। अब तो यह निश्चय है कि १० वर्षतक इसमें कोई रद्दोबदल नहीं हो सकती। उनके कहनेके सुताविक तो गर्वनेमन्ट व्हाइटपेपर पर विचार कर सकती है जातीयनिर्णयपर नहीं। हाँ, तभी कुछ लाभ भी हो सकता है कि भारतकी सब जातियां मिलकर इस विषयपर एक मसौदा या समझौता तैयार करलें और यह मसौदा उस समयसे पहले तैयार हो जाना चाहिये जब कि पार्लैमेण्टके सामने व्हाइटपेपर कानूनकी शक्लमें रखवा जाय, झूकी अगर उसके बाद यह मसौदा बना तो इससे कुछभी फ़ायदा न होगा।

इसके विषयमें अभीतक बर्किंगकमेटी यही कहती है कि यह सब गलत है और जातीयनिर्णयको कभी भी तबदील करा सकते हैं, जब यह प्रश्न संदेहात्मक है तो ऐसे सन्देहमें क्यों पड़ा जाय। आगे चलकर प्रस्तावक महोदयने कहा है कि कॉन्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली इसपर विचार करेगी, मुझे इसमें सन्देह है। क्या ऐसी कोई सम्भावना है कि कॉन्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली बहुत जल्द ही बुलाई जायगी और वह भी गर्वनेमन्टकी सहायतासे, अर्थात् सरकारभी

उसमें सहयोग करेगी ? कॉन्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली कब आती है, वह तब आती है कि जब राजविप्लव हो जाय । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जिसने कांग्रेसको गोलमेज़ कॉन्फ़रन्समें नहीं बुलाया और जब यदि बुलाया तो खाली हाथही लौटा दिया, और जो व्हाइट-पेपर जैसा कानून सबकी मांगों दुकराकर तैय्यार करसकती है, वह कॉन्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली बुलाएगी और फिर उसमें हमारी सलाह लेगी यह कतई नामुमकिन है । क्या कोई यह विश्वास कर सकता है या यह मान सकता है कि जिसने यह इरादा कर रखा हो कि कोई कानून हिन्दुस्तानियोंको माननीय हो या नहो, वह हम उनके सिरपर ज़रूर रखेंगे, वह क्या कोई जातीयनिर्णय कर लेनेकेलिये कॉन्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली बुलायगी, बितकुल गलत है और अगर बुलायगी भी तो कब ? कानून बननेसे पहिले या बाद ? क्या वर्किंग कमेटीका यह मतलब है कि चार, छः, महीनेके अन्दर बुलाएगी यानी कानून बननेसे पहिले । मुझे तो इसके माननेमें बड़ा भारी सन्देह है, आप आगे कहते हैं कि यह वर्तमान जातीयनिर्णय बुरा है, इसके विरुद्ध आन्दोलन करना चाहिये । क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि दो वर्षके अन्दर किसीने कोशिश नहीं की, यह Communal Award, जातीयनिर्णय सन् १९३२ में छापागयाथा और उसी समयसे बराबर यह अमल किया जा रहाहै कि कोई समझोता सबलोग मिलकर करलें, हमने इलाहाबादमें इस कामकेलिये एक एकतासम्मेलन भी बुलाया, यहाँ इस बातकी कोशिश की गई कि हम सब मिलकर एक निश्चयपर पहुंच जायं । हम कुछ कामयाब भी हुए थे, उसको नाकामयाब करनेको गवर्नमेण्टने खूबही कोशिश की और हमने जो भी किया, उसके खिलाफ़ गवर्नमेण्टने

मुसलमानोंको लालच दिखाकर हमारे फ़ैसलेको बदल दिया, हम उस फ़ैसलेको काममें नहीं लासके ।

मुझे तो इसका पूर्ण विश्वास है कि हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, पारसी, व ईसाई मिलकर एक जगह बैठसकते हैं और अपनी २ बातोंका निर्णय करसकते हैं, और हमने ऐसा किया भी है, हमने लखनऊ पेक्ट बनाया था, उसमें एकभी अंगरेज शामिल न था, इसके अलावा हमने इलाहाबादमें एकता सम्मेलन किया था उसमें किसीभी अंगरेजकी मदद हमने नहीं ली, लेकिन हम क्या कर सकते हैं जब कि गवर्नमेण्टका यह पक्का इरादा है कि इनमें आपसमें मेल न हो । यह कहना गलत है कि हिन्दूमुसलमान मिलकर कोई फ़ैसला नहीं कर सकते । मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि यह सब मिलकरही अपना फ़ैसला स्वयं कर सकते हैं । और मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हम सब मिलकरही इस प्रस्तावका फ़ैसला करें । (हर्षकारकी ध्वनि) मुझे अभिमान है कि अंगरेजके सामने अपनी समस्याओंको लेकर न जायें और यह देखकर कि किसी तरहसे भी कोई समझौता नहीं हो रहा था, मैंने मज़बूर होकर श्री मेकडोनाल्डसे कहा था कि वह निजी रूपमें जातीय समस्यापर अपना निर्णय दें और जो उनका निर्णय होगा हम उसे मानलेंगे । मुझे तो यह आशा थी कि श्री. मेकडोनाल्ड निष्पक्ष निर्णय देंगे । हमारे सिख भाइयोंने तो साफ़ २ कहा था कि हम ऐसा फ़ैसला नहीं चाहते । हमारे देशमें इस communal spirit को फैलानेकी जिम्मेदारी भी गवर्नमेण्टपर ही है । इसकी बड़ी लम्बी तवारीख है कि किस २ तरहसे गवर्नमेण्टने हमारे मुसलमान भाइयोंको भड़काया कि वह अल्लहदा नुमायन्दगीके लिये अपनी मांग रखें ।

गवर्नमेण्टने बंगालको विभाजित किया था उसके विरुद्ध बंगालमें बड़ा ज़बरदस्त आन्दोलन उठा, गवर्नमेण्ट उस आन्दोलनका मुकाबला न कर सकी, फल यह हुआ कि गवर्नमेण्टको हार माननी पड़ी और बंगालको जैसेका तैसा ही रहने दिया। गवर्नमेण्टके उस फैसलेको किसने बदल दिया? कमज़ोरीने नहीं, बंगालने जान लड़ादी और इरादा करलिया कि हम इस बंगाल विभाजनको हटवा कर रहेंगे। हम फिर क्यों अपनी कमज़ोरी दिखलाते हैं, हमें भी जातीय निर्णयके विरुद्ध आन्दोलन खड़ा कर देना चाहिये तभी हम गवर्नमेण्टपर ज़ोर डाल सकते हैं कि अपने फैसलेको वापिस ले। जब यह सवाल असेम्बलीके सामने बहस और रायकेलिये आयगा तो व्हाइट-पेपर और जातीय-निर्णय दोनों एक साथही एक प्रश्न बनाकर पेश किये जाएंगे, तब क्या होगा, काँग्रेसवादी जो असेम्बलीमें जायेंगे, व्हाइट-पेपरको रद्द करनेकी राय देंगे लेकिन जब जातीयनिर्णयका प्रश्न लिया जायगा तो उनके हाथ नीचे गिर जाएंगे, फल क्या होगा कि गवर्नमेण्ट यह समझेगी कि काँग्रेस वर्तमान जातीयनिर्णयके पक्षमें है, फिर क्यों कहते हो कि न इसे मानते हैं और न रद्द करते हैं, चुप रहोगे तो गवर्नमेण्ट समझ लेगी कि ये तो इसे मानतेहैं। यह ज़रूर है कि क्विंकमेट्री खुद करती है। डॉक्टर साहबने कहा है कि व्हाइट-पेपरको तो आप रद्द करनेको तैयार हैं, लेकिन जातीयनिर्णयको जैसेके तैसे ही छोड़ते हैं। व्हाइट-पेपरको इसलिये खारीज करते हैं कि गवर्नमेण्टको ज़ाहिर करना चाहते हैं कि हम पूरी आज़ादी चाहते हैं क्या किसी भी देशमें ऐसा होगा जो यह कहेकि हम पौनेसोलह आने स्वतंत्रता चाहते हैं? क्या हिन्दुस्तान कभी भी इससे कमकेलिये तैय्यार

हो जायगा, चाहे २० वर्ष लगे या ३० वर्ष, उम्मीद तो यही है कि जल्दी ही मिलेगी हम पूर्ण स्वतंत्रतासे कममें एजी नहींगे ।

जब कॉंग्रेस व्हाइट-पेपर को तो रद्दकरनेको तय्यार है लेकिन जातीयनिर्णयको ऐसा क्यों नहीं करती ? कारण यह बताया जाता है कि मुसलमान नेता इसे चाहते हैं, अगर यह बात है तो हिन्दू इसके खिलाफ हैं । कहा गया है कि न इसे मानते हैं और न रद्द करते हैं । इसका मायना, तो यह हुआ कि आपने इसे मंजूर किया । अगर आप यह कहते कि यह हमें मंजूर ही नहीं तो ठीक था । काँग्रेसको कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं करनी चाहिये जो शुद्ध Nationalism, देशभक्तिके खिलाफ हो । इसके अलावा यह भी तो बात है कि जातीय निर्णयके खिलाफ हिन्दू और सिख पार्टियोंका खड़ा विरोध है । इसीलिये मैंने कहा है कि जातीयनिर्णय सर्वथा असन्तोषजनक है इसी कारण मैंने यह प्रस्ताव आप लोगोंके सामने रखा है ।

क्या आप समझते हैं कि व्हाइट-पेपर आपके प्रस्ताव-मालसे, जो आप असेम्बलीमें पास कराना चाहते हैं नामंजूर हो जायेगा, और गवर्नमेण्ट आपके पास करते ही इसे तबदील कर देगी जबतक विधान सभा (Constituent Assembly) न बुलाई जायगी तबतक गवर्नमेण्ट कभी भी नहीं मानेगी । असेम्बलीमें इस प्रस्तावके पास हो जानेसे यही अर्थ निकलेगा कि हम भारतके नुमायन्दे इस व्हाइट-पेपरका विरोध करते हैं वे इसे नहीं चाहते, बस ऐसाही आप जातीयनिर्णयको क्यों नहीं मानते हैं । आप जैसी निन्दा व्हाइट-पेपरकी करते हैं वैसीही निन्दा जातीयनिर्णयकी क्यों नहीं करते ? निन्दा करते हैं, लेकिन फिर उसे मंजूर करते हैं ।

हमारे देशमें बहुत लोगोंने कहा है कि यह खराब है लन्दनमें जब Minority-Pact किया गया था उसपर बोलते हुए महात्माजीने कहा था कि काँग्रेस इसको कभी भी मंजूर नहीं करेगी, इसपर स्वतंत्रताका वृत्त फलही नहीं सकता। यदि यह ऐसा है तो फिर क्यों इसको मंजूर करते हैं? आप यदि शुद्ध स्वराज्य चाहते हैं तो इसे नामंजूर करना होगा। सन १८८५ से आप सबसे काँग्रेसका जन्म हुआ है, स्वतंत्रताकी लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं, अलहदा चुनावका तरीकाभी गवर्नमेण्टनेही यहां जारी किया है। लॉर्ड मिंटोकी गवर्नमेण्टने यह तरीका जब मानलिया तब यह यहां चला, मुसलमानोंने इसे नहीं मांगा था, यह तो गवर्नमेण्टनेही मुसलमानोंको सुझाया था कि तुम अपना (Separate Electorate) मांगो। अब यह कहा जाता है कि मुसलमान इसे चाहते हैं। लखनऊ पेटमें जरूर कुछ बन्नकेलिये हिन्दुओंने इसे मान लिया था, लेकिन नेहरू रिपोर्टमें तो लिखा गया था कि इसे निकाल देना चाहिये। जहां स्वतंत्र राज्य होता है, वहां धर्मके ऊपर चुनाव नहीं होता, गवर्नमेण्ट तो चाहती है कि अलहदा २ चुनाव कायम रहे। पंजाबमें गवर्नमेण्टने ५२ फीसदी मुसलमानोंको दिया है और ४२ फीसदीमें हिन्दु और सिख हैं। एक तो Separate Electdtoates और दूसरा क्या होगा कि ५२ फीसदी मेम्बर जो चाहें वे करेंगे, हिन्दू और सिखोंकी तरफ वे देखेंगे भी नहीं, स्वराज्य कैसे कायम होगा, पंजाबमें जरूर मुसलमानोंका स्वराज्य होगा, यह स्वराज्य तो नहीं होगा। ऐसेही जहाँ हिन्दू ज्यादा हैं वहां हिन्दू राज्य होगा, लड़ाई भगड़ा आपसमें बराबर रहेगा।

बंगालमें अंगरेजोंको ज्यादा हक दिया है गो कि उनकी

वहाँ इतनी आबादी नहीं है, वहाँ अंगरेजही राज्य करेंगे। हर जगह किसीभी प्रान्तको ले लीजिये, टुकड़े २ कर दिये हैं, स्वराज्य तो कहीं भी नहीं है। हमें ऐसा बटवारा मंजूर नहीं है, आखिर इसे कबतकके लिये रखना चाहते हैं? हमारे डॉक्टर अन्सारी साहब भी कहते हैं कि गैरमुल्कवालोंसे फैसला नहीं कराओ, तो यह फैसलाभी तो गैरमुल्कवालोंनेही किया है फिर इसेभी क्यों नहीं फेंक देते इसे फिर क्यों रखते हो, साफ़ २ क्यों नहीं कह देते कि इसे हम नहीं चाहते। देशभक्त मुसलमान कहते हैं कि हम व्हाइट-पेपरको support नहीं करेंगे। ऐसा तो जमाना कभीभी नहीं रहा है कि मुसलमान काँग्रेसके साथ नहीं रहे हों। काँग्रेसका धर्म है कि जो बेजा बात है उसकी निन्दा की जाय। बंगालमेंभी मुसलमानोंने यही राय जाहिर की है कि संयुक्त चुनाव रखा जाय, फिर क्यों काँग्रेस इस Award को मंजूर करती है। एक भाई मुझे काँग्रेससे बागी कहते हैं मैं काँग्रेसका प्रेमी हूँ, मैंने काँग्रेसको खूनसे सींचा है और आगेभी सींचता रहूंगा (कर्तल ध्वनि) अगर सौ वर्षतकभी काँग्रेस गलत तरीके पर चलेगी तो मैं उसका विरोध करूंगा। मैं इस मसले पर महात्माजीको नहीं समझा सका और न वह मुझे समझा सके, तो क्या बैर पैदा हो गया? कभी नहीं। मुझे तनिक भी मेरे शर्म नहीं है कि मैंने ऐसा किया है। मैं हाथ जोड़कर विनन्ती करता हूँ कि यदि शब्द कड़े रहे हों तो क्षमा कियाजाऊँ। मैं कैसे चुप होकर बैठ जाऊँ, जब समझता हूँ कि काँग्रेस गलतीपर है, जो बात बुरी है काँग्रेस उसे बुरी क्यों नहीं कहती?

आज लोग समझने लगे कि मैं काँग्रेसका विरोधी हो गया। देशके मामलेमें हर एकको अपनी २ स्वतन्त्र राय देनेका हक

है भारत में आजकल आफत बढ़ी हुई है, लोग भूखे मर रहे हैं, बेकारी चारों तरफ हो रही है। हम कम तक बैठे रहेंगे जब यह कानून बनकर आयगा। सब भाई इके हो जायं और आपसमें फ़ैसला करलें, हमें चाहिये कि हम सब प्रेमेके साथ बैठें और यह पूरी र उम्मीद है कि हम किसी न किसी फ़ैसले पर ज़रूर पहुँच जायेंगे गवर्नमेंटने डाक्टर अन्सारी को गोलमेज काँग्रेस में क्यों नहीं भेजा। इसीलिये कि वह वहाँ जाकर Naturalist demands पेश करते, जब कि वाईसराय यह बचन दे दिया था कि वह उन्हें अवश्य भेजेंगे। सब मिलकर बैठें और आपसमें फ़ैसला करें।

महात्माजीसे अपील करते हुए कहा कि वह काँग्रेससे अलग न हों, इस बड़े कामको जो हमारे सामने इस वज़त है, इसे पूरा करें। महात्माजीका काँग्रेससे अलहदा होना इस समय उतना ही हानिकरक है जितना जातीय चुनावको न ठुकराना। जब हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख्ख और पारसी भाई मिलकर बैठेंगे। तो ज़रूर हमारा समझौता हो सकता है, मैं तो कभी भी ना उम्मीद नहीं हूँ। ऐसा मेल किस कामका जिसमें एक को तो नुकसान होगा और दूसरेको फ़ायदा, बर्किंग कमेटीने यह घोर निकम्मापन किया है, जो इस जातीय निर्णय के विरुद्ध आवाज़ नहीं उठाई है। अब फिर एक बार सब मिलकर कह दो कि हम इसकी निन्दा करते हैं। मेरे भाई डॉक्टर अनसारीने कहा था कि अगर इस मसलेपर काँग्रेस अपना फ़ैसला बदल देगी तो वह काँग्रेससे इस्तीफ़ा देंगे। मुझे इससे दुख हुआ था।

तत्पश्चात् श्री. माधवराव अणोने इस संशोधनका समर्थन किया। आपने कहा कि तरफ़ीय मालवीयजीने अच्छी तरह

समझा दिया है कि वर्किंग कमेटीने जो प्रस्ताव पास किये हैं उनमें यह नहीं कहा गया है कि काँग्रेस इस जातीय निर्णय को नामंजूर करती है। कहा ही यह गया है कि काँग्रेस पार्टी इस मसले पर असम्बलीमें चुप बैठी रहेगी।

इसके पश्चात् अधिवेशन अगले दिनकेलिये स्थगित हो गया।

Bapuji Aney (Berar) seconded the amendment.

The Congress rose for the day and adjourned the sitting till 6. p. m. on Saturday, the 27th October 1934.

SECOND DAY

October, 27th, 1934

The Congress reassembled on Saturday, the 27th October, 1934, at 6 p.m.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of Vande-Mataram and other National songs by young ladies.

The President announced at the outset that nearly 26 delegates had expressed their intention of speaking for and against the amendments. As the time at their disposal was short, he could not possibly allow all of them. He would, therefore, pick and choose in such a way that no school of thought would remain unrepresented among the speakers. Mr. Narendra Deva (U.P.) moved the Socialist amendment which ran as follows:—

- (i) Delete the words: "The resolutions regarding the Parliamentary Board and its policy and programme."
- (ii) Add at the end of the resolution the words: "except the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at Bombay and Benares regarding class struggle and confiscation of property."

In doing so he said :

श्री नरेंद्रदेवका भाषण

मैं लाहौर काँग्रेसके प्रस्तावोंकी याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, उस प्रस्तावके ज़रियेसे काँग्रेसने अपने ध्येय (creed) में तबदीली की थी और साफ़ तौरपर यह एलान कर दिया था कि 'पूर्णस्वतंत्रता' हमारा ध्येय है, दिलपर हाथ रखकर याद तो कीजिये कि इस प्रस्तावका क्या अर्थ होता है, क्या इसके ज़रियेसे आपने एलान नहीं करदिया था कि अब आगेसे हमें British Imperialism, ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादसे कोई ताअल्लुक न रहेगा। इस समय वक्ता महोदयने लाहौर काँग्रेसद्वारा स्वीकृत प्रस्तावभी पढ़ सुनाया।

इस प्रस्तावका इसके साथ घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। उस प्रस्तावका आशय यह था कि हम भारतवर्षकेलिये पूर्णस्वतंत्रता हासिल करनेकेलिये सारी शक्तियां लगा देंगे। यहभी कहा था कि इस स्वतंत्रताकी प्राप्तिकेलिये पहिले कदमके रूपमें कौन्सिलोंका पूर्ण रूपसे बायकॉट किया जाय। अपने उद्देश्य और ध्येयकी प्राप्तिकेलिये ऐसा कहना हमने निश्चय किया था। क्या आप अपने ध्येयको पहुंच गये, कौन्सिलोंका बायकॉट क्यों पास किया था, चूंकि कौन्सिलोंमें जाकर स्वराज्य प्राप्त करनेसे अनेक बाधाएं आती हैं; कौन्सिलोंके विरुद्ध यह राह सदैवकेलिये थी जबतक कि हम पूर्णस्वतंत्रता प्राप्त न कर लें, फिर मैं नहीं समझता कि अभी ऐसी क्या तबदीली हो गई है कि हम फिर कौन्सिलोंमें जानेका विचार कर रहे हैं। मैं तो साफ़ २ कहता हूँ कि ये कौन्सिलें आज़ादीके रास्तेमें रोडे हैं। हम कभी भी British Imperialism ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यमें नहीं रहेंगे। जब हम यह निश्चय करलेते हैं कि हमें तो पूर्णस्वतंत्रता हासिल करनी है और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादसे हमें कोई ताअल्लुक रखना नहीं है तो

हमारा दूसरा प्रोग्राम हो जाता है। [इस प्रस्तावको लाहौर काँग्रेसके प्रस्तावकी रोशनीमें देखना चाहिये और तब मालूम होगा कि हम अपने ध्येयसे कितना नीचे गिरते जा रहे हैं।

पटनेमें काँग्रेस वर्किंगकमेटीकी बैठक हुई थी, वहाँ कौन्सिलके दाखिलेका मज़मून पेश था, उस समय पार्लमैन्टरी बोर्डवालोंने कहा था कि काँग्रेसमें एक ग्रोह ऐसा पैदा होगया है जो कौन्सिलोंमें जाना आज़ादीकेलिये ज़रूरी समझता है और वर्किंगकमेटीने कहा था कि अभी इसके ऊपर कुछ निश्चय नहीं किया जा सकता और उसने कहा था कि काँग्रेसमें ही ऐसा ग्रोह है जो कौन्सिलोंमें जाना चाहता है। फिर अब समझमें नहीं आता कि कौन्सिलोंमें जाना काँग्रेसका मुख्य प्रोग्राम क्यों बनाया जा रहा है। डा. अन्सारी साहबने ३ बातोंकेलिये कौन्सिलोंमें जाना ज़रूरी समझा है, पहिली तो यह कि गवर्नमेन्टकी दुल्लती पॉलिसीका अन्डाफ़ोड करनेकेलिये। कौन ऐसा बेवकूफ़ हैं कि जो सरकारकी इस दुल्लती चालको न समझता हो, यह तो स्वयंही सवपर जाहिर है कि इस नीतिके क्या मन्त्राने हैं। कौन यह नहीं समझता कि कोईभी विदेशी हुकुमत इस नीतिको न चलेगी, जो भी अपना साम्राज्य मज़बूत रखना चाहती है, वह तो इस नीतिका सहारा लेतीही है कि एक तरफ़ तो लोगोंको दबाया जाय और दूसरी ओर उनको कुछ २ हक़भी देदिये जाँय। मोन्टेगू सुधार योजना भी हमारे सामने आई थी; उस समयभी यह सवाल मुल्कके सामने था, लेकिन हम उस समय गवर्नमेन्टकी इस चालमें नहीं आ सके। अब यह निश्चयही है कि गवर्नमेन्टकी यह दोहरी नीति सवपर अच्छी तरहसे जाहिर है तो फिर क्यों चुनावलडकर रुपयेकी बरबादी की जाय।

दूसरी बात जो पार्लियामेण्टरी बोर्ड असेम्बलीमें, जाकर करना चाहता है वह है व्हाइटपेपरको रद्द करना इस सफेद पर्चेका अर्थ तो यह है कि काँग्रेस आन्दोलनको कमजोर करना। क्या आप समझते हैं कि आपके वहाँ जानेसे गवर्नमेण्ट अपने इरादेसे टल जाएगी। कहा जाता है कि हम वहाँ जाकर काँग्रेस कमेटियों जो अभीतक गैरकानूनी हैं, कानूनी कराएंगे। जेलमें जो राजनैतिक कैदी हैं उन्हें छुड़वाएंगे। यह तो वही बात है कि

बेकार मवाश कुछ किया कर

कपड़े फाडकर सिया कर ॥

अगर आप समझते हैं कि यह सब बातें आजादी दिला देंगी तो यह साफ गलती है। फिर Constituent Assembly की बात कही जाती है, कि हम वहाँ जाकर इसके लिये प्रस्ताव पेश करेंगे और गवर्नमेण्टको मजबूर करेंगे कि वह इस असेम्बली को बुलाए। और मुल्कों में Constituent Assembly बुलाई गई है जब कि उन्होंने राज्य सत्ता दुसरोसे छीनकर अपने हाथ में लेली है।

सबसे ज़रूरी बात जो मैं कहूँगा वह है कि मैंने अध्यक्षजीका भाषण बड़े गौरसे पठा है, वह स्वयं एक जगह कहते हैं कि कौन्सिलों में जाना व्यर्थ है, इससे स्वराज्यकी प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकती। पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता हमारा ध्येय है। क्या हम पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता कौन्सिलों के जरियेसे प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। कभीभी नहीं। अध्यक्षजीने साफ तौरपर अपने भाषणमें—कहा है कि जनता को संगठित करने से ही स्वराज्य मिल सकता है, फिर काँग्रेसवाले कौन्सिलोंम जाकर क्या करेंगे? वहाँसे जनता का संगठन नहीं

नहीं हो सकता । इसके अलावा डाक्टर साहब कहते हैं कि हम वहाँ जाकर और भी काम करेंगे ।

दूसरी बात मालवीयजी के संशोधन के बारेमें है । पार्लामैन्टरी बोर्ड का बताया हुआ तरीका तो ग़लत है ही, मालवीयजी जो तरीका बतलाते हैं वहभी ग़लत है । मालवीयजी जातीयनिर्णय के प्रश्नको बहुत प्रधानता देते हैं, इस प्रश्नको आगे रखकर हम अपने असली ध्येयको छोड़ देते हैं, यह प्रश्न हम लोगों को जुदा २ करनेमें सफल हो सकता है, यह हमारे अन्दर तफ़रमा पैदा कर देगा । इस प्रश्नो को उठानेसे देशमें शान्ति नहीं रह सकती । सब जातियोंमें मेल तभी हो सकता है कि जब हम आर्थिक प्रश्न को लें । आर्थिक प्रश्न ऐसा है जो सबके लिये एकसा है; उसमें हिन्दु या मुसलमान का सवाल पैदा नहीं होगा । साम्यवाद ही सच्ची हिन्दूमुसलिम एकता पैदा कर सकता है । और सब रास्ते ग़लत हैं, साम्यवाद द्वाराही हम मुल्कको आगे लेजा सकते हैं । जातीय निर्णय को रद्द करनेसे हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते । मालवीयजीका यह कहना ग़लत है कि काँग्रेस व्हाइट-पेपर को तो रद्द करेगी; लेकिन जातीय निर्णय को वैसे का वैसे ही रहने देगी । अगर हम सफ़ेद पर्चे को रद्द करने की ताकत ले आएंगे तो वह समय दूर नहीं होगा जब कि हम अपने जातीय बाटवारे का प्रश्न भी स्वयं ही हल करलेंगे । हम कभी भी मायूस नहीं हैं, मायूस वही हुआ करते हैं जो अपने में कभज़ोरी पाते हैं जब किसान और मज़दूरों में एकता हो जाएगी तो इन Communal नेताओंकी बात कोई भी नहीं सुनेगा । इनकी दाल तभी तक ग़लती है जबतक आप समाजका संगठन आर्थिक प्रश्न को लेकर नहीं करते हैं । दूसरा प्रस्ताव Socialist

Party साम्यवादी दल के बारे में हैं । मैं उसपर कुछ नहीं कहूँगा; उसपर और महाशय बोलेंगे ।

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in seconding the amendment said:

"I am amazed that one of the main planks in the election campaign of the Parliamentary Board should be that Britain has hurled a challenge in India's face in the shape of the White Paper constitution, and that it was India's duty to pick up the gauntlet by returning the Congress candidates at the top of the polls. How ridiculous is that position? The bogey of challenges has been raised to rouse people's sentiments. The real fact is that the challenge is not a new thing at all. It has been there since the advent of the East India Company. The challenge was thrown to India when Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India. That challenge stands and India has not taken it up. On the other hand, it has taken the challenge lying down. It is therefore ridiculous to think in terms of challenges.

"Friends, I do not pretend to be an orthodox No-Changer. All I contend is that a Parliamentary programme will have no effect unless linked up with dynamic mass action in the country. As for mere councils, they had been played with for too long. I now refer to the Working Committee resolutions on Socialism. I was shocked at that exhibition of colossal ignorance on the part of India's Nationalist Cabinet. Class war is inherent in the present capitalistic society. Nobody created it. It simply exists by itself and will continue to exist as long as the present social and economic system continues. The world at large cannot ignore facts just because the Working Committee chooses to shut its eyes or bury its head. Why should the instruments of production be controlled by a small coterie to the detri-

ment of the masses? Why should a few people be rolling in wealth, while millions upon millions have not even plain food to eat, much less clothes to wear? A society that is regulated by the motives of the market deserves to be demolished. A state of society that has money and apparatus for coercion deserves to be done away with. Can there be a more organised and systematised kind of violence than the one that permitted a few to exult in the miseries of the many? Capitalism is violence par excellence and the Congress that stands for non-violence is not only condoning it but actively nurturing it. Remember, Socialism stands for welfare and not for power.

Mr. J. C. Gupta (Bengal) moved his amendment which ran as follows:

Add after the resolution regarding Communal Award: "That the Congress candidates returned to the Assembly should be given freedom to vote according to the Mandates from their constituencies regarding the Communal Award and failing it, according to their conscience regarding the Award which is admittedly anti-national".

Mr. J. C. Gupta then explaining briefly the object of his amendment said: "Friends, in moving this amendment for allowing freedom of conscience to Congress candidates, I am not opposing the Communal Award from the Communal point of view. In Bengal, neither Muslims have benefited under the scheme nor Hindus. Europeans alone stand to gain thereby. If freedom of conscience is allowed to Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney, smaller Congressmen should not be denied the same.

Mr. G. N. Kanitkar (Maharashtra) moved his amendment which ran as follows:—Add the following to the items in the constructive programme:

(i) Organisation of peasants with a view to agricultural improvement for increasing the fertility and the productivity of the land.

(ii) Physical culture with insistence on Lathi-training and drill as useful means for inculcating the spirit of discipline and manliness in the village population.

(iii) Establishment of village Panchayats for stopping litigation and for redressing the grievances of the masses rising out of their everyday dealings with the Government Machinery and for developing an atmosphere of self-help, mutual faith, self-respect, co-operation and communal good-will among the masses in the villages".

He said:—Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters,

I apologise to you for speaking in English—a foreign tongue.

My Amendment, in my opinion, is very important, as it concerns the most vital interests of the country.

I will take the items one by one. Friends! our country is one of peasants, who have now become paupers. They hardly get one meal a day. They are clad in rags. They are debt-ridden and cannot pay their rent to the land-lord, interest to the money-lender or revenue to the Government. The poor peasant is fast on his way to insolvency and thence to slavery. So unless Congressmen come to his rescue, his complete and permanent ruination is a forgone conclusion.

The peasant just now stands on the fence. He does not know what to do. The Government agency in the village has led him into believing that the Congress movement has completely ruined him. He is non-plussed. So it is the duty of the Congress to convince him of its own bonafides by helping him by deeds and not by mere

words. It must do its utmost to prevent his being a slave of the planter-Capitalist, like those unfortunate people in Assam and Fiji. So I appeal to the Congress to take active interest in the moral, economic and physical uplift of the peasant.

Now we come to the item of physical culture. Here, too, we find a heart-rending tragedy. Friends! I am a Congressman and so pledged to complete non-violence. But I have absolutely no faith in the non-violence of the weak. The non-violence of those alone, who are physical, moral and intellectual giants, deserves the respect of the world.

Again there is the question of the preservation of law and order. You know, in spite of the vain-glorious claims of the foreign bureaucracy, it cannot perform this duty properly. So we must stand on our legs in this respect too.

Then there is the question of defence. That England was saved from German occupation by the timely help, given by India, is a well-known fact. And still these foreigners brag of their ability to defend India! Who knows what will happen to them and to India, in case India is invaded by some foreign nation? So we must be prepared.

I know in the modern days of aeroplanes and poison-gas, mere lathi and drill are absolutely nowhere. But they lead to the creation of that manly mentality and that disciplined sense of duty, which is required by a soldier ready to lay down his life in defence of his Motherland. So in the name of the defenceless Hinda Mata I appeal to the Congress, to take living interest in this question of physical culture. Descendants of Rana Pratap, Akbar and Shivaji, at least, should not require protection from foreign Highland Regiments.

And then we come to the question of village panchayats. This is also a problem of supreme importance. One of the reasons why the peasant has become a pauper, is that he is by nature inclined to litigation and this tendency of his is exploited by those, who have a monetary interest in doing this. It is not necessary to speak at length on this subject; it is a self-evident truth.

So I appeal to you, Daughters and Sons of India, to pass my amendment by an overwhelming majority and do your duty by the Motherland.—Vande Mataram.

Mr. V. K. Joshi (Maharashtra) seconded the amendment.

In supporting Pandit Malaviya's amendment for rejection of the Award, Maulavi Abdus Samad (Bengal) said:

Mr. President, Ladies and brother delegates, I rise to oppose the Working Committee's resolution on Communal Award and give my whole-hearted support to the amendment moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya urging for its rejection. The Working Committee condemns the Communal Award as anti-national and fundamentally opposed to democratic form of Government but in the same breath it asks you to observe an attitude of strict neutrality by 'neither accepting nor rejecting the Award' and not to carry on any agitation either inside or outside the Assembly for its rejection or modification.

The principal ground urged in support of this inconsistent and illogical attitude is that, as the Congress is a national organisation representing all communities and classes, it is bound to respect the feelings and sentiments of each community, big or small, and as the Mussalmans in general seem to support the Award, the Congress cannot reject it. For similar reason the Congress is unable to accept the Award as the Hindus and Sikhs in general want to reject it.

Now the question is do the Mussalmans in general, or, in other words, the Muslim Community as such, accept the so-called Communal Award? The fact is really otherwise. The nationalist Muslims representing the majority of the Muslim intelligentsia under the leadership of Dr. Ansari and Maulavi Abul Kalam Azad, have been so long urging, and rightly urging, that the system of separate electorate and hence the Communal Award which seeks to perpetuate that pernicious system is more harmful to the Muslims than to the Hindus and that the so-called Muslim leaders who support the Award represent none but themselves. I cannot understand how Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad Sahab as members of the Working Committee can now make the most damaging admission that the Muslims in general are in favour of the Award. Did not the Nationalist Muslims including the entire Shia Community, the Ahle Hadis Community, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and many other Muslim organisations accept the system of joint electorate under the scheme formulated by the Congress Working Committee in July 1931? Did not the Muslims again reiterate their adherence to the principle of joint electorate at the Allahabad Unity Conference? According to Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sheikh Abdul Mazid Sindhi, the two principal conveners of the said Conference, 90 p. c. of the Muslim Community accepted the terms of the agreement reached at that Conference. As a matter of fact, how can the Muslim Community as such accept the Award as satisfactory when it reduces the Muslim majority in Bengal to the position of a permanent minority? If the opinion of a section of the Muslim Community has now changed in favour of the Communal Award it is not because they really approve of its terms but because they know that the Award has come to stay. So the position taken up by the Working Committee is untenable. The Congress as a national organisation should not keep silent over a question which vitally affects the interest of the Muslim Community.

The Muslim Community is an important link in the body politic of India and anything which affects the former is bound to affect the latter. The Working Committee's resolution if accepted, would sound the deathknell of Indian nationalism and would kill the spirit of nationalism that has been slowly but surely growing among the Muslim Community.

The next point urged in support of the resolution is that the settlement of the Communal problem is purely a domestic affair and so we must try to arrive at an agreed solution of this problem without appealing to any outside authority or the British Government for the modification of the Award. The Working Committee seems to overlook the fact that no agreed solution is possible so long as the Communal Award stands. Separate electorate has been conceded not in the interests of the Muslim Community but really in the interests of the British Government, and so long as there will be one Musalman to support the Award no agreed solution would be acceptable to the Government.

It is further urged that the Congress and the Congressmen who enter the legislature would fight for the rejection of the White Paper and the White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award would necessarily lapse. If that is so then what was the necessity of adding a separate clause on the Communal Award question and thereby creating a cleavage in the Congress rank. In view of the resolution recently passed by the All-India Muslim League and the All parties Muslim Conference it is clear that the Muslim members of the Assembly are going to support the White Paper Scheme. According to the Working Committee these two Muslim bodies represent the views of the Muslim Community in India. How can the Congress then consistently with the policy laid down in the resolution under discussion fight for the rejection of the White Paper? It is impossible to reject the White Paper unless there is an ani-

mous demand for its rejection and a unanimous demand is impossible unless Communal Award is rejected.

It is also urged that the Constituent Assembly which is proposed to be held would frame the constitution of the future Independent India and then the Communal problem would be automatically solved. The Working Committee loses sight of the fact that the advocates of separate electorate must necessarily take part in the deliberations of the proposed Constituent Assembly and it is as certain as night follows the day that they would not accept any constitution which does not concede the principle of separate electorate. The idea of electing a Constituent Assembly under the existing circumstances is nothing but a pure moonshine.

The last important point urged in support of the resolution is that further agitation against the Communal Award will only increase the Communal tension and thereby hinder the growth of inter-communal unity. The Working Committee forgets that there can be no communal unity so long as the system of Communal representation remains. The Working Committee cannot deny that the Communal Award has caused great indignation and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. It is highly injudicious and impolitic to suppress this public feeling by gagging the mouth of Congressmen in the manner suggested by the Working Committee. It will drive the Communal tension deep underground and make future reconciliation and restoration of good feeling wellnigh impossible. The Communal Award and the Communal tension stand in the relation of cause and effect. As long as the cause remains the effect would naturally follow. So, the best and wisest policy for the Congress would be to allow the aggrieved parties to ventilate their grievances by agitating against the Communal Award. The Working Committee admits that the people have a just grievance against the

Communal Award but it forbids the Congressmen to express it lest it should cause irritation in the minds of the authors of the Award and thereby provoke a breach of the peace.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa (Karachi) in opposing Pandit Malaviya's amendment, said in Hindi :—

श्री सिधवाका भाषण

जनाबे सदर, बहनों, और भाईयों। मालवीयजीने जो साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयपर बातचीतकी है मैं उसकी मुखालफत के लिये खड़ा हुआ । जो भी मतभेद हमारे अन्दर हो रहा है और उससे जो भी नुकसान मुल्कको हो रहा है वह इस Nationalist Party कि वजहसे है । मैं तो यह भी कहूँगा कि काँग्रेसके अन्दर जो Nationalist Party नेशनलिस्ट दल बना है इसने पैदा होकर सबसे ज्यादाह नुकसान पहुंचाया है । (इसपर आवाजे आई कि इन शब्दोंको वापिस लेओ ।)

श्रीसिधवाने बोलते हुए कहा कि मैं इसमेंसे एक लफ्ज़ भी वापिस न लूँगा । जो लोग देशके प्रतिनिधि बनकर आये हैं वह हुल्लड न करें, जिस समय राय मांगी जाय अपनी राय दे दें । मैं पूछता हूँ कि यह साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय किसको पसन्द है ? यह तो सिवाय गवर्नमेण्टके और किसीकोभी पसन्द नहीं । यह कोई रायकी बात नहीं है, यह तो गवर्नमेण्टने इसलिये रखा है कि सब इनके हाथोंमें खेलते रहें । हम ५० सालसे चिह्ना रहे हैं, लेकिन गवर्नमेण्ट हमारी कौनसी बात सुनती है । सबके सब Communal Award, साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयको रद्द करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जो तरीका दूसरी पार्टियां बतला रही हैं वह हमारी

मुश्किलोंको औरभी बढ़ा देगा । अगर आप साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयको ठीक २ रद्द करना चाहते हैं तो वर्किंग कमेटीने जो तरिका बताया है उसे गान्धीजीने खूब अच्छी तरहसे सोच समझकर हमारे सामने रखा है, उसकोही माननेसे इस समस्याका हल हो सकता है । साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय एक ऐसी गन्दी चीज है कि सब इससे नाखुश हैं, लेकिन क्या किया जाय, यह हमारी बद-किस्मती है कि हम सब मिलकर अपने आपसेके झगडे नहीं निपटा सकते ।

मालवीयजीने कहा है कि व्हाइटपेपर और साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय दोनों अलग २ चीजें हैं । लेकिन ऐसी बात नहीं है । व्हाइटपेपर तो गवर्नमेण्ट हमारे ऊपर फेंकती है और साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय हमारे घरका मामला है । मालवीयजी रास्ता बतलाते हैं कि असेम्बलीमें हम जाएंगे और इसे फैंक देंगे । यहभी कहा जाता है कि एक डेपूटेशन ले जाएंगे । क्या आज डेपूटेशन दिन है । महात्माजीको गोलमेज कॉंग्रेसमें भेजा था क्या नतीजा हुआ । महात्माजीको वर्किंगकमेटीने महात्माजीकी मर्जीकि खिलाफ भेजा था । महात्माजी कहते थे कि जबतक साम्प्रदायिक बातोंका फंसला नहि होता तबतक गोलमेजमें जाना ठीक नहीं । यह उनकी राय होनेपरभी वर्किंगकमेटीने उन्हें भेजा, नतीजा यह हुआ कि महात्माजीको परेशान होकर वापिस आना पडा ।

साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयका इलाज यही है कि हिन्दूमुसलिमकी एकता हो । आप याद रखो कि यह बड़ी चीज है, इसकी इज्जत बड़ी है । बिना आपसकी मेलके हम एक एक कदम भी आगे नहीं चल सकते । आप अगर चाहते हैं कि हम इस साम्प्रदायिक

निर्णयकी जड़ काट सकें तो आप वर्किंग कमेटीके रेजुलेशन पास कीजिये । आप हिन्दुस्थानके लिये स्वराज्य चाहते हैं तो फिर क्या आप एक सीट इधरसे उधर नहीं कर सकते । आखिरमें मुझे मालवीयजीसे बिनती करनी है कि वे शान्त प्रकृतिके हैं, वह काँग्रेसमें जब कोई बात विरोधमें देखते हैं उसकी मुखालफत करते हैं, लेकिन वह कभी भी काँग्रेसके विरोधमें नहीं आए और अब भी उम्मीद है कि वह काँग्रेसके विरोधमें नहीं जाएंगे ।

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Bengal) who also opposed Malaviyaji's amendment said:

The Working Committee stands not for mere rejection of the Award but for its substitution by a better arrangement. I would remind the House that one of the signatories to the letter written by certain Indian delegates to the Premier asking for the Award, was Pandit Malaviya himself.

A Voice:—Even Gandhiji.

Mr. Goswami:—No. Not Gandhiji. I am not imputing motives to the venerable Pandit but I am just pointing out the inconsistency of his position.

(At this stage there were loud cries raised by Bengal and the Punjab delegates.)

Mr. Goswami:—I am used to this organised howling. I do not mind it at all.

(Interruptions continued, when the President intervened and calmed the situation).

Mr. Goswami:—Now with regard to Mr. J. C. Gupta's "Freedom of Conscience" amendment I would say that if Congress wants to follow an organised programme, they cannot allow any such freedom. If it is a case of conscience, such Congressmen must leave the Congress.

Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan (Bombay Socialist) speaking next in support of the Socialists amendments said:

Comrades, it is essential that the spirit of the masses should be kept up. To bring about the atmosphere for mass action, the masses should have a revolutionary and dynamic programme which they should adopt. If the programme of the Socialists is adopted by the country, the rule by the workers and the peasants will soon become an established fact. For this fight for Independence with economic freedom for the masses, the nation requires men who do not retrace their steps in the fight that might follow. The socialist programme is dynamic and the programme of the Congress Parliamentary Board is of little use for them and it oftentimes comes in their way.

Now, as regards the Communal Award about which so much noise is made, I say it is all bosh. There is no communal problem among the masses who starve for their food. But unless there is a real bond of unity in the economic field, it is futile to talk of permanent friendship and peace in the land. The ultimate remedy for the present social and economic maladies, the final method by which the starving masses would get help, is by summoning the Constituent Assembly as mentioned by Pandit Jawaharlal, where important questions will be considered satisfactorily in the interests of all sections of the people. With these words Comrades, I would appeal to you to support the socialist amendments.

Acharya Kripalani in opposing the socialist amendments said in English:

Here is an amendment to the resolution and I want to say a few words about it. You have heard the resolution and you have also heard the amendment. What I have to say is this that the Congress Socialists have misunderstood the problems of class-war and confiscation of property. When there is a revolution, then only

there can be confiscation, as whatever is done by the State by way of confiscating property does not amount to confiscation as it is legal then. When the Indian National Congress condemned Class-war, and confiscation it was the type witnessed after the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. Whenever there was a revolution some people thought it fit to promote class hatred leading to massacres and a reign of terror. The Congress is against it. The Congress is concerned with doing justice by the masses who might be victims of a particular system namely capitalism. But the Congress will see that while the system is removed, the individuals involved in running the system do not suffer.

Even on historical interpretation, Socialism must fail. Just as there is religious fanaticism, the Socialists are also showing some sort of fanaticism, and I hope that the Socialists will not fall victims to this type of fallacy. I believe, the Congress, more than any other organisation in the country, is working for the masses under Mahatma Gandhi. The existence of the Mahatma is a stupendous objective fact which the Socialists cannot afford to ignore or neglect. The Congress is being guided by him and under his principles of non-violence and truth. Therefore, class-war and confiscation of property, as conceived in the West, are objected to by the Congress, and the Congress is justified in doing so.

Even considering the economic principles of the Congress, the Congress recognised the existing class-war between the Capital and the labour, but the Congress do not wish to give a Western turn and significance to this conflict. I therefore oppose the amendments.

One thing more and I have done. The Constituent Assembly, offered as a solution by Pandit Jawaharlal is to meet the requirements of the masses. All outstanding issues can be settled by reference to this Assembly.

Sjt. Gopalsingh Comi (Punjab) in supporting Pandit Malaviyaji's amendment spoke in Hindi. He said:—

श्री गोपालसींह कौमीका भाषण

प्रधानजी, बहनो, और भाइयो। मैं पं. मालवीयजीके संशोधनका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं एक सिख हूँ और आपने अखबारों के जरियेसे देखा ही होगा कि हम इस साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयको अपने सवे व मुल्कके लिये कितना खतरनाक समझते हैं। हमारे मुल्कमें एक और राजनैतिक-जाति पैदा हो रही है। जो किसी को कुछ समझती ही नहीं है। साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयके बारे में काँग्रेसने जो ताज़े अमल अख्त-यार किये हैं उनसे सिखों को नाराज़ कर दिया है, जिनसे कि हमेशा स्वाधीनताकी लड़ाईमें पंजाबमें सबसे आगे मुठभेड़ संभाल ने को कहा जा रहा है।

साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयके मुतअलक सिधवाजीने कहा है कि इस सवालको दुसरोके पास क्यों लेजाना चाहते हो ? वह यह भी बड़े तानेके साथ कहते हैं कि मालवीयजी तो लन्दन जाएंगे और हम यहां सत्याग्रह करेंगे। यह सरासर गलतफैमी फैलाना है, वह समझते हैं कि यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है एक ज़वानसे कुछ कहते हैं और दूसरी ज़वानसे कुछ और। बड़े जोशके साथ कहा जाता है कि जो वर्किंग कमेटीके खिलाफ अपना प्रोग्राम साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयपर दूसरा रखते हैं वह कौमी नहीं। उन्हे बाग्गी बतलाया जाता है। आज मालवीयजीकी मुखालफत करके क्या किया कि उन्हें इस उम्रमें इधर उधर भागना पडरहा है। इस निर्णयके खिलाफ सरतचन्द्र बोस और सुभाषचन्द्र बोस जैसे व्यक्ति

हैं, क्या वे देशभक्त नहीं हैं । श्री. बोसकी राष्ट्रीयवादिताका तो सवृत यही है कि वे इस समय भी जेलमें बन्द हैं । यह सवाल सिर्फ हिन्दू और सिखोंका ही नहीं है, यह तो सारे मुल्कका सवाल है । हमारे अन्दर एक जहनियत पैदा हो गई है कि हम महात्माजी के पीछे बकरी की तरह चलते हैं । वह हाँ कहें तो हमभी हाँ और वह ना कहें तो हमभी ना । महात्माजी इसी वजहसे हमसे अलग हो रहे हैं; वह हमारे इस ढंगसे खुश नहीं हैं, हम अपनी आज़ाद राय देना नहीं पसन्द करते । आप काँग्रेस कमेटीके मेम्बरोसे पूछें तो वेह इसको रद्द करने के माफ़िक हैं । यह क्या जहनियत है कि न हम इसे मानते हैं और न इसे रद्द करते । क्या कहीं इन बातोंसे हिन्दू मुसलमानों का आपसका समझौता हो सकता है । अगर पंजाब में आज डाक्टर किचलू चुनाव के लिये खड़े हों, तो मैं सिखके मुकाबलेमें उन्हें अपनी राय दूंगा । साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयको न मानना और साथ ही न उसे रद्द करना तो एक ऐसी ही मिसाल है कि जैसे कुछ डाकुओंने एक नोटिस दिया कि हम अमुक दिन डाका डालेंगे । जिनके डाका डालनेवाला है उनमें से एक खड़ा होता है और कहता है कि डाकू बुरे हैं, लेकिन उन्हें रोका न जाय । क्या बात हुई । डाकू तो अपना काम पूरा कर ही ले जायेंगे ।

मैं तो आखिरमें कहता हूँ कि आप इस सवाल को साम्प्रदायिक नुस्तेनिगाहसे न सोचें, आप इसे फैक दीजियेगा । ऐसा कोई भी काम हमें नहीं करना चाहिये कि जिससे हम आपसेमें लड़ें ।

Mr. Harimohan Chatterjee (Punjab) opposed the amendment of Malaviyaji. In doing so he said

The Nationalist Party and its leaders are creating a split in the premier organisation of the country at a critical juncture. It must be vehemently denounced. I urge that every Indian must consider it his duty to uphold the prestige of the Congress, and the whole nation, with one voice, must support the Congress policy regarding the Communal Award.

(A delegate from Bengal rose to a point of order and said that the speaker was using objectionable language.)

Babu Rajendra Prasad replied that he had been pulling up every speaker whenever he felt that the speaker was using objectionable language, and that discretion should be left entirely in his hands.

Mr. Chatterjee continuing said: This amendment of Malaviyaji was defeated in the Subjects' Committee by an overwhelming majority, that is, 12 against 114. Yet it has been moved in the plenary session of the Congress. I appeal to the delegates to defeat this amendment and vindicate the vote of the Subjects' Committee which was decisive.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in opposing all the amendments said in Hindi:

सरदार वल्लभभाई का भाषण

मैं रात्रीके इतने समय आप लोगोंके सामने नहीं आना चाहताथा जब कि इसपर बहुतसे दोस्तोंने अपनी राय ज़ाहिर कर दी है। सबसे पहिले तो हमें यह चाहिये कि हम शान्तिपूर्वक हरएककी बात सुनें। मैं देखताहूँ कि जब कोई साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयका ज़िक्र कहता है तो फ़ौरन किसी न किसी कोनेसे कुछ हलचलसी मचती है, यह ठीक नहीं है। सबकी बातें शान्तिसे सुनिये।

हाँ, जब मैं जेलमें था तो यह पार्लामैण्टरी बोर्ड बना था और जब इसने साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयके बारेमें फ़ैसला किया तबभी मैं जेलमें था, जेलसे छूटनेके बाद मैं बनारस चला गया, वहाँ बहुतसे Workers कार्यकर्ताओंसे मिला, एक टंडनजीको छोड़ कर और किसीनेभी पार्लामैण्टरी बोर्डके माननेका विरोध नहीं किया, जरूर एक छोटीसी जमाअत है जो अपने प्रोग्रामके साथ जाना चाहती है। काँग्रेसको इस वक्त यह समझना चाहिये कि सभी कौन्सिलमें जानेको तैय्यार हैं और तभी काँग्रेसकी वर्किंग कमेटीने इसको मंजूर किया है और अब तो पार्लामैण्टरी बोर्डपर काँग्रेसका पूरा २ अधिकार है।

जैसा मैंने कहा है कि काँग्रेस में एक छोटीसी ज़माअत ऐसी पैदा हो गई है जो साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयके ऊपर दूसरोंसे भिन्न राय रखती है, उनके ८ या १० आदमी तो Unopposed हो गये हैं। यह साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय हमारे बीचमें दो दल खड़े कर रहा है। एक सिख्ख भाईने तो अभी कहा है कि वर्किंग कमेटी तो महात्माजीके पीछे चलती है, इससे हमारी बेइज्जती होती है, क्या हमारी अपनी कोई राय नहीं हैं, क्या वर्किंग कमेटीके मेम्बर अपनी कोई राय रखते नहीं? क्या हम महात्माजीके पीछे भेड़ोंकी तरह चलते हैं हम महात्माजीकी इज्जत करते हैं, हम मालवीयजीकी भी इज्जत कुछ कम नहीं करते। हम तो कहते हैं कि हम शमशेर बहादुर तो नहीं हैं आप कुछही कहें वर्किंग कमेटीमें कोई ऐसा है जो अपनी रायकेलिये जान व मालतक दे सकता है। वर्किंग कमेटीमें साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयके बारेमें कोईभी मतभेद नहीं है। जिस प्रकार इसके बारेमें राय मालवीयजी की है वैसेही वर्किंगकमेटीकीभी अपनी राय है उसको

चाहे कोई पसन्द करे या न करे। सब जानते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय देशको टुकड़ों २ में बाँट देगा, इसका असर बुरा होगा, मालवीयजी कहते हैं कि इसे फौरन फेंक दो, वर्किंग कमेटी कहती है कि एक पल भरके लहमेमें इसे नहीं फेंका जा सकता। हम कहते हैं कि न इसे मंजूर करते हैं और न रद्द करते हैं। हम एसा करने के लिये मजबूर हो गये हैं। कारण यह है कि आज देशमें कौम २ को आपसमें विश्वास नहीं है। मालवीयजी और अणोजी इन सब बातों के जानते हुए भी अपनी राय एक अलग ही रखते हैं, वर्किंग कमेटी इस मुश्किलको समझती है और अपनी राय जुदा रखती है, फिर यह कैसे हो सकता है कि दो आदमियोंकी राय सबकी राय हो जाय।

मालवीयजीने दूसरी पार्टी काँग्रेस के अन्दर बनाकर बड़ा ही अनुचित कार्य किया है। इस तरहसे तो अगर हरएक नेता अपनी २ पार्टी बना बैठे तो कैसे कोई काम चल सकता है। हम तो उनसे प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं कि वे इसे छोड़ दें। हम क्या करें। कितना ही बड़ा लीडर हो, अगर इस तरह अपनी २ पार्टी बना लेगा तो मुल्कका टुकड़े २ करदेगा। इससे कोई भला नहीं होगा, इससे हमने उन्हें freedom of vote, राय देने की स्वतंत्रता देदी थी ताकि वह दूसरी पार्टी न बनाएं। पार्टी बनानेमें मुल्क बट जाता है। साम्प्रदायिक निर्णयको रद्द करनेमें हम सब एक साथ हैं; कौन ऐसा है जो इसे रद्द करना नहीं चाहता हम सब अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि गवर्नमेण्टने यह साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय मुल्कको टुकड़ों २ में बाँटनेके लिये किया है। इसे रद्द करनेकेलिये क्या करना चाहिये। क्या कोई कह सकता है कि मुसलमानोंको छोड़कर और गवर्नमेण्टसे लड़कर हम इसे रद्द

कर देंगे। मेरी समझमें तो नहीं आता कि हमारा यदि यह तरीका होभी जाय तो यह सफल हो सकता है। एकही तरीका है और वह तरीका वही है जो काँग्रेस मुल्कके सामने रखती है, वह है कि हिन्दुमुसलमान मिलकर एक बात तै करलें। यह बात कब तय हो सकती है कि हम मुल्कमें ऐसी आबोहवा पैदा करें कि हम एक दूसरेकी बात सुन सकें।

आज तो मुल्कमें ऐसी आबोहवा है कि हम एक दूसरे के ऊपर विश्वास नहीं करते हैं, हमें ऐसी आबोहवा बनानी चाहिये कि वह हमारी बात सुनें तो हम दिखाना चाहते हैं कि वह समझे कि इसका फल क्या होगा। और कोई दूसरा रास्ता तो हमको किसीने नहीं बतलाया। मान लीजिये कि हमने Assembly में इसे रद्द करने का इरादा कर लिया तो क्या majority कसरत राय हमको वहाँ मिल सकती है। फल यह होगा कि हिन्दू एक तरफ बैठेंगे और दूसरे लोग एक तरफ।

तब क्या दुनिया नहीं हंसेगी? साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय तो इससे हटने वाला नहीं। काँग्रेस स्वतंत्र पार्टीका जो प्रोग्राम है उससे मुल्कको बुराई होने वाली है, भला तो होनेवाला नहीं। आप सोचें कि मुल्ककी हवा विगड़ रही है। व्यवहारिक दृष्टिसे देखें कि स्वतंत्र पार्टीके कितने उम्मेदवार कामयाब होनेवाले हैं। इस जंगरे मुल्कको बाँटकर क्या कुछ फायदा हो सकता है। पार्टी अलग २ बनानेमें खातमा होनेवाला है। सम्भव है कि मेरी ही ग़लती हो, चूँकि एक बड़े शख्सने पार्टी बनाई है, लेकिन पार्टी बनाकर सत्रने ग़लती की है।

साम्यवादी भाइयोंसे भी मैं कहता हूँ कि वह इस समय काँग्रेसके प्रोग्रामका विरोध न करें। अगर कौंसिलके प्रोग्राम को

इस समय छोड़ भी दें तो इससे reactionary लोगोंको ही ताकत मिलेगी। नतीजा क्या होगा ? चुनावके होने में भी कुल १५ दिन रह गये हैं। हमारे Socialist, साम्यवादी भाई कहते हैं कि हमारे पास एक इल्म है जिससे सब बातों का हल हो सकता है; वह यह कि economic exploitation, आर्थिक शोषण बन्द कर दिया जाय, लेकिन आज वह हमारे पास ऐसा क्या मामला है जो हम ऐसा कर दें, यह सोचना है। हमने तो यह फैसला किया है कि हम गवर्नमेण्टको सुना दें कि हम गवर्नमेण्ट के हाथोंमें खेलनेवाले नहीं हैं।

At this stage closure was applied and was granted.
Dr. Ansari in replying to the debate said:

Friends, I do not want to detain you long, especially after the very eloquent speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I only want to clarify one personal issue which has been referred to during the course of the debate by Pandit Malaviya on Friday. I would not have sent a lengthy cable from Vienna if Malaviyaji and Mr. Aney had not issued a statement on my departure from Bombay. The position had not been made clear and hence a cable was sent by me in which I explained that the Patna decisions had been arrived at after discussion with a number of workers and if that programme and policy were altered or in any way tampered with, I would have to reconsider whether I should continue on the Congress Parliamentary Board.

I reiterate that the Nationalist Muslims have in the past served (and will in the future serve) the country to the best of their ability. The Nationalist Muslims always view the country's affairs from the nationalist point of view. There is no sacrifice that they did not make in the past and that they are not prepared to do in the future. I want to tell the critics of the Nationalist Muslim Party

that they do not lag behind in their patriotism. They consider the Communal Award as a blot and unless they can remove it by mutual agreement, they cannot rest contented.

I appeal to the delegates to give the Congress and the Working Committee their unanimous support by rejecting the amendments.

After Dr. Ansari's speech, the President came up to the rostrum and appealed to the visitors and non-delegates not to vote.

He put the amendments one after another to vote.

He first put Mr. Narendradev's amendment and then declared that it had been lost by a very large majority.

The second amendment of the Socialists was put to vote and declared lost.

Poll was demanded and the President ruled that as it had been thrown out by an overwhelming majority it would be very unreasonable to demand poll.

A delegate: The delegates have a right to demand a poll.

President: I think I have equal right to disallow it.

Pandit Malaviya's amendment was put to vote and was lost by a very large majority.

Poll was again demanded and the President disallowed it.

At this ruling there were cries of "Shame, shame" from the Bengal and the Punjab delegates.

The President:—You may cry shame or anything the delegates have already voted and given their verdict. I am not going to be cowed down by this.

Mr. J. C. Gupta's amendment regarding freedom of conscience was then put to vote and declared lost.

The original resolution moved by Dr. Ansari was next put to the vote and was carried by an overwhelming majority.

NATION'S SACRIFICES AND FAITH IN CIVIL RESISTANCE

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then moved the following resolution:

"This Congress congratulates the nation on the heroic sacrifices made and the sufferings undergone by thousands of civil resisters—men and women, young and old, drawn from cities as well as the villages in the different provinces and places on record its conviction that without non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance there would never have been the phenomenal mass awakening that has taken place throughout the country. Whilst recognising the desirability and necessity of the suspension of the civil resistance campaign except with reference to Gandhiji, the Congress reiterates its undying faith in non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance as a complete substitute for methods of violence which, as experience has abundantly shown, result in terrorism both by the oppressed and the oppressors".

In doing so she made a stirring speech in English :

Friends, to-day Congressmen have gathered in Bombay after two and a half years of the marvellous campaign which has shown to the world what India is capable of. It is proposed by my resolution that the legion of volunteers,—men and women, young and old have faced death and suffering in the country's fight for freedom. The world should share in congratulating those marvellous

men and women who have suffered in a novel way, for their country, and for having possessed of qualities on which are based the liberties of nations. The gospel of civil resistance and non-violent non-co-operation has demonstrated to the world at large the magnificent method by which India is striving to attain her freedom, and has thus stunned the whole world. Though those civil resisters who sacrificed all they had and suffered patiently, have been long delayed the congratulations that the nation owed to them, the earliest opportunity should be taken to congratulate them for their bravery and courage. Bombay was and has been and will be the centre of political activity and enthusiasm and in the same way it was also the centre and foremost city as far as the civil disobedience was concerned.

It was Bombay that showed to the world how men and women young girls, yet to be married, fought shoulder to shoulder with aged women. Bombay had put up a magnificent fight. We are told by our opponents that we are defeated, that we are crushed and beaten to the ground. We are told that the armoury of our foreign masters had been successful in crushing the nation and humbling their courage, their cause. I stand here before you to give the lie to that lie. I stand before you to proclaim our determination and our faith in our own ideal (Cheers). For centuries the world has gone on, and the nations have fought for their freedom. Rivers and oceans of blood have flown, leading to victory and liberty; but we in our age have enunciated a new gospel for deliverance from bondage of our nation. One little man, Mahatmaji, has enunciated a new gospel, the gospel of Satyagraha, a new era of civilisation when men shall forget the brutalities for the sake of liberty, and will rise to the highest status of their spiritual vision, courage and faith (Cheers). This new gospel has broken down the shibboleths of civilisation which has been the heritage of the West.

Friends, the battle for India's freedom is not over. The battle has been suspended for a little while. The battle of freedom depends on the spirit of army, and the spirit of the nation, its courage and its faith. The nation shall never rest till freedom is won. Though Mahatma Gandhi is retiring, he will still remain within the Congress as an inspiration and guide. It is for all the Congressmen assembled to reiterate their undying faith in the gospel for which thousands upon thousands have suffered. The campaign is responsible for linking together the Pathan of the Frontier with the Bania of Bombay, in everlasting brotherhood. Civil resistance is more than a substitute to terrorism. Civil resistance is the unifier of all. All differences are cemented and are merged into one force which fight as one man for the freedom of their country.

Sardar Sardulsingh Caveeshar, in seconding the resolution, said in Hindi :—

सरदार शारदूलसिंग का भाषण

जनाबे सदर, बहनो और भाइयो ! मैं रेजूलेशनकी ताईद करने खड़ा हुआ हूँ । हमने इतिहासमें देखा होगा कि जिस कौमने आज़ादीकी कोशिश की है, उसे बड़ी २ तकलीफें उठानी पड़ी हैं और उस तकलीफ़को उठानेकेलिये सैकड़ों नौजवान काम आते हैं, उन्हें मुबारकबादी देनाही चाहिये । जपानके इतिहासमें ऐसी सैकड़ों मिसालें मिलती हैं, उन्होने मुल्ककी आज़ादीके लिये कितनी कुर्बानीयां की थी । हिन्दोस्तान, जो एक गुलाम देश है, उसनेभी महात्माजीके चरणप्रतापसे जो कुर्बानी की है वह और मुल्कोंकी कुर्बानियोंसे हजारों दर्जे ऊंची है । और मुल्कोंमें क्या होता है कि एक बार करता है और दूसराभी बार करता है, वहां क्या बहादुरी हुई, वहां तो बराबर

की चोट रहती है। यहां क्या बात थी, एक हमला कर रहा है दूसरा उसका शान्तिसे मुकाबला कर रहा है। हमने क्या देखा कि हमारी औरतों और बच्चोंपर तक हमला हुआ। हमारी बहनोंने छातियां तान दीं और पीछे नहीं हटीं (तालियां), यह कितनी खुशीकी बात है, जितनीभी इन वीर सिपाहियोंको मुधारकवादी दी जाय उतनीही थोड़ी है।

रोममें एक किस्सा कहा जाता है कि बादशाह एक स्त्रीसे मज़हब छुड़वाना चाहता था। उस बहन को सतूनसे बान्ध दिया, बच्चा दूध मांगता था, बच्चा वहां तक पहुंच ही नहीं सकता था, बाज़ वक्त उनमेंसे बहुतेरोंको मज़हब छोड़ना पड़ता था। ऐसे वाक्यात हमारे सामने भी गुजरें और हमने क्या देखा कि हमारे भाई उस इम्तिहानमें पूरे उतरे। बड़े पटेल साहब जंगमें लड़ते हुए शहीद हो जाते हैं, उनके भाई जेलमें बन्द हैं। हमने और क्या देखा कि हमारे सिपाहियोंपर लाठी बर्साई गई, उन्होंने साबित कदमीसे उसका मुकाबला किया, लाठियों और गोलियोंकी मार के सामने छाती खोलकर खड़े होगए। जब पटेल साहब की मृत्यु हुई तो सरदार पटेलसे गवर्नमैन्टने कहा कि एक शर्तपर तुम्हें छोड़ा जाता है कि सर नीचा करनेसे तुम्हें बाहिर जानेकी इज़ाज़त मिलेगी। पटेल साहब इनकार कर देते हैं। (तालियां) इसे आज्ञादीकी लड़ाई कहते हैं सरदार वल्लभभाई का कर्तव्य सराहनीय है, जिन्होंने अपने भाई श्री. विठ्ठलभाई का अन्तिम संस्कार करने के लिये भी सरकार द्वारा शर्त लगाये जानेसे जेलसे छूटना नामंजूर कर दिया।

फिर और देखिये, इलहाबाद की तरफ ख्याल कीजिये। कमला नेहरू बिखर रही हैं, उनकी खतरनाक हालत है, जवा-

हरलाल नेहरू को घंटे २ के लिये छोड़ा जाता है, कभी भी जवाहरलाल नेहरूने हरगिज़ भी अपने मुहंसे नहीं कहा कि मुझे सरकार कोई रहम करके छोड़ दे । यह खूबी है अहिंसात्मक युद्ध की । जो लोग कभी बुज़दिल समझे जाते थे, उन्हें देखने आज दूसरे देशोंके लोग आते हैं कि देखें यह बिना हथियारोंके कैसे लड़ाई लड़ते हैं । हमारी लड़ाईका तरीका ऐसा है कि आज दुनिया हैरान है, यह सब महात्माजीके सिद्धान्तोंका फल है । हमारे सामने लड़ाईका तरीका है तो कोई एकही अहिंसात्मक युद्ध । हमसे लार्ड रीडिंग सुलह करनेको तैय्यार था, लेकिन उसमें छल था, महात्माजीने उसे स्वीकार नहीं किया, दूसरी तरफ़ हमने अपने तरीकेको इस्तेमाल करके लॉर्ड इरविनको मजबूर कर दिया और उसे महात्माजीसे सुलह करनी पडी । हम लॉर्ड विलिंगडनको मजबूर न कर सके । हमें चाहिये कि हम महात्माजीके बताए हुए रास्ते-पर चलें तो हमारा मुल्क जल्दही वैसाही आज़ाद होगा जैसे दूसरे मुल्क हैं ।

Mr. Sampurnanand (Socialist, U. P.) moved an amendment which ran as follows :—

In place of the last sentence in the resolution beginning with 'Whilst' the following be added :

"This Congress reiterates its faith in mass direct action of a peaceful nature as the best possible instrument of attaining Complete Independence."

In doing so he said :—

सम्पूर्णानंदजीका भाषण

असली प्रस्तावमें कहा गया है कि पूर्ण अहिंसाही स्वतंत्रता मिलानेमें सहायक है । हर एकको अधिकार है कि वह हथियारसे

लड़े लेकिन इस वक्त हमारे पास वह साधन नहीं है। इसीलिये हम साम्यवादी लोग समयको देखते हुए यह कहते हैं कि अहिंसात्मक युद्धसे ही हम विजय पा सकते हैं। दूसरा यहभी कहा गया है कि हमारा असहयोगमें पूरा विश्वास है, मैं पूछता हूँ कि आप कैसा असहयोग करते हैं, कितने लड़के ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने स्कूल छोड़ा कितने आप लोगोमेंसे वकील ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने अपनी वकालत छोड़ दी। फिर कैसा असहयोग, बात साफ़ २ होनी चाहिये। मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर प्रजा अशान्ति करेगी तो गवर्नमेंट डर बैठाएगी लेकिन मैं यह नहीं मान सकता कि प्रजा शान्तिमय रहेगी तो सरकार डर न बैठायेगी। हमारे कितने अहिंसात्मक सिपाहियोंके साथ जेलमें क्या व्यवहार किया गया, उन्हें जेलमें बैठें लगाई गई, पेटके बल चलाया गया, उनपर बेहन्ताह जुर्माने किये गये, जुर्माने न देनेपर उनकी जायदादें जप्त कर ली गई।

हम तो कहते हैं कि बिना आन्दोलन के देशमें जाग्रति नहीं हो सकती, और हमें अपने प्रस्तावमें कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं रखनी चाहिये कि गवर्नमेंट उलटी हमको ही बेवकूफ़ बनायें कि तुम्हारा प्रस्तावही ऐसा कहता है, हम क्या करें।

Mr. P. Y. Deshpande (Berar) in seconding the amendment said in English:—

Mrs. Naidu has roused very beautiful sentiments by her eloquent speech. The resolution is the result of defeatist mentality of some of the Congressmen. It is supposed that the Civil Disobedience movement is still in force and the only individual who is authorised to practice Satyagraha is Mahatma Gandhi. I hold that no

political weapon, howsoever great, can be used by individuals, howsoever great they may be, for achieving Independence. It is mass direct action that will win freedom and not individuals.

It is not want of confidence that has prompted the sponsors of the amendment to move it. They are moving it, because they feel that the resolution is not correctly worded. I appeal to the delegates not to be carried by sentiments.

Babu Purshottamdas Tandon supporting the resolution moved an amendment substituting in place of 'complete substitute for' the words 'better means of achieving freedom than' which he said has been accepted by the mover.

Mrs. Naidu, winding up the debate, appealed to the House to throw out the amendment of Babu Sampurnanand. She Said in Hindi :—

श्रीमती सरोजिनी देविका भाषण

आप मेरे प्रस्तावको जैसा कि यह संशोधित हो गया है, पास करें और बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द के संशोधन को गिरा दें। उनकी तरफ़ीयमें अहिंसात्मक शब्द उड़ जाता है, हमें तो आशा है कि अगर हम अपने इस उद्बलपर कायम रहें तो हम कामयाबी हासिल करेंगे। श्री. देशपांडेजीने कहा है कि महात्माजीका नाम इस प्रस्तावसे निकाल दिया जाय। पटनेमें यह पास हो चुका था; वहां महात्माजीको इज़ाजत दी गई थी, इसके मन्त्राना यह नहीं है कि महात्माजी इकलेही लड़ेंगे। हम तो यह कह देना चाहते हैं कि हमारी फौज़ तैय्यार है, जैसे १६३१ में सत्याग्रहके भंडेके नीचे हम सब तैय्यार थे वैसेही आप फिर तैय्यार हो जाएंगे।

The amendment was put to the vote and was lost.

The original proposition was then put to the vote and carried.

The following two resolutions were moved from the Chair, and they were passed unanimously:

MRS. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S ILLNESS

"This Congress shares the anxiety of the Nehru family over the illness of Mrs. Jawaharlal Nehru and hopes that the change to the hills will result in her restoration to health".

CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

"The following resolution was passed by the Congress Parliamentary Board on 11th September last at Wardha;—

'Resolved that inasmuch as this Board was constituted as an emergency measure, it is desirable that its life should be limited to one year and that thereafter it should be placed on an elective basis for the period and on the terms as may appear desirable. This should be forwarded to the Working Committee as a recommendation of the Board.'

"This Congress accepts the said recommendation and resolve that the existing Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved on 1st May 1935 and a new Board of 25 should be elected by the A. I. C. C. on or before the aforesaid date."

"The elected Board shall have the power to co-opt not more than five members."

"There shall be a fresh election of the Parliamentary Board at every annual session of the Congress with the same power of co-option.

"The elected Board shall possess the same powers as are possessed by the existing Board."

The President announced that a labour deputation was coming to the Congress Nagar to Place the Workers' grievances before the Working Committee. The Labour leaders had requested the delegates also to be present.

The Congress adjourned till 6 p. m. next day (Sunday).

THIRD DAY

October, 28th, 1934

The Congress re-assembled at 6 p.m. on Sunday, the 28th October, 1934.

The Proceedings commenced with "the Vande Mataram" Song after which lady volunteers treated the audience to a delightful music.

The President announced that he had received two or three messages from overseas. One was from Babu Subash Chandra Bose wishing complete success to the Congress session. Similar messages were received from Japan.

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya then moved the following resolution :

"Where as organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village re-organisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruc-

tion necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand spinning, and where this work like the re-organisation of hand-spinning is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Shri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, an association called the ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION as part of the activities of the Congress. The said association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages, and shall have power to frame its own constitution; to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya spoke in Hindi of which the following is a summary:—

Friends, the object of the resolution which I have just moved is the regeneration of the village economic life and the resuscitation of the village industries that are in a starving condition. The Congress is in existence for the past 50 years but until a few years back, the attention of its organisers and its members was not focussed on the villages and village economic life. Khaddar was the first result of the attention paid by the Congress during the past few years to the plight of the villagers. Now over 2,00,000 villagers all over the country are able to sustain themselves through the production of Khaddar. Spinning and weaving has provided food for many a starving people in the rural areas. Hitherto, the Congress mainly concerned itself with the cities and urban population. The masses in the villages did not find a place in the programme of the national movements in the past.

The object of the resolution is to make the village self-sufficient. A variety of industries exist in every village but these industries need proper encouragement. Many attempts have been made in the past to cripple and

destroy India's economic life. Whatever might have been aimed at by the enemies of the country in this direction, it can be seen that the Indian villages did not find their economic life destroyed completely, though the destruction has been accomplished to a far-reaching extent. The present plight of these village industries is so deplorable that the industries could not be easily recognised in their full economic significance in the scheme of village life.

Then, it is needless to describe to you the growth and progress of the Khadi cult in the country. You all know Mahatmaji first initiated the All-India Spinners' Association and soon khaddar became the uniform and symbol of political and economic uplift of the masses. As years went by, the production of khaddar recorded steady improvement in both quality and variety. To-day, the All-India Spinners' Association stands vindicated because a large number of the starving poor is directly benefited by the production of khaddar.

The sole intention of Mahatmaji in starting this Association is to resuscitate the village economic life that is crumbling owing to lack of proper organisation and support. We intend to help the starved industries, and give relief to those who have almost faded out of existence in the villages. There was considerable amount of relief work done for these industries in the past. But by having an organisation of this kind, the country would be in a better position to render the necessary help to these industries.

In conclusion, I ask the approval of the House for starting an Association that will have the power to do all that is necessary to start and stabilise the weak industries in the villages.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in seconding the resolution said in Hindi:—

अबदुल गफारखानका भाषण

सदर साहेब, भाइयो और बहनो । मैं सबसे पहिले अपना अकीदा बनाना चाहता हूँ । मैं आप लोगोंको बताना चाहता हूँ कि जबतक हम लोगोंके हाथ में Political power राजनैतिक शक्ति नहीं आएगी, हम कुछ भी नहीं कर सकते, इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि काँग्रेस हम लोगोंके लिये राजनैतिक शक्ति हासिल करनेमें लगी हुई है। जबतक स्वराज्य हासिल न हो तबतक हमें अपने मुल्ककी खिदमतमें जिस तरीकेसे भी हो सके लगे रहना चाहिये । यह भी कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि हम देहात की तरफ भी तवज़्ज करें । हमारे मुल्कके बांशिदे ८६ फी सदी देहातमें बसते हैं, उनकी हालत किसीसे छिपी नहीं है, उनकी हालत निहायत खराब है, वह नंगे हैं, भूखे हैं, मुसीबत की हालत में हैं, मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि क्रायिलेरहम हैं । क्या हमारा फर्ज नहीं है कि हम उन मज़लुम भाइयोंकी मदद करें । उनकी इसला करें उनकी खिदमत करें ।

मैं सिर्फ़ चन्द वाक़ये जो मैंने खुद देखे हैं बताना चाहता हूँ । मैं बंगालमें देहातोंमें गया, वहाँ की हालातही आपको बताना चाहता हूँ । मैं कोमिलामें गया । मैंने बंगालके दो सब डिविज़न्स देखे, सिर्फ़ उनके हालात बताना चाहता हूँ । एक सब डिविज़नमें देखा जहाँ कि चर्खेका काम है, वहाँ हमारे लोग चर्खा लेकर गये हैं, जहाँ चर्खेका काम था वहाँ की हालत बहुत सुधरी हुई थी, लोग हमारे पास आते थे, हमारी बातें सुनते थे उनमें ज़िन्दगी पैदा हो गई है, मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उन्हें दो वक्रत नहीं तो एक वक्रत खाना ज़रूर मिल जाता है ।

वहांभी गया जहाँ चर्खेका काम न था, वहाँ की हालत औरही थी, वहाँ लोग भ्रूखे, नंगे, उन्हें खाना ही नसीब नहीं होता था, वह हमसे बातें करते डरते थे, वह हमारे नज़दीक नहीं आते थे। एक जगह की यह हालत और दूसरी जगहकी यह हालत, कितना फ़र्क है। हमने एक जगह काम किया तो नतीजा यह हुआ कि उन्हें भारी फ़ायदा पहुँचा, उनमें कुछ जिन्दगीभी पैदा होगई। अगर आप इस प्रोग्रामको जिसको महात्माजीने रखा है काममें लायेंगे तो आप मुल्ककी सही मायनेमें खिदमत करेंगे, यह प्रोग्राम politics, राजनीतिसे बिलकुल अलग चीज़ होगी। उस कामके करनेसे जो ज़ज़बा लोगोंमें पैदा होगा वह आपके स्वराज्यके काममें मदद देगा। लोगोंमें एक अहसास पैदा होगा कि अपने पैरोपर खड़े हो सकें।

कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे मुल्ककेलिये इस वक्त पहिले political राजनैतिक काम है, आप यह कामभी करें लेकिन इसेभी करे। इस कामको करनेसे मुल्कको फ़ायदा होगा।

At this stage Mr. Basant Kumar Mazumdar (Bengal) rose to move an amendment. The President appealed to the delegates that as he was anxious to conclude the session the same night, he would request them to withdraw such amendments as had no chance of acceptance in the open session. He made a personal appeal to Mr. Mazumdar to reconsider his proposal to move the amendment.

Mr. Mazumdar, however, chose to move the amendment, which ran as follows:-

Delete the words "unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress" and add the follow-

ing at the end of the resolution: "Under the supervision and control of the Congress. This resolution also will not prevent the Congress organisations from undertaking the above mentioned work devotedly wherever necessary."

He said:—"Friends, I take exception to the fact that the Congress is asked to ratify a proposal which will ultimately remove the control of the organisation by the Congress. The mover asked the House to pass his resolution in the name of the Congress but at the same time, the Congress will not have any control over this organisation. Everyone is anxious that the village industries should be revived. It is essential that the masses in the villages should get some relief through the re-organisation of the crippled industries. But no industry can possibly progress, or improve, I claim, without the help of the country's Government. The Congress as the national Government of the country must stand by the country's industries and help their growth. This is where I have differences with the mover.

Mrs. Hemaprabha Mazumdar (Bengal) seconded the amendment.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain in opposing the main resolution said:—

श्री जयप्रकाश नारायणजीका भाषण

श्री. पट्टाभी सीतारामय्याने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उसको बतलाया है कि काँग्रेसका ध्येय ऐसा है। हिन्दोस्तानकी पूरी आज़ादी हासिल करने के लिये क्या यह ध्येय है, हमारा तो असली ध्येय है, मुल्कको पूरी आज़ादी दिलाना और न कि दूकान व फ़ैक्टरी खोलें। मुल्कमें प्रजाको बड़ा कष्ट है, लोग भूखे मर रहे हैं। तनपर कपड़ा नहीं, वह हमारा कष्ट तबतक दूर

नहीं हो सकता जबतक कि यहाँ अंगरेजी राज्य है; अगर हम मुल्कमें यह भावना पैदा करेंगे तो हमारा आर्थिक कष्ट दूर हो सकता है। यह कभीभी संभव नहीं है कि जो आर्थिक शक्तियाँ ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की वज़हसे चल रही हैं और दूर नहीं हो चुकी हैं, वे ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के होते हुए कभी भी हमें लाभ पहुंचा सकेंगी। जबतक यहाँ ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य है, हम कोई भी अपना उद्योग धंधा कामयाबी के साथ नहीं चला सकते।

मैं तो कहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के काम खोलने का फल यह होगा कि हम मुल्क को स्वराज्य के ध्येयसे बहुत दूर लेजा रहे हैं। देशका औद्योगिक पुनरुद्धार तथा ग्रामोंका पुनःसंगठन जबतक असंभव है जबतक कि स्वराज्य न मिल जाय, इस तरहके कामोंमें पड़नेसे तो काँग्रेस की शक्ति बट जाएगी। चारसाल की लड़ाई लड़कर हमारा यह अनुभव हुआ है कि हमें दूसरी लड़ाई के लिये फिर तैय्यारी करनी है, तो क्या भला इस प्रकार के काम खोलनेसे हम कभी भी लड़ाई की बात सोच सकेंगे? कभी भी नहीं। हमें लड़ाई के लिये तैय्यार न होने के लिये काँग्रेसने दो बातें हमारे सामने रखी हैं कि कौन्सिलोंमें जाना और यह स्वदेशी लिमिटेड खोलना। अगर काँग्रेस के लोग बढई, लुहारों के व्यवसाय को सुधारनेमें लग जाय तो हम मुल्कको लड़ाई के लिये तैय्यार नहीं कर सकते। हम वर्किंग कमेटी के सामने अपनी राय नहीं रख सके, अब यह मौक़ा मिला है कि इसके विरोध में कुछ कहें। किसान और मज़दूरों को हमें समझाना होगा कि जो आर्थिक कष्ट हैं उनके खिलाफ़ वे लड़ाई लड़ें, यह लड़ाई लड़ते लड़ते उनमें ताक़त आ जाएगी फिर हम ब्रिटिश-साम्राज्यसे लड़ाई लड़ सकते हैं। हमें दुःख है कि काँग्रेस ने हमारे सामने यह प्रोग्राम नहीं रखा।

काँग्रेसने जो यह संस्था बनाई है, इसका अर्थ क्या है, यह कभीभी हमें लड़ाईके लिये तैय्यार नहीं कर सकती। इस संस्थाके बननेसे गांववालोंमें गुलतफैमी पैदा होगी। वह यह समझेंगे कि सम्भव है यह संस्था हमारी आर्थिक दशाको सुधार सके। लेकिन हमें गांववालोंको साफ़ २ बतलाना चाहिये कि उनकी हालत तबतक नहीं सुधरेगी जबतक कि हमारे मुल्कमें अंग्रेज़ी राज्य है। काँग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओंको इसके चक्रमें नहीं पड़ना चाहिये, वह अपना राजनैतिक कार्यही जारी रखें। उन्हें चाहिये कि इस प्रस्तावको गिरा दें।

Seth Govindas (Jubbulpore) who next spoke, supporting the resolution, said :—

Friends, my predecessor has just now told you that the Congress is going to open shops and factories in the country. The Congress is not going to do any such thing. I know by personal experience that for the relief of the masses in the direction suggested by the resolution, greater co-operation and help will be forthcoming, if the political aspect is removed from the whole scheme. The message of the charkha has reached every corner in the country and I am confident that if Mahatmaji set about the business of organising relief to the masses, they will be really helped. I know that it is the duty and programme of the Indian National Congress to fight for the Independence of the country. I also know that the Congress is pledged to fight for the elimination of foreign domination in the land. But the issue before the House is clear. The question is whether by organising this Association and providing the relief to the masses, the cause of the country is advanced or is retarded. I am convinced that there can be no set-back to country's progress in any manner if the resolution is passed and acted upto. I therefore support the resolution and would ask the House to adopt it.

Acharya Kirpalani in supporting the resolution said :

आचार्य श्री कीरपलानिका भाषण

सभापति महोदय, व प्रतिनिधि भाइयो, इस प्रस्तावमें संशोधन भी पेश किये गये हैं; एकमें तो यह कहा गया है कि इस संस्थाका प्रबन्ध काँग्रेसके हाथमें रहे और आगे यह कि काँग्रेसके सदस्य ही इसमें काम करें। मैं कहता हूँ कि काँग्रेसमें ऐसे बहुत थोड़े आदमी मिलेंगे जो अपना सारा समय देकर इस कामको चला सकेंगे। मैं अपना ही अजस्रदा देना चाहता हूँ। जबतक खादीका काम काँग्रेस स्वयं करती थी उस वक़्त तक खादी की क्या दशा थी और जबसे खादीका काम चर्खासंघने लिया तबसे इसकी क्या दशा होगई। इन दोनों दशाओंका काम आपके सामने हैं। यहभी आपको मालूम है कि काँग्रेस कभीही लड़ाईका एलान कर देती है जिसका फल यह होता है कि काँग्रेसके नेता जेलोंमें चले जाते हैं, फिर इस प्रकारके कार्यको कौन चलाए, तो क्या यह ज़रूरी नहीं हो जाता कि इस तरहके लिये हम ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओंको रखें जो इसीकेलिये अपना समय दें। मैंने तो स्वयं यह अनुभव किया है कि जहाँ जहाँ खादीका काम काँग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओंके हाथोंमें रहा है वहाँ वह जेलमें चले गये और एक जगह तो इसी प्रकार ३ हजार रुपयेका नुकसान पड़ गया। इस कारण आप इस प्रकारके संशोधनोंको स्वीकार न करें।

साम्यवादी भाईयों पर तो मुझे हंसी आती है। वह कहते हैं कि दूकानदारी नहीं करनी चाहिये, इसका मतलब यह है कि राजनीति अर्थ शास्त्रसे अलग है। यह कितनी अजीब बात कहते हैं। कहते हैं कि युद्ध की तैयारी करो, कैसे करें? यह तो

बतलाते नहीं कि revolution, कब आने वाला है। और जबतक वह न आवे तबतक क्या करें। जो देहातों में काम करने जाते हैं वह उसके आदर्श वादका प्रचार करते हैं। कुछ काम न करें। एक डाक्टरने कहा कि मुल्ककी सफ़ाई कर रहा हूँ कि बीमारी नहीं होगी। जो बीमारी का इलाज़ न करे वह डाक्टर नहीं है। सिर्फ़ योजनाओंके बनानेसे मुल्क स्वतन्त्र नहीं हो सकता। अगर साम्यवादी भाइयों को देहातों में जाकर काम करने का समय नहीं मिलता है तो हम गरीब भाइयों को वहाँ जाकर काम करने का मौक़ा दें। और हम सच कहते हैं कि उन्हें कोई भी नुक़सान नहीं होगा।

Then the amendments were put to vote and were all declared lost.

The original resolution was then put to the Congress and declared carried.

The President: A member has given notice of an adjournment of the House to protest against the Subjects Committee's decision to refer the undischarged non-official resolutions to the Working Committee. I rule the motion out of order.

EXHIBITION AND DEMONSTRATIONS

The following resolution re: Exhibition and Demonstration was put from the Chair:

"Inasmuch as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual sessions of

the Congress and as these make it impossible for smaller places to invite the Congress, the Reception Committees shall henceforth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations. But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association which bodies shall organise these functions so as to combine instruction with entertainment of the general public especially of the villagers, with the sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

REVISED CONSTITUTION

The President announced that Gandhiji would move his resolution proposing changes in the Congress constitution. This announcement was a signal to vociferous demonstrations of joy and shouts of 'Gandhi ki jai' from all sides of pandal.

Mr. Patwardhan: I want to move an amendment to the Congress creed.

The President: As the amendment has not been given notice of in time and the creed is not before the House, I rule it out of order.

Mahatma Gandhi then moved his resolutions embodying the entire changed constitution.

(See the text of the Constitution printed separately at the end.)

Explaining the changes in Hindi he said:—

महात्मा गांधीजीका भाषण

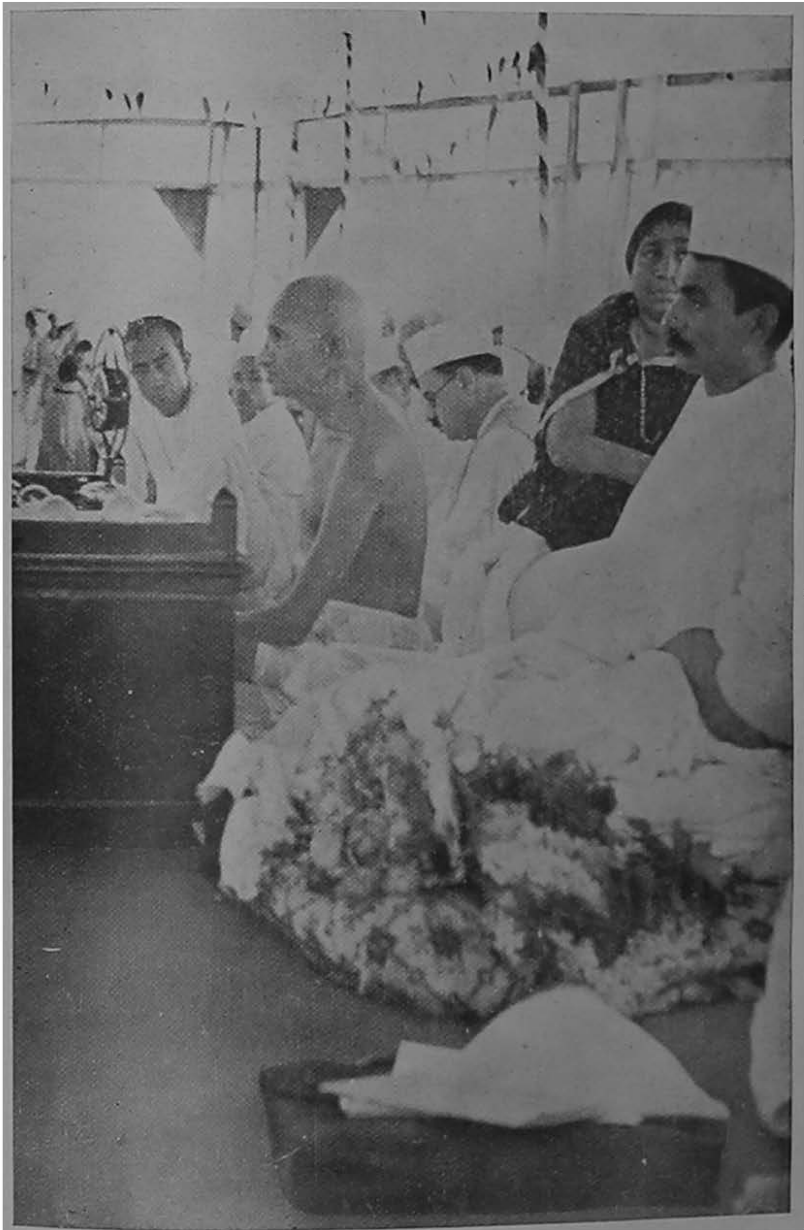
सभापतिजी, बहनो और भाईयो ।

सबसे पहिले तो सब बहनों और भाइयोंसे ज्ञान मांगता हूँ कि इस विधानमें परिवर्तनका जो प्रस्ताव मैं रख रहा हूँ, उसकी कॉपी आपतक नहीं पहुंच सकी, अगरेये बहुत ही परिश्रम उठाया, कामभी स्वागतकारिणी समितिको बहुत ही करना था, काम इतना अधिक था कि यह देख पड़ता था कि किस प्रकार ३ दिनमें समाप्त होगा, लेकिन उन्होंने यही निश्चय किया कि ३ दिनमें ही सब कार्यवाही समाप्त करदी जाय । आज विषय-निर्धारिणी-सभाभी देरसे बैठी रही इसलिये इस प्रस्तावकी कॉपियाँ आपतक छप कर न आ सकीं । सुधारना तो बहुतसी हैं लेकिन यह तो वकिलों की चीज है । जो सुधारणा की गई है इसका तात्पर्य मैं आप लोगोंको चन्द मिनटोंमें समझाये देता हूँ । यह हो सकता था कि आप लोगोंको इसी बात के लिये कल फिर शामको बुलाया जाता, इससे स्वागत करने वालोंका इतना व्यर्थ खर्च बढ जाता और आपलोगोंका समय व धनभी व्यर्थ ही खर्च होता । मेरा यह मतलब कभी भी नहीं है कि आपको अपना प्रस्ताव न देकर आपसे धोखे में पास करा लूँ ।

जिस विधानके अनुसार हम काम करते हैं उसे तो आप जानते हैं अनुभवसे हमें ज्ञात हुआ है कि प्रतिनिधियोंकी संख्या ६००० होनेके कारण ही काम ठीक नहीं हो पाता । नागपूर काँग्रेसमें तो प्रतिनिधियोंकी संख्या १४००० थी परन्तु उन्हें

किसीनेभी चुना नहीं था और न कवल अपनेही प्रतिनिधि थे । मैं तो यही चाहता था कि प्रतिनिधियोंकी संख्या १००० हो । परन्तु लोगोंक कहनेसे यहाँ उस संख्याको २००० तक करना स्वीकार कर लिया था । मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रतिनिधिगण स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्तिका विभाग रखकर इस कमीको स्वीकार कर लें ।

इस समय तो काँग्रेस के सदस्यों तथा उनके प्रतिनिधियोंमें कोई भी सम्बन्ध नहीं रहता है । इस वैधानिक परिवर्तन से स्वराज्य तो मिल न जायेगा परंतु काँग्रेस एसेम्बलीसे प्रतिद्वन्द्विता करनेवाली एक संस्थाके रूपमें खड़ी हो सकेगी कि काँग्रेस के प्रतिनिधि भी अपने वोटों की राय प्रकट करनेका अधिकार रखते हैं । इस प्रस्ताव के पास होने के बाद से काँग्रेसकी ओरसे नियुक्त इनस्पेक्टर काँग्रेस रजिस्ट्रोंकी जांच करेंगे और केवल ऐसे काँग्रेस मैनोको वोट देनेका अधिकार रहेगा जो छः मास काँग्रेस के सदस्य हो चुके होंगे । जबतक किसी स्थानपर ५०० काँग्रेस मैन न होंगे तबतक उन्हें प्रतिनिधि चुननेका अधिकार न होगा । एसेम्बली के चुनावको देखते हुए तो यह बहुत ही कम है क्योंकि वहाँ ८००० वोटोंको एक प्रतिनिधि भेजनेका अधिकार रहता है परन्तु गरीबोंका प्रतिनिधित्व करनेवाली संख्या के लिये इतने ही से काम आरम्भ करना मैं सन्तोषजनक समझता हूँ । जबतक गांववाले काँग्रेसको प्रतिनिधि न चुना करें, आयोजनामें कोई सम्मिलित न होंगे तबतक स्वराज्य प्राप्ति नहीं की जा सकती और इसीलिये यह नियत किया गया है कि देहाती क्षेत्रोंके लिये काँग्रेसमें तीन चौथाई प्रतिनिधित्व प्राप्त होगा । इस सम्बन्धमें १०००० तक की आवादीवाले स्थान देहात माने जायेंगे ।



MAHATMA GANDHI
Addressing the Subjects Committee.

इसके बाद गान्धीजीने समझाया कि काँग्रेसमें प्रतिनिधित्व इक्कहरे और परिवर्तित हो सकनेवाले वोटों द्वारा चुने जायेंगे और एक निर्वाचन क्षेत्रसे कई प्रतिनिधि हो सकेंगे। अ. भा. कां. कमेटीके सम्बन्धमें यह कठिन होता है कि ३५० सदस्योंकी बैठक बुलाई जाय क्यों कि बार बार एकत्रित होनेके खर्चोंको वे बर्दास्त नहीं कर सकते। अतः अ. भा. काँग्रेस कमेटीमें अधिकसे अधिक १६६ सदस्य होंगे फिर प्रजासत्तात्मक विचारोंवाला कोईभी व्यक्ति इस बातपर राजी न होगा कि प्रान्तीय काँग्रेस कमेटियोंकी राय लेकर स्वागतसमिति काँग्रेसके प्रेसिडेन्टका चुनाव स्वयं प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा हुआ करेगा। गान्धीजीने खादी और सूतके मताधिकारी सम्बन्धी धाराओंको समझाया और कहा कि यदि यह अस्वीकृत कर दी जाएगी तो मैं बुरा न मानूंगा। पर मैं यही चाहता हूँ कि यदि ये स्वीकार की जाय तो इसमें पूर्णविश्वास रखते साथ ही इसके पक्षमें वोट दिये जायें। गान्धीजीने कहा कि आप लोग इन मामलोंपर मेरे वक्तृत्वका विचार करके किन्तु मातृभूमिके हितका ध्यान रखकर वोट दीजिये।

जब मैंने अपने प्रस्तावोंपर समाचारपत्रों और जनताद्वारा की गई टीकाओंको पढ़ा तब मैंने उन्हें विचारार्थ पेश करनेका विचार छोड़ दिया था। मगर वकिंग कमेटीके मेम्बरोंने स्वतः अपनी ओरसे उनको आपके सामने पेश करना उचित समझा। मैंने परिवर्तनकी स्कीम पर दूसरोंके विचार सुने हैं। उन्होंने अपने पक्षको वाखूबी रखा है। मगर या तो वे अपनेको धोखा दे रहे थे या वे केवल एक वकीलका काम कर रहे थे। और उन्होंने कहा कि हम आदर्शवादसे व्यवहारवाद पर उतर आये हैं। पर क्या समाजवादका कोई आदर्श नहीं है। अगर मैं उनसे अपने आदर्श

में से एकभी कम करने को कहूँ तो वे मेरा प्रस्ताव फ़ेल कर देंगे । क्या आप इस बातका अनुभव करते हैं कि कभी आपपर पीढ़ीके बादभी पूर्णस्वराज्य प्राप्त कर सकेंगे । समाजवादका आदर्श इससे भी कुछ ऊँचा है । मेरा कहना है कि हमें एक मानदण्डकी जरूरत है ।

महात्माजीने बोलते हुए कहा कि आप इस आशासे इस पर विचार करिये कि मैं इस प्रस्तावके पास हो जानेपर अपने रिटायर होनेके निश्चयपर पुनः विचार करूँगा । अगर मैंने काँग्रेसका नेतृत्व एक ऐसे विधानसे आरम्भ किया था, जिसके लिये मुख्य-रूपसे मैं ही जिम्मेदार हूँ तो आज विदा होते हुए मैं आपको यह संशोधन विधान भेंट करना चाहता हूँ जिससे कि आप उस व्यक्तिके अनुभवसे लाभ उठा सकें, जिसने कि इस विधान को कार्यमें आपके साथ रहकर परिणत करने का यत्न किया और उसमें कुछ देष पाये हैं । इस लिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन संशोधनोंको पास कर दें ।

एक बात यह भी है कि प्रतिनिधि जनता के सच्चे और वास्तविक प्रतिनिधि होने चाहियें । हम अप्रत्यक्ष रूपसे करोड़ों मूक जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं । हम उनकी वाणी हैं और विचार हैं । १८८६ ई. से काँग्रेस की यही स्थिति रही है । परन्तु हम अप्रत्यक्ष रूपसे आपके निर्वाचकों के प्रतिनिधि हैं । क्या हम में से कोई कह सकता है कि वे किसका प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं । क्या वे अपने निर्वाचक क्षेत्रों के सम्पर्क में हैं, और क्या वे अपने भावोंको जानते हैं । क्या हममेंसे बड़ेसे बड़ा आदमी इस बातको कह सकता है कि वह किस क्षेत्रके प्रतिनिधित्व करते

हैं ? बल्लभभाई गुजरातका बेताज के बादशाह हैं, मगर वे किस निर्वाचक मण्डलका प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं? मैं किसका प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ ? इसे मैं नहीं जानता । मैं हरेक व्यक्तिको निर्वाचकों का काँग्रेस रजिस्टर पेश करनेकेलिये चुनौती देता हूँ । हमें अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों और मतदाताओं के सजीव सम्पर्क में रहना चाहिये तभी आप आपना मानदण्ड पा सकते हैं ।

वह सिद्धान्त जो मैं आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ वह यह है कि तीन चुनाव एक साथ हो जायं । इससे न केवल आर्थिक सुविधाही मिलेगी बल्कि रुपयेकी भी बचत होगी, यदि इसको आप स्वीकार करलेंगे तो इसका भविष्य अचल है । तब प्रतिनिधि अपने निर्वाचकों द्वारा चुने जायेंगे । वे फिर आज के समान केवल तीन दिन के लिये जमा न होंगे और फिर अद्रस्य हो जायेंगे । वे काँग्रेस के क्रियाशील मेम्बर होंगे । और सारे सालभर काँग्रेसका कार्य करेंगे । आज ६३५० में से केवल ३५० ही ओल इन्डिया काँग्रेसकमिटी के मेम्बर हैं ।

तब मद्रास व बारडोलीमें १०० मेम्बरोंकी काँग्रेसका अधिवेशन चला सकते हैं । इस तरहके गांवका अधिवेशन किसतरह किया जा सकता है इसकी मैंने तफसीलमें योजना बना रखी है । वे गांववाले आपके दास होंगे मगर वे आपको स्वागतसमितिके लिये पैसा न दे सकेंगे । स्वागत समिति द्वारा तमाशों और विजय-तोरणों पर लाखों रुपया खर्च करनेपर मुझे आपत्ति है । हमने विजय कहां प्राप्त की है । कुछ भाइयोंने यहभी कहा था कि इस विषयको प्रान्तोंके पास भेज दिया जाय । आप प्रान्तोंको क्यों इसे भेजना चाहते हैं ? आप अपने कर्तव्यसे क्यों बचते हैं ?

आप अपने कर्तव्य पथसे विचलित न हूजिये । मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि आपकी हर एक आलोचनापर उचित विचार कर लिया गया है । मैं आपको एक जटिल और कड़ा विधान दे रहा हूँ, जिससे कि कोई बाहर नहीं जा सकता । अगर इसमें कहीं खराबी है तो आप उसे अलग कर सकते हैं । मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप मेरे परामर्शको स्वीकार करलीजिये । मैं यह बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप इस विषयको ख़ोपे छोड़ देंगे तो आप राष्ट्रके जीवनका एक बहुमूल्य साल खो देंगे ।

महात्माजीने कहा कि वर्किंग कमेटीके मेम्बरों के चुनावमें अब जिस रिवाजका अवलम्बन किया जाता है उसको अब काँग्रेस के विधानका अङ्ग बना दिया है । ऐसा विधान बना दिया है ताकि सभापति के चुनावमें कोई दिक्कत न हो । अगर आप चाहते हैं कि हम काम चलायें, तो हमें अपने मांगे हुए अधिकार दीजिये । अन्तमें गान्धीजीने प्रतिनिधियोंसे इस बातकी अपील की कि वे इस नये विधानको इस इरादेके साथ स्वीकार करें कि उसे अपूर्व सफलता प्राप्त हो (हर्षध्वनि)

Continuing in English, Gandhiji said :

I am now speaking in English, trying to produce the same sentiment which I conveyed in the national language. It is difficult to do that, because you cannot pour your soul twice in two different languages. The soul speaks with the deepest emotion and its sound comes out of the deepest recesses. You don't want to examine the speaker for his ability to make a speech. You want to do national work with him. I simply want to say this that you will kindly forgive me for not giving you as full an explanation of the Constitution as is required. The resolution is of a far-

reaching character. It calls upon the Congress to repeat the history of self-denial and further reduce the size of the delegates and the A. I. C. C.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the delegates to adopt the new constitution with the desire to make it a glorious success (applause).

Mr. Munshi in seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President and brother delegates, Mahatmaji has made a speech before you. When he speaks, his is the voice of the Nation. The changes in constitution now proposed will make the constitution more businesslike and lead to the solidarity and efficiency in the Congress organisation.

Mr. P. Y. Deshpande moved an amendment proposing the circulation of the proposals and postponing their consideration to the next session.

Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas seconded the amendment.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who opposed the socialist amendment said :

Friends, drafting the constitution is a difficult job and all delegates are not expected to take keen interest. The plea of insufficient time is untenable. It is the result of Gandhiji's 15 years experience and although they may not take into consideration Gandhiji's personality, they cannot ignore his experience. I do not understand the fear of Socialists who are young and accuse older men like me of reactionary mentality. It is wrong to say that if they accepted the proposals, Gandhiji would be tempted to stay in the Congress. I would appeal to the delegates to remove that idea from their minds and support the proposals on their merits. I do not understand the Socialist opposition after the unanimous adoption of the proposals by the sub-committee on which Socialists were represented.

Mr. Deshpande's amendment was put to vote and was lost by an overwhelming majority.

Gandhiji's Resolution was then passed.

Pandit Harihara Sastri then moved his amendment which was as follows :

"That the clause relating to the habitual wearing of khaddar be deleted"

In doing so he said :

Friends, I appeal to you for the acceptance of the amendment not in the name of Socialism but in the name of Congress prestige.

Mr. A. V. Patwardhan in seconding the amendment said :

Comrades, Socialists have no grudge against khaddar. They themselves wear khaddar but they do not believe khaddar will bring them Swaraj. They wanted even those who have no faith in khaddar to come into the Congress and work for it.

Dr. Choitram Gidwani who opposed the Socialist amendment said :

Friends, I do not consider that it is a difficult thing to wear khaddar if they want to hold offices in the Congress. I would therefore appeal to you to throw out the amendment.

The amendment was put to vote and negatived.

Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas who opposed the Spinning and Labour Franchise Clause said: Friends, this clause in my opinion is on par with several sentimental things they are accustomed to. What the poor labourer needs is

not their sentimental sympathy but the means to live. I do not understand what the phrase 'on behalf of the Congress' means. If it means an additional half hour's labour for the Congress, it is a disgraceful thing to expect a labourer to do after his day's hard labour.

Sardar Sardul Singh in supporting Gandhiji's proposition said:—

Friends, I refute Mr. Purshottam's charge that Congressmen are sentimental. I assert that Congress is the best sympathiser of the labouring classes and maintain that there is nothing derogatory in manual labour. The Socialists are talking about masses but the only man who works day in and day out is Gandhiji. I therefore appeal to the House to accept Gandhiji's resolution.

The original proposition of Gandhiji on Spinning and Labour Franchise was put to vote and carried by an overwhelming majority.

Thereafter the entire proposition of Gandhiji containing Khaddar Clause and Spinning Franchise and other constitutional amendments was put to vote and declared carried by a large majority.

GANDHIJI'S RETIREMENT

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa (Karachi) moved the following amended resolution on Gandhiji's retirement:—

"This Congress reiterates its confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and is emphatically of opinion that he should reconsider his decision to retire from the Congress. But inasmuch as all efforts to persuade him in that behalf having failed this Congress, while reluctantly accepting his decision, places on record its deep sense of

gratitude for the unique services rendered by him to the Nation and notes with satisfaction his assurance that his advice and guidance will be available to the Congress whenever necessary."

Mr. Sidhwa in commending the resolution to the House said :

श्री. सिधवाका भाषण

सभापतिजी, बहनो और भाइयो ।

यह प्रस्ताव क्या है इसे मुझे आपलोगोंको समझानेकी ज़रूरत नहीं है । कौन ऐसा यहाँ होगा जिसे महात्माजीके नेतृत्वमें कई वर्षोंसे काम करनेका अवसर न मिला हो । महात्माजीकाँग्रेसकी नीतिको जिस खूबी और सफलताके साथ चला रहे थे वह किसीसे भी छिपी नहीं है । इतनाही नहीं महात्माजीके नेतृत्वमें काँग्रेसका जो मान बढ़ गया है वह ऐसा है कि पहिले कभी नहीं था । काँग्रेसको जो भी सफलता अबतक मिली है उसका साराश्रेय महात्माजीको ही है । मेरा प्रस्ताव इतना स्पष्ट है कि उसके सम्बन्धमें किसी भी स्पष्टीकरणकी आवश्यकता मैं नहीं समझता । आपने कहा कि गान्धीजीकी यह शिकायत उचित नहीं है कि लोग सत्य तथा अहिंसाके मार्गपर नहीं चले । लोगोंने तो कहीं आशासे भी अधिक काम किया है साधारण मनुष्योंसे इससे अधिक और क्या आशा की जासकती है १५ वर्ष पूर्व की अपेक्षा आजके दिन लोगोंने अहिंसा तथा सत्यके पालन करनेकी भावना अधिक स्पष्ट जान पड़ती है और गान्धीजीके लिये बहुत अनुचित बात यह है कि वे हम लोगोंको ऐसे अवसरपर छोड़ दें जब कि उनके नेतृत्व की सबसे ज्यादा ज़रूरत है । परन्तु चूंकि गान्धीजीने

अलग होजानेका अन्तिम निश्चय कर लिया है इसलिये हम केवल गान्धीजीकेलिये शुभ कामनाएं प्रकटकरसकते हैं और उन सेवाओंकी प्रशंसा करसकते हैं जिन्होंने हिन्दोस्तानके दर्जेको तथा भारतीयोंको संसार भरकी दृष्टिमें ऊंचा उठादिया है ।

Mr. Rajagopalachariar in seconding the resolution said:

Friends, on this occasion it is difficult to find words. Gandhiji's services are unique, but his exit from the Congress is more unique. The splendour of his services is no whit less to-day than it was when he was rendering those services. I am one of those most stubborn persons who tried to keep Gandhiji inside the Congress but having failed, I have agreed to second the resolution. I have done so in the hope they will deserve his services by putting their house in order, as he wanted them.

Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, supporting, said :

Friends, Congressmen give their blessings to Gandhiji with a heavy heart but in the hope his services and advice will be available to them whenever they needed them. Gandhiji gave them a new weapon and strength. I am certain everyone of them even those who have differences with him will be longing for the day when he will once more return to the Congress to lead the country to victory.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

NEXT CONGRESS.

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant moved and Acharya Kripalani seconded the following resolution :

"Resolved that the next Session of the Congress be held in the U.P."

The resolution was carried.

Sardar Sardul Singh moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee for their splendid arrangements.

Swami Govindanand, seconding, praised the Bombay Reception Committee for their magnificent arrangements.

The resolution was carried amidst cheers.

Mr. K. F. Nariman replying on behalf of the Reception Committee thanked the delegates and visitors and apologised to them for the shortcomings of the Reception Committee. He concluded with a tribute to Babu Rajendra Prasad's tact and ability in handling most difficult and awkward situations during the deliberations of the Subjects Committee and the open session.

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant thanked Babu Rajendra Prasad for the able manner in which he conducted the proceedings.

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi next spoke, thanking the President for his great ability and patience.

The President then walked to the rostrum amidst prolonged cheers and cries of 'Vande Mataram' and delivered the following concluding speech before dissolving the Session.

Friends, I thank you all for the perfect understanding which was evinced throughout the Session between the delegates and myself. How can I forget the enthusiastic reception accorded to me on my arrival in the city of Bombay? My reception and welcoming started from Kalyan and was warm throughout the way until I reached the City. Thousands and thousands of people thronged to offer me welcome which I thank fully acknowledge. I had to think furiously as to what was the reason of such a generous welcome on the part of

the citizens of Bombay. I had pondered over very deeply, why an humble insignificant person like me from an obscure village in Bihar should be an object of such great respect and admiration in the minds of the citizens of Bombay. You had done me a great honour, you have proved your confidence in me. I have realised that your love is not for my person. Your love is for the Indian National Congress and that love was manifested in the manner witnessed on the occasion of my arrival (Cheers). The people had the greatest love for the supreme national organisation which during the past 50 years had maintained nation's reputation by the tremendous service rendered to the country by the vast sacrifices it invoked now and again.

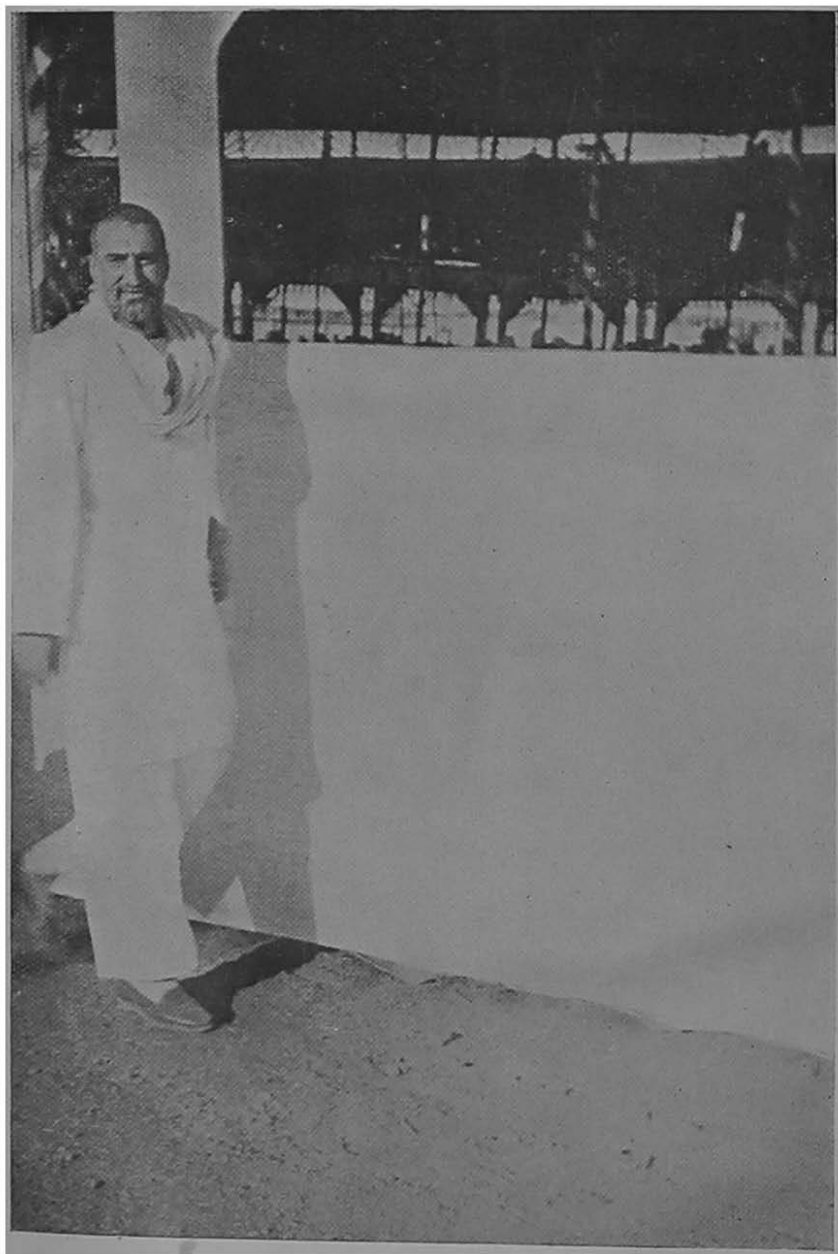
Whatever may be the propaganda carried on in foreign countries, the Bombay Session has abundantly proved that the whole country is with the Congress, and has confidence in the policy and the programme of the Congress. It is abundantly clear that under the aegis of the Congress, the country is ready to take up the national programme and march on towards its goal of freedom. The great reception accorded to me showed the heart of Bharatavarsha is with the Congress. I am confident, Congressmen will sink their differences and will strengthen the organisation.

This year the new constitution has come into being and I hope it will be successfully worked and I appeal to the thousands of people gathered here that they will carry out the constructive programme to the very letter. I would appeal to the Indians to join the Congress in their lakhs and rigidly observe the new regulations framed in the interests of the nation. Swadeshi too must be propagated throughout the length and breadth of the land. My Friends, I ask you to realise that the entire prestige of the Congress lies in the successful worknig of the constitution and on your ability to organise.

In conclusion, I would like to issue an appeal to the electorate of the Assembly. Since the Congress has decided to run the candidates and elections are fast approaching, it is the duty of every voter not only in Bombay but in the whole country to vote for the Congress. The whole country should stand as one man and prove to the Government that the nation stands united.

I hope that I will be enabled at the end of my term of office to congratulate the city of Bombay for the momentous decisions taken and for the successful organisation of the Congress during the ensuing year. I expect that the citizens of Bombay will not forget this successful session and the programme chalked out therein and would carry out the decisions both in spirit and letter. (Loud cheers).

The Congress was then dissolved.



KHAN ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN
Entering his Cottege in the Nagar.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

—◇—

OBJECT

Article I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of *Poorna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Article II.

The Indian National Congress shall comprise:—

- (1) Members enrolled in primary committees under Article III;
- (2) Provincial Congress Committees;
- (3) Annual Session;
- (4) All India Congress Committee;
- (5) Working Committee;

and may comprise (a) committees or associations directly organised by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee, or (b) committees organised by any Provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

MEMBERSHIP

Article III.

(a) Any person over the age of 18 years who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect and presenting an application in form A annexed hereto and on payment of four annas, be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members kept at any office duly authorised in that behalf within the district in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

Provided that no person shall be a member of more than one primary committee at the same time.

(b) The application shall be presented in duplicate and may be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

(c) It shall state the full name, age, sex, and occupation of the applicant as also the village, the taluka, the district and the Province in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

(d) The official receiving the application after recording on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particulars as may be prescribed shall send one of the duplicates to the office of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

(e) The applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive a certificate of membership as per form B annexed hereto and printed on durable paper, either in the language and script of the Province in which he resides or in the Hindustani language written in Devanagari or Urdu script.

(f) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year of the membership shall be reckoned from April 1st to March 31st and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

PROVINCES

Article IV

(a) The following shall be the provinces with the headquarters mentioned against them:

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Language.</i>	<i>Headquarters.</i>
1. Ajmer-Merwara	Hindustani	Ajmer
2. Andhra	Telugu	Bezwada
3. Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
4. Behar	Hindustani	Patna
5. Bengal	Bengali	Calcutta
6. Berar	Marathi	Amraoti
7. Bombay (City)	Marathi & Gujarati	Bombay
8. Burma	Burmese	Rangoon
9. Central Provinces (Marathi)		
10. Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
11. Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmeçabad
12. Karnatak	Kannada	Dharwar
13. Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
14. Mahakoshal (Central Provinces Hindustani)	Hindustani	Jubbulpore
15. Maharashtra	Marathi	Poona
16. N. W. F. Province	Hindustani	Peshawar
17. Punjab	Punjabi	Lahore
18. Sindh	Sindhi	Karachi
19. Tamil Nadu	Tamil	Madras
20. United Provinces	Hindustani	Lucknow
21. Utkal	Oriya	Cuttack

(b) Any Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the

power to alter its headquarters from time to time.

(c) The Working Committee may after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned constitute a new Province, or assign to a Province districts from another Province as also assign an Indian State to any Province.

QUALIFICATIONS

Article V

(a) No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for six months prior to the date of the election.

(b) No member even if he is qualified under clause (a) hereof shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of any Congress Committee unless,

(i) he is a habitual wearer wholly of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar;

(ii) he has performed some manual labour continuously for six months immediately before the date of nomination for election, on behalf of or for the Congress, equal in value to 500 yards per month of well-spun yarn of over ten counts, and in time to eight hours per month; the forms of acceptable labour alternative to spinning being prescribed from time to time by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Congress Committees concerned and the All India Village Industries Association or the All India Spinners Association.

(iii) at the time of offering himself for such election he is not a member at the same time of any other parallel committee.

(c) No person who is member of any elected Congress Committee shall be member of any similar committee

of a communal organisation the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

Article VI

(a) At the end of every Annual Session the Working Committee shall fix a date and time not earlier than eight months after the date of such decision when every provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Working Committee a certified list of members of its primary committees qualified to vote. The list must reach the office of the Working Committee on or before the said or any other extended date time.

(b) Members included in the said list shall alone be entitled to vote at the election of delegates in that province.

(c) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish the lists in time, the province concerned may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

(d) On receipt of the aforesaid lists the Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held and the quota of delegates which each province is entitled to return, and call upon the Provincial Congress Committee to proceed with the election of their respective quota.

(e) For the the purposes of election the provinces referred to in Article IV hereof shall be divided into rural and urban areas.

Note.—'Urban area' means towns which have a population of more than ten thousand persons. 'Rural area' means area other than urban.

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Note.—'Urban area' means towns which have a population of more than ten thousand persons. 'Rural area' means area other than urban.

(f) The rural area as also every town with a population of more than 10,000 persons in a district shall each be entitled to elect one delegate for every five hundred duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees or for such other number as may be fixed by the Working Committee in accordance with clause (h) hereof subject to the following:

(i) The maximum number of delegates shall not exceed two thousand. Out of the said number 511 shall be the maximum for the urban area and 1489 for the rural area.

(ii) No province shall be entitled to return a larger number of delegates than a proportion of one delegate to every 150,000 of the inhabitants of such province including the Indian States or agencies therein, or its fraction thereof, in accordance with the census of 1921.

Proviso I. The maximum number of delegates sent by the urban area in each province shall not exceed 25% of the total number returnable by the province as aforesaid.

Proviso II. Bombay (City) shall have a maximum quota of 21 delegates.

Proviso III. Every province shall be entitled to return a minimum of 10 delegates irrespective of the strength of its primary members.

(g) (i) Where the rural area of a district has a sufficient number of duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees, the Provincial Congress Committee shall divide such area into suitable circles, so as to include in each circle not less than five hundred duly qualified members and each such circle shall be entitled to elect a delegate.

(ii) On a demand made in writing by 500 duly qualified members enrolled on the primary committees of one or more contiguous circles of a district, the said circles, where possible, shall be combined into a plural-member constituency of not more than five seats.

(iii) Wherever possible, a town with a population of more than 10,000 persons shall be divided into plural member constituencies of not less than five and not more than ten seats, provided the constituency can have at least 500 duly qualified members to every seat. But where the number of duly qualified members is less than 2500 the town shall be formed into a plural-member constituency with one seat to not less than 500 members each.

(iv) Election in plural-member constituencies shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(h) If and when necessary, the Working Committee may readjust the proportion of 500 duly qualified members to one delegate and prescribe a higher figure for any urban or rural area so that the total number of urban and rural delegates in each province may be in the proportion of 1 to 3 and may not in the aggregate exceed the maximum prescribed for it under f (ii).

(i) The province which has not completed its election on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the Annual Session.

(j) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committees not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(k) Every delegate so elected shall, on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee of his province, receive a certificate in accordance with Form C hereto annexed, duly signed by one of its secretaries. No delegate shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions or powers without such certificate.

ELECTION BY THE DELEGATES

Article VII

(a) On receipt by the Working Committee of the list of delegates it shall fix a date on which the delegates in every province shall assemble in a meeting to transact the following business:

(i) to propose the candidate or candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress for the ensuing year and to record the vote of each of the delegates assembled on the proposals;

(ii) to elect from among themselves one-twelfth of their number as representatives of the province on the All India Congress Committee;

(iii) in case the number of delegates for the province exceeds 100, to elect from among themselves a number of members which together with the members of the All India Congress Committee elected under clause (ii) would amount to 100 to constitute the Provincial Congress Committee of the province.

(b) The elections in sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of Clause (a) shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote,

(c) The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons elected on it.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Article VIII

(a) The delegates elected from a province under Art. VI, or where the number of delegates is more than 100, one hundred delegates elected under Art. VII (a) (iii), as the case may be, and the President and the ex-Presidents of the Congress provided they are duly qualified under Articles III and V, shall form its Provincial Congress Committee

(b) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall,

(i) subject to the general control and supervision of the A.I.C.C., be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within its own province and to that end frame rules not inconsistent with this Constitution, which rules shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(ii) submit an annual report of the work in the province to the Working Committee not later than one month before the commencement of the Annual Session;

(iii) before the new A.I.C.C. meets as Subjects Committee under Article IX (g), pay to the Working Committee the fees received from the delegates, as also such subscription as may be fixed by the latter, having regard to the population, membership and financial capacity of the province. Delegates and members of the A.I.C.C. from provinces in default shall not be permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of the Congress or any Committee thereof.

ANNUAL SESSION

Article IX

(a) The Annual Session shall be ordinarily held during the month of February or March. The said Session shall be held at the place decided upon at the preceding Session or such other place as may be determined by the Working Committee.

(b) The Annual Session shall consist of—

(i) the President of the Congress;

(ii) the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Art. III and V;

(iii) the delegates elected under Article VI.

(c) The Provincial Congress Committee concerned shall make such arrangements for holding the Annual Session as may be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee, and may include therein persons who are not its members.

(d) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the Session, make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accomodation of delegates and visitors and for the printing of the report of the proceedings of the Session.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) (i) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the report by the Working Committee of the names of Presidents proposed by the delegates of various provinces and the number of votes recorded in favour of each, the Working Committee shall

announce as President-elect the name of the member obtaining the largest number of votes.

(ii) In the event of an emergency arising by reason of any cause, such as the death or resignation of the President-elected in this manner, the Working Committee shall, not later than a fortnight after the emergency, elect as President the person standing next in order.

(g) The new A.I.C.C. shall meet as Subjects Committee at least two days before the Annual Session under the presidentship of the President-elect. The out-going Working Committee shall submit to it the draft programme of the work for the Session including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees.

(h) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open Session. At least one day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by Provincial Congress Committees or members of the A.I.C.C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

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

(i) The resolution recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(ii) Any substantive motion not included in (i) and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a

meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present,

(j) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee, not later than three months after the termination of the Annual Session.

SPECIAL SESSION

Article X

(a) The Working Committee may upon its own motion, or shall upon a joint requisition addressed to it, as provided in Article XVI (e), convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee for considering a resolution for holding a special session. Such resolution shall be effective if passed by two-thirds majority of the members present. Thereupon the Working Committee shall summon a Special Session of the Congress at such time and place as it shall determine and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the Working Committee may consider necessary, provided that the delegates of the preceding session shall be the delegates for such Special Session.

(b) The President of a Special Session shall be elected by the delegates.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article XI

(a) The President of the Annual Session, members of the A. I. C. C. elected under Art. VII (ii) and the Ex-Presidents referred to in Art. IX (b) (ii) shall constitute the A.I.C.C.

(b) The A. I. C. C. shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

(c) The A. I. C. C. shall have the power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress.

(d) The President of the Annual Session shall be the Chairman of the A. I. C. C.

(e) The A. I. C. C. shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice thereof has been given to the members.

(f) Twenty-five or one-third of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum.

(g) The A. I. C. C. shall hold office till the meeting of the new A. I. C. C. as Subjects Committee immediately before the next Annual Session.

(h) The A. I. C. C. shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of twelve members to enquire into and decide all election disputes coming before it. Each party to the dispute shall nominate one out of this panel to represent itself and the President shall appoint an umpire from the panel.

(i) The A. I. C. C. may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organisations as it may deem necessary provided such organisations are calculated to further or assist the object of the Congress.

(j) Every member of the All India Congress Committee, ex-officio or elected shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10/- payable at or before the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee or in any Session.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

Article XII

(a) The President of the Annual Session shall for his term of office select fourteen members from among the members of the A. I. C. C. to constitute his Working Committee including not more than three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasurers of the Congress.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A. I. C. C. and the Congress, and shall remain responsible thereto.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A.I.C.C the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting, and shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A. I. C. C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors access to all offices and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power—

XV

- (i) to frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the Constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for;
- (ii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees subject to review by the A. I. C. C.
- (iii) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.
- (f) The Working Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee convening the Annual Session one-fifth of the fees recovered from the delegates within a fort-night of its termination.
- (g) The Working Committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

FUNDS

Article XIII

The Treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Article XIV

- (a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee.
- (b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the Annual or Special Session in co-operation with the Provincial Committee concerned. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the Session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee during their period of office and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may have come into their hands, to the meeting of the A. I. C. C. immediately before the Annual Session.

VACANCIES

Article XV

The office of a delegate or a member of the A. I. C. C. or a Provincial Congress Committee shall be vacated by resignation, death or prolonged absence from India and such vacancy shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

FRACTIONS

Article XVI

Where there is a question of considering the value of fractions, a fraction of $\frac{1}{2}$ or more shall be treated as one, and less than $\frac{1}{2}$ as zero.

LANGUAGE

Article XVII

(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

Article XVIII

(a) On these amendments to the Constitution coming into force the A. I. C. C. shall consist of not more than 166 members apportioned as stated in the Appendix.

(b) The members of the Provincial Congress Committees which are functioning or are about to function shall, from among themselves, elect by single transferable vote the members of the A. I. C. C. mentioned in clause (a)

(c) Where a Provincial Congress Committee at present consists of more than 100 members, the sitting members of such committee shall elect from among themselves by single transferable vote 100 members including the A. I. C. C. members to constitute the new Provincial Congress Committee under this Constitution.

(d) The Provincial Congress Committee reconstituted under clause (c) shall elect its office bearers.

(e) The votes at the elections under clauses (b) and (c) may be recorded either at a meeting held for the purpose or on ballot papers sent by post.

(f) All such elections shall be held and a report thereon submitted to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of January 1935.

(g) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall, before the 28th of February 1935, submit for the approval of the Working Committee a report on the affairs of its province and a draft constitution for the same not inconsistent with this Constitution and the rules made thereunder.

(h) The Provincial Constitutions shall come into operation on their being approved by the Working Committee.

(i) No Provincial Congress Committee and no subordinate Committee shall be recognised by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down in this Constitution or any rules framed thereunder by the Working Committee.

(j) On failure on the part of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the Constitution, the Working Committee may form one to carry on Congress work in that province.

(k) Notwithstanding Article III and V (a) and (b) (ii) a person otherwise duly qualified shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of a committee prior to 1st July 1935.

(l) Notwithstanding the provisions relating to the election of the President by the delegates under this Constitution, the President of the 48th Session of the Congress viz. Sjt. Rajendra Prasad shall continue to hold office as if he was elected hereunder.

(m) The President of the 48th Session of the Congress shall nominate fourteen members of the Working Committee including three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasures from the members of the present A. I. C. C.

(n) The Working Committee may make such transitory regulations not inconsistent with the foregoing to meet any situation that may arise in the transitional period.

APPENDIX—A.

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.



Wire to Mahatma Gandhi, Bombay Congress Camp
from Sjt. Rashbehari Bose, Tokio:

Congress should reject Communal Award, White Paper, re-affirm Purna Swaraj Resolution, capture Legislative Assembly, Council. Present united front.

Regret inability attending Congress owing election work. Earnestly suggest postpone constitutional amendments next Congress:—Sjt. Satyamurthi.

Wish you every success in guiding destiny of our great national organisation:—Sjt. Diwan Chamanlal, Lahore.

Letter to Sardar Patel from Sjt. C. Vijjaraghavachariar,
Salem:

I regret much my inability to attend this Session of the Indian National Congress, chiefly owing to the weak state of my health. I do hope that every delegate would realise the very serious crisis in the history of our country and in the history of the institution just at this moment. If the great national institution would save itself, perfect harmony and unanimity should characterize its resolution, if not its proceedings. In my humble view it is necessary that the Session unanimously adopts a resolution for creating British India into a Dominion forthwith. "The substantial independence" in the felicitous words of the Mahatmaji would best meet the real situation while technically absolute independence is most risky if it can at all be reached. Federation of British India is impossible and with the Indian States, absolutely so and fatal too, if at all anywise practicable.

As regards the Communal Award, even if it be allowed to be temporary policy, it must be distinctly emphasised that it is universally acknowledged to be a national evil and that it should be got rid of if not by common agreement—almost impossible in my humble opinion—by the view of the constituent assembly or by the arbitration of the League of Nations, a most competent tribunal on the rights of the minorities.

Nextly, I respectfully think that this is not the time for Mahatma Gandhiji to quit the Congress and he should be persuaded to give up the idea for the present.

I prayerfully hope that the Subjects Committee and the Congress would, after a free and full debate if necessary, rise fully equal to their sacred duty at this crisis of to be or not to be, for us.

Wire to Mahatma Gandhi from Mr. Fenner Brockway, London:

Best wishes Congress; should dearly love attend Bombay Session; still regretting absence Madras; hope Congress assist unity Indian masses and British Anti-Imperialists and help create politically and socially free India.

Wire to President Indian National Congress, Bombay Congress Camp, from Chairman, Great Asia Independence Association, Tokio:

Great Asia Independence Association members consisting Diet members, lawyers, merchants, journalists, professors offer Japanese greetings and wish Congress all success.

Wire to Rajendra Prasad, President, Congress Bombay Congress Camp from Sjt. Iswarsaran :

Cordially wish Congress and you personally all success.

Wire to President Congress from Sjt. Asaf Ali, Delhi :

Intensely disappointed unable leave Delhi owing nearness election. Offer respectful congratulations reassemblage and reorganisation Congress. Endorse Mahatmaji's proposal to reduce delegates deliberative body. Congress represents people's Government and as such Congress Ministry should assign definite portfolios to Cabinet members and make each responsible for organisation and administration of each Department revival labour artisan and rural punchayats essential National reconstruction. also volunteer organisation. Publication comparative statistics Indian and Foreign in readable form imperatively necessary for awakening interest in fundamental political and economic problems. Special department should be created for this purpose. I would retain Mahatmaji's leadership on any terms but would respectfully suggest modification franchise so as to make adult suffrage reality. India must swear by self-determination through a Constituent Assembly Wish Congress Country success.

Wire to President, National Congress, Bombay, from Sjt. Shivaprasad Gupta, Benares :

Bandematram, I offer my loyal devotion and greetings to the great assemblage and request them to rise to the occasion unmindful of pleasures and frowns of high or low and earnestly request the delegates assembled to save the fifty year old institution from falling into the pitfall ahead of Council Entry and devote their whole energy towards the attainment of Purna Swaraj.

Wire to President, Indian National Congress, Bombay, Congress Camp, from Secretary, Kobe Indo-Japanese Peoples Association Kobe.

Kobe Indo-Japanese Peoples Association members wish all success.

Wires expressing inability to attend and wishing success to the Congress were received, among others from the following persons and institutions:—

Baba Gurditsingh ; Sjt. K. V. Velayudamsetiar, President, Sivaganga Taluka Congress; Sjt. Ramamgrahjya, care Jivanram Santlal, Rangoon; Shmt. Kunhikavamma, Ottapalam ; Sjt. Bans Gopal, Member A. I. C. C., Fatehpur ; Sjt. Khubram Saraf, Bikaner ; Sjt. Chhotalal Jani, Jharia ; Sjt. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Bhaktavatsaram, Madras; Sjt. D. V. Belvi, Belgaum; Sjt. Gangavishnu, Muzaffarpur; Govesebeg A. S. C. C. Cirala ; Sjt. Subhas Bose, Karlovyvary ; President Suehiroshagao, Kobe ; Sjt. Anandmohan-sahay, President, Japan Congress Committee, Kobe Dr. Bepinbehari Sen, Mymensing ; Syt. Mahamaya, Napoli ; Sjt. Nandlal Potdar, Sohagpur; Sjt. Basantakumar, Sylhet ; Prajamandal (Sjt. Kasalchand Manordas, President, Dharangadhra), Ahmedabad; Sjt. Hosakappa Krishnarao, Mysore Representative Assembly, Sjt. Jagdishparayan Srivatsava, Congress Secretary, Revelganj; Sjt. Jamaluddin Makhmoor, Ajmer; Sjt. Sabde Secy. Jamkhandi Praja Parishad, Jamkhandi; Pushtimargiya Yuvak Parishad, Bombay.

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