

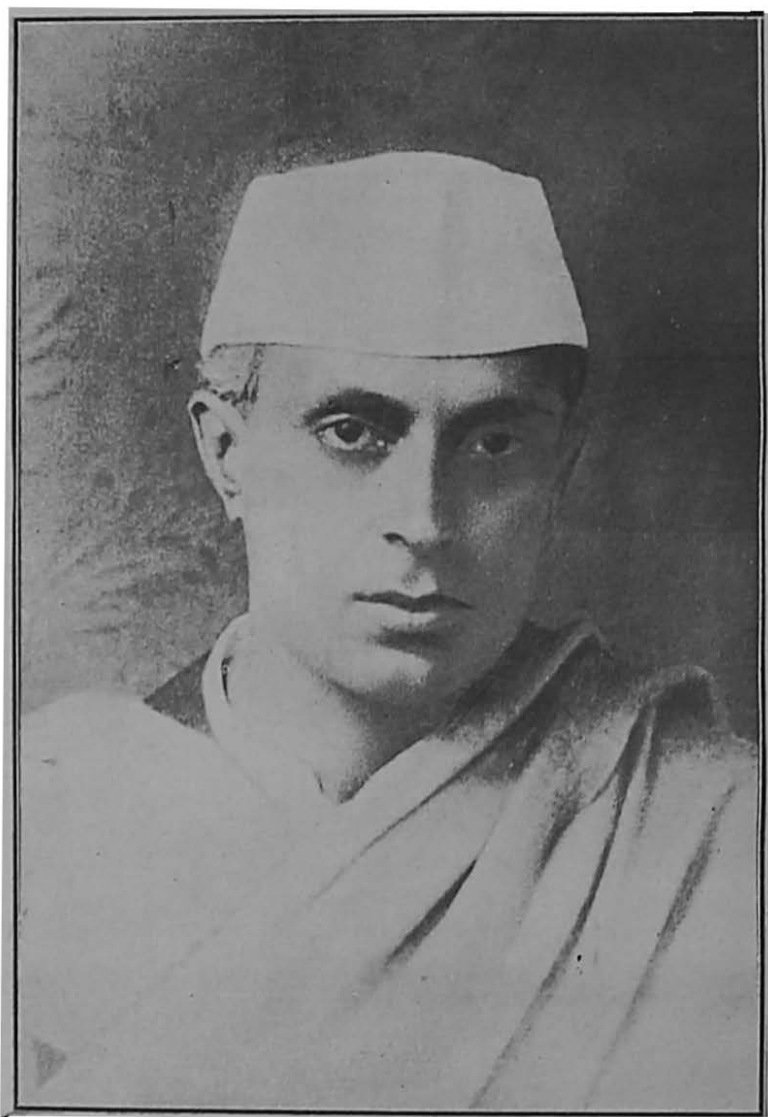
Report of the
49th Session of the Indian National Congress
held at Lucknow in April 1936.

Published by
The General Secretary,
All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.

Printed at the Oudh Printing Works, Lucknow, by Dr. Murari Lal
General Secretary, Reception Committee of the 49th Session
of the Indian National Congress.

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The President Elect.

Lucknow Congress, 49th Session

Held April, 1936.

INTRODUCTION.

After a period of twenty years, the Indian National Congress held its sessions for the second time at Lucknow. In the session at Bombay it was decided to hold the next Congress in the U. P. The U. P. P. C. C. decided to let Lucknow have the honour. The U. P. P. C. C. further entrusted the task of preliminary arrangements in connection with the session to the City Congress Committee, Lucknow. Later on a reception committee with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the Chairman and Dr. Murari Lal as the General Secretary was formed to start work. With the subsequent election of Panditji to the presidentship of the Congress, Babu Sri Prakash was elected in his place.

The site chosen for the session was a vast area situated at a distance of half a mile from the Lucknow Station. It was a rugged and uneven stretch of land full of pits and mounds. With some expenditure of money and a good deal of labour the Reception Committee succeeded in levelling the grounds and rearing on it a temporary city, the Moti Nagar, with broad roads and spacious open grounds. In the centre of this city was a marble bust of the late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru who breathed his last at Lucknow. The construction was rather slow in the beginning, but the work was pushed up as the dates for the Congress approached.

The main entrance into the Nagar was through three imposing gates. The central gate was styled the Kamla gate. The Sherwani and Ganesh gates were on either side of it. The broad main road was lined with shops on both sides. This constituted Swadeshi Bazar, named Kamala Bazar, and contained a variety of shops for the convenience and comfort of the temporary residents at Moti Nagar. The Bazar presented a picturesque sight at night with the full light cast upon it from the innumerable multi-coloured electric lights. The 100 feet high flagstaff, fixed further ahead of the marble bust of Pandit Moti Lalji, was similarly illumined with coloured lights along the ropes and wires that held it. The tri-coloured flag at the top could be seen fluttering in

the sky from a considerable distance not only during the day but at night also.

The delegates were housed in the delegates' camp near the spacious open Congress pandal. As usual each province was given a separate block with a special office-room. A limited number of delegates and visitors were provided with tents and family cottages. The Reception Committee tried its best to minimise the discomforts incidental upon temporary arrangements and the rigours of the season.

The entrance to the roofless spacious enclosure for the open session was through an imposing gate with artistic and instructive patriotic frescoes painted by Syt. Nand Lal Bose and his comrades from Shantiniketan. One such represented presidents in procession advancing towards the Congress goal of *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence). The goal appeared well within reach of the advancing leaders though the path, in its later stages, appeared rather rough and steep.

In the middle of this vast enclosure, was the domed rostrum decorated with the tri-colour khaddar. Loudspeaker arrangements were made on an adequate scale and the service worked well and satisfactorily throughout. The Subjects Committee had to itself a spacious roofed pandal which could accommodate about 10,000 persons. This pandal, when the Subjects Committee was not in session, was used by the many conferences that were held during the Congress week. Close to this pandal were housed the President, the General Secretary and such members of the Working Committee as chose to live in Moti Nagar.

The exhibition on the grounds was a unique and the first of its kind in Congress history. It was organised in terms of the Congress policy enunciated in this behalf at Bombay last time. It was exclusively of hand-made cottage and village products. It was not as hitherto a mere Swadeshi market where the merchants exhibited their wares and made profits. It was not only an exhibition but also a demonstration of the various processes through which the products exhibited had to pass. One could see there the finest cotton, woollen and silk yarn being spun and cloth woven therefrom. There were interesting demonstrations of bee-keeping, and all processes of cottage, leather and other industries.

The object was to combine recreation with instruction. The exhibition was organised jointly by the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association helped by the local U. P. Khadi organisation, the Sri Gandhi Ashram.

As an experiment the exhibition was a great success, the credit of which must go to Syt. Shanker Lal Banker, the Secretary, Spinners' Association, and the workers of the Gandhi Ashram. Shanker Lalji had however in his work mobilized generally the talent and skill from all over India. The presence of the great artist, Nand Lal Bose, and his band of pupils from Shantiniketan lent colour to the exhibition. Their art gallery attracted thousands every day. (For a note on the exhibition see Appendix B).

The President-elect arrived at Lucknow on the morning of the 8th. His entry was private. Only the members of the executive of the Reception Committee, headed by Dr. Murari Lal, the General Secretary, were present at the station to receive and lead him to his cottage in Motinagar. There was, however, a procession organised for the evening. Unlike the usual processions on such occasions, it was arranged that all the processionists, including the President-elect, were to walk on foot. The procession was to consist of the President, the other leaders, the office-bearers of the Reception Committee, the chief of the volunteers and the captains of the various corps and a batch of volunteers. The order of precedence was previously settled. The crowds were to line the road and the streets and not walk along with the procession. All this elaborate arrangement, however, broke down owing to the unprecedented crowds that collected to witness the show and render their respect to the President and other leaders. In a few minutes it was impossible for the President to walk on foot and he had to jump on a horse for the convenience of the crowds, who were clamouring for his *darshan*. The procession thereafter proceeded more peacefully. The householders and merchants enroute had decorated their respective houses and shops. The route was marked by arches at intervals. There was continuous showering of flowers from the public and in many places the procession was stopped to garland the President-elect and to offer him the customary *pan-supari*. The procession terminated at Moti Nagar.

This session was the first after the Congress constitution

was in many respects radically changed in Bombay. The number of delegates by that constitution was greatly reduced. The total number attending the session was about 700. The usual attendance after 1920 had been three or four times this number. But the deficiency was made up by the visitors. About 30,000 attended the session.

Compared to the other recent sessions of the Congress, the Lucknow Session of the Congress caused less of expenditure as will be evident from the audited Statement of Income and Expenditure account submitted by Mr. C. B. Gupta, Chairman, Finance Committee, and which is appended at the end of the book as Appendix C.

The resolutions passed at the session of the Congress are separately printed as appendix D.

Office-bearers of the Reception Committee.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

49th SESSION, LUCKNOW.

Shri Shri Prakash	Chairman Reception Committee.
Doctor Murari Lal	General Secretary, Reception Com. & Chairman Construction Committee.
Shri Ballabh Das Rastogi	Treasurer Reception Committee
„ Harish Chandra Bajpai	Jt. Secretary „ „
„ S. N. Tankha	Jt. Secretary „ „
„ Mohan Lal Saxena	Chairman Collection Committee.
„ C. B. Gupta	Chairman Finance Committee.
„ Sampurnanand	Chairman Volunteers Committee.
„ J. K. Tandon	Chairman Bazar Committee.
„ Bishambhar Dayal Tripathi	Chairman Accomodation Committee.
„ Balmukund Bajpai	Chairman Stores Purchases Committee.
„ Jugul Kishore	Chairman Pandal Committee.
„ Ram Sarau	Chairman Ticket Committee.
„ U. S. Pande	Chairman Medical Relief Committee.
„ Jaidayal Awasthi	Chairman Transport Committee.
Mrs. S. Mitra	Chairman Ladies Committee.
Shri P. N. Tankha	Chairman Lighting Committee.
„ Gopinath Srivastava	Chairman Publicity Committee.
„ H. P. Saxena	Chairman Board Committee.
„ D. K. Ganjoor	Chairman Leaders' Camp Committee.
„ Khaliqzamman	Chairman Reception & Procession Com
„ K. P. Verma	Chairman Decoration Committee.
„ H. N. Misra	Chairman Sanitation and Water Works Committee.
„ Lakshmi Sahai	Chairman Enquiry Committee.
„ Gopal Narain Saxena	Chairman General Purposes Committee
„ B. N. Verma	Secretary Collection Committee.
„ K. Pestonji	Secretary Finance Committee.
„ N. K. Deo Vashishtha	Secretary Volunteers Committee.
„ Damodar Swarup Seth	Secretary Construction Committee.

„ Rampal Singh	Secretary Construction Committee.
„ Pulin Bihari Banerjee	Secretary Bazar Committee.
„ Thakur Prasad Saxena	Secretary Accomodation Committee.
„ Birbal Singh	Secretary Enquiry Committee.
„ Ramdhar Misra	Secretary Pandal Committee.
Mrs. Godavari Bhargava	Secretary Lady Volunteers Committee.
Syt. R. N. Khanna	Secretary Volunteers Board Committee.
„ Mahavir Prasad Srivastava	Secretary Reception & Procession Com.
„ Banshidhar Misra	Secretary Leaders' Camp Committee.
Mrs. D. Bakshi	Jt. Secretary Leaders' Camp Committee.
Syt. Ganga Prasad Mastram	Jt. Secretary „ „ „
„ Yusuf Ali	Secretary Transport Committee.
„ Gopi Krishna Arora	Secretary „ „
„ Triloki Singh Srivastava	Secretary General Purposes Committee.
„ Mahesh Nath Sharma	Secretary Exhibition Mess Committee.
„ Jagdamba Narain Saxena	Secretary Sanitation and Water Works Committee.
„ Ram Nath	Secretary Stores Purchases Committee.
„ J. N. Gupta	Secretary „ „ „
„ A. P. Singh	Secretary Medical Relief Committee.
„ Salig Ram Tandon	Secretary Decoration Committee.
„ S. N. Kapoor	Jt. Secretary Enquiry Committee.
„ Jai Gopal Tandon	Jt. Secretary „ „
„ S. S. Quisar	Jt. Secretary „ „
„ Sri Dhar Misra	Secretary Lighting and Broadcasting Committee.
„ Raj Kumar	Jt. Secretary „ „
„ L. S. Bajpai	Jt. Secretary Publicity Committee.
„ R. S. Sinha	Secretary „ „
„ Vishwanath Sharma	Secretary Ticket Committee.

All-India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition.

Syt. Shanker Lal Banker
Syt. Girdhari Kriplani
Syt. Ram Krishna Das

Organizer.
General Secretary.
Treasurer.

Shrimati Kanti Avasthi	In-charge, Lady Volunteers.
Syt. Nand Lal Bose	In-charge, Arts Gallery.
Syt. A. N. Mulla	In-charge, Mushaira Committee.
Mrs. A. N. Mulla	In-charge, Varieties Show.
Mr. V. V. Jerajani	In-charge, Khadi Section Museum.
Mr. Gokul Bhai	In-charge, Tannery Section.
Mr. Chotey Lal	In-charge, Bee-keeping.
Mr. Patnerkar	In-charge, Agricultural Section.
Mr. D. N. Kapur	In-charge, Kavi Sammelan.
Mr. V. N. Sharma	In-charge, Exhibits.
Mr. D. N. Majumdar	In-charge, Construction.
Mr. A. P. Chowdhry	In-charge, Office.

Open Session 12-4-36.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The open session of the Congress commenced on April 12 at 6 P. M. under the presidency of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, in the main pandal.

The President entered the pandal in procession with the ex-presidents, (1) Gandhiji (2) Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, (3) Dr. M. A. Ansari, (4) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (5) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (6) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and (7) Babu Rajendra Prasad, members of the Working Committee and the Chairman and General Secretary of the Reception Committee.

The proceedings began with the singing of the national song from the rostrum, as well as after recitation of welcome songs composed by Mr. A. N. Mulla.

Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee

Syt. Sri Prakash, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his address in Hindi, the English rendering of which is as follows:—

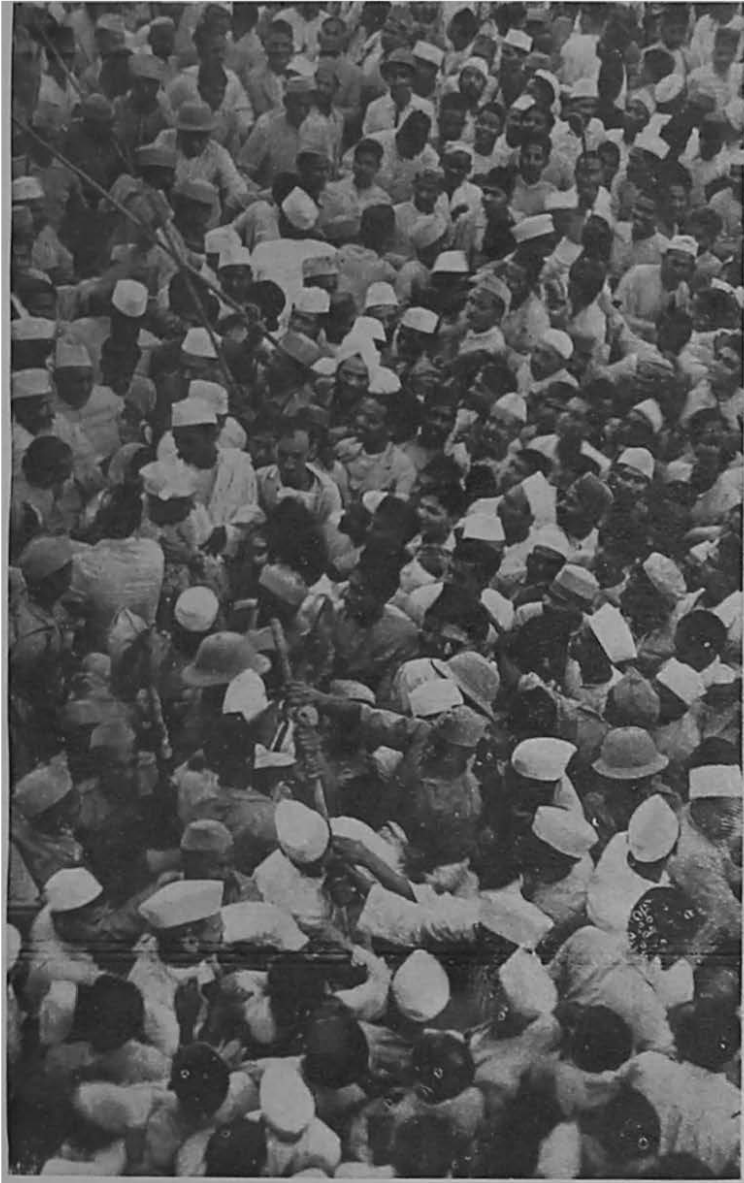
Friends and fellow-workers,

On behalf of the United Provinces, I offer a most hearty welcome to all who have assembled here today at this, officially the 49th—but really the 51st—session of the Indian National Congress. I will not indulge in the usual language of convention, and talk of the shortcomings of our arrangements, obvious as they are; nor offer apologies, hypocritical as they must sound, for any discomforts that you might have to suffer. I will also not try to enter into any self-defence on the ground of our difficulties, which are entirely of our own creation, and for which we fully deserve to be punished. One thing however needs must be mentioned. It has happened perhaps only once or twice before in the history of the Congress—and that too for the sake of very special personalities—that the Chairman of the Reception Committee did not himself belong to the town where the Congress was being held. I have a shrewd suspicion that a small man

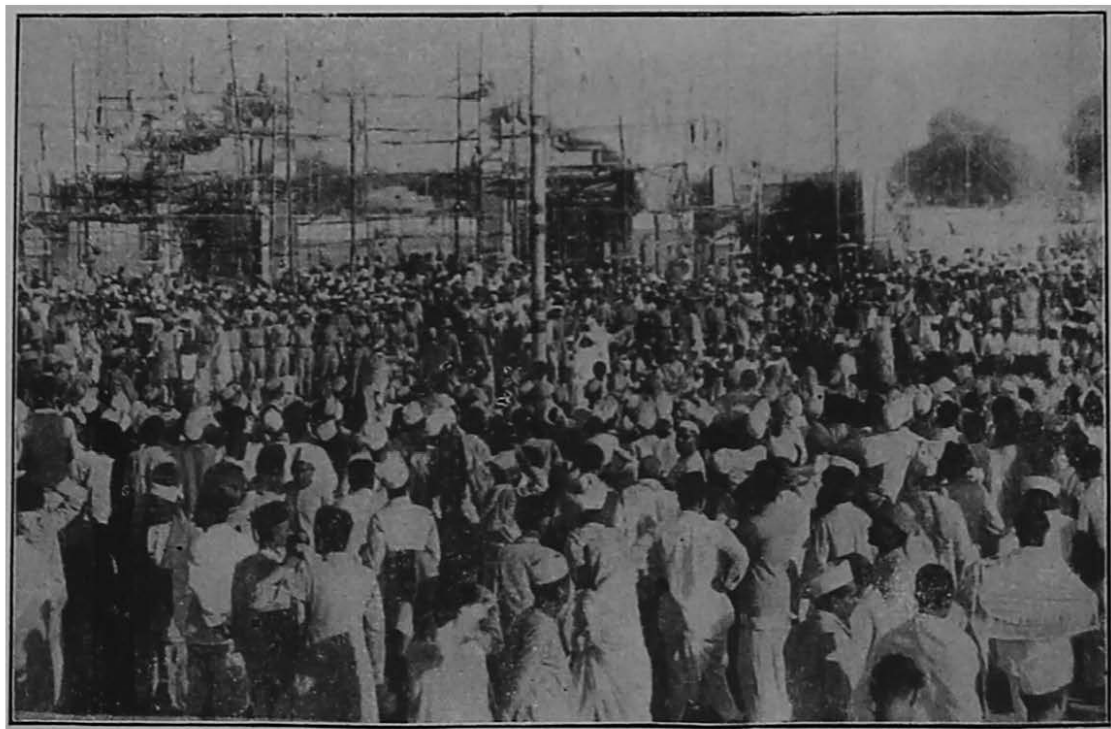
like myself has been suddenly forced into this position today in order that no citizen of Lucknow itself might suffer direct criticism when it has not been possible for us to offer hospitality on that grand and lavish scale for which this town is traditionally famous. I fear the Chairman of the Reception Committee, as well as the head of the volunteer force, have been drafted from Benares—the ancient pilgrim centre of Kashi—not so much to prove the united nature of our United Provinces, as to enable us to say that though the arrangements here may not be worthy of those who are used to receive rajas and nawabs, they are good enough if made in the name of those who have only acted as hosts and chaperons to pious pilgrims. And I of Benares gladly welcome you, knowing only too well that delegates and visitors to the Congress come in the same spirit of reverent pilgrimage as do all those, rich and poor alike, who come to worship at the shrines of my city.

OUR GREAT LOSSES

Many comrades, known and unknown, valiant fighters for the country's liberty, have left us since last we met at Bombay. The Congress, in its resolutions, will doubtless give expression to the nation's sorrow at the loss we have sustained. Two of these, however, I must single out as intimately affecting my own province. In the passing away of Kamala Nehru, not only has our President lost a noble wife, but we have all lost our Kamalaji, who always made her home at Allahabad, a home to the least of us, and not only extended to us unstinted hospitality, but gave us cheer and hope in the darkest days of depression. We who have sat with her in the inmost counsels of the provincial Congress executive, will for ever miss the grace and dignity of her presence in our deliberations. Our hearts go out to Jawahar Lal in his grievous bereavement; and we may only hope that, brave as he is, his sorrow will be assuaged by the thought that it is being shared by countless men and women in the land; and that his nearest fellow-workers feel it as their own. In the death of Tasadduq Sherwani, we have lost a great gentleman, a stout-hearted patriot, and a true champion of nationalism overriding all petty considerations of class, creed, or community; one who gave up



Foot procession of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru along with the members of the Working Committee.



Crowds in front of the Pandal Gate in Mozinagar.

all he possessed for the cause of the country's freedom which was so dear to his heart. To his brothers and other members of his family we send heartfelt condolences today.

THE PRESENT—AND THE FUTURE

It is no business of mine to review the present situation or to suggest any programme for the immediate future. But I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without putting on record the result of my little experience as a humble worker of the Congress, and referring to the chief difficulty that I find in the way of improving matters alike in the political as in other spheres of our national activity. I hope I shall not shock the susceptibilities of any friends present, when I say that great individuals as such have ceased to interest me. The only person who I think matters, is that unknown but most important person—the common man in field and factory, in the cottage and the street, on whom falls the heaviest load of life. I regard the sole end of all effort, to be his betterment; and to my thinking, the highest achievements and the noblest endeavours are in vain if they do not result in bringing any light to him or in ameliorating his life in any way. We have had plenty of great men in our country in the past. We can claim some of the greatest men of today also as being of our land; but in the present as in the past, great men seem to come and go, leaving only their name and fame behind, while the mass goes on for ever in its own apathy, ignorance and destitution, moral and material. Something must be done to change this state of things. We have already innumerable gods who, I take it, were the great men and women of the past now enshrined in stone and marble, for passing generations to revere and worship. No one would object to it, no one would have any cause to complain, if this mentality had not given us the notion that the duty of the mass is only to honour the great from a distance and go its own way heedless of their teaching. We seem to think there is a separate caste of patriots, away and above the ordinary run of man, whose business it is to be patriotic, to win freedom or whatever public good may be their craze, by some mysterious methods which they must devise and practise, while the sole duty

of the ordinary man is to adore these good people and do nothing himself to help in the task of nation-building. We do not seem to realise the simple truth that the activities of leaders are futile unless we ourselves respond to their call in our own lives.

As a corrective to this mentality, I think the time has now come to put a complete stop to ovals, processions, addresses, and the like for those who are great; and at the same time we must also draw up a simple code of disciplined life, commensurate with the limitations of ordinary human nature, and insist on all to follow it enforcing it with a sanction. We must say that any one who lives according to that code, however humble his sphere may be, is as great a patriot as the greatest so recognized in the land, for true greatness resides in fulfilling the tasks one undertakes in a spirit of duty and responsibility. What we need are injunctions to tell us how a person worthy of Swaraj behaves, how he is considerate and accommodating to his fellowmen, even in the smallest things of life. There is much misunderstanding on the subject; and though it may appear a matter of small consequence, I personally regard it as of the greatest moment viewing the conditions of our life as they are. Thus alone, to my mind, can we infuse the spirit of hope in the hearts of our countless men and women and spur them to action on right lines; and thus alone can we harness to the country's service, the latent energies and the great possibilities of our human material, now remaining unutilised. Thus also I feel we can eliminate the unnecessary personal jealousies and bitternesses and communal and political bickerings that are ruining public life in our land today.

OUR REAL AIM

I regard the so-called problems of council-entry and office-acceptance—so intensely exercising the minds of many—as of no importance whatsoever. These can be safely left to take care of themselves. So far as I can see, I have no doubt that we of the Congress today stand for a reconstruction of society. We are impatient of things as they are. It is no more possible to tolerate excessive wealth in the hands of a few on the one hand, and crushing poverty of the vast masses on the other; unlimited power for a handful and the condition of slaves for the rest.

We definitely stand for an equitable distribution of work, wages and comforts for a society of freedom and of love. The thousands of poor men and women who today are sacrificing their all for the cause that the Congress represents, are not doing so in order to continue the cruel and irresponsible oligarchy that is crushing us all. Let those who are better off than the rest of their brethren, or who today enjoy the monopoly of all position and power, wealth and leisure, not forget that the very things that they prize, are endangered when the many are wallowing in dirt and in poverty, deprived of all the light that proper knowledge and adequate comfort can give them. Widespread poverty inevitably reacts on the well-to-do; and disease and death creep within their sheltered walls because the neighbourhood is unhappy and unclean. Viewed from the purely selfish standpoint even, enhancement of life in all its aspects really depends upon a proper setting; and it is up to those who feel unnecessarily disturbed today by our ideals, to help actively instead, in bringing about a state of things where there will be, as a matter of fact, more real gain for themselves. It is time that we placed before the country our exact ideas about the society we are seeking to build. That will help all to know what we want and will eliminate all doubts and suspicions— and may be false hopes and ambitions as well—that so unnecessarily clog us at every step. We must now frame our own future constitution, not so much of the Government which is after all not very important, but the constitution of society itself for the well-being of which alone any Government can be allowed to exist.

OUR INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Logical preciseness and intellectually correct programmes, however, can be of little value unless we have people to appreciate and follow them. What India needs are real men and women, sturdy and efficient citizens, who can be depended upon to perform their tasks in every sphere of activity with which they may be connected, humble or high; and so long as these are not forthcoming, we can achieve nothing, however perfect our resolutions on paper, however brave our voice on the platform. Let the story of the last 15 years of our earnest labours teach us

a lesson. If we are really determined to be free we cannot afford to be oblivious of the underlying nature of the forces that are arrayed against us. The government, as it is, is a compact and efficient organization, each part of which knows exactly its duty even in the most distant and isolated places, and fulfils its task properly and punctually for the strength and stability of the whole and in a spirit of mutual loyalty hard to equal. In order to meet this we have also to be organized in a similar manner, and our units have also to be of a character similar to the units of the opponents we are facing and fighting. Unless we are able to do that, our greatest efforts are bound to go in vain; and we shall always find ourselves at the end of every great movement, just where we started. The history of India from the earliest times has this sad tale to tell. Everytime we have to begin at the beginning. Let the Congress now devise methods by which we as a nation shall not be sliding back each time we make a move forwards, just leaving a few great names behind to illumine the pages of our history and to give us some fanciful satisfaction of our past greatness, when darkness envelopes us in the present and we become a butt of ridicule for the sister nations of the world. Let us make sure that we are really out for the true freedom and greatness of a whole people and not merely to exploit or enhance the undoubted greatness of a few. It is not enough to do our little bit when there is something going. It is necessary to be always on the alert and working. It is the day-to-day work that tells in the long run, and not the work done merely in spurts. Organization for peace is far more necessary than organization for war. If the former is secured, the latter will probably never be needed, or if it ever is, it will be completed at a moment's notice.

SWARAJ—WHY WANTED ?

The task before us is verily a mighty one. We are on to win Swaraj. Swaraj for us is the recovery of our lost soul and not merely the finding of our lost wealth. We want Swaraj because we desire to fashion our lives in our own way, we want to get back our capacity to make our own contribution to world-thought and world-endeavour; and to feel and realize that the words

'India' and 'Indian', unlike the case today, stand for everything that is noble and good; and that we too can move about the world as a self-respecting people, as members of a race that is truly great and really free.

Comrades, I welcome you all once again and earnestly hope that your deliberations here may lead us nearer to our cherished goal.

Vande Matram.

Presidential Address.

At 7 P.M. the President, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, began his address in Hindustani, which took nearly two hours and a half. Panditji as he rose was given an ovation and his speech was throughout punctuated with loud applause. The English rendering of the address is as follows :—

Comrades,

After many years I face you again from this tribune, many weary years of strife and turmoil and common suffering. It is good for us to meet again, it is good for me to see this great host of old comrades and friends, linked together by strong bonds that cannot break, to sense the old brave spirit yet again, to feel your overwhelming kindness and goodwill to one whose greatest privilege it is to have been a comrade and a soldier with all of you in a mighty struggle for freedom. I am heartened and strengthened by you, though even in this great gathering I feel a little lonely. Many a dear comrade and friend has left us, worn out, long before the normal length of our earthly days, by the stress and strain of conflict. One by one they go, leaving a void in our hearts and a dull misery in our minds. They find peace from this turmoil perhaps, and it is well, for they deserved it. They rest after their labours.

But what of us who remain behind with a heavier burden to carry ? There is no rest for us or for those who languish in prison or in detention camp. We cannot rest, for rest is betrayal of those who have gone and in going handed the torch of freedom to us to keep alight; it is betrayal of the cause we have espoused and the pledge we have taken; it is betrayal of the millions who never rest.

I am aweary and I have come back like a tired child yearning for solace in the bosom of our common mother, India. That solace has come to me in overflowing measure, thousands of hands have been stretched out to me in love and sympathy, millions of silent voices have carried their message of affection to my heart. How can I thank you, men and women of India? How can I express in words feelings that are too deep for utterance?

For many years now I have been a distant lookeron on this Indian scene where once I was an actor, and many a thing has happened that has filled me with distress and anguish. I do not wish to survey this recent past of ours, which must be fresh in your memory, and which has left a sorry trail behind and many knots which are difficult to unravel. But we may not ignore it for out of that past as well as the present, we have to build our future. We have followed high ideals and we have taken pride in the fact that our means are worthy of those ideals. We have been witnesses of many a miracle in this old and battered land of ours and yet our very success has been followed by failure and disillusion. Temporary failure has little significance when the aim is high and the struggle bound to be a long one; it is but the incentive to further effort. Often it teaches us more than a victory easily won and becomes a prelude to a greater success. But we profit by it only if we learn its lesson and search our minds for an explanation of that failure. Only by constant self-questioning, individual and national, can we keep on the right path. An easy and unthinking confidence is almost as bad as a weak submission to helpless dejection. Real failure comes only when we forget our ideals and objectives and principles and begin to wander away from the road which leads to their realization.

In this crisis of our history, therefore, let us look into ourselves and examine, without pity or prejudice, what we have done and what others have done to us, and seek to find out where we stand today. We dare not delude ourselves or evade real issues for fear of offending others, even though some of these others are comrades whom we respect. That is the way of self-deception which none who seek great and vital changes can follow except at their peril.

Sixteen years ago, under the inspiration of our leader, we

took a new and long step converting this Congress from an ineffective body, feebly functioning amongst the upper classes, into a powerful democratic organization with its roots in the Indian soil and the vast masses who live on it. A handful of our old friends, representing an age and a class which had had its day, left us, fearful of this democratic upsurge, and preferring the shelter and protection of British imperialism to joining hands with the new vital forces which convulsed the country and struggled for freedom. Historically, they lapsed into the past. But we heard the rumbling of those forces and, for the moment, lined up with them and played a not unworthy part in current history. We sensed the new spirit of mass release, of psychological escape from the cramping effects of long subjection; we gloried in the breaking of the mental bonds that encompassed us. And because our minds became free we felt that political freedom could not be far, for it is often harder to break the bonds of the spirit than physical bonds and chains of iron and steel. We represented the Spirit of the Age and were marching step by step with countless others in our country and outside. The exhilaration of being in tune with the masses and with world forces came upon us and the feeling that we were the agents of historic destiny.

We were engrossed in our national struggle and the turn it took bore the powerful impress of our great leader and of our national genius. / We were hardly conscious then of what was happening outside. And yet our struggle was but part of a far wider struggle for freedom, and the forces that moved us were moving millions of people all over the world and driving them into action. All Asia was astir from the Mediterranean to the Far East, from the Islamic West to the Buddhist East; Africa responded to the new spirit; Europe, broken up by the war, was struggling to find a new equilibrium. And right across a vast area in Europe and Asia, in the Soviet territories, a new conception of human freedom and social equality fought desperately against a host of enemies. There were great differences in the many aspects of this freedom struggle all over the world and we were misled by them and did not see the common background. / Yet if we are to understand these varied phenomena, and derive

a lesson from them for our own national struggle, we must try to see and understand the whole picture. And if we do so we cannot fail to observe an organic connection between them which endures through changing situations. If once we grasp this organic bond, the world situation becomes easier to understand and our own national problems take their proper places in the wider picture. We realise then that we cannot isolate India or the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world. To do so is to ignore the real forces that are shaping events and to cut ourselves adrift from the vital energy that flows from them. To do so, again, is to fail to understand the significance of our own problems, and if we do not understand this how can we solve them? We are apt to lose ourselves, as we have indeed done, in petty conflicts and minor questions, like the communal problem, and forget the major issues; we are apt to waste our energy (like our moderate friends do) in interminable discussions over legal quibbles and constitutional questions.

During the troubled aftermath of the Great War came revolutionary changes in Europe and Asia, and the intensification of the struggle for social freedom in Europe, and a new aggressive nationalism in the countries of Asia. There were ups and downs, and sometimes it appeared as if the revolutionary urge had exhausted itself and things were settling down. But economic and political conditions were such that there could be no settling down, the existing structure could no longer cope with these new conditions, and all its efforts to do so were vain and fruitless. Everywhere conflicts grew and a great depression overwhelmed the world and there was a progressive deterioration, everywhere except in the wide-flung Soviet territories of the U. S. S. R., where, in marked contrast with the rest of the world, astonishing progress was made in every direction. Two rival economic and political systems faced each other in the world and, though they tolerated each other for a while, there was an inherent antagonism between them, and they played for mastery on the stage of the world. One of them was the capitalist order which had inevitably developed into vast imperialisms, which, having swallowed the colonial world, were intent on eating each other up. Powerful still and fearful of war, which might endan-

ger their possessions, yet they came into inevitable conflict with each other and prepared feverishly for war. They were quite unable to solve the problems that threatened them and helplessly they submitted to slow decay. The other was the new socialist order of the U. S. S. R. which went from progress to progress, though often at terrible cost, and where the problems of the capitalist world had ceased to exist.

Capitalism, in its difficulties, took to fascism with all its brutal suppression of what western civilization had apparently stood for ; it became, even in some of its homelands, what its imperialist counterpart had long been in the subject colonial countries. Fascism and imperialism thus stood out as the two faces of the new decaying capitalism, and though they varied in different countries according to national characteristics and economic and political conditions, they represented the same forces of reaction and supported each other, and at the same time came into conflict with each other, for such conflict was inherent in their very nature. Socialism in the west and the rising nationalisms of the eastern and other dependent countries opposed this combination of fascism and imperialism. Nationalism in the East, it must be remembered, was essentially different from the new and terribly narrow nationalism of fascist countries; the former was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction. /

Thus we see the world divided up into two vast groups today—the imperialist and fascist on one side, the socialist and nationalist on the other. There is some overlapping of the two and the line between them is difficult to draw, for there is mutual conflict between the fascist and imperialist Powers, and the nationalism of subject countries has sometimes a tendency to fascism. But the main division holds and if we keep it in mind, it will be easier for us to understand world conditions and our own place in them.

Where do we stand then, we who labour for a free India? Inevitably we take our stand with progressive forces of the world which are ranged against fascism and imperialism. We have to deal with one imperialism in particular, the oldest and the most far-reaching of the modern world, but powerful as it

is, it is but one aspect of world-imperialism. And that is the final argument for Indian independence and for the severance of our connection with the British Empire. Between Indian nationalism, Indian freedom and British imperialism there can be no common ground, and if we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever our name or status, whatever outward semblance of political power we might have, we remain cribbed and confined and allied to and dominated by the reactionary forces and the great financial vested interests of the capitalist world. The exploitation of our masses will still continue and all the vital social problems that face us will remain unsolved. Even real political freedom will be out of our reach, much more so radical social changes.

With the development of this great struggle all over the world we have seen the progressive deterioration of many of the capitalist-imperialist countries and an attempt at consolidation of the reactionary forces under fascism or Naziism or so-called 'national' governments. In India the same process has been evident to us during these past years, and stronger the nationalist movement has grown, the more have efforts been made by our imperialist rulers to break our ranks and to gather together under their banner the reactionary elements in the country. The Round Table Conferences were such attempts and, though they helped our rulers in some measure, they served a useful purpose by showing us clearly the division between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces in the country. Unhappily we did not fully profit by this lesson and we still imagine that we can win over some of these imperialist groups to the side of Indian freedom and anti-imperialism, and in a vain attempt to do so, we suppress our ideals, blush for our objectives and tone down our activities.

Meanwhile the decay of British Imperialism in India becomes ever more apparent. It cannot, by its very nature, solve our economic problems and rid us of our terrible poverty, which it has largely itself created. It subsists on a normal fare of the fiercest repression and a denial of civil and even personal liberty. It surrounds us with a wide network of spies and, among the pillars of its administration, are the tribe of informers and *agents provocateurs* and the like. Its services try to seek comfort for

their obvious deterioration and incompetence by perpetually singing songs of mutual adulation. Argument gives place to the policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet and prison and detention camp, and even our extraordinary finances are justified by the methods of the bully. It is astonishing to find to what depths of vulgarity our rulers have descended in their ardent desire to hold on to what they have got, and it is depressing, though perhaps inevitable, that some of our own countrymen, more interested in British Imperialism than the British themselves, should excel at this deplorable game. So wanting in mental equilibrium are they, so obsessed by fear of the Congress and the national movement it represents, that their wishes become thoughts, their thoughts inferences, and their inferences facts, solemnly stated in official publications, and on which the majesty of the British Government rests in India, and people are kept in prison and detention camp without charge or trial. Being interested in psychology, I have watched this process of moral and intellectual decay and realized, even more than I did previously, how autocratic power corrupts and degrades and vulgarizes. I have read sometimes the reports of the recent Assembly meetings and noted the great difference in tone and content between them and the Assembly of ten years ago. I have observed the forced attempts made to discredit the Congress by a reference to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with which I was connected for many years as Secretary of the Congress. But prepared as I was for much, even I was surprised at the insinuations made against our much-loved chief, Rajendra Babu, and the charges brought against the Behar Relief Fund. A mild criticism by me of official incompetence soon after the Behar earthquake was deeply resented probably because the truth of it was realized. Newspapers that criticized the official arrangements at a subsequent earthquake were heavily penalized or suppressed. All criticism hurts the sensitive skin of the Government and its reactions are quick and far-reaching. The more incompetent it grows the less it likes being told so. But this does not prevent it from indulging in reckless allegations about others.

This psychological aspect interests me even more than the more aggressive manifestations of British authority in India, for it throws light on much that has happened. It shows us how a

clear and definite fascist mentality has developed among our rulers and how closely allied is imperialism to fascism. How this fascist mentality has functioned in the recent past and is functioning to-day, I shall not go into now. You know well the horror of these years and of the nightmare that we have all experienced. We shall not easily forget it and if there are some who have been cowed down by it, there are others who have steeled themselves to a greater resolve to end this infamy in India.

But of one thing I must say a few words for to me it is one of the most vital things that I value. That is the tremendous deprivation of civil liberties in India. A government that has to rely on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar laws, that suppresses the press and literature, that bans hundreds of organizations, that keeps people in prison without trial and that does so many other things that are happening in India today, is a government that has ceased to have even a shadow of a justification for its existence. I can never adjust myself to those conditions, I find them intolerable. And yet I find many of my own countrymen complacent about them, some even supporting them, some, who have made the practice of sitting on a fence into a fine art, being neutral when such questions are discussed. And I have wondered what there was in common between them and me and those who think like I do. We in the Congress welcome all cooperation in the struggle for Indian freedom; our doors are ever open to all who stand for that freedom and are against imperialism. But they are not open to the allies of imperialism and the supporters of repression and those who stand by the British Government in its suppression of civil liberty. We belong to opposite camps.

Recently, as you know, we have had a typical example of the way Government functions in India in the warning issued to a dear and valued comrade of ours, Subhas Chandra Bose. We who know him also know how frivolous are the charges brought against him. But even if there was substance in them we could not tolerate willingly the treatment to which he has long been subjected. He did me the honour to ask me for advice and I was puzzled and perplexed for it is no easy thing to advise another in such a matter, when such advice might mean prison. Subhas Bose has suffered enough at the cost of his health. Was I justified in

adding to this mental and physical agony? I hesitated and at first suggested to him to postpone his departure. But this advice made me unhappy and I consulted other friends and then advised him differently. I suggested that he should return to his homeland as soon as he could. But, it appears, that even before my advice reached him, he had started on his journey back to India.

This instance leads us to think of the larger problem, of the way the bogey of terrorism has been exploited by the Government to crush political activity and to cripple physically and mentally the fair province of Bengal. You know that terrorism as such is practically non-existent now in Bengal or any part of India. Terrorism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as so-called constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility. Our national movement has long outgrown that immature stage, and even the odd individuals who have in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy. The Congress, by its stress on peaceful and effective action, has drawn the youth of the country into its fold and all traces of terroristic activity would long have vanished but for the policy of the Government which feeds the roots out of which a helpless violence grows. But terrorism or no terrorism, a government which adopts the methods which have long prevailed in Midnapore and elsewhere in Bengal stands self-condemned. Similar methods have also long prevailed in the Frontier Province, although there is no hint of terroristic activity there, and that fine man and true, beloved of millions, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, still lies in prison. Excuses differ, but the real reason is the ever-growing fascist mentality of our rulers.

That is one side of the picture. What of us? I have found a spirit of disunion spreading over the land, a strange *malaise*, and petty conflicts amongst old comrades growing ever bigger and interfering with all activity. We have forgotten for the moment the larger ideals we stood for and we quarrel over petty issues. We have largely lost touch with the masses and, deprived of the life-giving energy that flows from them, we dry up and weaken and our organization shrinks and loses the power it had. First things must always come first and because we

have forgotten this and argue and dispute over secondary matters, we are in danger of losing our bearings.

Every great struggle has its ups and downs and temporary failures. When such a setback occurs there is a reaction when the fund of national energy is exhausted and has to be re-charged. That happens again and again, and yet that is not an adequate explanation of all that has taken place. Our direct action struggles in the past were based on the masses, and especially the peasantry, but the backbone and leadership were always supplied by the middle classes, and this, under the circumstances, was inevitable. The middle classes are a vague group or groups; at the top, a handful of them are closely allied to British imperialism; at the bottom are the dispossessed and other groups who have been progressively crushed by economic circumstances and out of whose ranks come the advanced political workers and revolutionaries; in between are the centre groups, which tend often to side with the advanced elements, but which also have alliances with the upper groups and live in the hope of joining their superior ranks. A middle class leadership is thus often a distracted leadership, looking in two directions at the same time. In times of crisis and struggle, when unity of aim and activity is essential, this two-faced leadership is bound to injure the cause and to hold back when a forward move is called for. Being too much tied up with property and the goods of this world, it is fearful of losing them, and it is easier to bring pressure on it and to exhaust its stamina. And yet, paradoxically, it is only from the middle class intellectuals that revolutionary leadership comes, and we in India know that our bravest leaders and our stoutest comrades have come from the ranks of the middle classes. But by the very nature of our struggle, these front-rank leaders are taken away and the others who take their place tire and are influenced more by the static element of their class. That has been very evident during our recent struggle when our propertied classes were hit hard by the Government's drastic policy of seizure and confiscation of monies and properties, and were thus induced to bring pressure for the suspension of the struggle.

How is this problem to be solved then? Inevitably we must have middle class leadership but this must look more and more towards the masses and draw strength and inspiration from them. The Congress must be not only *for* the masses, as it claims to be, but *of* the masses; only then will it really be for the masses. I have a feeling that our relative weakness today is due to a certain decay of our middle class elements and our divorce from the people at large. Our policies and ideas are governed far more by this middle class outlook than by a consideration of the needs of the great majority of the population. Even the problems that trouble us are essentially middle class problems, like the communal problem, which have no significance for the masses.

This is partly due, I think, to a certain historical growth during the last fifteen years to which we have failed to adapt ourselves, to a growing urgency of economic problems affecting the masses, and to a rising mass consciousness which does not find sufficient outlet through the Congress. This was not so in 1920 and later when there was an organic link between Congress and the masses, and their needs and desires, vague as they were, found expression in the Congress. But as those needs and desires have taken more definite shape, they have not been so welcome to other elements in the Congress and that organic connection has gone. That, though regrettable, is really a sign of growth and, instead of lamenting it, we must find a new link and a new connection on a fresh basis which allows for growth of mass consciousness within the Congress. The middle class claim to represent the masses had some justification in 1920; it has much less today, though the lower middle classes have still a great deal in common with the masses.

Partly also our divorce from the people at large is due to a certain narrowness of our Congress constitution. The radical changes made in it fifteen years ago brought it in line with existing conditions then and it drew in large numbers and became an effective instrument of national activity. Though the control and background were essentially middle-class and city, it reached the remotest village and brought with it political and economic consciousness to the masses and there was wide-spread discussion

of national issues in city and village alike. One could feel the new life pulsating through this vast land of ours and, as we were in harmony with it, we drew strength from it. The intense repression by the Government during later years broke many of our physical and outward bonds with our countryside. But something more than that happened. The vague appeal of earlier days no longer sufficed, and on the new economic issues that were forcing themselves on us, we hesitated to give a definite opinion. Worse even than the physical divorce, there was a mental divorce between the middle class elements and the mass elements. Our constitution no longer fitted in with changing conditions; it lost its roots in the soil and became a matter of small committees functioning in the air. It still had the mighty prestige of the Congress name behind it and this carried it a long way, but it had lost the living democratic touch. It became a prey to authoritarianism and a battleground for rival cliques fighting for control, and, in doing so, stooping to the lowest and most objectionable of tactics. Idealism disappeared and in its place there came opportunism and corruption." The constitutional structure of the Congress was unequal to facing the new situation; it could be shaken up anywhere almost by a handful of unscrupulous individuals. Only a broad democratic basis could have saved it and this was lacking.

Last year an attempt was made to revise the constitution in order to get rid of some of these evils. How far the attempt has succeeded or not I am not competent to judge. Perhaps it has made the organization more efficient, but efficiency means little if it has no strength behind it, and strength, for us, can only come from the masses. The present constitution stresses still further the authoritarian side of the organization, and in spite of stressing rural representation does not provide effective links with the masses.

The real problem for us is, how in our struggle for independence we can join together all the anti-imperialist forces in the country, how we can make a broad front of our mass elements with the great majority of the middle classes which stands for independence. There has been some talk of a joint front but, so far as I can gather, this refers to some alliance among the upper

classes, probably at the expense of the masses. That surely can never be the idea of the Congress and if it favors it, it betrays the interests it has claimed to represent, and loses the very reason for its existence. The essence of a joint popular front must be uncompromising opposition to imperialism, and the strength of it must inevitably come from the active participation of the peasantry and workers.

Perhaps you have wondered at the way I have dealt at some length with the background of international affairs and not touched so far the immediate problems that fill your minds. You may have grown impatient. But I am convinced that the only right way of looking at our own problems is to see them in their proper place in a world setting. I am convinced that there is intimate connection between world events, and our national problem is but a part of the world problem of capitalist-imperialism. To look at each event apart from the others and without understanding the connection between them must lead us to the formation of erratic and erroneous views. Look at the vast panorama of world change today, where mighty forces are at grips with each other and dreadful war darkens the horizon. Subject peoples struggling for freedom and imperialism crushing them down; exploited classes facing their exploiters and seeking freedom and equality. Italian imperialism bombing and killing the brave Ethiopians; Japanese imperialism continuing its aggression in North China and Mongolia; British imperialism piously objecting to other countries misbehaving, yet carrying on in much the same way in India and the Frontier; and behind it all a decayinge conomic order which intensifies all these conflicts. Can we not see an organic connection in all these various phenomena? Let us try to develop the historic sense so that we can view current events in proper perspective and understand their real significance. Only then can we appreciate the march of history and keep step with it.

I realize that in this address I am going a little beyond the usual beat of the Congress president. But I do not want you to have me under any false pretences and we must have perfect frankness with each other. Most of you must know my views on social and economic matters for I have often given expression

to them. Yet you chose me as president. I do not take that choice to mean an endorsement by you all, or by a majority, of those views, but I take it that this does mean that those views are spreading in India and that most of you will be indulgent in considering them at least.

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine ; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization in the territories of the U. S. S. R. Much has happened there which has pained me greatly and with which I disagree, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and a new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age. /If the future is full of hope it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that, if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilization will spread to other lands and put an end to the wars and conflicts which capitalism feeds. /

I do not know how or when this new order will come to India. I imagine that every country will fashion it after its own way and fit it in with its national genius. But the essential basis of that order must remain and be a link in the world order that will emerge out of the present chaos.

Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour ; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head

and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination ; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the Congress to become a socialist organization and to join hands with the other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization. But I realize that the majority in the Congress, as it is constituted today, may not be prepared to go thus far. We are a nationalist organization and we think and work on the nationalist plane. It is evident enough now that this is too narrow even for the limited objective of political independence, and so we talk of the masses and their economic needs. But still most of us hesitate, because of our nationalist backgrounds, to take a step which might frighten away some vested interests. Most of those interests are already ranged against us and we can expect little from them except opposition even in the political struggle.

Much as I wish for the advancement of socialism in this country, I have no desire to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of our struggle for independence. I shall cooperate gladly and with all the strength in me with all those who work for independence even though they do not agree with the socialist solution. But I shall do so stating my position frankly and hoping in course of time to convert the Congress and the country to it, for only thus can I see it achieving independence. It should surely be possible for all of us who believe in independence to join our ranks together even though we might differ on the social issue. The Congress has been in the past a broad front representing various opinions joined together by that common bond. It must continue as such even though the difference of those opinions becomes more marked.

How does socialism fit in with the present ideology of the Congress ? I do not think it does. I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combatted. Yet I have cooperated whole-heartedly in the past with the khadi programme and I hope to do so in the future because I believe that khadi and village industries have a definite place in our present economy. They have a social, a political and an economic

value which is difficult to measure but which is apparent enough to those who have studied their effects. But I look upon them more as temporary expedients of a transition stage rather than as solutions of our vital problems. That transition stage might be a long one, and in a country like India, village industries might well play an important, though subsidiary, role even after the development of industrialism. But though I cooperate in the village industries programme my ideological approach to it differs considerably from that of many others in the Congress who are opposed to industrialization and socialism.

The problem of untouchability and the Harijans again can be approached in different ways. For a socialist it presents no difficulty for under socialism there can be no such differentiation or victimization. Economically speaking, the Harijans have constituted the landless proletariat and an economic solution removes the social barriers that custom and tradition have raised.

I come now to a question which is probably occupying your minds – the new Act passed by the British Parliament and our policy in regard to it. This Act has come into being since the last Congress met, but even at that time we had had a foretaste of it in the shape of the White Paper, and I know of no abler analysis of those provisions than that contained in the presidential address of my predecessor in this high office. The Congress rejected that proposed constitution and resolved to have nothing to do with it. The new Act, as is well known, is an even more retrograde measure and has been condemned by even the most moderate and cautious of our politicians. If we rejected the White Paper, what then are we to do with this new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses? And even if we forget its content for a while, can we forget the insult and injury that have accompanied it, the contemptuous defiance of our wishes, the suppression of civil liberties and the widespread repression that has been our normal lot? If they had offered to us the crown of heaven with this accompaniment and with dishonour, would we not have spurned it as inconsistent with our national honour and self-respect? What then of this?

A charter of slavery is no law for the slave, and though we

may perforce submit for a while to it and to the humiliation of ordinances and the like, inherent in that enforced submission is the right and the desire to rebel against it and to end it.

Our lawyers have examined this new constitution and have condemned it. But constitutions are something much more than legal documents. "The real constitution" said Ferdinand Lassalle, consists of "the actual relationships of power," and the working of this power we see even today, after the Act has been passed. That is the constitution we have to face, not the fine phrases which are sometimes presented to us, and we can only deal with it with the strength and power generated by the people of the country.

To this Act our attitude can only be one of uncompromising hostility and a constant endeavour to end it. How can we do this?

Since my return from Europe I have had the advantage of full and frank discussion with my colleagues of the Working Committee. All of us have agreed that the Act has to be rejected and combatted, but all of us have not been able to agree to the manner of doing so. We have pulled together in the past and I earnestly hope that we shall do so in the future, but in order to do so effectively we must recognize that there are marked differences in our outlooks. I do not yet know, as I write, what the final recommendation of the Working Committee will be on this issue. I can only, therefore, venture to put before you my own personal views on the subject, not knowing how far they represent the views of Congressmen. I should like to make it clear, however, in fairness to my old colleagues of the Working Committee, that the majority of them do not agree with all the views I am going to express. But whether we agree or disagree, or whether we agree to differ, there is a strong desire on our part to continue to cooperate together, laying stress on our many points of agreement rather than on the differences. That is the right course for us and, as a democratic organization, that is the only course open to us.

I think that, under the circumstances, we have no choice but to contest the election to the new provincial legislatures, in the event of their taking place. We should seek election on the

basis of a detailed political and economic programme, with our demand for a Constituent Assembly in the fore front. I am convinced that the only solution of our political and communal problems will come through such an Assembly, provided it is elected on an adult franchise and a mass basis. That Assembly will not come into existence till at least a semi-revolutionary situation has been created in this country and the actual relationships of power, apart from paper constitutions, are such that the people of India can make their will felt. When that will happen I cannot say, but the world is too much in the grip of dynamic forces today to admit of static conditions in India or elsewhere for long. We may thus have to face this issue sooner than we might expect. But, obviously, a Constituent Assembly will not come through the new Act or the new legislatures. Yet we must press this demand and keep it before our country and the world, so that when the time comes we may be ripe for it.

A Constituent Assembly is the only proper and democratic method for the framing of our constitution, and for its delegates then to negotiate a treaty with the representatives of the British Government. But we cannot go to it with blank minds in the hope that something good will emerge out of it. Such an Assembly, in order to be fruitful, must have previous thought behind it and a definite scheme put forward by an organized group. The actual details, as to how the Assembly is to be convened, must depend on the circumstances then existing and need not trouble us now. But it will be our function as the Congress to know exactly what we are after, to place this clearly and definitely before the Assembly, and to press for its acceptance.

One of the principal reasons for our seeking election will be to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and to the scores of millions of the disfranchised, to acquaint them with our future programme and policy, to make the masses realize that we not only stand for them but that we are of them and seek to cooperate with them in removing their social and economic burdens. Our appeal and message will not be limited to the voters, for we must remember that hundreds of millions are disfranchised and they need our help most for they are at the

bottom of the social ladder and suffer most from exploitation. We have seen in the past wide-spread official interference in the elections; we shall have to face that, as well as the serried and monied ranks of the reactionaries. But the real danger will come from our toning down our programme and policy in order to win over the hesitating and compromising groups and individuals. If we compromise on principles, we shall fall between two stools and deserve our fall. The only right way and the only safe way is to stand four-square on our own programme and to compromise with no one who has opposed the national struggle for freedom in the past, or who is in any way giving support to British imperialism.

When we have survived the election, what then are we to do? Office or no office? A secondary matter perhaps, and yet behind that issue lie deep questions of principle and vital differences of outlook, and a decision on that, either way, has far-reaching consequences. Behind it lies, somewhat hidden, the question of independence itself and whether we seek revolutionary changes in India or are working for petty reforms under the aegis of British imperialism. We go back again in thought to the clash of ideas which preceded the changes in the Congress in 1920. We made a choice then deliberately and with determination and discarded the old sterile creed of reformism. Are we to go back again to that blind and suffocating lane after all these years of brave endeavour, and to wipe out the memory of what we have done and achieved and suffered? That is the issue and let none of us forget it when we have to give our decision. In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change, in this world pregnant with revolutionary and dynamic possibility, are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny, and slide back to static futility? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead, when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal? If we enter the back waters, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent.

How has this question arisen? If we express our hostility to the Act and reject the entire scheme, does it not follow logically that

we should have nothing to do with the working of it and should prevent its functioning, in so far as we can? To accept office and ministry, under the conditions of the Act, is to negate our rejection of it and to stand self-condemned. National honour and self-respect cannot accept this position, for it would inevitably mean our cooperation in some measure with the repressive apparatus of imperialism, and we would become partners in this repression and in the exploitation of our people. Of course we would try to champion the rights of the people and would protest against repression, but as ministers under the Act, we could do very little to give relief, and we would have to share responsibility for the administration with the apparatus of imperialism, for the deficit budgets, for the suppression of labour and the peasantry. It is always dangerous to assume responsibility without power, even in democratic countries; it will be far worse with this undemocratic constitution, hedged in with safeguards and reserved powers and mortgaged funds, where we have to follow the rules and regulations of our opponents' making. Imperialism sometimes talks of cooperation but the kind of cooperation it wants is usually known as surrender, and the ministers who accept office will have to do so at the price of surrender of much that they might have stood for in public. That is a humiliating position which self-respect itself should prevent one from accepting. For our great national organization to be party to it is to give up the very basis and background of our existence.

Self-respect apart, common sense tells us that we can lose much and gain little by acceptance of office in terms of the Act. We cannot get much out of it, or else our criticism of the Act itself is wrong, and we know that it is not so. The big things for which we stand will fade into the background and petty issues will absorb our attention, and we shall lose ourselves in compromises and communal tangles, and disillusion with us will spread over the land. If we have a majority, and only then can the question of acceptance of office arise, we shall be in a position to dominate the situation and to prevent reactionaries and imperialists from profiting by it. Office will not add to our real strength, it will only weaken us by making us responsible for many things that we utterly dislike.

Again, if we are in a minority, the question of office does not arise. It may be, however, that we are on the verge of a majority and with the cooperation of other individuals and groups we can obtain office. There is nothing inherently wrong in our acting together with others on specific issues of civil liberty or economic or other demands, provided we do not compromise on any principle. But I can imagine few things more dangerous and more likely to injure us than the acceptance of office on the sufferance of others. That would be an intolerable position.

It is said that our chances at the elections would increase if we announced that we were prepared to accept offices and ministries. Perhaps that might be so for all manner of other people, eager for the spoils and patronage that office gives, would then hurry to join us. Does any Congressman imagine that this would be desirable development or that we would gain strength thereby? Again it is said that more voters would vote for us if they knew that we were going to form ministries. That might happen if we deluded them with false promises of what we might do for them within the Act, but a quick nemesis would follow our failure to give effect to those promises, and failure would be inevitable if the promises were worth while.

There is only one straight course open to us, to go to the people with our programme and make it clear to them that we cannot give effect to the major items in it under present conditions, and therefore, while we use the platform of the legislatures to press that programme, we seek to end these imperialist bodies by creating deadlocks in them whenever we are in a position to do so. Those deadlocks should preferably take place on those programmes so that the masses might learn how ineffective for their purposes are these legislatures.

One fact is sometimes forgotten—the provision for second chambers in many of the provinces. These chambers will be reactionary and will be exploited by the Governor to check any forward tendencies in the lower house. They will make the position of a minister, who seeks advance, even more difficult and unenviable.

Some people have suggested, though their voices are hushed now, that provincial autonomy might be given on this office issue

and each Provincial Congress Committee should be empowered to decide it for its own province. An astonishing and fatal suggestion playing into the hands of our imperialist rulers. We who have laboured for Indian unity can never be parties to any proposal which tends to lessen that unity. That way lies disaster and a disruption of the forces working for freedom. If we agree to this, why then should we also not agree to the communal issue being decided provincially, or many other issues, where individual provinces might think differently? First issues will sink into the background, independence itself will fade away, and the narrowest provincialism raise its ugly head. Our policy must be uniform for the whole of India, and it must place first things first, and independence is the first thing of all.

So that I am convinced that for the Congress to favour the acceptance of office, or even to hesitate and waver about it, would be a vital error. It will be a pit from which it would be difficult for us to come out. Practical statesmanship is against it, as well as the traditions of the Congress and the mentality we have sought to develop in the people. Psychologically, any such lead might have disastrous consequences. If we stand for revolutionary changes, as we do, we have to cultivate a revolutionary mentality among our people, and anything that goes against it is harmful to our cause.

This psychological aspect is important. For we must never forget, and never delude our masses into imagining, that we can get any real power or real freedom through working these legislatures. We may use them certainly to advance our cause to some extent, but the burden of the struggle for freedom must fall on the masses, and primarily, therefore, our effective work must lie outside these legislatures. Strength will come from the masses and from our work among them and our organization of them.

Of secondary importance though the work in the legislatures is, we may not treat it casually and allow it to become a hindrance to our other work. Therefore it is necessary for the Congress, through its executive, to have direct control over the elections and the programme placed before the country, as well as the activity in the legislatures. Such control will inevitably be exercised through committees and boards appointed for the purpose, but

the continued existence of semi-autonomous parliamentary boards seems to be undesirable. Provision should also be made for a periodical review of all such activities so that Congressmen in general and the country should keep in touch with them and should influence them.

We have considered the provincial elections which, it is said, may take place early next year. The time is far off yet and it is by no means impossible that these elections may not take place for a much longer time, or may not take place at all, and the new Act may take its rightful place in oblivion. Much may happen in the course of the next year, and war is ever on the horizon, to upset the schemes and time-tables of our rulers. But we cannot speculate on this and we have to make provision for contingencies. That decision might even have been delayed, but dangerous and compromising tendencies seek to influence Congress policy, and the Congress cannot remain silent when the issue is raised and its whole future is in the balance.

The provincial legislatures may come, but few persons, I imagine, are confident about the coming of the federal part of this unholy structure. So far as we are concerned we shall fight against it to our utmost strength, and the primary object of our creating deadlock in the provinces and making the new Act difficult of functioning, is to kill the Federation. With the Federation dead, the provincial end of the Act will also go and leave the slate clean for the people of India to write on. That writing, whatever it be, can never admit the right of the Indian States to continue as feudal and autocratic monarchies. They have long survived their day, propped up by an alien Power, and have become the strangest anomalies in a changing world. The future has no place for autocracy or feudalism; a free India cannot tolerate the subjection of many of her children and their deprivation of human rights, nor can it ever agree to a dissection of its body and a cutting up of its limbs. If we stand for any human, political, social or economic rights for ourselves, we stand for those identical rights for the people of the States.

I have referred to the terrible suppression of civil liberties by the British Government in India. But in the States matters are even worse, and though we know that the real power be-

hind those States is that of British imperialism, this tragic suppression of our brothers by their own countrymen is of painful significance. Indian Rulers and their ministers have spoken and acted increasingly in the approved fascist manner, and their record during the past few years especially has been one of aggressive opposition to our national demands. States which are considered advanced ban the Congress organization and offer insult to our national flag, and decree new laws to suppress the Press. What shall we say of the more backward and primitive States?

There is one more matter concerning the Constitution Act which has given rise to much controversy. This is the communal decision. Many people have condemned it strongly and, I think, rightly; few have a good word for it. My own view-point is, however, somewhat different from that of others. I am not concerned so much with what it gives to this group or that but more so with the basic idea behind it. It seeks to divide India into numerous separate compartments, chiefly on a religious basis, and thus makes the development of democracy and economic policy very difficult. Indeed the communal decision and democracy can never go together. We have to admit that, under present circumstances, and so long as our politics are dominated by middle class elements, we cannot do away with communalism altogether. But to make a necessary exception in favour of our Muslim or Sikh friends is one thing, to spread this evil principle to numerous other groups and thus to divide up the electoral machinery and the legislature into many compartments, is a far more dangerous proposition. If we wish to function democratically the proposed communal arrangement will have to go, and I have no doubt that it will go. But it will not go by the methods adopted by the aggressive opponents of the decision. These methods result inevitably in perpetuating the decision for they help in continuing a situation which prevents any reconsideration.

I have not been enamoured of the past Congress policy in regard to the communal question and its attempts to make pacts and compromises. Yet essentially I think it was based on a sound instinct. First of all the Congress always put indepen-

dence first and other questions, including the communal one, second, and refused to allow any of those other questions to take pride of place. Secondly, it argued that the communal problem had arisen from a certain set of circumstances which enabled the third party to exploit the other two. In order to solve it, one had either to get rid of the third party (and that meant independence), or get rid of that set of circumstances, which meant a friendly approach by the parties concerned and an attempt to soften the prejudice and fear that filled them. Thirdly, that the majority community must show generosity in the matter to allay the fear and suspicion that minorities, even though unreasonably, might have.

That analysis is, I think, perfectly sound. I would add that, in my opinion, a real solution of the problem will only come when economic issues, affecting all religious groups and cutting across communal boundaries, arise. Apart from the upper middle classes, who live in hopes of office and patronage, the masses and the lower middle classes have to face identical political and economic problems. It is odd and significant that all the communal demands of any group, of which so much is heard, have nothing whatever to do with these problems of the masses and the lower middle classes.

It is also significant that the principal communal leaders, Hindu or Moslem or others, are political reactionaries, quite apart from the communal question. It is sad to think how they have sided with British imperialism in vital matters, how they have given their approval to the suppression of civil liberty, how during these years of agony they have sought to gain narrow profit for their group at the expense of the larger cause of freedom. With them there can be no cooperation, for that would mean cooperation with reaction. But I am sure that with the larger masses and the middle classes, who may have temporarily been led away by the specious claims of their communal leaders, there must be the fullest cooperation, and out of that cooperation will come a fairer solution of this problem.

I am afraid I cannot get excited over this communal issue, important as it is temporarily. It is after all a side issue and it can have no real importance in the larger scheme of things.

Those who think of it as the major issue, think in terms of British imperialism continuing permanently in this country. Without that basis of thought, they would not attach so much importance to one of its inevitable off-shoots. I have no such fear and so my vision of a future India contains neither imperialism nor communalism.

Yet the present difficulty remains and has to be faced. Especially our sympathy must go to the people of Bengal who have suffered most from these communal decisions, as well as from the heavy hand of the Government. Whenever opportunity offers to improve their situation in a friendly way, we must seize it. But always the background of our action must be the national struggle for independence and the social freedom of the masses.

I have referred previously to the growing divorce between our organization and the masses. Individually many of us still have influence with the masses and our word carries weight with them, and who can measure the love and reverence of India's millions for our leader, Gandhiji? And yet organizationally we have lost that intimate touch that we had. The social reform activities of the Khadi and village industries and Harijan organizations keep large numbers of our comrades in touch with the masses and those contacts bear fruit. But they are essentially non-political and so, politically, we have largely lost touch. There are many reasons for this and some are beyond our control. Our present Congress constitution is, I feel, not helpful in developing these contacts or in encouraging enough the democratic spirit in its primary committees. These committees are practically rolls of voters who meet only to elect delegates or representatives, and take no part in discussion or the formation of policy.

It is interesting to read in that monumental and impressive record, the Webbs' new book on Russia, how the whole Soviet structure is based on a wide and living democratic foundation. Russia is not supposed to be a democratic country after the Western pattern, and yet we find the essentials of democracy present in far greater degree amongst the masses there than anywhere else. The six hundred thousand towns and villages there

have a vast democratic organization, each with its own soviet, constantly discussing, debating, criticizing, helping in the formulation of policy, electing representatives to higher committees. This organization as citizens covers the entire population over 18 years of age. There is yet another vast organization of the people as producers, and a third, equally vast, as consumers. And thus scores of millions of men and women are constantly taking part in the discussion of public affairs and actually in the administration of the country. There has been no such practical application of the democratic process in history.

All this is of course utterly beyond us, for it requires a change in the political and economic structure and much else before we can experiment that way. But we can profit by that example still and try in our own limited way to develop democracy in the lowest rungs of the Congress ladder and make the primary committee a living organization.

An additional method for us to increase our contacts with the masses is to organize them as producers and then affiliate such organizations to the Congress or have full cooperation between the two. Such organizations of producers as exist today, such as trade unions and peasant unions, as well as other anti-imperialist organization could also be brought within this sphere of mutual cooperation for the good of the masses and for the struggle for national freedom. Thus Congress could have an individual as well as a corporate membership, and retaining its individual character, could influence, and be influenced by, other mass elements.

These are big changes that I have hinted at, and I am by no means sure how they can be brought about, or whether it is possible to go far in this direction in the near future. Still we must move to some extent at least if we are to have our roots in the soil of India and draw life and strength from its millions. The subject is fascinating but complicated and can only be tackled by an expert committee which I trust will be appointed on behalf of the Congress. The report of that committee must be freely discussed so as to get the widest backing for it.

All this will take us to the next Congress. Meanwhile perhaps some urgent changes are needed in our constitution to

remove anomalies and avoid difficulties. Owing to my absence I have had little experience of the working of the new constitution and cannot make any concrete suggestions. The reduction in the numbers of delegates and A. I. C. C. members would be, to some extent, desirable if there was a background of wide-spread activity in the primary and secondary committees. Without it, it makes us even less responsive to mass opinion, and, therefore, an increase seems desirable. But the real solution is to increase the interest and day to day activity of the lower committees.

I have been told that the manual labour franchise has not been a success and has led to a great deal of evasion. If that is so a change is desirable for a constitution must be such as can be worked easily and without subterfuge.

The Congress is an all-inclusive body and represents many interests, but essentially it is a political organization with various subsidiary and allied organizations, like the Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association. These allied organizations work in the economic field but they do not seek directly to remove the burdens of the peasantry under the present system of land tenure. Nor can the Congress, situated as it is, wholly function as a peasant organization, although in many provinces it has espoused the cause of the peasantry and brought them much relief. It seems to me necessary that the Congress should encourage the formation of the peasant unions as well as workers' unions, and cooperate with such as already exist, so that the day to day struggle of the masses might be carried on on the basis of their economic demands and other grievances. This identification of the Congress with the economic struggle of the masses will bring us nearer to them and nearer to freedom than anything else. I would welcome also the organization of other special interests, like those of the women, in the general framework of our national struggle for freedom. The Congress would be in a position to coordinate all these vital activities and thus to base itself on the widest possible mass foundation.

There has been some talk of a militant programme and militant action. I do not know what exactly is meant, but if direct action on a national scale or civil disobedience are meant, then I would say that I see no near prospect of them. Let us not

indulge in tall talk before we are ready for big action. Our business - today is to put our house in order, to sweep away the defeatist mentality of some people, and to build up our organization with its mass affiliations, as well as to work amongst the masses. The time may come, and that sooner perhaps than we expect, when we might be put to the test. Let us get ready for that test. Civil disobedience and the like cannot be switched on and off when we feel like doing so. It depends on many things, some of which are beyond our control, but in these days of revolutionary change and constantly recurring crises in the world, events often move faster than we do. We shall not look for opportunities.

The major problem of India today is that of the land—of rural poverty and unemployment and a thoroughly out-of-date land system. A curious combination of circumstances has held back India during the past few generations and the political and economic garments it wears no longer fit it and are torn and tattered. In some ways our agrarian conditions are not unlike those of France a hundred and fifty years ago, prior to the great revolution. They cannot continue so for long. At the same time we have become parts of international capitalism and we suffer the pains and crises which afflict this decaying system. As a result of these elemental urges and conflicts of world forces what will emerge in India none can say. But we can say with confidence that the present order has reached the evening of its day, and it is up to us to try to mould the future as we would like it to be.

The world is filled with rumours and alarms of war. In Abyssinia bloody and cruel war has already gone on for many months and we have watched anew how hungry and predatory imperialism behaves in its mad search for colonial domains. We have watched also with admiration the brave fight of the Ethiopians for their freedom against heavy odds. You will permit me, I feel sure, to greet them on your behalf and express our deep sympathy for them. Their struggle is something more than a local struggle. It is one of the first effective checks by an African people on an advancing imperialism and already it has had far-reaching consequences.

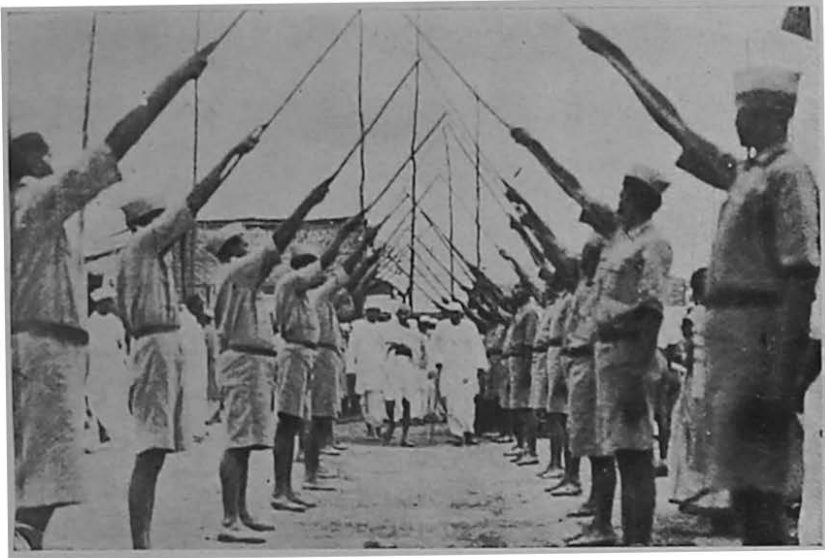
In the Far East also war hovers on the horizon and we see an eastern imperialism advancing methodically and pitilessly over ancient China and dreaming of world empire. Imperialism shows its claws wherever it may be, in the West or in the East.

/ In Europe an aggressive fascism or Naziism steps continuously on the brink of war and vast armed camps arise in preparation for what seems to be the inevitable end of all this. Nations join hands to fight other nations, and progressive forces in each country ally themselves to fight the fascist menace./

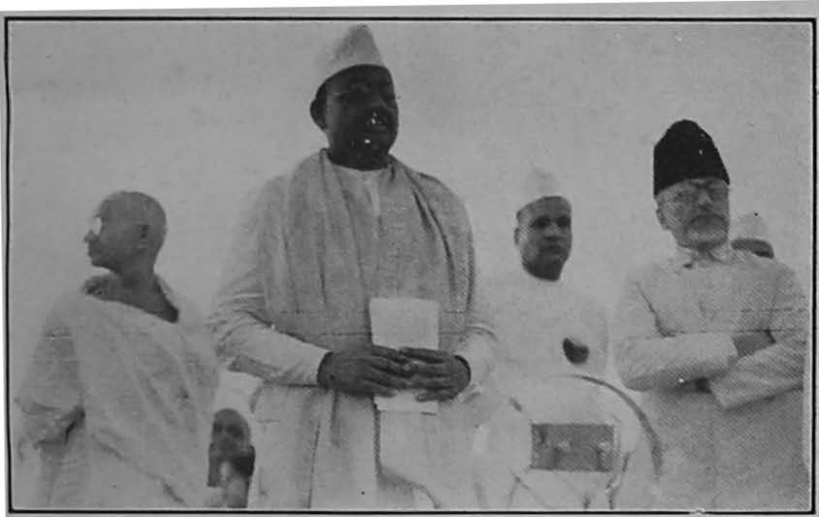
Where do we come in in this awful game? What part shall we play in this approaching tragedy? It is difficult to say. But we must not permit ourselves to be passive tools exploited for imperialist ends. It must be our right to say whether we join a war or not, and without that consent there should be no cooperation from us. When the time comes we may have little say in the matter, and so it becomes necessary for the Congress to declare clearly now its opposition to India's participation in any imperialist war, and every war that will be waged by imperialist Powers will be an imperialist war, whatever the excuses put forward might be. Therefore we must keep out of it and not allow Indian lives and Indian money to be sacrificed.

/ To the progressive forces of the world, to those who stand for human freedom and the breaking of political and social bonds, we offer our full cooperation in their struggle against imperialism and fascist reaction, for we realize that our struggle is a common one. Our grievance is not against any people or any country as such, and we know that even in imperialist England, which throttles us, there are many who do not love imperialism and who stand for freedom. /

During this period of difficulty and storm and stress, inevitably our minds and hearts turn to our great leader who has guided us and inspired us by his dynamic personality these many years. Physical illhealth prevents him now from taking his full share in public activities. Our good wishes go out to him for his rapid and complete recovery, and with those wishes is the selfish desire to have him back again amongst us. We have differed from him in the past and we shall differ from in the future about many things, and it is right that each one of us



Mr. Shanker Lal Banker leading Mahatma Gandhi to open the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition.



Mr. Shri Prakash along with Mahatmaji, Seth Jamna Lal and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad standing while the Bande Matram song was being sung.

(By courtesy of the Tribune Lahore.)

should act up to his convictions. But the bonds that hold us together are stronger and more vital than our differences, and the pledges we took together still ring in our ears. How many of us have that passionate desire for Indian independence and the raising of our poverty-stricken masses which consumes him? Many things he taught us long years ago it seems now—fearlessness and discipline and the will to sacrifice ourselves for the larger cause. That lesson may have grown dim but we have not forgotten it, nor can we ever forget him who has made us what we are and raised India again from the depths. The pledge of independence that we took together still remains to be redeemed, and we await again for him to guide us with his wise counsel.

But no leader, however great he be, can shoulder the burden single-handed; we must all share it to the best of our ability and not seek helplessly to rely on others to perform miracles. Leaders come and go; many of our best-loved captains and comrades have left us all too soon, but India goes on and so does India's struggle for freedom. It may be that many of us must suffer still and die so that India may live and be free. The promised land may yet be far from us and we may have to march wearily through the deserts, but who will take away from us that deathless hope which has survived the scaffold and immeasurable suffering and sorrow; who will dare to crush the spirit of India which has found re-birth again and again after so many crucifixions?

(Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was vociferously cheered when he finished his address.)

Next Sri Kripalani, the Working General Secretary, then read out the names of those associations, institutions and individuals from inside and outside India from whom messages of greetings and felicitations were received.

The messages had appeared in the press and were not read for want of time. Relevant portions from the messages are given in Appendix A at the end.

Srimati Mani Ben Kara extended the greetings of the All India Trade Union Congress in a short Hindi speech.

The first three resolutions on the agenda, relating to Condolence, Greetings to Prisoners and Arrest of Shri Subhas Bose

were then moved from the chair and adopted. The condolence resolution was passed in silence, all standing. The resolutions were as follows:—

1. CONDOLENCE

“This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Sriyuts B. N. Sasmal, M. V. Abhyankar, A. T. Gidwani, T. A. K. Sherwani, Arif Hasvi, Deep Narayan Singh, Shapurji Saklatwala, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Nabin Chandra Bardolai, Shrimati Kamla Nehru, Syts. Mohanlal Pandya, Seth Nathmal Choradia, Ganpatrao Tikekar, T. V. Venkataram Iyer, Aga Mohammad Safdar and Mabadeo Prasad Seth.”

‘यह महासभा निम्नलिखित व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु पर शोक तथा हानि का भाव प्रकट करती है, सर्वश्री वी० एन० ससमल, एम० वी० अभ्यङ्कर, ए० टी० गिडवानी, टी० ए० के० शेरवानी, अरीफ़ हस्वी, दीपनारायणसिंह, शापूरजी शकलतवाला, सर दीनशा वाचा, नवीनचन्द्र वारडोली, श्रीमती कमला नेहरू, सर्वश्री मोहनलाल पांड्या, सेठ नथमल चोरादिया, गणपतराव तिकेकर, टी० वी० वैकटराम अय्यर आगा मोहम्मद सफ़र और महादेवप्रसाद सेठ ।’

2. GREETING TO PRISONERS, Etc.

“The Congress sends its greeting to the thousands of Indians whom British imperialism keeps in prison, in detention and in exile, and who suffer in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom. In particular, the Congress sends affectionate greetings to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a member of the Working Committee, and offers its earnest sympathy to the people of the North-West Frontier Province, and of Midnapore District, and other parts of Bengal, who have long had to endure the fiercest repression under a regime approximating to Martial Law.”

‘यह कांग्रेस ऐसे हज़ारों भारतीयों को साधुवाद भेजती है, जिनको अङ्गरेज़ी साम्राज्यवाद जेलखाने, हिरासत और देशनिकाले में रखता है और जो भारत की स्वतन्त्रता के लिये वीरता और मौन के साथ तकलीफें भेलते हैं। विशेषतया महासभा वर्किंग कमेटी के सदस्य श्री खान अब्दुलगफ़फ़ारख़ाँ को अपना प्रिय साधुवाद देती है और उत्तर पश्चिमीय प्रान्त और मिदनापुर तथा बंगाल के दूसरे भागों के रहनेवालों के लिये अपनी हार्दिक सहानुभूति प्रकट करती है, जो कि बहुत समय से मार्शल्ला के जैसे कड़े क़ानूनों के शिकार बनाये जा रहे हैं ।’

3. SHRI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ARREST

“This Congress has learnt with indignation of the arrest under Regulation III of 1818 of Shri Subhas Bose on his return to India after long exile, when he was on his way to attend this session of

the Congress. This Congress considers it a further and significant proof of how British imperialism continues to use its full apparatus of repression to prevent normal political and personal life in India. To Shri Subhas Chandra Bose the Congress sends its warm greeting and sympathy."

“इस महासभा को यह सुनकर बड़ा क्षोभ हुआ कि श्रीसुभाषचन्द्र बोस की गिरफ्तारी जबकि वह देशनिकाले के लम्बे समय के पश्चात् भारत को लौट रहे थे, रेगूलेशन ३, सन् १८१८, के अन्दर कर ली गई जबकि वह कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में सम्मिलित होने के लिये आ रहे थे । महासभा पुनः शोक प्रकट करती है कि किस प्रकार अङ्गरेजी साम्राज्यवाद भारत में साधारण राजनैतिक तथा वैयक्तिक जीवन की स्वतंत्रता हरने के लिये दमन का प्रयोग करती है । श्रीबोस के लिये महासभा साधुवाद तथा सहानुभूति का संदेश भेजती है ।”

The first day's session thus came to end at 10 P. M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The second day's session of the Congress commenced at 5-30 P. M. The President, ex-presidents, members of the Working Committee and the chairman and the Secretary of the Reception Committee again entered the Pandal in procession as on the first day.

At the outset Panditji speaking in Hindustani reminded the audience that it was April 13 on which day had occurred the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh 17 years ago. In the course of his brief speech in Hindustani, the President said:—

कल्ल इसके कि हमारी कार्यवाही शुरू हो, हमें आज दिन और जरूरी क्रम अदा करना है। आप लोग भूले नहीं होंगे, और भूल भी कैसे सकते हैं, कि आजादी के लिये इकट्ठे हुए निहत्थे निरपराध लोगों को आज के ही दिन इसी वक्त अमृतसर में कल्ल किया गया था। उनका क्रम क्या था? हाँ, सिर्फ इतना क्रम उनका जरूर था कि वे अपने मुल्क को आजाद देखना चाहते थे, आजादी के लिये अपने विचार जाहिर करने के लिये वहाँ इकट्ठे हुए थे। आजादी के लिये अपने जज्बात को जाहिर करना इस मुल्क में गुनाह समझा जाता है। १३ अप्रैल का यह दिन हमारी तवारीख में एक ऐतिहासिक घटना बन गई है, वह हमें याद दिलाती है कि किस तरह आजादी के लिये हमारे देशवासियों ने तकलीफें बर्दाश्त कीं और बहुत से लोग अब भी कर रहे हैं। किसी मुल्क की आजादी के जंग में ऐसी बातें कोई अजीब नहीं होती। जब दवाये हुए मुल्क अपनी आजादी के लिये कोई छोटी-मोटी भी कोशिश करते हैं तब ताकतें उन्हें अपनी पूरी ताकत के साथ दवाती हैं। यहाँ भी हमारे-मुल्क में क्या हो रहा है? न जाने कितने नौजवान, स्त्रियाँ और बच्चे खुशी-खुशी इस आजादी के जंग में आहुति देते चले आ रहे हैं। हम आज उस याद को ताजा करें और उनकी याद में २ मिनट के लिये खड़े हों।

In commemoration of the day a two minutes' silence was observed, the whole congregation standing.

Thereafter the business on the agenda was taken up. The following five resolutions (4) Suppression of Civil Liberties, (5) Foreign Department, (6) Romain Rolland's Invitation to the World Peace Congress, (7) War Danger and (8) Sympathy for Abyssinia, were moved from the chair and adopted:—

4. SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

"The Congress draws public attention again to the widespread and intensive suppression of civil and, in many instances, personal

liberties in India by the British Government, with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements. In particular, to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organizations, and labour and peasant unions, and political and other groups; seizure and continued possession by the Government of many ashrams and other educational institutions; the continuation of the Ordinance regime by the certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, even after its rejection twice by the Assembly, and the enactment of similar provincial acts; the proscription and banning of books and periodicals; the numerous Press Laws and censorship resulting in the suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and the forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities; the detention of large number of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial, the numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer; the many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal; the restriction by externment, internment and otherwise to the free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and business, and even obstructing humanitarian and relief work; the application of measures like the Criminal Tribes Act and the Foreigners' Act to political workers; indiscriminate and wide-spread searches of houses; the difficulties placed in the way of Indians going abroad; and the barriers to the return home of many Indians in foreign countries, who have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland. The Congress notes that at no period since the great Revolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of British administration in India to-day, been so great as it is now. While recognizing that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the Constitution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

"Further, the Congress deeply regrets that in the Indian States there is a similar suppression of civil and personal liberties, and, in many of them, conditions in this respect are even worse than in

the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non-existent; that in some States even the Congress has been banned and normal peaceful work of organization prevented, and insult offered to the National Flag. The Congress realizes that the effective power behind the States is that of the British Government and many of the States are under the direct control of the British Officers. Howsoever the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the Rulers of the States, the Congress declares that it can recognize no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States and the rest of India.

“The Congress expresses the determination of the Indian people that notwithstanding this attempt to paralyse national growth and activity, they will continue to face the situation with courage and fortitude and will carry on the struggle for freedom till independence is achieved.”

Babu Purushottam Das Tandon explained in Hindi the meaning of the above resolution on suppression of civil liberties, as follows:—

यह कांग्रेस जनता का ध्यान वैयक्तिक तथा नागरिक अधिकारों को जोरों के साथ दमन करने की ओर, जो ब्रिटिश सरकार की ओर से किया जा रहा है, आकर्षित करती है, जो कि गवर्नमेंट इसलिये कर रही है कि राष्ट्रीय, मजदूर और किसानों की संस्थाओं को कुचल दिया जाय। इस संबंध में विशेषतया यह किया गया है कि हजारों कांग्रेसी तथा दूसरी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं का दमन किया गया है और साथ ही मजदूर और किसानों की सभायें तथा दूसरी राजनैतिक संस्थायें दबा दी गई हैं, सरकार द्वारा बहुत से आश्रम जप्त किये गये हैं और बहुतों पर सरकारी अधिकार है। इसी तरह की कुछ दूसरी शिक्षा की संस्थायें भी हैं, आरडीनेन्स राज्य कायम है और कीमिनल ला एमेंडमेंट एक्ट जो असेम्बली द्वारा दो बार रद्द किया गया था तथा दूसरे इसी प्रकार के कानूनों को गवर्नमेंट ने चालू कर रक्खा है, बहुत सारे पुस्तकों और पत्रों का दमन कर रक्खा है और बहुत से अखबारों का कानून इस प्रकार के बना रक्खे हैं कि पिछले वर्षों में ३४८ अखबारों को दबा लिया गया और उनके द्वारा जमा की हुई हजारों रुपयों की जमानत जप्त कर ली गई, लोगों की बहुत बड़ी संख्या को बिना किसी अदालती कार्यवाई के एक अनियमित समय के लिये जलखानों में जमा कर रक्खा है और पेसी कड़ी सख्तियाँ सरहद्दी सूबे के लोगों पर लगाई गई हैं कि वे साँस नहीं ले सकते; इसी प्रकार की बहुत सी वैयक्तिक पाबन्दियाँ बंगाल में लोगों पर लगाई गई हैं; देश में एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान को देशनिकाला दे देना या एक ही स्थान में बन्द कर देना या इसी तरह की और पाबन्दियाँ उनकी स्वतन्त्रता पर लगाना जारी हैं, जिनके फल-स्वरूप जनता अपने साधारण कामकाजों को नहीं कर सकती और इतना ही

नहीं, जनसाधारण की भलाई के और काम भी नहीं कर सकती, राजनैतिक कार्य-कर्ताओं के विरुद्ध ज़रान पेशा एक्ट और वैदेशिक एक्ट का प्रयोग किया जाता है। बिना किसी तमीज के मकानों की तलाशियाँ की जाती हैं, विदेश जाने वाले भारतीयों के रास्ते में अड़चनें डाली जाती हैं और बहुत से भारतीय जो विदेश से यहाँ आना चाहते हैं उनके रास्ते में रुकावटें डाली जाती हैं जिनके कारण उन्हें अपनी मातृभूमि और अपने लोगों से दूर जलावतनी में रहना पड़ता है। कांग्रेस यह देखती है कि सन् १८५७ के ग़दर के बाद अब तक नागरिक तथा वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रता का दमन करने की आजकल से ज्यादा कोशिश नहीं की गई जब कि आजकल तो ब्रिटिश भारत में यह एक साधारण बात हो गई है, कांग्रेस यह जानती है कि इस प्रकार का दमन इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि भारत की आजादी का युद्ध दिन प्रति दिन मज़बूत होता जा रहा है, फिर भी कांग्रेस यह प्रकट कर देना चाहती है कि यह सब आने वाले वैधानिक एक्ट की भूमिका है जब कि ब्रिटिश सरकार के प्रतिनिधियों ने बारंबार यह एलान किया है कि भारत की राय्य प्रणाली में सुधार किया जा रहा है।

पुनः कांग्रेस बड़े दुःख के साथ खेद प्रकट करती है कि देसी रियासतों में भी इसी प्रकार से नागरिक तथा वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रता का दमन किया जाता है और उनमें से बहुत में तो भारत के और भागों से भी बदतर हालत है। यहाँ तक कि जनता को किसी प्रकार की स्वतन्त्रता है ही नहीं और उनमें से कुछ में कांग्रेस के ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध लगा हुआ है, उसे शान्ति में कार्य करने से भी रोका जाता है और राष्ट्रीय झंडे का अपमान किया जाता है। कांग्रेस यह जानती है कि देसी रियासतों के पछे ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट की शक्ति काम कर रही है और बहुत सी रियासतें तो सीधी ब्रिटिश अफसरों के अधिकार में हैं। माना कि इस दशा के जिम्मेदार ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट और रियासतों के राजा हैं फिर भी कांग्रेस यह एलान करती है कि जहाँ तक वैयक्तिक और नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता का संबंध है यह देसी रियासतों और शेष भारत में कोई अन्तर नहीं समझती।

कांग्रेस भारतवासियों का इरादा प्रकट करती है कि राष्ट्रीयता की बढ़ौतरी को चाहे कितना ही क्यों न शिथिल करने का प्रयत्न किया जाय वे इसका सामना हिम्मत के साथ करेंगे और जब तक कि पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता न मिल जाय आजादी की लड़ाई जारी रखेंगे।

President "आपने यह प्रस्ताव सुन लिया। यह प्रस्ताव इससे भी लंबा हो सकता है लेकिन एक रेजोलेशन कहीं तो खत्म करना है। मैं अब राय लेता हूँ। क्या आपको यह मंजूर है?"

The resolution was adopted. The second resolution regarding the Foreign Department was then moved from the chair. The President first read the resolution in English, then explained it in Hindi.

The resolution was as follows:—

5. FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

“The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organize a foreign department of the A. I. C. C. office to work under the general superintendence of the Working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary, with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas, and with international, national, labour and other organizations abroad with whom cooperation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom.”

अर्थात्, यह कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी को अधिकार देती है और आदेश करती है कि वह अखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का एक वैदेशिक विभाग खोले, जो कार्यकर्ता प्रधान मन्त्री की संरक्षता में काम करेगा। इस विभाग के साथ आवश्यकतानुसार मुतलबा भी होगा। इसका मुख्य काम यह होगा कि यह प्रवासी भारतीयों से, राष्ट्रीय मजदूर तथा दूसरी संस्थाओं से सम्पर्क रख सके तथा नए सम्पर्क भी पैदा कर सके, जिससे भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता के प्राप्त करने में सहयोग मिल सके।

Moving the resolution, the President said:—

हमें इस रेजोलेशन की क्यों जरूरत हुई? मैं मानता हूँ कि हमें अपने मुल्क को आजादी की लड़ाई बिना किसी बाहरी सहायता के ही लड़नी चाहिए। जरूरी तो यह है कि हम अपने पैरों पर खड़े होकर अपने देश को स्वतंत्र करें और तभी हम अपनी आजादी की हिफाजत भी कर सकते हैं। दूसरे के सहारे कोई मुल्क अपने मुल्क को आजाद नहीं कर सकता। हमारी पिछली लड़ाई ने यह तो साबित कर दिया कि हम एक ऐसी ताकतवर गवर्नमेन्ट के खिलाफ अपने पैरों पर खड़े होकर लड़ाई लड़ सकते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी यह जरूरी है कि दूसरे मुल्क के लोग हमारे बारे में सच्चे २ हालात जानें। हमें अपने मुल्क से अंगरेजी सल्तनत निकालनी है। हमें इसके लिये बड़ी २ कोशिशें करनी होंगी। हमें विदेशों से सम्बन्ध इसलिये स्थापित करना चाहिए ताकि विदेशों को हमारे देश की सच्ची दशा और हमारे देशवासियों को विदेशों की दशा मालूम होती रहे।

6. ROMAIN ROLLAND'S INVITATION TO THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

“This Congress, having considered the invitation of Monsieur Romain Rolland, Honorary President of the World Committee of the struggle against War and Fascism, to participate in the World Congress for peace to be held in Geneva in September next, conveys its greetings to the organizers of the Peace Congress and its assurances of its full sympathy and cooperation in the great work of ensuring peace in the world based on national and social free-

dom. The Congress is convinced that such a peace can only be established on an enduring basis when the causes of war are removed and the domination and exploitation of nation by nation is ended."

अर्थात्, यह कांग्रेस श्री रोमॉरोलॉ के, जो कि युद्ध और कैम्पिज्म के विरुद्ध विश्व-व्यापी संघ के अर्वातनिक प्रधान हैं, उस निमन्त्रण पर, जो उन्होंने जनेवा में आगामी सितम्बर मास में होने वाले विश्वव्यापी शान्ति परिषद में शरीक होने के लिए भेजा है, विचार करके शान्ति परिषद के संचालकों को बधाई का सन्देश भेजती है और उन्हें विश्वास दिलाती है कि उनका विश्व भर में शान्ति तथा सामाजिक स्वतंत्रता स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न धन्यवाद के योग्य है और इस कांग्रेस की पूर्ण सहानुभूति उसके साथ है। इस कांग्रेस का यह पूर्ण विश्वास है कि संसार में तभी शान्ति स्थापित हो सकती है जब कि युद्ध के मुख्य कारण नष्ट हो जायँ और एक देश का दूसरे देश पर राज्यशासन और दमन समाप्त हो जाय।

The president made the following speech on the resolution:—

संसार में अब शान्ति स्थापित हो सकती है? सिर्फ बड़ी २ कांग्रेसों के करने से अमन नहीं हो सकता। आज क्यों हर मुल्क में त्राहि-त्राहि मची हुई है? इसलिये कि सब ज्ञान से ज़रूर कहते हैं कि संसार में शान्ति हो जाय लेकिन दिल से कोई भी कोशिश नहीं करता। हम तो यह देखते हैं कि हर एक मुल्क की यह कोशिश रहती है कि उसकी शक्ति इतनी हो कि दूसरे उसके सामने सिर न उठा सकें। हर साल अमन कांग्रेसों की जाती हैं, जिनमें लम्बी २ तकरीरें भी होती हैं, बहुत सी बातें वहाँ कही जाती हैं लेकिन उन सब बातों की जड़ में सच्चाई कितनी होती है यह देखना है। आज सभी साम्राज्यवादी देश शान्ति का शोर मचाए हुए हैं। वह शान्ति कैसी है? वे एक ही तरह की शान्ति चाहते हैं कि जो क़ौमों उनके पंजे के तले गुलाम हैं वे हमेशा गुलाम ही बनी रहें। उनका मुँह बंद रखना ही वे शान्ति समझते हैं। क्या कहीं इस तरह से भी शान्ति पैदा हो सकती है? एक तरफ तो एक क़ौम भूखी मर रही है दूसरी तरफ दूसरी क़ौम उसके बूते पर गुलबर्तें उड़ा रही है! हाँ, शान्ति संसार में एक ही तरह से हो सकती है कि जो क़ौमों गुलाम बनाकर रक्खी जाती हैं उन्हें पूरी २ आज़ादी हो, वे दूसरों का पेट भरने का ज़रिया न हों। हम श्री रोमॉ रोलॉ की इस कांग्रेस से पूरी हमदर्दी रखते हैं कि वह साम्राज्यवाद और प्रैसिज्म के खिलाफ अपनी आवाज़ बुलन्द करती है। हमने यह तो निश्चय नहीं किया कि हम इस कांग्रेस में अपना प्रतिनिधि भेजेंगे या नहीं। यह तो जैसा मौक़ा होगा किया जायगा। इसीलिए यह बात हमने कुछ गोलमाल रक्खी है।

President: अब एक प्रस्ताव जो पच्चे पर नम्बर ८ लिखा है और अब ७ हो जायगा पढ़ना है, लेकिन मैं अभी उसे नहीं पढ़ रहा हूँ, जो ७ लिखा है केवल उसे ही पढ़ रहा हूँ। मैं यह चाहता था कि यह प्रस्ताव मौलाना आज़ाद पेश करते और इसपर दूसरे लोग बोलते किन्तु कुछ मजबूरियों के कारण वह इसे पेश नहीं कर रहे हैं ताकि

वक्त बचाया जा सके और दूसरे प्रस्तावों पर भी बहस हो सके। मेरे इसकें पेश करने से इसकी अहमियत कम न हो जाय यही मुझे डर है। प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार है:—

7. WAR DANGER

“The Congress, at its sessions held in Madras in 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great imperialist Powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism. The Congress therefore reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.”

अर्थात् इस कांग्रेस ने मद्रास के १९२७ के अधिवेशन में देश का ध्यान साम्राज्यवादी युद्ध के खतरे तथा ऐसे समय पर साम्राज्यवाद की वृद्धि के लिये भारत को कठपुतली बनाये जाने की ओर खींचा था और यह एलान किया था कि भारत ऐसे युद्धों में उसकी इच्छा के विरुद्ध सहयोग न देगा। अब यह खतरा और भी जोर पकड़ गया है कारण कि मुल्कों में फैसिस्ट सत्तावाद कायम किया जा रहा है, इटली हट्टा पर हमला कर रहा है, जापान बराबर उत्तरी चीन व मंगोलिया में अपना आतंक जमा रहा है, संसार की साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों के आपस के झगड़े व जलन बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, हाथियारों की वृद्धि बड़ी तीव्रता के साथ हो रही और संसार के सामने एक महायुद्ध की तैयारी की जा रही है। ऐसे युद्ध में अवश्यमेव यह प्रयत्न किया जायगा कि भारत को भी इसमें खिंचखाँच कर सम्मिलित किया जाय और यह सब ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के भले के लिए चाहे इसमें इसकी कितनी ही हानि क्यों न हो, तथैव कांग्रेस अपने पुराने निश्चय को पुनः दोहराती है और देश की जनता को ऐसे युद्ध से आगाह करती है और यह घोषणा करती है कि भारत साम्राज्यवादी युद्धों में कभी भी भाग न लेगा।

In the course of moving the resolution the President said :—

आजकल चारों तरफ लड़ाई के बादल उमड़ रहे हैं। एक साम्राज्यवादी मुल्क दूसरे कमजोर मुल्क को हड़प लेने को तैयार बैठा है। क्या पूर्व और क्या पश्चिम, चारों तरफ देश के नाम पर गरीब निहत्थी जनता पर मनमाने अत्याचार किये जाते हैं। उन्हें हट्टी, जादिल और तहजीब से गिरा हुआ कहकर वहाँ अपना सिक्का जमाने की कोशिश की जाती है। जब इस तरह का वायुमंडल चारों तरफ

हो रहा है तो कौन कह सकता है कि जल्दी ही विश्वव्यापी युद्ध न छिड़ जायगा। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो यक़ीनन हिन्दुस्तान को फिर सञ्जवाया दिखाया जायगा और अंगरेजी सरकार हिन्दुस्तान के सब जरिये अपने फ़ायदे के लिये इस्तेमाल करना चाहेगी। हमें उस वक्त के लिये देश की जनता को तैयार करना चाहिए कि वह ऐसे युद्ध में शामिल होने से साफ़ २ इन्कार कर दे।

The next resolution which was moved from the chair was as follows:—

8. SYMPATHY FOR ABYSSINIA

“The Congress expresses the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people who are so heroically defending their country against imperialist aggression, and considers Abyssinia’s fight as part of the fight of all exploited nations for freedom.

“The Congress condemns the great Powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war.”

अर्थात्, यह कांग्रेस एबीसीनियन जनता के प्रति, जो कि साम्राज्यवादी आक्रमण से अपने देश की रक्षा करने के लिए वीरतापूर्वक लड़ रही है, भारतीय राष्ट्र की सहानुभूति प्रकट करती है और यह समझती है कि एबीसीनिया की लड़ाई समस्त शोषित राष्ट्रों की लड़ाई का एक हिस्सा है। कांग्रेस बड़ी बड़ी शक्तियों और लीग आफ़ नेशन्स को उनकी उस नीति के लिए धिक्कारती है जो उन्होंने इटली-एबीसीनियन युद्ध के प्रति अख़्तियार की है।

Moving the resolution Panditji said :—

रेजोल्यूशन के पहिले हिस्से में इजहार हमदर्दी की गई है। इस पर कुछ कहना फ़ज़ल है। इस पर कहने को गुंजाइश भी क्या है? बिना किसी वजह के और लड़ाई का एलान किये वग़ैर ही इटली ने हज़ारों की फ़ौज मय तोपों, मशीन-गनों व हवाई जहाज़ों के लेकर एबीसीनिया जैसे एक कमज़ोर मुल्क पर हमला कर दिया। दोनों का क्या मुकाबला! एक तरफ़ तो ताजे से ताजे ईजाद किये हुए हथियार व जहरीली गैस और दूसरी ओर क़रीब-क़रीब निहत्थे लोग!! वे गैस के गोले और बम भी कैसे हैं कि जिनके फटने से आदमी अंधे हो जायँ, बहरे हो जायँ। कितना बहशियाना यह लड़ाई का तरीक़ा है। यह भी कुछ बहादुरी है? पहिले लड़ाई होती थी। मैदान में आमने-सामने पाटियाँ डटती थीं, दोनों अपने २ जौहर दिखाते थे। आजकल की लड़ाई बहादुरी की नहीं। यह तो शुरू से आख़िर तक धोखे से भरी हुई है। आजकल की लड़ाई तो ऐसी है कि आदमी अंधे हो जायँ, पानी में जहरीली गैस मिला दो तो आदमी पीते-पीते ही मर जायँ। इसे कहते हैं आजकल की तहज़ीब! और जितने भी साम्राज्यवादी मुल्क हैं सब दुहाई देते हैं कि वे तहज़ीब फैलाने के लिये दूसरे मुल्कों पर हमला करते हैं। आजकल की तहज़ीब तरक्की करते-करते यहाँ तक पहुँची है कि पानी में गैस मिलाकर मनुष्यों को मार डालो! एबीसीनिया

क्या है ? न उसके पास आजकल के साजोसामान हैं जो लड़ाई में होना जरूरी हैं, न उसके पास रुपया है। कुछ पुराने हथियार हैं और कुछ नये भी हैं लेकिन वे न होने के ही वरावर हैं। इस युद्ध का नतीजा क्या होगा, मैं नहीं कह सकता। हाँ, इतना जरूर है कि एनीसीनिया के रहनेवाले अपने मुल्क की आजादी के लिये जान लड़ा रहे हैं और वे आसानी से अपने मुल्क पर दुरमन को कब्जा नहीं करने देंगे। उनमें देशप्रेम कूट-कूटकर भरा है। वे जान लड़ा देंगे। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने वार २ क्या किया ? यहाँ से अपनी फौजें अफ़ग़ानिस्तान को भेजीं लेकिन वहाँ से लौट २ आईं। ब्रिटिश शक्ति अफ़ग़ानिस्तान को फतह नहीं कर सकी, और मुझे तो ऐसा ही मालूम होता है कि इटली की फौजें चाहे एनीसीनिया पर कब्जा भी कर लेंगी तो वहाँ अमन के साथ नहीं रह सकतीं। लेकिन हम फिर भी बड़ी-बड़ी बातें क्यों करें।

कहा जाता है कि अँगरेजी हुकूमत इस लड़ाई को रोकना चाहती है। अगर वह रोकना चाहती तो यकीनन इसे रोक सकती थी। लेकिन उसने कभी रोकने की कोशिश ही नहीं की और अगर रुकावटें लगाई भी गईं तो वे इतनी अदना थीं कि उनके कुछ माने ही नहीं थे। वे नहीं के वरावर थीं। क्या यह कभी हो सकता है कि अगर दूसरी मजबूत ताकतें लड़ाई को रोकना चाहें तो वे रोक नहीं सकतीं। जरूर रोक सकती हैं। आमतौर पर लोगों का खयाल है कि अँगरेजी हुकूमत यह नहीं चाहती कि इटली की जीत हो जाय। इसके माने यह नहीं कि उसे एनीसीनिया से हमदर्दी है, लेकिन इसकी असली वजह तो यह है कि अँगरेज यह नहीं चाहते कि पूर्व में इनके सिवाय और किसी का दखल हो। मिश्र, सूडान वगैरह में अँगरेजी हुकूमत के इतने हित या मतलब हैं कि वह इटलीवालों की ताकत को पड़ोस में देखना नहीं चाहती। साथ ही यह भी है कि अँगरेज यह भी नहीं चाहते कि इटली की हार हो चूँकि अगर इटली हार जाती है तो यह कहा जायगा कि एक काली क्रोम ने इटली जैसे मुल्क को हरा दिया और इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जो और मुल्क गोरो क्रोमों के कब्जे में हैं, उनके वाशिंग्टन को भी उरसाह मिलेगा कि वे भी आजाद हो जायें। इसलिये अँगरेजी सत्तनत बड़ी गड़बड़ में पड़ी है कि क्या किया जाय।

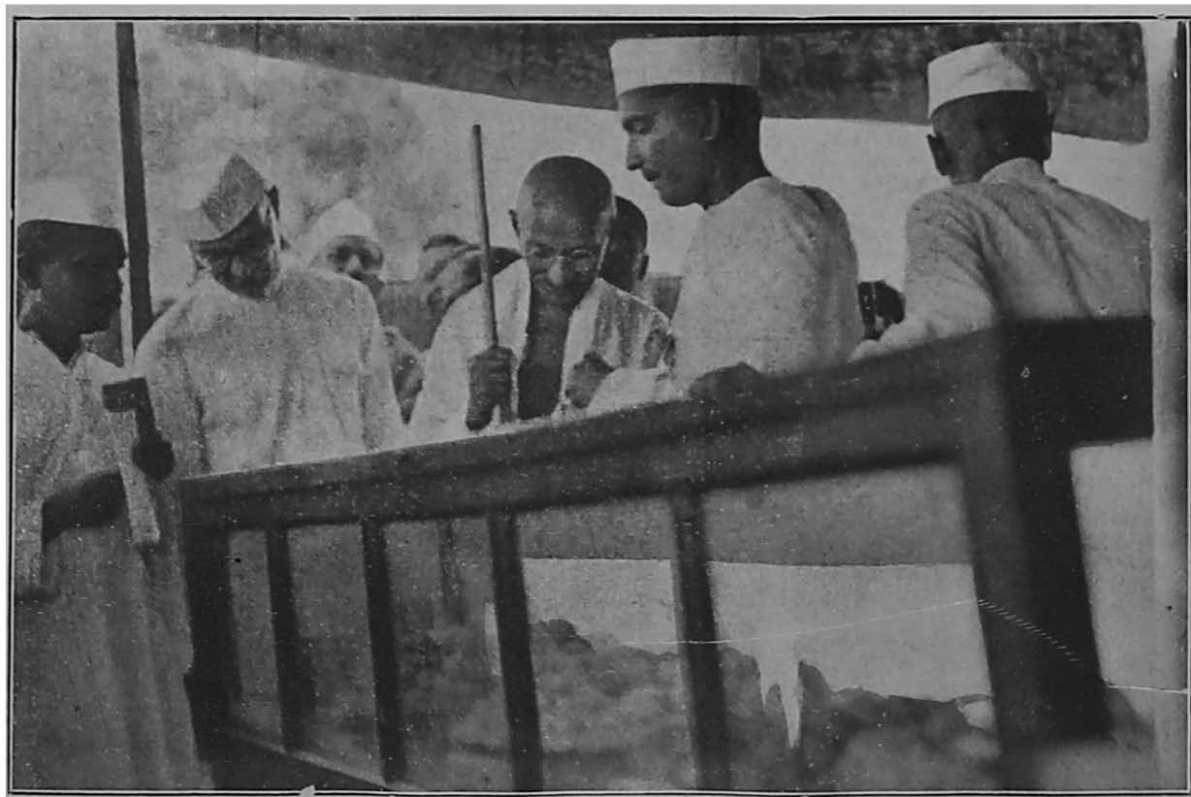
President: एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह मैं स्वयंसेवकों से कहूँगा। न जाने स्वयंसेवक इस समय कहाँ पर गये हुए हैं। बहुत कम दिखाई पड़ रहे हैं, अक्सर बड़े मजमूए में लोग खरा सी 'बात' पर खड़े हो जाते हैं। वह यह जानने की भी कोशिश नहीं करते कि आखिर बात तो क्या है। यह भी अक्सर देखा गया है कि अगर एक तरफ को एक आदमी भाग रहा है तो सभी उसी तरफ भागने लगते हैं, यहाँ तक कि स्वयंसेवक भी खुद बाज दफा इंतजाम में गड़बड़ डाल देते हैं। यहाँ बैठे हुए मजमूए का फर्ज है कि वह शान्ति के साथ बैठा हुआ रहे और खामखां गड़बड़ न डाले चूँकि गड़बड़ तो थोड़े आदमी भी डाल सकते हैं। ऐसी गड़बड़ रोकनी है।

At this juncture some Sanatanists made demonstration outside the Pandal, referring to which the President said: मुझे इसकी चेतावनी पहले ही मिल गई थी कि कुछ लोग उपद्रव करना चाहते हैं।



Mahatma Gandhi Speaking on the Exhibition in the Main Pandal.

(By courtesy of the Tribune)



Mahatma Gandhi inspecting a shop inside Exhibition.

(By courtesy of the Tribune Lahore.)

पर कांग्रेसवादियों को चाहिये कि वे शान्त रहें और उस क्रजूल प्रदर्शन की उपेक्षा करें। कुछ सनातनियों ने मुझसे यह कहा था कि वे लखनऊ कांग्रेस पर उसी तरह धावा करेंगे जिस तरह फेसिस्टों ने रोम पर धावा किया था। (हँसी)। जो लोग उन्नतिविरोधी हैं वे बेचैन हो रहे हैं और जो लोग देश की उन्नति रोकना चाहते हैं वही ऐसे प्रदर्शन और उपद्रव का आर्थिक सहायता करते हैं। भारत में हमें ऐसी बाधाओं का सामना करना पड़ेगा पर हमें शान्त रहना चाहिये।

Further in this connection he said: चांद काई गड़बड़ हो तो आप लोग शान्त रहें और अपनी अपनी जगहों पर बैठे रहें। सनातनियों के प्रदर्शन की ओर बिल्कुल ध्यान न दिया जाय। यदि किसी तरह का शोर-गुल सुनाई दे तो कोई न घबराये और मत्र लोग जहाँ हैं, वहाँ बैठे रहें। ऐसे बहुत से लोग अब भी हैं जो उपद्रव कराने के लिए रुपये खर्च करते हैं। स्वयंसेवकों को आदेश दे दिया गया है कि वे समस्त आवश्यक परिस्थितियों के लिये तैयार रहें, अपनी जगहों से न हिलें, और फाटकों पर घेरा बना कर खड़े हो जायें, ताकि उपद्रव करनेवाले भीतर न आ सकें। दो एक व्यक्ति बाहर ऐसे देखे गये जो कुछ लोगों के सामने खड़े होकर कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध भाषण दे रहे थे, पर अब तक कोई गड़बड़ कहीं नहीं हुई है।

Next Babu Rajendra Prasad moved the following resolution on the Government of India Act :—

9. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

“Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, which is based on the White Paper and Joint-Parliamentary Report and which is in many respects even worse than the proposals contained in them, in no way represents the will of the nation, is designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India and is imposed on the country to the accompaniment of widespread repression and the suppression of civil liberties, the Congress reiterates its rejection of the new constitution in its entirety.

“The Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic state, declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognize their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future can be accepted. In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible. The Congress therefore reiterates and stresses the

demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in the legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.

"In view of the fact that elections for the Provincial legislatures under the new Act may, according to official statements, take place before the next session of the Congress, this Congress resolves that in such an event candidates should be put forward on its behalf to contest such seats in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and in pursuance of its declared policy. Such candidates must be chosen from those who fully support the Congress objective of Indian Independence and pledge themselves to carry out its policy in regard to the legislatures.

"The A. I. C. C. shall place before the country prior to the election, a manifesto explaining the political and economic policy and programme of the Congress in conformity with the resolutions passed by it from time to time. The Provincial Congress Committees may further supplement the manifesto by adding thereto specific items which have special application to their respective provinces. All Provincial manifestos must be approved by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C.

"Resolved further that the functions of the Parliamentary Board be discharged in future by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee is authorised to appoint such Boards or Committees as may be necessary to organize elections to legislatures as well as to guide, co-ordinate and control the activities of Congress members in Legislatures. Accordingly the Parliamentary Board need not be constituted hereafter.

"The question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the legislatures under the constitution having been agitated in the country the Congress, in view of the uncertainties of the situation as it may develop, considers it inadvisable to commit itself to any decision at this stage on the question and leaves it to be decided at the proper time by the A. I. C. C. after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees."

अर्थात् चूंकि १९३५ का नया शासन सुधार क़ानून (Govt. of India Act), जिसकी भित्ती ह्वाइट पेपर और व्वाइट पार्लियामेन्टरी रिपोर्ट हैं और जो बहुत सी दशाओं में उनमें किये गये प्रस्तावों से भी घुरा है, किसी दशा में भी राष्ट्र की रक्षा का चोतक नहीं है, (क्योंकि) इसको इसलिये बनाया गया है कि भारतवासियों पर

सदा राज्य करने, उन्हें शोषित कान में सहायक हो सके और इस देश पर दमन करने तथा नागरिक अधिकारों को कुचलते रहने के साथ ही यह लादा गया है अतएव कांग्रेस पुनः अपना इरादा प्रकट करती है कि वह इसे समूल ही अस्वीकृत करती है।

कांग्रेस, जो देश को राष्ट्रीय स्वतन्त्रता दिलाने तथा प्रजासत्तावाद के कायम करने का सच्चा प्रतिनिधित्व साधन है, एलान करती है कि कोई भी विधान, जो विदेशी सत्ता हम पर लादना चाहती है, और जो हमारे स्वत्वों का हनन करता है और जो भारतीयों के उनकी राजनैतिक तथा आर्थिक नीति का निश्चय करने पर प्रतिबंध रखना चाहता है, उसे स्वीकार नहीं है। कांग्रेस की राय में ऐसा विधान भारत की स्वतन्त्रता की भिती पर होना चाहिये। इसे विधान-सम्मेलन ही, जिसका चुनाव बालिगों की राय से या उसके लगभग ऐसे ही साधन से हो, बना सकता है। कांग्रेस पुनः अपने निश्चय को दोहराती है और भारतीयों के नाम विधान-सम्मेलन की माँग को पुनः रखती है और इसके प्रतिनिधियों तथा कौशिलों के सदस्यों को आदेश करती है कि इस तजवीज के लिये प्रयत्न करें।

यह ध्यान में रखते हुए कि प्रान्तीय धारासभाओं का चुनाव इस कानून के तथा सरकारी एलानों के मुताबिक, कांग्रेस के आगामी अधिवेशन से पूर्व हो हो जाय, कांग्रेस निश्चय करती है कि ऐसे समय में कांग्रेस की ओर से उम्मेदवार खड़े किये जायँ जो कांग्रेस की नीति तथा आदेश के ऊपर चले। ऐसे उम्मेदवार वही बनाने जायँ जो कांग्रेस के पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता के ध्येय का समर्थन करें और उसकी नीति धारासभाओं में बतें।

आखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी चुनाव से पूर्व एक एलान प्रकाशित करेगी जिसमें समय-समय पर पास किए गए प्रस्तावों के आधार पर कांग्रेस के राज-नीतिक तथा आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का वर्णन होगा। प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ अपनी अपनी विशेष अवस्था को देखते हुए उसमें और कुछ भी जोड़ सकेंगी। सभी प्रान्तीय एलानों की स्वीकृति आखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की अन्तरङ्ग सभा से करना होगा।

यह पुनः निश्चय किया जाता है कि भविष्य में पार्लियामेन्टरी बोर्डें तोड़ दिया जाय और उसका कार्य आखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की कार्यकारिणी समिति ले ले। कार्यकारिणी समिति को अधिकार दिया जाता है कि वह चुनाव को सुचारु रूप से चलाने के लिए जैसी कमेटी अथवा बोर्डें उचित समझे बना दे, इसलिए भी कि इस प्रकार की कमेटी व बोर्डें धारासभाओं के अन्दर गए हुए कांग्रेस सदस्यों की कार्यवाही की देखभाल कर सके तथैव कांग्रेस पार्लियामेन्टरी बोर्डें इसके वाद न बनाया जाय।

नये विधान के नीचे, धारासभाओं के लिये चुने हुये कांग्रेस सदस्य सरकारी पद ग्रहण करें या न करें, यह प्रश्न देर में सनसनी फैला रहा है, तथैव कांग्रेस अवस्था की अनिश्चितता देखकर यही उचित समझती है कि इस विषय पर कोई विशेष निश्चय न किया जाय और उचित समय आने पर इस प्रश्न का निश्चय

करना, अखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी, पर छोड़ दें जो प्रांतीय कांग्रेस कमेटियों से इस सम्बन्ध में सलाह ले।

In the course of moving the resolution Rajendra Babu made the following speech in Hindi:—

इस मामले का निर्णय अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी पर इसलिये रखा गया है कि वह पहिले समस्त प्रांतीय कांग्रेस-कमेटियों से इस सम्बन्ध में राय लेगी और उन कमेटियों में इस कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के प्रतिनिधिगण ही रहेंगे, अतः इस प्रकार प्रतिनिधियों की राय कांग्रेस के विशेष अधिवेशन के लिये धन खर्च किए और तकलीफ उठाये बिना ही मालूम हो जायगी।

At this moment someone from amongst the delegates intervened and asked:—

“क्या जो गैरकांग्रेसी लोग कांग्रेस के चुनाव-सम्बन्धी प्रतिज्ञा पर हस्ताक्षर करने को तैयार होंगे, उन्हें भी अपनी ओर से उम्मीदवार बनावेंगे?”

Babu Rajendra Prasad replied:—

मैं तो यह नहीं समझता कि जो व्यक्ति चुनाव में कांग्रेस का उम्मीदवार बनने के लिये पूर्ण स्वराज्य का ध्येय स्वीकार कर लेगा वह ४ आने देकर कांग्रेस का सदस्य बनने में संकोच करेगा। खैर, इस बात का भी ध्यान रख लिया जायगा कि जो उम्मीदवार चुन लिए जायेंगे उनसे यह प्रतिज्ञा करा ली जायगी कि वे कांग्रेस की आज्ञा का पालन करें।

Continuing his speech Babu Rajendra Prasad said:—

प्रस्ताव के पहिले हिस्से में यह कहा गया है कि नया शासनविधान देश पर लादा गया है और उससे इस सम्बन्ध में कोई सलाह नहीं ली गई। उस समस्त शासनविधान को अस्वीकृत कर हमें उसके स्थान पर एक शासन-पत्र पेश करना चाहिए और वह है विधान-सम्मेलन सम्बन्धी तजवीज़।

कौन्सिलों में जाने के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेसी जनता से मेरी जो बातें हुई हैं, उनसे यह मालूम हुआ कि ऐसे बहुत कम लोग हैं जो कौन्सिलों का त्याग करने का कहत हैं, हालाँकि इस बात में भिन्न २ मत हैं कि कौन्सिलों का कार्यक्रम किस तरह का रक्खा जाय जिससे उद्देश्य की पूर्ति हो। परन्तु कौन्सिलों पर कब्जा करने की वाञ्छनीयता के सम्बन्ध में कोई मतभेद नहीं है। मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूँ कि यह रास्ता फिसलने वाला है और सम्भव है कि कुछ लोग फिसल जायें, पर इसका इलाज यह है कि सरकारी पद ग्रहण करने के लिये ऐसे लोग चुने जायें, जो जँचे हुए हों। यह बात कांग्रेस के प्रतिज्ञा-पत्र पर और चुनाव की शर्तों पर हस्ताक्षर कराने से हो सकती है। कांग्रेस पार्लामेंटरी बोर्ड अब तक चुनाव के लिये उम्मीदवार निर्वाचित करने का काम करना था, और अब यह उचित समझा गया कि यह काम बर्किङ्ग कमेटी स्वयं करे और वह इस काम में सहायता लेने के लिये कोई बोर्ड बना सकती है।

हमें आत्मनिर्वास की कमी का परिचय नहीं देना चाहिये। बर्किङ्ग कमेटी ने निर्णय करने की कमी की भावना नहीं प्रकट की है, किन्तु उसने एक दृढ़ निश्चय

किया है। आप यह जान ही चुके हैं कि पं० जवाहरलाल और डा० पट्टाभि सीतारमैय्या सरकारी पद स्वीकार किये जाने के विरुद्ध थे और वर्किंग कमेटी के अन्य सदस्य पद स्वीकार करने के पक्ष में थे, किन्तु वर्किंग कमेटी ने अपना निर्णय इन दोनों विचारों के लोगों के विरुद्ध किया है। हम नये विधान को मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करके और उसे अस्वीकृत करके भी दोनों ही उपायों द्वारा नष्ट कर सकते हैं। जब जो हथियार उपयुक्त समझा जायगा, उसका प्रयोग किया जायगा। लोगों ने अपने भाषणों में क्रान्तिकारी और सुधारवादी मनोवृत्तियों का उल्लेख किया है, किन्तु मैं तो ये सब बातें नहीं समझता हूँ। मैं तो देहाती व्यक्ति हूँ और कितनी बातें मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। मैं तो अपना निर्णय देश की दशा को देखते हुए देशवासियों की गरीबी और दुर्दशा का ध्यान रखकर करता हूँ। यदि हम केवल कितानो ज्ञान के आधार पर ही भारत का निर्णय करेंगे तो पता नहीं कि आप देश को किस ओर ले जायेंगे। मैंने ईमानदारी और सच्चाई के साथ आपको अपने विचार बतला दिये हैं।

हमें अभी तक यह नहीं पता कि चुनाव कब होंगे, हम यह भी नहीं कह सकते कि यह विधान जारी भी किया जायगा या नहीं और किया जायगा तो कब। यह भी सम्भव है कि अब और उस समय के बीच कांग्रेस का दूसरा अधिवेशन हो। इन सभी बातों पर विचारकर हमने यही समझा है कि सरकारी पद ग्रहण करने या न करने के सम्बन्ध में अपनी राय कायम कर लेना अभी जरूरी नहीं है।

यह ऐसा मामला है जिस पर कार्यवाही तभी होनी चाहिये, जब उसका अवसर आये और जब देश की दशा पर विचार कर लिया जाय और यह समझ लिया जाय कि किस उपाय से हमारे उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति होगी। हम यह स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते कि इसमें अन्तरात्मा का प्रश्न है। यदि परिस्थितियों के अनुसार आवश्यकता हुई, तो हम सरकारी पद स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। हम लोगों ने यह सोचा है कि इस मामले पर समय से पहिले विचार न किया जाय, क्योंकि यदि परिस्थितियों का परिवर्तन हो गया, तो हमें अपने पहिले से किये हुये निर्णय के लिये पश्चात्ताप करना पड़ेगा। हमारा प्रस्ताव दोनों पक्ष के लिये बराबर से मार्ग खुला रखता है। हम लोग कड़ी भाषा का प्रयोग क्यों नहीं करते, इसका कारण यह है कि हम यह नहीं चाहते कि शब्दों द्वारा यह प्रकट हो कि हम किसी एक पक्ष में हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप हमारे निरवय को स्वीकार करेंगे। (हर्षधवन)

जो लोग पद ग्रहण करने या न करने पर विवाद कर रहे हैं, वे केवल एक मिथ्या कल्पना पर लड़ रहे हैं। प्रस्ताव में दोनों ही पक्ष में कोई बात नहीं कही गई है। पुराने विधिबिहित विचारों के अनुसार साम्यवादियों का यह कहना ठीक है कि सरकार और विरोधी दल दोनों ही शासन का उद्देश सफल करते हैं, इसलिये विधान अस्वीकार करने का केवल यह मतलब नहीं है कि सरकारी पदों का बहिष्कार किया जाय। पर यह क्रान्तिकारी पद्धति नहीं, बल्कि विधिबिहित काम करने-वालों की पद्धति है। क्रान्तिकारी मनोवृत्ति विधान की बुनियाद स्वीकार नहीं करती, उसके अनुसार बिलकुल नया कार्य आरम्भ होना चाहिये। क्रांतिकारी हर तरह शक्ति प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करते हैं और कभी कभी वे कौंसिलों में जाकर और सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके भी क्रान्तिकारी कार्यक्रम आगे बढ़ाते हैं। म० गांधी ने यह कहकर

अपने को ठीक किया कि कौंसिलों में जाना पाप नहीं है, बल्कि लाभदायक है। और क्रान्तिकारी दल इस मंच को शत्रु के हाथ में नहीं छोड़ सकता। प्रश्न परिस्थिति का है, ठोस बातों का है; कपोल-कल्पित बातों का नहीं। आपको यह नहीं मालूम कि क्या होनेवाला है।

आगामी आठ मास बहुत ही महत्त्वपूर्ण होंगे। कोई ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो सकती है जिससे समस्या स्वयं ही हल हो जाय। संसार की परिस्थिति बदल सकती है, विश्वव्यापी महायुद्ध हो सकता है। इस प्रश्न पर हमें अभी से आपस में फूट नहीं पैदा करनी चाहिये। आप सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके भी क्रान्तिकारी बने रह सकते हैं। जरूरत इस बात की है कि आपकी वास्तविक इच्छा और दृढ़ता कायम रहनी चाहिये।

वर्किंग कमेटी में इस पर कोई मतभेद नहीं है कि नया विधान अवश्य अस्वीकार कर दिया जाय। वर्किंग कमेटी और विपर्ययनिर्वाचन समिति के सदस्यों में मतभेद इसी विषय पर है कि विधान को नष्ट करने का सबसे अच्छा उपाय क्या है। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जिनका यह विश्वास है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो सकती है कि इस विधान से इस तरह काम लें कि वह स्वयं ही नष्ट हो जाय। हम सरकार को पहिले ही से क्यों बतलायें कि उससे लड़ने के लिये हम किस शस्त्र से काम लेंगे। कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि जब तक ठीक तरह से नेतृत्व न किया जायगा तब तक वोटर हाथ में न आयेंगे। मिथ्या आशाओं पर वोटरों को अपने पक्ष में करना वृथा है। वोटरों के लिये इतना ही जानना काफी है कि कांग्रेस का क्या विचार है।

हमें एक दूसरे का अविश्वास नहीं करना चाहिए। हमें वर्किंग कमेटी के प्रस्ताव पर अपना वोट देना चाहिये, क्योंकि उसके द्वारा किसी और भी निर्णय के होने का मार्ग खुला है।

मैंने संक्षेप में जो कुछ कहना था कह दिया। अब इस संबंध में जो मेरे विचार बाकी हैं, उन्हें मैं अन्य संशोधनों पर अपना उत्तर देते हुए प्रकट करूँगा।

President: "मूल प्रस्ताव के संबंध में चार संशोधन मौजूद हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले पर पूरी तरह बहस हो। परन्तु हमें यह विवाद आज ही समाप्त भी कर देना चाहिए। मैं वक्ताओं से अपील करता हूँ कि वे अपने विचार संक्षेप रूप में प्रकट करें। विवाद हिन्दी ही में होगा। परन्तु जो थोड़े से वक्ता हिन्दी में भाषण करने में असमर्थ हों उन्हें अंग्रेजी में ही बोलने की सुविधा होनी चाहिये और उनसे हिन्दी में भाषण करने की माँग उठाकर विवाद में बाधा नहीं डालना चाहिये।"

Mr. T. Prakasam in support of the resolution on the Government of India Act said:—

I have been asked to second this resolution and the President has also stated that what is to be said must be done as briefly as possible. Rajendra Babu has already explained much of the matter stated in the resolution, much of it has been accepted as common ground between the contending parties. So far as Council-entry

is concerned, it is agreed that Council-entry is necessary and that legislatures should be captured. The only point of difference in regard to this matter is about acceptance of office.

The Congress has been pledged to independence. Independence is the goal. Independence is to be declared in this land without having any regard to any constitution that might be enacted in the House of Commons or House of Lords of Great Britain. It is not a matter that can be given by one nation to another nation. That cannot be given by Great Britain to be accepted by India. Therefore, I say the Reform Act which we refer to in this resolution is not such a thing (because our goal is independence) that we can work. Therefore, we ignore the Government of India Act. I therefore say, the question of acceptance of office does not really arise. It is not office that we are seeking after, but we are seeking after a most important thing after a struggle of fifteen or sixteen years.

During the last fifteen years freedom's battles have been fought under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and we were very near success. In 1930 the youths of the land, old and young, men and women all joined the battle of non-violence, the parallel of which the World's history cannot furnish anywhere-else. The world wondered at it and asked—we were told that the people of India were ignorant, that they have no education and that they do not know how to rule their land; but who is this Gandhi under whose leadership this battle has assumed such proportions? What was the result of that battle? The result was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, a pact which is not easy to bring about between a nation like India and its English rulers under ordinary circumstances. That was a precious document. But we have not got even what was promised in that document, because there were men amongst us who betrayed us at the psychological moment. The Congress had completely boycotted the councils and ministerships but there were men who went into the councils and accepted ministerships and applied all repressive powers against us, in our non-violent struggle. Then we sent Gandhiji, against his will, to London to negotiate with the English people on behalf of our country. But what happened there? While he claimed to represent ninety per cent. of the Indian people, there were people to say that he

did not represent ninety per cent, and that they had gone there on behalf of the community or other or on behalf of their own families. Englishmen knew that if they only succeeded in dividing us, we would quarrel among ourselves and they would have an opportunity to say that we had no right to rule ourselves. In 1932 again the same terrorism and lathi charges were resorted to. All Congressmen were thrown into jails and people were disheartened and depressed. So a new turn was given by Mahatma Gandhi and that was entry into councils. He even declared that it was the *Dharma* of the Congress to capture the legislatures at a particular charge. The Parliamentary Board was formed. Now the question is whether the office should be accepted. What is this office? This is no office and we are not going to accept any. Because our goal is independence, we do not take any notice of the Reform Act. But we do not want our enemies to occupy those places and use rifles against our own men. I say minister-ships are not to be accepted. If we take those places, we are not accepting those places. Resistance could be carried on not only outside the legislatures, but also inside the legislatures and inside the offices. Ministership is a place from which a lot of resistance can be offered and deadlocks created by proper men under the control of the Congress. This constitution can be reduced to nil by creating deadlocks from inside. The world wondered what the Assembly was doing when Patel was presiding in the Assembly. Outside world's attention was for the first time directed towards the Assembly then. It is said that if we accept ministry, we would be demoralised. The revolutionary spirit will be gone. Revolutionary outlooks have been created in this country by Mahatma Gandhi. It is being carried on by people who have been uneducated and who have been ignorant of English or even vernacular.

You want a constituent Assembly. I say, Mr. President, a constituent assembly can be called by you not by rejecting minister-ship. You can do it only when you give strength to the people who have been terrorised. When people are terrorised it is not possible even for Mahatma Gandhi to put them in the field for direct action.

A false analogy is drawn that because in Russia revolution



The procession of Ex-president of the Congress and Members of the Working Committee headed by the Chairman and G. Secretary of Reception Committee Marching towards the Congress Pandal.



Lady Volunteers Marching.

could be carried on in 1917, we also can do it here. Russia was different. In Russia after they had failed in their first revolution, for fifty long years they carried on constructive programme and waited till 1917. People must be sufficiently educated. People must be given strength and courage to organise themselves and be ready to carry on any order or behest for revolution."

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar then moved the first amendment to the resolution which ran thus : —

"Delete altogether the last paragraph and in its place substitute the following :—

"With a view to giving effect to its policy of rejection of the constitution and resistance to its functioning so as to avoid the demoralising situation arising of the Congressmen co-operating in the perpetuation of the imperialist regime of repression and exploitation and become tools of that system without any power, this Congress resolves that Congressmen even when in majority in a provincial legislature should not accept ministerial office and should endeavour to bring the operation of the constitution to a standstill. In provinces where this may not be possible the Congress party should use the floor of the legislatures for obstructing and exposing all anti-national measures and as a platform for furthering the struggle for independence and voicing the demands of the masses."

अर्थात् जिस प्रान्तीय व्यवस्थापिका सभा में कांग्रेसी मेम्बर बहुमत में भी हों, वहाँ भी मंत्रिपद ग्रहण न किये जायें और शासन-विधान के काम को बढ़ने न दिया जाय । जिन प्रान्तों में यह संभव न हो, वहाँ के कांग्रेसी मेम्बर कौन्सिलों में बाधा डालने की नीति ग्रहण करें, समस्त राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्यों का भंडाफोड़ करें और कौन्सिलों को स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई का प्रचार करने तथा जनता की माँगों को प्रकट करने का सभा-संच बनायें ।

Moving the amendment Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar made the following speech in Hindustani :—

यह शासन विधान साम्राज्यवाद के ढाँचे में तैयार किया गया है और जनता को इसमें कोई अधिकार नहीं दिया गया है । साम्राज्य-वादी शक्ति द्वारा अपने स्वार्थ की रक्षा के लिये लादे गये शासन-विधान में किसी भी रूप से सहयोग किया गया और उसके अनुसार बनाई गई व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं को कोई महत्त्व दिया गया, तो भारत तो अपनी स्वतंत्रता के अधिकार को छोड़ना होगा ।

आगामी विधान के अन्तर्गत चुनाव में भाग लेनेवाले देश के अन्य दलों ने व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं में जाकर जो कार्यक्रम करने का निश्चय किया है उसे प्रकट कर

दिया है। क्या कांग्रेस भी यही करेगी? यह कहा गया है कि देश को इतना ही बतला देना काफी होगा कि कांग्रेस ने भी अपने उम्मीदवार खड़े किये हैं। परन्तु मुझे इस बात में सन्देह है कि सिर्फ इतने से ही काम चल जायगा। खासतौर से उन वोटों की ओर से जो कि हमारा राजनीति के साथ पूरी तरह से परिचित नहीं हैं, मैं यह पूछता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न का अन्तिम निर्णय स्थगित क्यों रक्खा जा रहा है। आखिर हम परिस्थिति में किन परिवर्तनों के हो जाने की आशा रखते हैं? यह मैं मानता हूँ कि सम्राट् और वायसराय दोनों ही अब बदल गये हैं (हैंसो); किन्तु इससे देश के विधान में तो कोई भी अन्तर नहीं पड़ता। और यह तो हमारे हाथ में ही रहेगा कि यदि आगे चलकर स्थिति बदल जाय तो हम भी अपना निष्पक्ष बदल दें। प्रश्न पर निष्पक्ष स्थागित रखने के विरुद्ध मुझे इस कारण से संदेह हाने लगा है कि प्रस्ताव के कुछ समर्थकों ने स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहा है कि उन्हें मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करने का नीति में पूर्ण विश्वास है।

हमारे मिनिस्टरगण यह करने में भले ही सफल हों कि वे स्कूलों में पढ़ाई जाने-वाली किताबें बदल दें या राष्ट्रीय भंडे लगवा दें अथवा नगरों की सफाई में उन्नति कर लें किन्तु वे भूखे और नंगे देशवासियों को खाना और कपड़ा देने में कदापि सफल न होंगे (हर्षध्वनि)। यदि वायसराय और गवर्नरगण अत्यन्त सद्भावना से पूर्ण हों तब भी यह असम्भव है, क्योंकि देश की आमदनी तो सरकारी नौकरों और फौज के लिये सुरक्षित रहेगी। मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करके और तब सरकार के कार्य में बाधा डालना एक गलत और उलटे मार्ग का अवलम्बन करना होगा। हमें मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करने से इनकार कर देना चाहिए। मन्त्रि-पद स्वीकार करने के समर्थकों ने नये विधान को तोड़ने और सरकारी काम में बाधा डालने का जो तरीका बतलाया है उसका परिणाम यही होगा कि उनकी गदन उली चक्र में फँस जायगी।

कुछ लोगों का विश्वास है कि सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके अपने उद्देश्य की सिद्धि में आगे बढ़ सकेंगे पर मैं उन्हें यह याद दिलाता हूँ कि कांग्रेस ने गत १६ वर्ष देश में क्रांतिकारी मनोवृत्ति उत्पन्न करने में वृथा ही नष्ट नहीं किये। जो छोटे-मोटे फायदे दिखाये जाते हैं उनमें मैं विश्वास नहीं करता। मैं उस कार्य को बिलकुल नापसन्द करता हूँ जिससे वह क्रांतिकारी मनोवृत्ति नष्ट हो। मैं ऐसे कार्य का हर तरह विरोध करूँगा। इसीलिये मैंने सरकारी पद ग्रहण करने के प्रश्न का विरोध करना ही उचित समझा है। मैं उस मनोवृत्ति को नष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। हम क्रांति की भावना से सोच रहे हैं या रिफार्मों की भावना से? हमें अपने विचार पर जोर देना चाहिए और दूमरों से भी इसे मनवाना चाहिए।

हम कांग्रेस में फूट नहीं पैदा कर सकते। हम सबको मिलकर एक साथ काम करना चाहिए। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग बहुत ही शान्त और शीतल मस्तिष्क से इस प्रश्न पर विचार करें, ताकि कांग्रेस में फूट न हो। वर्धा में अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक के समय से ही हम देश से यह कहते आये हैं कि वह इस विषय पर कांग्रेस के निर्णय की प्रतीक्षा करे और अब फिर हम उनसे प्रतीक्षा करने को कहते हैं। हम साहस दिखाकर इस मामले का किसी न किसी पक्ष में

निर्णय क्यों न कर डालें ? कांग्रेसमैनों का जो वर्ग कौंसिलों में जाकर मिनिस्टर बनने के पक्ष में है वहाँ जाकर कुछ भी न कर सकेगा, जब कि ८० प्रतिशत आम-दनी पर तो उसका कोई अधिकार ही न रहेगा और २० प्रतिशत आय को भी खर्च करने में उनके साथ बहुत से प्रतिबंध लगे रहेंगे।

जब तक जनता का सरकारी कोप और सरकारी नौकरों पर नियंत्रण नहीं होता तब तक विधान को चलाने का प्रयत्न करने से कोई भी लाभ न होगा। हमें आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम देश में क्रांति की भावना पैदा करें और यह सरकारी पद स्वीकार करनेवाली मनोवृत्ति से पैदा नहीं हो सकती।

Mr. Sampurnanand moved the second amendment which ran as follows :--

"That at the end of the first paragraph be added that the only course open to it is to take all possible steps to make the working of the constitution impossible".

He made the following speech in Hindustani :--

कांग्रेस के लिये एकमात्र माग यही है कि वह नये शासन-विधान का अमल में लाना प्रत्येक सम्भव उपाय से असम्भव बना दे। विधान-सम्मेलन बुलाना तभी सम्भव है जब कि ब्रिटिश सरकार के हाथों से शक्ति ले ली जाय। मगर यह बहुत दूर की बात है। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी चाहती है कि कौंसिल में जाने वाले कांग्रेसमैनों के हाथ इस बात के लिये बँध जायँ कि वे शासन-विधान को तोड़ दें।

यह तो एक सिद्धांत की बात है। हम तो यह चाहते हैं कि भारत का शासन-विधान बनाने का हक हमें खुद हो, पर जो कानून गवर्नमेंट हमारे ऊपर लाद रही है उसमें तो यह है कि हमारा नकदीर का फ़ैसला दूसरे ही करेंगे। हमारा तो कहना यह है कि जब इंग्लैंडवाले यह पसंद नहीं करते कि उनके मुल्क के लिये दूसरे लोग कानून बनायें तो फिर हम ही क्यों चाहेंगे कि हमारे लिये विदेशी लोग कानून बनाएँ। हिन्दुस्तान में चाहे हकूमत केंसी ही हो वह हिन्दुस्तानियों की हो, हम तो यह चाहते हैं। हम नहीं मानते कि किसी भी विदेशी को हमारे लिये कानून बनाने का अधिकार हो। हम यह मानने को तैयार नहीं कि अंग्रेज हमारा फ़ैसला करें और हम यह साफ बतला देना चाहते हैं कि उनके बनाये हुए कानून की हमारी निगाह में जरा भी इज्जत नहीं है।

विधान-सभा (Constituent Assembly) क्या है, यह भी समझ लेना बहुत जरूरी है। बम्बई में भी इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया गया था और वहाँ पर इस पर बड़ा जोर दिया गया था कि भारत के लिये कानून बनाने के लिये ऐसी विधान-सभा बुलाई जाय। इस वक्त इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल करना बिल्कुल ग़लत है। दुनिया की तवारीख बतलाती है कि किसी भी गुलाम मुल्क में इस तरह की विधान-सभा नहीं बुलाई जा सकती। यह तो तब ही होता है जब किसी मुल्क में इन्क़लाब होता है और उसके बाद उस मुल्क में अमन व अमान के साथ जब किसी राज्य की स्थापना होनी है तब हम तरह की विधान-सभा बन सकती है। यह बिल्कुल ग़लत है कि

अंग्रेजी हकूमत रहते-हुये हम किसी तरह की भी विधान-सभा बुला सकते हैं। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि देश को सच्चे माने में कानून तब ही मिल सकता है जब कि हमारी अपनी बनाई हुई विधान-सभा द्वारा वह तैयार किया जाय और वह तब ही हो सकेगा जब कि हम अपने मुल्क को विदेशी हकूमत से आजाद कर दें।

जो मौजूदा कानून हमारे ऊपर लादा जा रहा है उसकी हकीकत तो आप जानते ही हैं। उसके कहने की ज्यादा जरूरत नहीं। हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही नहीं सैकड़ों फ़िरक़े विदेशी हकूमत ने खड़े कर दिये हैं। एक तरफ़ तो राजे-महाराजे हैं, ज़मींदार हैं, सेठ-साहूकार हैं, और दूसरी तरफ़ जनता है। अब तक तो राजे-महाराजाओं को अपनी रियासतों में ही मनमानी करने का अधिकार था। अब इस कानून द्वारा यह होगा कि इन राजा-महाराजाओं को भी ब्रिटिश भारत में दखलअन्दाज़ी करने का मौक़ा मिलेगा। क्या कोई यह मान सकता है कि इनकी दखलअन्दाज़ी भारत के लिये किसी तरह से भी फ़ायदेमन्द होगी ?

हम तो जानते हैं कि भारत में ज़मींदार और राजे-महाराजाओं के और भी ज्यादा अधिकार बढ़ने वाले हैं। हमारे सूबे में ही कौन्सिलों के दो चैम्बर होंगे। इसका साफ़ मतलब यह है कि यह इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि जिससे ज़मींदार और तालुकदार लोग कौन्सिलों में जगह पा सकें। चूँकि अब यह बात साफ़ जाहिर हो गई कि ज़मींदार और तालुकदारों का तख़्त हिल चुका है और उन्हें फ़िक्र है कि वे लोग अब जनता के प्रतिनिधि बनकर कौन्सिलों में नहीं जा सकेंगे, इसी वजह से यह कोशिश की गई है कि वे पीछे के दरवाज़े से कौन्सिलों में घुसें। यह तो अंग्रेज़ी सरकार भी जानती है कि उनका तख़्त भी हिलनेवाला है और अब उसी तरह की कोशिश की जा रही है जैसे कि अन्धेरे में दो अन्धे एक दूसरे की मदद करते हैं। इस तरह तो एक तरह से Civil War या गृहकलह की तैयारी करनी है। कौन्सिलों में जाकर हम क्या करेंगे यह भी समझ लेना जरूरी है। कहा जाता है कि कौन्सिलों में जेल और पुलिस हिन्दुस्तानियों के हाथ में होगी। जो लोग कौन्सिलों के मेम्बर होंगे उनकी यह कोशिश होगी कि उनकी पार्टी बहुमत में रहे और इसलिये वह इस बात की कोशिश में रहेंगे कि चाहे जिस तरह से हो उन्हें अपना बहुमत रखना चाहिए और वे ऐसी सब बातें इस्तेमाल में लायेंगे कि जिससे जनता में शान्ति का भंग न हो। इसकी मिसाल तो हमारे सामने मौजूद है कि जब सन् १९२०-२१ में हमारे सूबे में किसान आन्दोलन बहुत जोरों पर था तब यहाँ के मन्त्री श्रीमान् मुल्ला और श्रीमान् चिन्तामणि थे। उन्होंने गवर्नमेंट को सलाह दी थी कि किसानों को दबाया जाय। मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि अंगरेज़ हम पर जुल्म करते हुए कुछ डरते भी हैं लेकिन हिन्दुस्तानी दिल खोलकर हमारे ऊपर जुल्म करेंगे।

हमारे कुछ दास्त कहते हैं कि हम इस कानून से फ़ायदा उठायेंगे। मेरी समझ में तो नहीं आता कि वह क्या फ़ायदा उठायेंगे ? और जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि हम पद ग्रहण करके इस कानून को तोड़ देंगे, उनकी बात भी ऐसी ही बेतुकी सी है। हमारे सामने तो कांग्रेस का पूरा आजादी का आदर्श है। अगर हम इस आदर्श को कायम रखना चाहते हैं तो क्या यह कभी पद ग्रहण करने से कायम रह सकता है ? आप यह साफ़ कह दें कि हम इन छोटे छोटे हितों के मुकाबले में देश के

बड़े हित के लिए प्रयत्न करना ही ज्यादा पसन्द करगे। आपको मालूम होगा कि किस प्रकार संयुक्त-प्रान्त में किसान आन्दोलन का सरकार ने दमन किया और हिन्दुस्तानी मिनिस्ट्रों ने आन्दोलन को कुचल डालने के लिये विशेष कानूनों का समर्थन किया। हिन्दुस्तानी मिनिस्ट्रगण हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का दमन करेंगे और अंगरेज लोग इस तमाशे को प्रसन्नतापूर्वक देखेंगे।

मंत्रिपद को स्वीकार करने के समर्थकों से मैं यह पूछता हूँ कि वे साफ साफ बता दें कि उनका मंशा क्या है। मेरे संशोधन द्वारा मंत्रिपद स्वीकार करने पर कोई रोक नहीं लगती है परन्तु मेरा कहना यह है कि व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं के अन्दर सभी कार्यों का ध्येय सरकारी कार्यसंचालन में बाधा डालना ही होना चाहिये न कि छोटे-मोटे लाभ उठाने का प्रयत्न करना।

Seth Govind Das moved the third amendment :—

“That in the last para after the words ‘proptertime’ add ‘prior to election to provincial legislatures.’”

Moving the amendment he made the following speech in Hindustani :—

जा संशोधन सरदार शादूलसिंह व श्रीसम्पूर्णानन्दजी ने रखे हैं मैं उनका खलाफ नहीं हूँ। वे साफ कहते हैं कि जो कानून हमारे ऊपर लादा गया है हम उसको कभी भी मंजूर नहीं करेंगे। हमें एक निश्चय पर समय के अन्दर पहुँच जाना चाहिये। परन्तु यदि वे संशोधन मंजूर न हों तो कम से कम चुनाव के पूर्व तो यह मामला तय ही कर डालना चाहिये। अन्यथा न तो हम वोटों के साथ और न उम्मीदवारों के साथ ही न्याय कर सकेंगे। मुझसे यह बतलाया गया है कि वर्किंग कमेटी के प्रस्ताव का भी मतलब यही है परन्तु मुझे इस बात से निराशा हो रही है कि बाबू राजेन्द्रप्रसाद ने अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट नहीं की है। मुझे भय है कि कहीं सन् १९२३ के इतिहास की पुनरावृत्ति फिर न हो और यदि चुनाव के पूर्व ही चुनाव-संबन्धी प्रतिज्ञा निर्धारित न कर ली गई तो स्वयं हमारे ही उम्मीदवार कहीं चुनाव के बाद कांग्रेस की आज्ञा का उल्लंघन न करें।

पुराने विधिविहित विचारों के अनुसार साम्प्रदायिकों का यह कहना ठीक है कि सरकार और विरोधी दल दोनों ही शासन का उद्देश्य सफल करते हैं, इसलिये विधान अस्वीकार करने का केवल यही मतलब नहीं है कि सरकारी पदों का बहिष्कार किया जाय, बल्कि कौन्सिलों का भी बहिष्कार किया जाय। पर यह क्रान्तिकारी पद्धति नहीं बल्कि विधिविहित काम करने वाले की पद्धति है। क्रान्तिकारी मनोवृत्ति विधान की बुनियाद स्वीकार नहीं करती, उसके अनुसार बिल्कुल नया काय आरम्भ होना चाहिये। वे हर तरह शक्ति प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करते हैं और कभी-कभी वे कौंसिलों में जाकर और सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके भी क्रान्तिकारी कार्यक्रम आगे बढ़ाते हैं। म० गांधी ने यह कह कर अपने को ठीक किया कि कौंसिलों में जाना पाप नहीं है, बल्कि लाभदायी है, और क्रान्तिकारी दल वहाँ का मंच शत्रु के हाथ में नहीं छोड़ सकता। प्रश्न परिस्थिति का है, ठोस कार्यों का है, कपोलकल्पित बातों का नहीं। आपको यह नहीं मालूम कि क्या होनेवाला है!

मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस चुनाव से पहिले ही अपने निश्चय को जनता पर जाहिर कर दे ताकि जो लोग वोट दें वे पूरा निश्चय करके अपना वोट दें और अन्धकार में न रहें कि हम कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवारों को किस नीति के लिये राय दे रहे हैं। हमारे ही प्रान्त में कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवारों ने बहुमत कर लिया था और कांग्रेस का उस समय यह निश्चय था कि हम कौंसिलों में जाकर मंत्रिपद ग्रहण नहीं करेंगे लेकिन इसके खिलाफ हमने अपने सूबे में क्या देखा कि लोगों ने षड्यन्त्र रचने शुरू किये और वह षड्यन्त्र इसलिये रचे गये कि वज्जारत मंजूर की जावे। इसलिये यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि हम अपनी नीति की घोषणा चुनाव से पहिले ही कर दें कि हम कौंसिलों में जाकर मंत्रिपद स्वीकार करेंगे या नहीं। इससे वोटर अपनी राय देने में आजाद होंगे कि वे ऐसे उम्मीदवारों को वोट दें या नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि राजेन्द्र बाबू को इस संशोधन के स्वीकार करने में कोई आनाकानी नहीं होनी चाहिये।

Syt. Dhiresk Chakravarty moved the fourth amendment, which runs as follows :-

In the first para after 'parliamentary Report' insert 'and on anti-national, undemocratic separate communal electorates'. In the same para after 'people of India' in line six insert 'and to stereotype communal divisions'. For the clause in the same para beginning with 'The Congress' and ending in 'in its entirety' in lines 8 and 9 read 'the Congress rejects the new constitution, including the communal decision in its entirety'. 'For them' in line 3 substitute 'White Paper and the J. P. C. Report'.

The first para thus amended will read as follows : --

'Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, which is based on the White Paper and Joint Parliamentary Report and on anti-national and undemocratic separate communal electorate and which is in many respects worse than the proposals contained in the White Paper and J. P. C. Report, in no way represents the will of the nation, is designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India and to stereotype communal divisions and is imposed on the country to the accompaniment of widespread repression and suppression of civil liberties, the Congress rejects the new constitution, including the communal decision, in its entirety'.

In moving his amendment Syt. Chakravarty said:

At the very outset I plead my ignorance of *Hindustani* and crave your indulgence to address you in English. Coming as I do from the province of Bengal, that has gone and is still going

through the fire of repression, I am sure, I can count upon your patient hearing for the amendment that I rise to move.

Ladies and gentlemen, you would perceive that my amendments all relate to the rejection of the imperialistic electoral device in the new Government of India Act, that has been designed to carry to perfection the principle of *divide et impera*. That device is no other than the "Communal Decision" of the British Cabinet, wrongly called the "Award". The Communal Award forms the basis of the new Government of India Act that is soon to come into operation. The Act has been much condemned and in our fight for complete independence we have got to reject the same, lock, stock and barrel. As to this, there cannot be any difference of opinion. But, unfortunately, the decision of the Congress has not hitherto been unequivocal and clear with regard to the odious Communal Award, on which the superstructure of the new Constitution is based.

To relate the events of the recent past, the indecisive and illogical attitude of the Congress of "neither accepting nor rejecting" the Award has given rise to divisions in the Congress camp. The provinces most wronged by the Award, Bengal and the Punjab in particular, felt dissatisfied with the Congress decision and have in clear and unmistakable terms demanded rejection of the Award. The Congress Nationalist Party in Bengal contested the last Assembly elections on the clear issue of rejection of the Award. The cent per cent Nationalist victory in Bengal in as many as eight contests recorded an unmistakable verdict at the polls against the Award.

These are facts sufficiently telling, which should serve as an eye-opener. However strongly Bengal may feel in this regard, I would not like to take a provincial view in the matter. If I urge upon you the acceptance of my amendment, it is because the Award with its separate electorates runs so much counter to the traditional policy of the Congress on communal question. The Congress has all along stood for national unity. The Congress has all along been advocating joint-electorate in place of the separate electorates for cementing Hindu-Muslim unity. It has been the clear finding of the Nehru Committee that the hydraheaded monster of communalism has raised its head from the ashes of

separate electorates. To go earlier, Madras Congress also favoured joint-electorates. There was, in fact, no Congress solution of the communal problem that did not place joint-electorate at the forefront. This also holds good with regard to the Lahore Congress resolution and the Working Committee formula, as late as 1931 regarding communal unity. There is, therefore, no denying the fact that joint-electorate has continued to be the traditional policy of the Congress with regard to representation in legislatures.

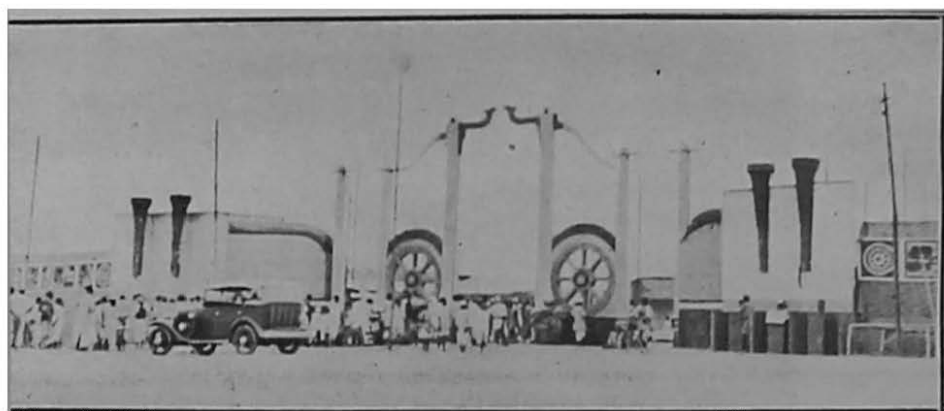
Now that the Award has given the go-bye to the principle of joint-electorate, my question to you is, should not the Congress in pursuance of its traditional policy reject the Award, of which separate electorates form the basis. For the Congress to remain true to its traditions there is, you would agree, no alternative but to reject the Award.

Despite its non-committal attitude towards the Award, the Congress has condemned the same in no uncertain terms. "Anti-national," "undemocratic" and "intrinsically bad", are some of the choice expressions with which the Congress has characterised the Award. Democracy, as the President stated in the Presidential Address, cannot go hand in hand with the Award. The separate compartment-tight communal electorates would assuredly cut up and vivisect our body politic, to the more and more undoing of our growing nationalism. Democracy and nationalism can never be based on political arithmetic relating to fixation of quotas and weightages. Such political arithmetic is foreign to the spirit of both democracy and nationalism. If the nation is to grow, the separate electorates and the communal bargaining are to go. Its fissiparous tendency has proved the veritable canker to the growth of our body politic. So we must begin by abjuring the separate electorates, and for the matter of that, the Communal Award.

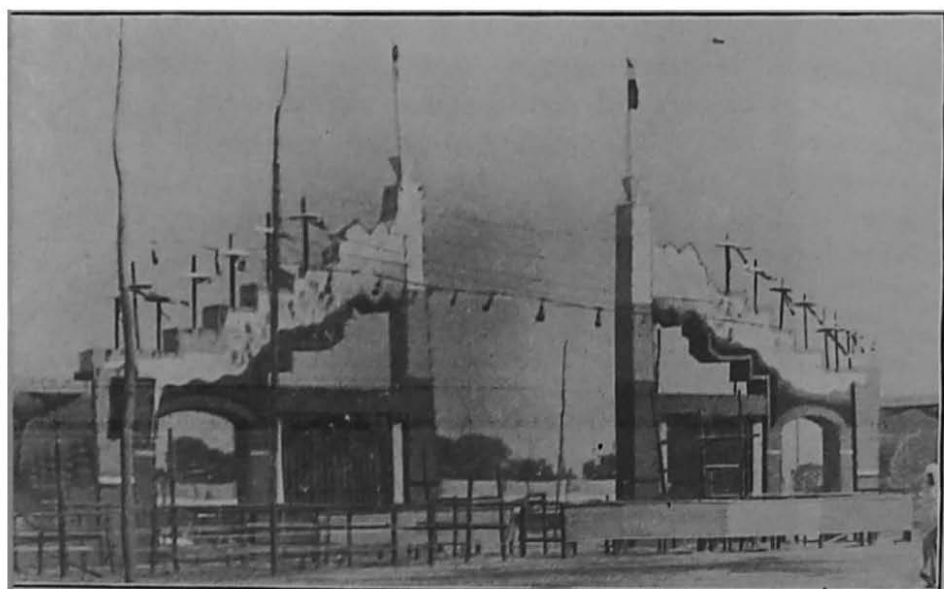
This indeed forms the rationale of our demanding the rejection of the award; although much capital has been sought to be made for torpedoing the anti-award campaign by characterising the same as being no better than a scramble for seats and fight for posts and preferments. Nothing can be further than truth. We are opposed to it because the Award is a menace to the attainment of our goal of a free and united India, because if given effect



The Main Gate of the Motinagar.



The Main Gate of the Exhibition.



The Main Gate leading to the Congress Pandal.

to, the Award would as surely strangle our political growth in the cobwebs of communalism. Nothing serves the imperialist design more than rousing the communal passions, and that is the only objective that the framers of the Award had in view. The driving deep of wedge between communities as the Award contemplates, cannot fail to drive the communities apart, more and more. For goodness' sake, imagine if such an atmosphere will be congenial to the growth of democracy.

It is equally foreign to our purpose any way to increase communal tension. But then we are told that the rejection of the Award would antagonise the Muhammedans. I am not prepared to accept this, because if true it amounts to putting at a discount the patriotic fervour of the Muhammedans, as a community. Assuming, however, though not admitting for argument's sake, the bogey of Muslim defection from the Congress, to disabuse your mind of any such obsession, I can do no better than repeat to you the memorable words of Deshbandhu Das. "When the nation rises," said our great leader, "it does not rise by calculation." To a revolutionary, as we all are more or less, counsels of caution and prudence avail not. Cool calculation is but a moderate philosophy illbefitting the revolutionary mentality. A free, united India is our goal, to the attainment of which the system of separate electorates is the bar sinister. In our fight for freedom let us begin by burying the Communal Award five fathoms deep. Let not senseless bogey or calculating considerations deflect us from our path.

Before concluding, I would like to allude to the cure for communalism, that is suggested on economic lines. It has been pointed that sameness of economic interests among the masses would lay at rest their communal animosities on religious grounds. This is, no doubt, a counsel par excellence. But those friends who believe like that, happen to forget that in the history of revolutions nowhere did communal animosities disappear by that mere adoption of a common economic programme, so long as the third party was there to pull wires from behind and to foment communal differences. Ulster's would be a case in point. In spite of community of economic interests, more or less, between the masses of people there and those of the Irish Free State, the problem of the United Ireland is still baffling the ingenuity of all the foremost of the Irish

ipatriots. Let us not forget that the Communal Award is an imperialistic device and let us fight it, as such, with all anti-imperialistic forces joined together in our united struggles for freedom.

Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant made the following speech in Hindustani in support of the main resolution:—

वर्किंग कमेटी के प्रस्ताव या पद ग्रहण करने के भाव से कांग्रेस का स्वतंत्रता का आदर्श जरा भी कम नहीं होगा, और न इसका यह मतलब है कि हमने विधान स्वीकार कर लिया। वर्किंग कमेटी ने अभी केवल अपना फंसला मुलतवी कर दिया है। हम अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति को ध्यान में रखके बिना किसी भी राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न का निर्णय नहीं कर सकते। छः महीने के भीतर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति का क्या रूप होगा, यह हम अभी नहीं कह सकते। मेरा व्याक्तिगत यह विचार है कि सरकारों पद स्वीकार करने से हम स्वतन्त्रता बी.लड़ाई जारी रख सकेंगे। मैं इसे असम्भव नहीं समझता कि सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके देश में नयी क्रान्तिकारी भावना पैदा न की जा सके। पालियामेंटरी बोड उठा दिया गया, और अब वर्किंग कमेटी ही उसका भी काम करेगी, इसलिये वर्किंग कमेटी जब चाहे अपने सदस्यों को वापस बुला सकती है। इसलिये जो कांग्रेसवादी सरकारी पद ग्रहण करना चाहते हैं उनकी ईमानदारी और नेकनीयती में क्यों अविश्वास करते हैं ?

प्रतिनिधियों को मैं यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषय पर वादविवाद में विषय-निर्धारणी समिति में लगभग ३० वक्ताओं ने भाग लिया था और वहाँ यह प्रस्ताव बहुत बड़े बहुमत से पास हो चुका है। अतः यह प्रस्ताव खुले अधिवेशन में भी प्रतिनिधियों का स्वीकृत होना चाहिये। खुले अधिवेशन में जो संशोधन पेश किये गये हैं उनमें से पहले तीन विषयनिर्धारणी समिति में भी पेश हो चुके हैं और प्रतिनिधियों ने उस समिति में अपने निज सदस्यों को चुन कर भेजा है जो इन्हें स्वीकृत कर चुके हैं। आज से ८ मास पूर्व कोई भी नहीं कह सकता था कि इटली एवीसीनिया पर हमला कर देगा और न दो मास पूर्व कोई इस बात का ही स्वप्न देख सकता था कि जर्मनी राइनलैण्ड प्रदेश पर सैनिक आधिकार कर लेगा। इसी प्रकार दो सप्ताह पूर्व भी कहना कठिन था कि टर्की लासेन-संधि के उत्तरदायित्व को अस्वीकार कर देगा। अतः यह कोई भी नहीं कह सकता है कि आगामी ८ मास के अन्दर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय और भारतीय परिस्थिति में क्या-क्या परिवर्तन हो जायेंगे। ऐसी दशा में हम इस प्रश्न पर अभी से अन्तिम निर्णय क्यों कर लें ? पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू हम लोगों को यह बतला ही चुके हैं कि वे यह अन्दाजा नहीं लगा सकते कि फिर से सत्याग्रह चलाना कब संभव होगा। ऐसी दशा में क्या कांग्रेस के लिये यह बुद्धिमान्नी की बात न होगी कि वह परिस्थिति के अनुकूल कार्य करे। इस प्रकार परिस्थिति के अनुकूल अपने को अनाते रहने से यह प्रमाणित होता है कि कांग्रेस एक सजीव संस्था है। मैं उपस्थित लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि कोई भी कांग्रेसमैन नये विधान को सफलतापूर्वक चलाना नहीं चाहता और प्रत्येक कांग्रेस-

मैन पूर्ण स्वाधीनता पर दृढ़ रहते हुए नये विधान के पूरी तरह से रद्द किये जाने के लिये प्रयत्न करने पर सहमत है।

Mr. Meherally spoke in support of Sardar Sardul Singh's amendment in the following words in Hindustani:—

यदि वकिङ्ग कमेटी हमारी चेतावनी की ओर ध्यान नहीं देती तो इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि वकिङ्ग कमेटी भी एक प्रकार की लिबरल संस्था हो जायगी। श्री० श्रीप्रकाश ने अपने भाषण में हार जाने और हतोत्साही होने के भाव प्रकट किये हैं। मुट्टी भर अंग्रेज हमारे ऊपर शासन कर रहे हैं, इसका कारण यही है कि वे देश के ऐसे मनुष्यों को पूरी तरह से संतुष्ट रखते हैं जिनमें से उन्हें पुलिस तथा सिविल विभाग और फौज के लिये सरकारी नौकर प्राप्त होते हैं। नये शासन विधान के अन्तर्गत सरकारी पदों की विश्वत देकर मध्यवर्ग के लोगों को सरकार और भी अपने पक्ष में कर लेगी। हमारी लड़ाई का खास मोरचा यह होना चाहिये कि हम इस मध्यवर्ग को तोड़ दें जो साम्राज्यवाद को शक्तिशाली बनाये हुये है। वकिङ्ग कमेटी ने अपनी लड़ाई शिथिल कर दी है और उसके मौजूदा प्रस्ताव का संसार के लोकमत पर बहुत बुरा प्रभाव पड़ेगा। सोशलिस्ट लोग साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय संबंधी संशोधन पर तटस्थ रहेंगे। यद्यपि हम लोग साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय को पसन्द नहीं करते फिर भी हम धार्मिक ढंग से नहीं किन्तु आर्थिक ढंग से मामले को सुलझाना चाहते हैं।

While Mr. Meherally was speaking there was some disturbance believed to have been organized by the Sanatanists. There was a rush of volunteers towards the place from where it was believed the disturbance was proceeding and there was general commotion. The president, however, called volunteers back, quieted the commotion and himself left for the place, putting Rajen Babu in the chair for the time being. Before Panditji reached the place the demonstrators had disappeared. He returned back and resumed his chair.

Next Sri Vishwanatham speaking in support of the main resolution said:—

To speak on the whole resolution would take a long time and therefore, while I support the whole resolution, I shall confine myself to the principal issue of Office, as a specific amendment has been brought to reject offices under the new constitution.

Much propaganda has been made against acceptance of office. In my opinion, there is no office and there is no acceptance. What lies behind the idea of this so-called acceptance of office by the Congress is altogether different from acceptance by non-congressmen. There is nothing for the Government to give and

there is nothing for us to accept. Just as you fight every inch of your battle and win seats in the Legislatures, so also you capture the ministries. In the same view which you have adopted for entering Councils you will also accept ministries and the same process of reasoning applies. If you are not yielding to constitutionalism by driving your opponents from the seats in the Legislatures, I submit, you are no more yielding to constitutionalism or lowering the flag of the Congress by driving away your enemies from the strategic position of the ministries. Do not look upon ministries as offices, but as centres and fortresses from which British Imperialism is radiated. Just as the Government have exploited our non-congress countrymen on the floor of legislatures, they would, by our self-denying ordinances exploit our own countrymen in the ministries. I ask whether it is reasonable and wise, whether it is statesmanship further to abandon those places of vantage to be filled in by reactionaries. If it is wrong to let your country be exploited it is hundred times more wrong to let non-congressmen occupy those places and be exploited by British Imperialism. I am not one of those who believe that the idea of reformism or constitutionalism has come to take hold of the Congress. The idea of revolution came into the Congress full 15 years ago. Day after day it is increasing. The capture of offices is a question of strategy. The Councils cannot lead us to constitutionalism; for we are not babies; we will lead the Councils and use them for Revolution.

I would ask you to look at it from another aspect. You talk of non-cooperation; for several years we have been fighting the British Government in fields other than Legislatures. To-day after long and costly experience we have learnt that the Legislatures are also a field and a front which we should not leave open to the reactionaries and to Government. What does capture of office mean? It only means supplementing and amplifying your idea of non-cooperation. When Congressmen decide to non-cooperate, not only should they not give cooperation to the Government but, I submit, they should also prevent others from cooperating with British Government in so far as it lies in their power. Where then comes the question of working at the Reforms? You say by capture of office I work the reforms. But I say, you are allowing the working of the reforms by rejecting

offices. If you capture offices, you will prevent the working of the constitution. Besides, much more can be done. You can at once undo all communalism in public life and consolidate the national forces. These strategic positions have been used to exploit the nation and further to divide our own countrymen among themselves and to divide the masses from the Congress. By occupying those strategic positions you will prevent it. Congressmen should not, therefore, allow anybody else to work the reforms. Charge should not be made against those who advocate offices when the proper time comes that they are working the reforms, for as said above the criticism is shortsighted. Consider well whether by a self-denying ordinance you would be working the reforms or I? I say, it will be those who are against acceptance of office who will be helping the working of the new constitution. Subject to this reservation I commend the resolution as passed by the Subjects Committee for your wholehearted acceptance and I would ask you to throw out the amendment to reject offices. To my socialist comrades, I would say, capture or rejection of office is not a matter of socialism. I would ask them to realise that it is a matter of strategy and I would ask you all to avoid repeating mistakes for

*'The moving finger writes and having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy piety nor wit,
Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.'*

Mr. M. R. Masani, speaking in support of Sardar Sardul Singh's amendment, said :

I have come here to support the amendment moved by Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. When I was in England six months ago and I was trying to persuade British audiences to believe that India would not touch the new constitution which was then being passed into law, I was told by some of the English statesmen that our own leaders would work the constitution. Those English friends of mine seem to me now to have been nearer the truth than I was !

This resolution means the working of the constitution. The speech of Mr. Prakasam made more clear the intention of the sponsors of the resolution. The country owes a debt of grati-

tude to those like Messrs. Prakasam and Satyamurthi who have the courage of saying in public what others also believe but dare not say openly. Look at the resolution. The preamble analyses the Act in strong language. But in the last part you feel the absolute inconsistency of the resolution. The first part is out of touch with the last. The first part of the resolution says that the Government of India Act must be rejected in its entirety. Those who talk of rejection of the constitution should not be reluctant to accept the amendment of Mr. Sampurnanand. The Working Committee wants to say that the situation is uncertain and in view of the uncertainty of the situation, as it may develop, we should not commit ourselves one way or other. My imagination fails to comprehend what uncertainties there are which can possibly justify us in accepting ministerial offices. The British Government has an army of occupation in this country. Does the Working Committee think that the army of occupation is going to be withdrawn or does the Working Committee think that the British Government is going to abdicate before the new Government of India Act comes into operation? Nothing short of the evacuation of the country by the British forces can justify us in participating in the Government of this country as Ministers and Governors. Or can it be that what is awaited is a 'gesture' from Lord Linlithgow? The amendment I am supporting seeks to close the door against acceptance of the constitution at any stage unless and until it offers Complete Independence. Perhaps something short of that is in the minds of the Working Committee. Can it be that the present Viceroy is going and when Lord Linlithgow comes they expect he will make some gesture? If so, it would be a dangerous outlook. It will mean that the country will have to learn all over again through bitter experience the lesson that there is no difference between Willingdon and Linlithgow. They are all out to exploit the country. I hope it will not be necessary for the Congress to learn that experience. The Working Committee seems to be like a set of political Micawbers who, like Dickens' character, are always "waiting for something to turn up". They resemble Micawber who was always bankrupt and yet always full of optimism!

The Working Committee seems to be torn between two

mentalities, the revolutionary mentality and the parliamentary mentality. Their past record of service of the Congress, the Congress objective of Complete Independence, the method of Direct Action, all pull them in the direction of struggle. On the other hand, the defeat in the last Congress fight and the depression in the political atmosphere pull them the other way. Today they are torn between these two, and they seem to be looking round for something to encourage them to plunge down the slippery slope of "constitutionalism."

The first objection to this amendment is that we should utilise the constitution. My friends, a constitution is a machinery which is evolved by a system of government to suit its own end and you may not work it for any other purpose. The very resolution says so. The Act is designed to perpetuate British domination. It is not necessary to analyse the Act at any length. A brief examination will show that you cannot get anything out of it. So long as the British army is there, so long as the process of exploitation is there, you can't get anything for the emancipation of the masses, you can't get anything for the education of the children of the country. If you accept ministerships, you will only go there with promises to the people which you can't fulfil.

The example of Ireland has been cited. What a fantastic analogy: The Irish Treaty was negotiated after a successful civil war. We have got the Government of India Act after the defeat of the Civil Disobedience movement. Where is the analogy? Where is DeValera with a revolver in his hand and where is Mr. Satyamurthi with a resignation in his pocket!

Then we were told that we should accept offices till the country is ripe for direct action. That shows a defeatist mentality and no leadership. It is for us to raise the atmosphere of the country from the depths of demoralisation into which it has fallen on account of the want of leadership and vacillation. I submit, if we fight the election on a militant economic programme and with the slogan of a Constituent Assembly we shall be in a majority.

We are told a Congress ministry will be able to hoist the National Flag on Government schools and institutions. The day on which the National Flag is hoisted under the Union Jack or alongside with it, the National Flag will be polluted and a new National

Flag will have to be invented. We must wait for the day when the Union Jack can be pulled down and the National Flag hoisted in its place. (*Cheers*)

Acharya Kripalani in support of the Resolution said :—

Speaker after speaker has been talking beside the point. There is nothing in the official resolution which talks about acceptance or non-acceptance of office. It is quite possible that acceptance may be a snare and a delusion. The contrary also may be quite possible. The resolution is very simple and no arguments have been adduced to show that we are not justified in exercising the caution that we have hitherto exercised, that is that it is not yet time for us to decide one way or the other as to what method we shall adopt to implement our determination to reject the Constitution. Our friends, those who are against the acceptance of office, the Socialist group, consider themselves to be the guardians of the revolutionary spirit. But I am afraid all their logic is constitutional. The arguments they advance are the very same that were advanced in 1920 and 1921 against Council-entry. In those days we had rejected the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. Under Gandhiji's guidance we argued that entry into the Councils even for opposition would be tantamount to cooperation and therefore to acceptance of the Reforms. That is the logic of constitutional democracy. It is derived from the constitutional practice of democratic countries where even opposition is a necessary activity of the Government and amounts to cooperation. Such opposition accepts the basic principles of the Constitution and works within its framework. A revolutionary party rejecting the very basis of a constitution, if and when it chooses to enter the Councils or accepts office, must not be supposed to be in the same position and guided by the same principles and philosophy as a democratic constitutional opposition. It is guided by a more dynamic and revolutionary logic and strategy. This revolutionary logic was consciously or unconsciously used by the Swaraj Party when they entered the Councils. They argued that if the Congress boycotted the Councils certain positions of advantage would be occupied by the reactionary elements in the country to the injury of the new movement and the strengthening of the Government. The Swarajists did not allow their judgment to be warped because they had used

the words non-cooperation and rejection. A revolutionary party cannot be guided by the rules of a formal logic. So the logic of the situation as against pre-conceived ideas and practice prevailed. Even Gandhiji was converted. He today not only advocates Council-entry but believes that this kind of seemingly constitutional action by the party of direct action has come to stay.

In consonance with this revolutionary logic we are told by the advocates of Council-entry that it would be folly not to capture the Councils. At the same time they tell us that it would be folly to accept office. When we ask, why we should go to the councils, we are told, in order to support our programme; as if people who are in favour of office-acceptance cannot use the same phraseology and say that they too advocate acceptance only to strengthen the Congress programme. If revolutionary mentality can be supported by entry into Councils it is quite possible to support it by acceptance of office. I am not advancing these arguments to support office-acceptance. That question does not arise today and the resolution before you makes no mention of it. I am at present only concerned with exposing the logic or the want of it in the arguments of these self-constituted leaders of the revolutionary spirit who want to instil this spirit in all and sundry, not excluding the members of the Working Committee. They want to instil this spirit in Rajendra Babu and even Mahatma Gandhi for according to them they too are the non-official allies of the bureaucracy.

President: Nobody has said so here.

Acharya Kripalani: No, I am referring to past history.

President: We have nothing to do with past history here. We are concerned only with the present and the future. I would also ask the speaker not to make any personal references.

Acharya Kripalani: I make no personal references but I am entitled to refer,

President: Order, Order.

Acharya Kripalani: I bow to the decision of the President. Somebody here said that the country wants bread. He asked, can this bread be had by acceptance of office? May we ask if the same bread can be had by going into the Councils? The whole point is that if we can advance our aims and objects

through the councils we can also do this by capturing office. At least those who advocate office-acceptance can use the very same arguments.

The advocates of office say that if the Government makes an excessive use of the powers of certification and thus makes the retention of office inconsistent with national good they would withdraw from office. Those against office reply that if the Ministers have ultimately to withdraw what is the fun of accepting office. This again is strange logic. Many times we have gone to the Councils and when there has been a call to direct action we have withdrawn from them and yet we go again and again knowing fully well that we will have to come out again. In the same way we may accept office and come out when necessary and even go in again just when it suits our revolutionary purpose.

The question therefore of acceptance or non-acceptance can be logically argued one way or the other according to the political bias and taste of the disputants. What the Working Committee, however, has kept before the nation is very simple and modest. The Working Committee does not want the forces of the country to be divided on this issue, at present. There are still eight or ten months or may be even twelve months, before we will be actually faced with this question. In these days when things move, as we are told, at aeroplane speed anything may happen within this time. It will therefore serve no purpose if we divide just at present on this temporary issue that may soon disappear.

I cannot say whether those who may be accepting office would carry out their work in a revolutionary spirit. It will all depend upon men who are sent and the spirit of vigilance in the country. For me it is sufficient to know that there are some very moderate items of our programme in which if spirit is infused there will be a resurgence of national life. We cannot lose sight of the fact that we are in the grip of depression. This should not mean that we shall refuse to do little reformatory things because at present the spirit of doing great things is not in us. We are just like an army in barracks. What does such an army do? All its activity appears peaceful, tame, sometimes even useless. The soldiers dig trenches that they fill up the next day, they go on big marches that lead nowhere, they shoot at targets without killing.

All this to the untrained eye has no value and leads nowhere. But to the trained military eye all this digging, drilling, marching and shooting however apparently useless is a necessary part of the preparation for war. If this was neglected no armies would be fit to fight. Even in a revolutionary movement there may be time of comparative depression and inactivity. At such times whatever programmes are devised have necessarily an appearance of reformatory activity but they are a necessary part of all revolutionary strategy. When actual direct action starts, not only will there be no talk about Ministry but even the Councils, as in the past, may be emptied of Congress members.

The next speaker was Mr. Chapalakanta Bhattacharya who said:—

On rising to support the amendment moved by Mr. Dhires Chakravarti for rejection of the Communal Award along with the Constitution, I must in the first place express my surprise at the advice given by Mr. Meher Ali to his Socialist friends to remain neutral over this. I shall go further and say that I feel pained at this attitude. We are all out to fight the imperialist forces that keep India in subjugation. Hence it behoves us to resist every imperialist measure adopted for that purpose. I am yet to find a man who will not admit that the so-called Award is the most anti-national device through which the imperialist forces intend consolidating their position. To think of fighting the Imperialist and yet leave the Award untouched is like an attempt to resist an enemy without resisting the weapon he is fighting with.

The amendment relates to the Resolution for rejection of the new Constitution which has been moved on behalf of the Working Committee this afternoon. In moving his amendment Mr. Chakravarti has already gone into the demerits of the so-called Award itself. So I need not repeat them. As Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose has said, the Communal Decision is the most anti-national device as yet invented by human genius. The nationalist-minded Indians of all communities are unanimous on this point that if this pernicious device is allowed to remain and work, it will smash our body politic into splinters. The only question that remains for our consideration is the propriety of the present Congress attitude

towards the same. The amendment aims at defining the Congress attitude clearly, precisely and correctly.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it was on the 18th June, 1934, that the Congress Working Committee fixed upon the now-famous formula of the "non-acceptance and non-rejection." The blessed year of 1934 has gone by and so has the year 1935; and now we are approaching the middle of 1936. If after the passage of this long period, you now allow it to go out to the world that the Communal Decision of the British Government is such a precious thing that you are not able to make up your mind upon its rejection even now, this indecisive attitude of yours will not only stultify the Congress but impair the seriousness of all its deliberations.

The amendment of Mr. Chakravarti has been necessitated by the fact that the official resolution on the Government of India Act is defective and misleading in a material point. The first paragraph concludes by saying that "the Congress reiterates the rejection of the constitution in its entirety." Apparently this reiteration refers to the Bombay Congress resolution of October 1934 on the White Paper. But as the present Constitution Act was not passed at that time there could have been no rejection of this constitution then. Therefore, reiteration of the rejection of the constitution can have no meaning so far as the actual rejection of the present constitution is concerned. If you really want to reject it, speak out in plain and simple terms "this Congress rejects the constitution."

But this has not been done, and, I think with a purpose. It is difficult to believe that the shrewd framers of the resolution did not see through this patent defect. What I apprehend is that in the use of that one word "reiterates" there is an attempt to keep intact the position taken up at Bombay. Rejection of the constitution by the present resolution will have the same meaning as the rejection by the Bombay resolution. This is a position we are not prepared to accept. We could never agree to the attitude taken up at Bombay and for the same reasons we can never reconcile ourselves with the present resolution as it is.

What was the attitude adopted at Bombay is known to you all. It was this that the constitution can be rejected without at the same time rejecting the so-called Communal Award on which

the constitution is based. As I have said this is an intolerable position. So we are left with no option but to press the amendment to clinch the issue. We want nothing more than the insertion of the words "including the Communal Award" after 'Constitution' in the resolution.

If the present resolution were the very first pronouncement of the Congress on the subject, we might have remained satisfied in a way. Because rejection of the constitution "in its entirety" would have automatically involved the rejection of the Award. But I ask my friends here to remember that we are not writing on a clean slate. The resolution proposed this evening will have to be explained and elucidated with reference to the context provided by the Bombay resolution. The resolution while definitely rejecting the White Paper refused to reject the Award. This has naturally given rise to the impression that it is possible to reject White Paper or the Constitution without involving the rejection of the Award along with it. This dual policy laid down by the Bombay Congress has created a state of puzzle and perplexity which requires clarification. If it is now really and sincerely intended that the rejection of the constitution is to involve the rejection of the Award, this must be stated in such clear terms from which we may be assured that the dual policy adopted at Bombay has been definitely abandoned. Let all quibbling and sophistry be laid at rest once for all.

I know that here I shall be faced with the bogey of Mussalmans falling out from the Congress. To be frank with you, I must say that to us the bogey has no reality at all. It has been raised, we think, by interested persons in order to hustle us into an uncomfortable position where we would never go with eyes open. On the one hand it is stated that the Congress cannot reject the Award because the Mussalmans in the Congress are so touchy over it as not to hear of its rejection. On the other hand it is maintained that the rejection of the Award is involved in the rejection of the Constitution. The position is wholly inconsistent and gives rise to a very pertinent question. If the rejection of the Constitution really involves the rejection of the Award, how is it that the Mussalmans who are said to be dead against the rejection of the latter, are swallowing the rejection of the former so readily and

without a murmur? It cannot but provoke the suspicion that somewhere a trap has been laid and we cannot but be too wary in our footsteps.

One more word and I have finished. It was at Lucknow, gentlemen, that the communal spirit was first introduced into the Congress through the well-known Lucknow Pact. With our experience of the havoc it has caused over twenty long years, let Lucknow now have the glory of completely exorcising that spirit. Let the false step taken in 1916 be retraced and rectified before further mischief takes place. Let the Congress turn its face from the blind alley to which it has been led by repeated concessions to communal demands at the cost of nationalism.

Gentlemen, I appeal to you to support the amendment of Mr. Chakravarti.

Dr. Khan Sahib spoke in support of the official resolution in Hindustani : —

हमें अपने मंत्रिमंडल के निर्णय को मानना चाहिये। विप्लववादी कार्यों के बिना केवल विप्लववादी भाषणों से ही तो हमारा उद्देश्य कुछ पूरा न हो जायगा। हमें चाहिये कि हम अपने नेताओं का विश्वास करें और आगामी संग्राम के लिये तैयारी करें। कहा जाता है कि अगर हम पहिले ही जाहिर कर दें कि हम बजारत और दीगर सरकारी जगह लेने को तैयार हैं, तो चुनाव में सफल होने की सम्भावना बढ़ जायगी। ऐसा संभव है, क्योंकि उस हालत में हर तरह के आदमी, जो सरकारी पदों से होने वाले फायदों के लिये मुँह बाए हुये हैं, हमारे साथ हो लेंगे। पर क्या कोई कांग्रेसी समझता है कि ऐसा होना अच्छा है या ऐसा होने से हमारी ताकत बढ़ जायगी? यह भी कहा जाता है कि ज्यादा वोटर हमें वोट देंगे अगर उन्हें मालूम हो जाय कि हम बजारत अपने हाथ में लेने जा रहे हैं। यह भी मुमकिन है, अगर हम उन्हें सबजबाब दिखायें कि कानून के अनुसार हम यह करेंगे, और वह करेंगे, पर जहाँ हम इसमें नाकामयाब हुए—अपने वायदों को पूरा न कर सके—वहाँ उलटो गंगा बहते भी देर न लगेगी। और अगर हमारे वादों में कुछ दम है तो भी नाकामयाबी लाजिम है।

Sri Swami Sahajanand made the following speech in Hindi on the amendment of Sardar Sardul Singh:—

मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या कांग्रेसवादी एक दूसरे का विश्वास करते हैं? चुनाव की प्रतिज्ञा के संबन्ध में इतनी शर्तें क्यों लगाई गई हैं? वर्किंग कमेटी का प्रस्ताव बड़े ही उच्च आदर्शों से आरम्भ हुआ है, पर उसका अन्त इस तरह मिनमिनाते हुए हुआ है कि ऐसा मालूम होता है मानो कांग्रेस को फिर घसीटकर नागपुर वाली कांग्रेस तक ले जा रहे हैं।

बम्बई कांग्रेस में यह कहा गया था कि नया विधान मौजूदा विधान से भी

ज्यादा खराब है; और इस मौजूदा विधान का नागपुर की कांग्रेस में विरोध किया गया था। तब पद ग्रहण करना अब उचित कैसे बताया जा सकता है? माडरेट लोग कम से कम ईमानदार जरूर हैं। उनका जो अभिप्राय है वही वे कहते हैं। हमने फ़ैसले को पहिले जबलपुर तक उठाया, इसके बाद वर्धा और अब लखनऊ में भी कोई निर्णय नहीं हो रहा है। राष्ट्र को इस समय जरूरत ऐसे आन्दोलन की है जिससे विरोध करने की शक्ति उत्पन्न हो सके। आप सब यह जानते हैं कि यह प्रश्न बहुत दिनों से देश के सामने है और इस पर बहुत कुछ मतभेद है। यह प्रश्न महत्वपूर्ण है, केवल इसलिये नहीं कि सरकारी पद स्वीकार किया जाय या न किया जाय, बल्कि इसलिये कि इसमें और भी बहुत सी बातें हैं। कुछ लोगों का विश्वास है कि सरकारी पद ग्रहण करके अपना उद्देश्य बढ़ायेगे, पर मैं उन्हें यह याद दिलाता हूँ कि कांग्रेस नेगत १६ वर्ष देश में क्रान्तिकारी मनोवृत्ति उत्पन्न करने में बृथा ही नष्ट नहीं किये। जो छोटे मोटे फ़ायदे दिखाये जा रहे हैं उनमें मैं विश्वास नहीं करता। मैं उस कार्य को बिल्कुल नापसन्द करता हूँ जिससे वह क्रान्तिकारी मनोवृत्ति नष्ट हो। मैं ऐसे कार्य का हर तरह विरोध करूँगा। इसीलिये मैंने सरकारी पद ग्रहण करने के प्रश्न का विरोध करना ही उचित समझा है। मैं उस मनोवृत्ति को नष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। हम क्रान्ति की भावना से सोच रहे हैं या रिफार्मों की भावना से? हमें अपने विचार पर जोर देना चाहिये, और दूसरों से भी उसे मनवाना चाहिये।

हमें तो यह तय करना है कि क्या हम अपना रुख सरकार से सहयोग न करने का रखें या उस मामले पर अनिश्चित अवस्था में ही पड़े रहें। मतभेद की साफ बात यह है कि प्रीसत्यमूर्ति देश को नया विधान स्वीकृत कराना चाहते हैं (हर्षध्वनि)। मेरा विचार तो यह है कि कौन्सिल के कार्यक्रम के साथ ही कौन्सिलों के बाहर भी जनता में आन्दोलन होना चाहिये। क्रान्ति की मनोवृत्ति तो यह है कि मनुष्य हार पर हार खाता जाय फिर भी अपनी लगन न छोड़े क्योंकि अन्त में किसी न किसी दिन विजय अवश्य ही होगी। जिन लोगों ने प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में भाषण दिए हैं, उनमें कोई तर्क नहीं दिखाई देता।

The next speaker was Mr. Satyamurti, who made the following speech:—

It is time that I invite your attention to the actual wording of the resolution. The resolution is this :

“The question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the Legislatures under the constitution having been agitated in the country, the Congress in view of the uncertainties of the situation as it may develop, considers it inadvisable to commit itself to any decision at this stage on the question and leaves it to be decided at the proper time by the A. I. C. C. after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees.”

You are asked to suspend your judgment, until you are in a

better position to judge. I should like to know what possible objection can be taken to this, from any point of view. Correct judgment is far more important than premature judgment.

I would prefer a judgment to-day in favour of acceptance of office. But we are content to wait, because we know time is with us. The country is with us. Indeed, we cannot accept office, nor get an offer of office, unless the country is with us. We do not want to cripple judgment. Let the country hear both sides. There is no use indulging in mutual recriminations.

We have heard a great deal about "revolutionary mentality." I have heard this in hundreds of speeches and read it in tons of papers. But the only revolution the country has seen for the last fifteen years is the revolution conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, and conducted by those, many of whom are now members of the Working Committee.

"Acceptance of office" is a wrong term. It is no "acceptance of office," but capture of power from the enemy. We can defeat the enemy, if we capture power from them. If we capture power in all the provinces—and I venture to suggest that we can, if we fight clearly on the issue that we would accept office in the legislature, in order to fight the enemy, if we go and educate and ask the 35 millions of voters to cast their votes in favour of the Indian National Congress,—and they do so, it will be no mean achievement. All the world will understand that the claim that Mahatma Gandhi made at the second Round Table Conference, that the Congress represents the masses, is true.

I venture to suggest that today the difference between those who oppose the Working Committee's resolution and those who accept it, is a very narrow one. You want to capture the legislatures on a definite political and economic programme. I suggest, to the extent you enter the legislatures, you accept the Act and all the rules there-under. We want to take a step further. You are no more rejecting the Act than we are.

I say there is no immediate alternative programme before the country and I challenge the Socialists to place a programme before the country. In the absence of any other programme, accept mine. It may be small, but it is something. Some action is better than idleness. You say direct action is out of the question at

present. We should put our own house first in order. Cultivate contact with the masses, with the 35 millions of voters.

Some members cried: Why 35 millions only?

Mr. Satyamurthi: Ask Lord Lothian. He has enfranchised 35 millions. If possible, do enfranchise others.

I suggest, our honest object should be to sweep away the defeatist mentality among us. I ask, whether the vote of the Assembly rejecting the Ottawa Agreement did not raise our heads in the country. Why deceive ourselves? Working among the masses—to carry on election propaganda among them, is a magnificent opportunity of working among the masses.

I want to make no false expectations to be roused, no unnecessary hopes to be entertained. To the extent we can, we must try to make the unwanted Federation still-born. If we create deadlocks in the provinces, this Federation will not come. So far as the provinces are concerned, I know the Governors' safeguards are there. But when Ministers with a national outlook go into the citadel of power, I suggest, those Ministers with the national outlook ready to carry out Congress mandates, drawing Rs. 500/- per month, will certainly raise the tone of the nation. I am not a man who worships power. But, Mr. President, if today, there are fifty Congress Ministers seated at your feet, ready to carry on the Congress programme, ready to resign at your behest, will not that make the power of the masses great? Can you deny that?

Some members cried: What about Raghavendra Rao?

Mr. Satyamurthi: I belong to the honest band of Congressmen. All exceptions prove the rule. If your argument is that all will be like Raghavendra Rao, God help you. I should have far greater belief in the Congress. If you cannot get fifty honest Congressmen to be Ministers, shut your doors. I may be unworthy, but your President is not.

A great deal of play has been made by your distinguished self, Mr. President, on my humble argument of singing national songs and flying national flags. You unfurled the national flag. Why did you do that? The Union Jack has not been pulled down. But is it a wrong or inconsistent feeling? If the national flag flies in every town, over every hospital, school, college, and other institutions, and if the song of Vande Mataram is sung day after day, it

will create a new mentality in the country. Only ignorance and prejudice can deny that.

Ministers can do something even without extra money. They can at least promote khadi, swadeshi, and help the Village Industries Association. The Congress ministers will be able to remove fear from the heads of our people. The policemen, who affect to be Gods, will be our servants. They will be taught that they are servants of the people and not their masters. Is not that lesson worth teaching?

Let us follow the examples of other countries. Mr. Massani says : Where is DeValera with a revolver in his hand and where is Satyamurthi ? Mr. DeValera is in Ireland, I am in India. Ireland is committed to violence; India is committed to non-violence. That's all the difference. Fifty Congress Ministers with resignations in their pockets will be far more powerful than threats of revolvers. Revolvers will kill men, but resignations will kill systems.

There is a negative attitude in our advocating acceptance of office. We want to prevent reactionaries occupying the positions of power. I want you to remember that. The Congress has to fight many enemies. Let us not allow our enemies to be put in power to oppress us. He is a wise General, who meets his enemies in advance. I ask the Congress to follow wise Generalship. I want to capture positions of vantage and compel Governors to use safeguards. If he does not, I win. If he does, also I win. The responsibility of creating deadlocks will be on the heads of Governors and not on ours. Those of you who understand strategy, should support me in this. We do not accept the Act for a minute. We want to destroy it, at the earliest possible moment. We believe ours is the right method to do that. We want to prevent the Government of India Act from functioning, and we want to use it partially to serve our people, and mostly to prevent the mischief of others. We will not allow repression on our people, we will not allow our people to be exploited, and we shall not be responsible for deficit budgets. I believe the constitution is so mischievous, so much the work of the Devil himself, that unless we capture powers under it, it will tend to demoralise the nation. I believe there is one bonafide argument against this position. I

recognize, unless we take all necessary and reasonable precautions, there is a danger of acceptance of office proving a source of demoralisation. Let us all put our heads together, and evolve a machinery which will prevent this catastrophe. Vote to-day for the resolution to enable you to have better judgment. A wrong step to-day will mean disaster for ten years. A right step to-day will bring Swaraj nearer.

Mr. Gopika Bilas Speaking on Sardar Sardul Singh's amendment said:—

I have come here to support the amendment of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. The resolution of the Working Committee has come upon us as a surprise. As it is, it is inconsistent, impolitic and indecisive. The resolution in one breath asks us to reject the constitution, but remains silent over the acceptance or non-acceptance of office. I remember that day when the Bombay Congress condemned the White Paper in unequivocal terms. Today, when you know the constitution is worse than the White Paper, when you are seated in a peaceful atmosphere on that decorated dais, you cannot give a direct and correct lead to the whole nation, which the nation wants from you.

It is agreed that we shall reject the constitution; but shall we? There are two definite ways: one by boycotting Councils and another by creating deadlocks within the Councils. The question of boycotting councils does not arise, as it is an admitted fact that boycotting will not serve us any useful purpose. But if we create deadlocks in the councils with a policy of continuous and uniform obstruction, we can make the functioning of this constitution absolutely impossible. And this is the only effective weapon in our hands to make the constitution impossible. That is the only practical method to reject the constitution, and there can be no other.

By accepting ministry, you accept the constitution—a constitution which has been thrust upon us against the will of the whole nation, a constitution so tactfully devised to annihilate the very spirit of the nation. That constitution you are going to accept by accepting ministry. The whole key to the constitution remains in the pocket of the Governors in the shape of safeguards. You

cannot do anything. Mr. Satyamurthi says: you can carry on constructive work in the country in a far better way. I am ashamed to hear that. It is an admission of defeat on the part of Congressmen. He says he will be able to do much if he accepts ministry. Take the case of Bengal which is practically passing through ruthless repression. Let Mr. Satyamurthi accept Ministry there. Will he be able to release a single detinue or will he be able to remove the policy of repression? No. Then why should we accept office?

You say: We are here, we all workers are here to create a spirit of revolution in the country. If we accept office today, our whole mission will be frustrated. We will go to pieces. If you accept office, it will be a victory for Willingdon. He will say: I have carried on a systematic policy which has crushed the Congress movement. The Indians have accepted the constitution. It will spell disaster on the country if you accept the resolution.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke in Hindustani generally on the resolution. He did not speak for or against any amendment or the main resolution. His speech was as follows:—

विषयनिर्धारिणी समिति और खुले अधिवेशन में जो कुछ विवाद हुआ है उसे सुनकर मुझे दुःख हुआ है। मेरे जो भाव हैं, उन्हें मैं इस अवसर पर कहना चाहता हूँ, विशेषकर साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय सम्बन्धी बंगाल वाले संशोधन पर मैं अपने विचार प्रकट करूँगा। पूरे ५० वर्षों तक कांग्रेस अनिवार्य शिक्षा, कृषि संबंधी शिक्षा और वैंकों संबंधी विकास की माँग उपस्थित करती रही; परन्तु आज दिन इन सब बातों की कोई भी चर्चा नहीं सुनाई देती और केवल झंडा फहराने भर की बात दिखाई देती है। यदि हम अपने में काफ़ी शक्ति विकसित कर लें तो क्या हमारा झंडा अपने आप ही ऊँचा न उठ जायगा? मैं यह जानता हूँ कि वर्किंग कमेटी ने बहुत परामर्श और सोचविचार के बाद अपना यह प्रस्ताव तैयार किया है परन्तु मेरी राय में तो जब हम शासन-विधान को अस्वीकृत करने का निर्णय करते हैं तो हम मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते। मैं तो यह देखता हूँ कि देश की दशा इस समय भी वैसी ही शोचनीय है जैसी कि ५० वर्ष पूर्व थी और मुझे तो यह सब देख कर इतना अधिक क्लेश होता है कि मेरी इच्छा यह दृश्य देखने की अपेक्षा मर जाने की होती है। हिन्दुस्तान अपने सभी मामलों में वही आज्ञादी चाहता है जो इंग्लैंड को अपने वहाँ प्राप्त है। हिन्दुस्तान में बेकारी की जो अवस्था है वैसी संसार के किसी भी अन्य भाग में नहीं है। हमें इंग्लैंड को यह वतला देना चाहिये कि नया शासन-सुधार-सम्बन्धी एक्ट हमें मान्य नहीं है। इस देश में ब्रिटिश शासन के प्रारंभ होने से अब तक कभी भी हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत और स्थिति इतनी नीचे नहीं गिराई गई

जितनी कि नये विधान के पास होने से। यह कानून इस ढंग से बनाया गया है कि हिन्दुस्तानी लोगों को अपने देशवासियों का भाग्य सुधारने की कोई आजादी ही न रहे और हमारी स्थिति तो प्रचलित विधान की अपेक्षा भी नये विधान के अन्तर्गत अधिक सराव हो जायगी। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह नहीं है कि व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं का हम वायकाट कर दें परन्तु हमें नये विधान को संशोधित कराने के अपने प्रयत्नों को जारी रखना चाहिये।

मेरे कहने का यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि स्वाधीनता की प्राप्ति के लिये कोई खास उपाय काम में लाया ही न जाय, परन्तु मेरी समझ में जब तक देश इस बात के लिये तैयार न हो जाय, क्रांतिवादी उपायों को काम में लाना बड़े अपराध की बात होगी। इस समय आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम एक होकर विरोधियों का सामना करें, जिसमें सरकार नये विधान को बदलने के लिये मजबूर हो जाय।

साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय के द्वारा देश में साम्प्रदायिक मनमुटाव और भी बढ़ गया है। यह कौन कहता है कि यह प्रश्न अब निर्जीव हो गया है। यह तो दिन प्रति दिन देश में विष फैलाता जा रहा है। सरकार ने हमें स्वराज्य तो दिया नहीं है किन्तु उसने साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय दे दिया है। श्री जिन्ना और सर वज्जीरहसन ने भी एकता की अपील की है। मैं तो यह विश्वास करता हूँ कि जब तक साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय मौजूद रहेगा, स्वराज्य कभी भी न हो सकेगा। मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस के डेलीगेट मूल प्रस्ताव को बंगाल वालों के साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय सम्बन्धी संशोधन के अनुसार संशोधित कर दें। मैंने सरकार से कभी भी साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय को बदल देने के लिये नहीं कहा है। मैं तो बराबर ही आगस में समझौता करने का प्रयत्न कर रहा हूँ। इसके बाद देश के विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों में एकता करने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिये और यह हो जाने पर ही वायसराय महात्मा गांधी तथा पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू को बुला कर उनसे समझौता कर लेने के लिये कहेंगे।

बंगाल में भावना यह है कि नया विधान केवल इसलिये बनाया गया है कि बंगाल और पंजाब में साम्प्रदायिक भेदभाव बने रहें और राष्ट्रीयता कुचल दी जाय। इसलिये बंगाल की जनता इस विधान को पूर्ण रूप से अस्वीकार करना चाहती है। यदि बाधाएँ डालने के बाद कार्य बन्द हो गया, और रेगूलेशन के अनुसार आप और अन्य मंत्री जेलों में बन्द कर दिये गये तो आप और अन्य मंत्री लोग क्या करेंगे? बंगाल में कोई राष्ट्रवादी मंत्री पद ग्रहण करने के पक्ष में नहीं है। मैं यह नहीं समझ सका कि वे विधान भंग कैसे करेंगे और कौंसिल में काम करने में कान्ति का वेग कैसे आगे बढ़ेगा, और साम्प्रदायिक विष फैलने से कैसे रुकेगा। मैं इस बात पर सहमत हूँ कि कौंसिलों के द्वारा रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम आगे बढ़ाया जा सकता है। बर्किंग कमेटी के समझौते के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन वे दोनों ही दल वाले कर सकते हैं, जो सरकारी पद ग्रहण करना चाहते और जो नहीं करना चाहते हैं।

Mr. M. Annapurniah made the following speech:—

There is an impression that South India is synonymous with acceptance of office. Already three speakers from the South have

spoken in favour of office-acceptance, but I stand here today to oppose the same.

Acharya Kripalani has just said that the Working Committee only took cautious steps in shelving the question. I submit, this is not caution, but dangerous timidity and indecision. This question has been agitated in the country for nearly a year now, and the Working Committee had promised the country that a decision would be taken at Lucknow. And yet today we are not going to take any decision. We are simply postponing it once more. It is this indecision on the part of the Working Committee that has been responsible for the deterioration of the morale in the Congress. If the Working Committee had given a bold lead some months ago, there would have been no bitter controversy about it today. I therefore, lay the blame for this inaction in the country at the door of the Working Committee.

The argument advanced by the supporters of office-acceptance is this : They want to prevent reactionaries from accepting positions of vantage, from accepting ministerships. I suggest a simple way of preventing the same. We go to the councils to prevent reactionaries entering the councils. Acceptance of office means this : We presume that we would be in a majority. If we get a majority, we not only refuse to accept ministry ourselves, we also refuse to allow reactionaries to get the ministry, because the moment they accept ministry we will vote it down. Therefore we need not wait till we get an opportunity of creating deadlocks after we accept ministry. I cannot wait for such long time for wrecking the constitution. Acceptance of office will also mean acceptance of the constitution and not its rejection to which the Congress is definitely committed. Therefore, all talk of wrecking the constitution while promising to hoist national flags and introduce national songs is contrary to the spirit of the resolution. Mr. Satyamurthi while supporting the resolution really spoke against it. Mr. Satyamurthi's argument does not, therefore, deserve any more answer.

Another point has been raised by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. I do not understand Hindi, therefore, I could not follow his speech. He said that in the course of 8 or 9 months an inter-

national situation might develop which might necessitate our accepting office. If, as far as I can see, any such situation is to develop, it would be a World War that might break out, and that will be a great opportunity for pushing our fight and putting before the country a dynamic programme. Further more, formerly also when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru started the Swaraj Party and later on the Congress at Cawnpore accepted Council-entry, it was done definitely on the issue of voting down office. The Congress Assembly Elections were fought on the issue of rejection of White Paper. Today the resolution definitely says that the Government of India Act is in many respects worse than the White Paper. The Congress after the deliberation voted down acceptance of office long ago. With these words I commend the amendment of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar for your acceptance.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel made the following speech in Hindustani in favour of the Working Committee's resolution:—

मुझे खेद है कि साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय के मामले पर मुझे मालवीयजी का विरोध करना पड़ रहा है। बंगाल के प्रतिनिधियों ने साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय के विषय पर संशोधन उपस्थित किया है, परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि इस संशोधन से बंगालवाले प्रतिनिधियों के ध्येय को कोई भी लाभ न पहुँचेगा, किन्तु इसके विपरीत साम्प्रदायिक स्थिति और भी बिगड़ जायगी। यदि हम साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय का विरोध करना चाहेंगे तो हमें सरकार और मुसलमानों की सम्मिलित शक्ति के साथ युद्ध करना होगा और इस प्रकार वर्ष भर के अन्दर जो वातावरण तैयार हो पाया है वह नष्ट हो जायगा। मंत्री समझ में तो यह समस्या इसी प्रकार सुलभ सकती है कि या तो हम उस सरकार को ही हटावें जिसने इस साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय को दिया है या हम अपने आपस में ही सर्वसम्मत समझौता कर लें। मुझे तो इस बात पर आश्चर्य हो रहा है कि सोशलिस्ट लोग, जो क्रान्ति की चर्चा करते हैं और वर्किंग कमेटी पर यह दोष लगाते हैं कि वह कोई निश्चित निर्णय नहीं कर रही है स्वयं इस मामले पर तटस्थता का रुख बनाये हुये हैं। क्या इस रुख से हमारे ध्येय को लाभ पहुँचेगा अथवा वह बोट प्राप्त करने का ही ढंगमात्र है।

मूल प्रस्ताव के संबन्ध में मैं इस बात का विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि वर्किंग कमेटी के सदस्य न तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से कांसिल-प्रवेश में और न मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करने से ही दिलचस्पी रखते हैं। इन लोगों ने अपना संसारी जीवन इसीलिये नष्ट किया है कि इनके अन्दर क्रान्ति की आग जल रही थी। क्या इस कोटि के व्यक्ति स्वयं अपने को धोखा दे रहे हैं? मैं तथा बाबू राजेन्द्रप्रसाद तो देहार्ता लोग हैं और हम लोग नष्ट करने की बातें नहीं चाहते हैं। जब हम देखेंगे कि हममें बल नहीं रहा है तो हम जंगलों में चले जायेंगे, परन्तु हम

मनुष्य हार पर हार खाता जाय क्योंकि अन्त में किसी न किसी दिन विजय अवश्य ही होगी।

श्रीसत्यभूमिं साढ़े तीन करोड़ वोटों से अपील करना चाहते हैं। केवल साढ़े तीन करोड़ ही क्यों? ३५ करोड़ भारतीय जनता से अपील क्यों नहीं करते? अपने प्रतिष्ठित मनुष्यों के लिये इसके सिवाय और कोई प्रोप्राय नहीं है कि वे इस नये विधान को अस्वीकार करें, और देश की आम जनता को स्वतन्त्रता के लिये तैयार करें—केवल स्वतन्त्रता का तत्व नहीं, बल्कि पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता के लिये, जिसमें अंग्रेजों से सम्बन्ध ही न रह जाय। यदि मौजूदा वर्किंग कमेटी कोई प्रोप्राय नहीं दे सकती तो वह अपना पद त्याग कर हट जाय।

Thereafter Babu Rajendra Prasad replied to the debate:—

मेरे भाषण को मिलाकर इस प्रश्न पर कुल २० वक्ताओं के भाषण हुए हैं। साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय की आलोचना सबसे तीखे और जोरदार ढंग से कांग्रेस ने ही की है। कांग्रेस इस निर्णय को मंजूर नहीं करती है किन्तु यह उसके ऊपर लाद दिया गया है। कांग्रेस के पिछले अधिवेशन के समय से अब तक ऐसी कोई भी बात नहीं हुई है जिसे देखते हुये कांग्रेस साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय के सम्बन्ध में अपने मत को बदल दे। आपस में समझौता करने के लिये प्रयत्न किया गया किन्तु उसमें सफलता नहीं मिली है। अब फिर से इस ओर प्रयत्न किया जायगा। परन्तु अभी यह स्पष्ट नहीं है कि यह किस ढंग और किस स्वरूप का होगा। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि इस प्रश्न पर बम्बई में कांग्रेस ने जो रुख रक्खा था, उसे बदल कर फिर से समझौते के मार्ग में और नई बाधाओं उपस्थित की जायँ। अन्य संशोधनों के सम्बन्ध में मेरा कहना यह है कि यदि यह भार अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी पर छोड़ दिया जाय कि वह सरकारी पद स्वीकार करने अथवा न करने का निर्णय करे तो उसी संस्था के निर्णय पर हमें यह प्रश्न भी छोड़ देना चाहिये कि ऐसा निर्णय करने के लिये उपयुक्त समय कौन सा है।

मैं उन कांग्रेसमैनों में से नहीं हूँ जो यह समझते हैं कि किसी भी परिस्थिति में हमें मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार न करना चाहिए। मैं तो इस बात पर विश्वास करता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की भी परिस्थिति पैदा हो सकती है जब सरकारी मंत्री बनकर भी हम स्वराज्य की प्राप्ति में सहायता पहुँचायें। यह किसी को भी न समझ लेना चाहिए कि कांग्रेसमैन मंत्रिपद स्वीकार करके सरकार की मर्जी के अनुसार नए विधान को चलाने लगेंगे। देश की आम जनता को कांग्रेस पर पूरा भरोसा है। अतः यदि अभी हम इस प्रश्न पर कोई निर्णय कर लें और वह अन्त में जाकर गलत प्रमाणित हो तो हमसे कांग्रेस के प्रति जनता के विश्वास को धक्का पहुँचेगा। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूँ कि देशवासी भयभीत और कायर हो गए हैं या उनमें स्वराज्य-प्राप्ति की आकांक्षा घट गई है। इस वक्त हममें केवल कमी यह आ गई है कि हम कुछ देर तक मुस्ताना चाहते हैं। हमें साहस बनाए रखना चाहिए और चाहे हम मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करें अथवा न करें हमें बराबर आगे बढ़ते रहना चाहिए। स्वराज्य की जो लौ हमारे अन्दर जल रही है वह स्वतन्त्रता की प्राप्ति के बिना कदापि नहीं

बुझ सकती (हर्षध्वनि) । मेरा विश्वास तो यह है कि किसी भी कांग्रेसमैन में स्वतन्त्रता की प्राप्ति के लिये एक ही उत्सुकता और आकांक्षा है ।

मैं यह सुनता रहा हूँ कि बर्किङ्ग कमेटी के प्रस्ताव ने सभी बातें सामने नहीं रखी हैं और लोगों को धोखा दिया है । परन्तु यह बात ठीक नहीं है । हम लोगों ने वास्तव में केवल देश के हित का ध्यान रख कर ही ऐसा निर्णय किया है और यदि हमारी नीयत पर सन्देह किया जाता है तो इस प्रकार का सन्देह करनेवाले साथियों के बीच में कोई भी आत्म-सम्मान रखनेवाला व्यक्ति काम नहीं कर सकता । मतभेद के लिए तो हर जगह पर स्थान है परन्तु हम यह तो कहते ही नहीं हैं कि हम मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार ही न करेंगे और इन पदों को स्वीकार करते हुए भी हमारी क्रान्ति की भावना को धक्का न पहुँचेगा । जिन सहयोगियों के साथ आपने काम किया है उनका विश्वास भी तो आपको करना चाहिए । यदि हम थोड़े से प्रलोभन को देखकर भी गिर सकते हैं तो हम अधिक आगे बढ़ने के योग्य भी नहीं हैं । आप स्वाधीनता के अधिक निकट नहीं पहुँच सकते यदि आप यह समझते हैं कि कांग्रेसमैन मंत्रि-पद स्वीकार करके उस आदर्श को भूल जायेंगे, जिसके लिए उन्होंने इतने कष्ट सहे हैं । आप अपने में तथा अपने देश में विश्वास रखिए और बर्किङ्ग कमेटी के इस प्रस्ताव को पास कर दीजिए ।

The amendments were then put to vote one by one and declared lost while the main resolution was carried. The amendment of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveshar was defeated by roughly 400 votes against 250. The house was divided on the second amendment moved by Mr. Sampurnanand which was rejected by 487 votes against 255. The third and fourth amendments moved by Seth Govind Das and Mr. Dhires Chakraverty respectively were lost by overwhelming majorities. The main resolution was adopted after which the Congress adjourned at 1 a. m. to reassemble at 5-30 p. m. the next day.

Open Session 14-4-56.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress met again at 5-30 p. m. on April 14. The proceedings opened by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru moving from the chair the following resolution relating to Indians Abroad:—

10. INDIANS ABROAD.

"This Congress reiterates its sympathy for the Indian settlers in South Africa, East Africa, Zanzibar, and the Fiji Islands and deplores the continuing deterioration in their status and the privation of personal and property rights in spite of past agreements and declarations of Local and British Governments and assures them of its readiness to take such action as may be within its power to ameliorate their condition."

Panditji explained the resolution in Hindi as follows:—

"यह कांग्रेस दक्षिणी अफ्रीका, पूर्वीय अफ्रीका, जंजीबार और फिजी द्वीप के भारतीय प्रवासियों के साथ पुनः सहानुभूति प्रकट करती है और दुःख प्रकट करती है कि स्थानीय तथैव ब्रिटिश सरकारों के प्रतिज्ञावद्ध होते हुए भी उनके अधिकारों में कमी की जा रही है और उनके जायदादी अधिकार भी छीने जा रहे हैं, और उन्हें आरवासन दिलाती है कि जितना उसके सामर्थ्य में होगा उनकी दशा सुधारने का प्रयत्न करेगी।"

President: "वास्तव में इसके ऊपर श्रीभवानीदयालजी बोलने वाले थे लेकिन समय वचाने के लिये मैंने इसे पेश कर दिया। वह भी मेरे बाद बोलेंगे। प्रवासी भाइयों को वास्तविक सहायता पहुँचाने का सच्चा उपाय यही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लिये आजादी हासिल की जाय। इस प्रस्ताव में प्रवासी भाइयों के सम्बन्ध में कोई बात विस्तार के साथ नहीं कही गई है क्योंकि यदि विस्तार की ओर ध्यान दिया जाय तो बहुत कुछ कहने को बाकी है।"

Swami Bhawani Dayal from South Africa was then called upon to speak on the resolution. He made the following speech in Hindustani:—

इस प्रस्ताव में सब से पहिले दक्षिणी अफ्रीका का उल्लेख है, जहाँ पर गान्धी जी ने अपने जीवन के २१ वर्ष बिताये हैं। दक्षिणी अफ्रीका की यूनियन सरकार के अन्तर्गत भारतवासियों को बड़े खतरे का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में कानपुर वाले कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में वहाँ से एक डेपूटेशन आया था और हिन्दुस्तान से दवाव पड़ने पर वहाँ भारतीयों को हानि पहुँचानेवाले एक कानून का पास होना रुक गया। इसके बाद क्रेपटाउन का समझौता हुआ। किन्तु अब यह समझौता भी तोड़ दिया गया है। अब एशियाटिक लैंड टेन्वोर का ध्येय यह है कि समस्त हिन्दुस्तानी एक अलग वस्ती बना कर रहें। यह क्या है? जैसे हम यहाँ

हिन्दुस्तान में देखते हैं कि हरिजनों की वस्तियाँ अलग बसाई जाती हैं, वैसे ही यह भी एक तरह से एक हरिजन उपनिवेश बसाना है। इस कानून के अनुसार यदि नगर में किसी भी हिन्दुस्तानी का घर मैला पाया जायगा तो म्यूनिसिपैलिटी सभी मकानों को ज्वत् कर लेगी। हमें तो यही दिखाई देता है कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान आजाद न हो जायगा तब तक प्रवासी भारतीय अपनी स्थिति में उन्नति नहीं कर सकते। परन्तु यह भी स्पष्ट है कि हम ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के अन्दर अपने नागरिक अधिकारों के लिये युद्ध करते ही रहें। पूर्वीय अफ्रीका और जंजीवार में भारतीय लोग पीड़ित हैं और फीजी में तो हमारे लिये यह लज्जा की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तानी लोगों ने ही अपने प्रतिनिधि चुनने के बदले उनके नामजद किये जाने का समर्थन किया है।

भारतीयों को और अधिक भूमि मिलने सम्बन्धी फ्लीटमैन कमीशन की सिफारिशों को यदि दक्षिणी अफ्रीका की सरकार मंजूर नहीं करती तो सम्भव है कि दो वर्ष पूर्व किये गये प्रस्ताव के अनुसार वहाँ के हिन्दुस्तानियों को सत्याग्रह का उपाय काम में लाना पड़े। दक्षिणी अफ्रीका के भारतीय कांग्रेस से पथप्रदर्शन और सहायता की आशा करते हैं। कांग्रेस को यह भूलना न चाहिये कि २५ लाख प्रवासी भारतीय उससे सहायता की आशा करते हैं।

The resolution was passed.

Next Sri Purushottam Das Tandon moved the following resolution regarding "Congress and mass contacts" :--

11 CONGRESS AND MASS CONTACTS

"The Congress is of opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organization, so that they may take greater share in the shaping of Congress policy and in its activities, and the organization might become even more responsive to their needs and desires. With a view to this, and further to bring about closer cooperation with other organizations, of peasants workers and others, which aim at the freedom of the Indian people and to make the Congress a joint front of all the anti-imperialist elements in the country, this Congress appoints a committee consisting of Sriyuts Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram and Jayprakash Narayan to make recommendations in this behalf including proposals for such amendment of the constitution as may be considered necessary. The Committee shall report to the A. I. C. C. through the Working Committee by the end of July 1936 and its report shall be then circulated to provincial and district committees for opinion. The final recommendations of the A. I. C. C. on the report shall be placed before the next session of the Congress."

अर्थात् 'इस कांग्रेस की राय है कि कांग्रेस और देश की साधारण जनता के बीच घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क पैदा हो जिससे जनता कांग्रेस की नीति बनाने में अधिक भाग ले सके और कांग्रेस उनकी आवश्यकताओं और आकांक्षाओं की अधिक पूर्ति कर सके। इस कार्य के निमित्त और ऐसी दूसरी संस्थाओं से सम्पर्क बढ़ाने के लिये जो किमान-मजदूरी इत्यादि की हैं जो कि भारतीयों के लिये स्वतन्त्रता के लिये लड़ रही हैं और जिनसे कांग्रेस साम्राज्यवादियों के विरुद्ध मुकाबले की वस्तु हो जाय, यह कांग्रेस श्रीयुत राजेन्द्रप्रसाद, श्रीयुत जैरामदास दौलतराम और श्रीयुत जय-प्रकाश नारायण की एक कमेटी नियत करती है जो इस कार्य की सिद्धि के लिये अपनी रिपोर्टें दें और यदि आवश्यक हो तो विधान में भी त्वदीली कर दें। इस कमेटी को जौलाई १९३६ के अन्त तक अपनी रिपोर्ट कार्य-कारिणी समिति के जरिये अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के पास भेजनी पड़ेगी और तत्परचान् यह रिपोर्ट प्रान्तीय और जिला कमेटियों के पास मत प्रगट करने के लिये भेज दी जायगी। इस पर अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी जो अंतिम निर्णय करेगी वह आगामी कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के सामने पेश किया जायगा।'

The mover made the following speech in Hindustani in support of the resolution :—

इस प्रस्ताव से यह प्रकट है कि यदि कांग्रेस को सजीव बनकर रहना है तो उसे समय के अनुकूल चलना चाहिये। कांग्रेस सदैव ही देश में लोकप्रिय रही है परन्तु १९२० तक सच्चाई के साथ यह नहीं कहा जा सकता था कि वह वास्तव में जन-साधारण की प्रतिनिधि है। उस समय तक कांग्रेसी नेता केवल दिमागी योग्यता और बुद्धिमत्ता के व्यक्ति होते थे जिन्हें अपनी योरोपीय पोशाक तथा अंग्रेजी के भाषणों का गर्व होता था। आज दिन अधिकांश भाषण हिन्दुस्तानी में होते हैं और कांग्रेस क्रमशः देश की साधारण जनता के अधिक घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क में आ रही है। जब से कांग्रेस ने जनवर्ग में अपना संदेश पहुँचाना शुरू किया है, सरकार ने भी अपना प्रामीण कार्यक्रम प्रारम्भ कर दिया है और अन्य विभिन्न राजनीतिक दल भी उसी ओर झुक रहे हैं। किन्तु अब भी प्रामीण संगठन के मामले में कांग्रेस को बहुत कुछ काम करना बाकी है। सरकार गाँवों में कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध गलत प्रचार कर रही है। कांग्रेसी नेताओं के भाषणों को विस्तृत करके उनका कांग्रेस-विरोधी कार्यों के लिये उपयोग किया जा रहा है। मैं जनवर्ग की इस इच्छा का स्वागत करता हूँ कि वे कांग्रेस में अपना प्रतिनिधित्व चाहते हैं। इस प्रस्ताव का ध्येय देश के जनवर्ग को संगठित करना है।

भारत का सबसे बड़ा मसला किसानों की गरीबी और बेकारी का है जो बहुत पुरानी पड़ गई है। घटनाओं की विचित्रता ने पिछली कई पुरतों से भारत की उन्नति को रोक रक्खा है। जो राजनीतिक और आर्थिक पोशाक इस वक्त वह पहने हुये है, वह उसके अनुकूल नहीं रह गई है। वह पुरानी पड़ गई है और फट गई है। यह हालत ज्यादा दिनों तक नहीं रह सकती। इसके साथ-साथ हम अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पूँजीवाद के भी अंग बन गये हैं, इससे हमें उन तकलीफों और दिक्कों का भी सामना करना पड़ना है जो पूँजीवाद की गिरती हुई हालत के वक्त पैदा हो रही है।

इन प्रारम्भिक प्रेरणाओं और दुनिया के संघर्षों का क्या असर भारत पर पड़ेगा और यहाँ का क्या हाल होगा, कौन कह सकता है ? फिर भी हम पूरे इतमीनान के साथ इतना कह सकते हैं कि मौजूदा ढाँचे के दिन अब करीब आ गये हैं और हमारा कर्ज है कि हम अपने आदर्श के अनुरूप अपना भविष्य बनाने की कोशिश करें ।

Acharya Kripalani formally seconded the resolution. Then Sri Sampurnanand moved the following amendment : —

“After the words “considered necessary” add “so as to provide inter alia for the direct representation of organized peasants and workers.”

In support of the amendment he said : —

एक बड़ी आवश्यकता इस समय इस बात को है कि देहातों में रहने वाले लोगों का नैतिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक अर्थान् सभी ढंग से सुधार हो । इनका जीवन एक बँधे हुये ढंग का और भार-स्वरूप है और स्वस्थ वातावरण तथा अच्छे ढंग की रहनसहन न होने के कारण इनकी समस्त शक्ति क्षीण होती जा रही है । क्या हमारा यह कर्तव्य नहीं है कि हम इनको इस हीन अवस्था से उबारें ? किन्तु प्रश्न यह है कि गाँवों में रहने वाले लोगों की दशा सुधारने के लिये क्या उपाय किया जाय ।

सरकार अपने शासन-प्रबन्ध पर ही इतना धन व्यय कर देती है कि उससे हम यह आशा नहीं कर सकते कि कभी भी वह इस काम के लिये पर्याप्त धन व्यय कर सकेगी । सरकार को इस बात के लिये खेद होना चाहिये कि जिन लोगों से धन वसूल करके वह अपने खजानों को भरती है उन्हीं लोगों की अत्यन्त आवश्यक सुविधाओं के लिये भी वह कुछ नहीं करती है । लगभग दो शताब्दियों तक देश में शासन करने के बाद भी ब्रिटिश सरकार जनसाधारण की आशिक्षा को दूर नहीं कर सकी है जो किसी भी दिशा में उन्नति के मार्ग में बाधक सिद्ध होती है । शिक्षा की तो बात ही जानि दीजिये, सरकार ने जीवनरक्षा के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक बातों, सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य और डाक्टरी सहायता की ओर भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है । जनता अपनी इस उपेक्षापूर्ण अवस्था का अनुभव कर रही है और यह समझ रही है कि उसकी आवश्यकताओं की ओर कितनी लापरवाही दिखाई जाती है । उसके प्रति सरकार का जो व्यवहार है उसे देख कर वह यह धारणा बनाने के लिये मजबूर हो रही है कि पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता के बिना वह समृद्धिवाण नहीं हो सकेगी ।

देश को इन थोड़े से शिक्षित लोगों के प्रयत्न से ही नहीं किन्तु किसानों और मजदूरों की सहायता से ही आजादी प्राप्त होगी । अतः हमें इन लोगों को कांग्रेस के दायर के अन्दर लाना चाहिये । इस वर्ग के कांग्रेस में आने से कांग्रेस इस बात के लिये मजबूर हो जायगी कि वह किसानों और मजदूरों की दशा का सुधार करे ।

Sri Vishambhar Dayal Tripathi supported the amendment and made the following speech :—

केवल यह कहकर कि कांग्रेस की नीति निर्धारित करने में अधिक

मान मिले हम लोग इस प्रश्न को टाले दे रहे हैं। कांग्रेस का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह गाँववासियों में जायसि पैदाने के लिये व्यापक प्रचार करे। उन्हें यह कतलाने की आवश्यकता है कि अपने में आत्मसम्मान और आत्मनिर्भरता के मुख्य पैदा करने से वे स्वयं अपनी सहायता कर सकते हैं। उनको यह ज्ञान भी जरूरी है कि उनके अधिकार क्या हैं और उनके पाने पर किस प्रकार जोर दिया जाय जिसमें वे सरकारी अधिकारों के मनमाने कर्षों को चुपचाप सहन न करते जायें। सरकार स्वयं एक प्रचार विभाग (Publicity Dept.) खोले हुये है परन्तु उससे यह आशय करना व्यर्थ है कि वह इस प्रकार के कर्षों की ओर ध्यान देगी। यह तो केवल नौकरशाही का दोस्त पीटना भर जानता है। यह हमारा काम है कि हम गाँव में रहने वाले लोगों में जाकर उनके लाभ और उन्नति के लिये प्रयत्न करें।

हमें यह अच्छी तरह समझ लेना चाहिये कि हम स्वराज्य की फ़ौज ज़ीं वक्त तैयार कर सकते हैं जबकि मजदूर और किसान कांग्रेस के साथ हो। बालू लोगों से जिनकी आवश्यकता कांग्रेस में बहुत संख्या है हमें ज़्यादा उम्मीद नहीं करनी चाहिये। स्वराज्य की लड़ाई देहरां में लड़नी है और यह तभी हो सकता है जबकि किसान और मजदूर हज़ारों की संख्या में कांग्रेस में अपना प्रतिनिधित्व प्राप्त कर लें।

Sri Jairamdas Daulatram then spoke supporting the resolution:—

गाँववासी ने जनसाधारण में स्वराज्य शब्द का प्रचार कर दिया है और कांग्रेस में देश के सभी वर्गों का प्रतिनिधित्व मौजूद है। यदि उसे हम विभिन्न वर्गों के संगठनों की प्रतिनिधि संस्था बनायेंगे तो उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि विभिन्न वर्गों के हितों में संघर्ष पैदा होगा तथा उसकी शक्ति घटेगी।

किसानों का कोई भी वाक्यवदा संगठन मौजूद नहीं है और संभव है कि वह प्रश्न इस तरह से हल किया जा सके कि गाँवों और तहसीलों की कांग्रेस-कमेटियों के सम्बन्ध में हम यह लक्ष्य भी बना दें कि उसके लगभग 50 प्रतिशत सदस्य किसान हों। इस प्रकार यह निश्चित हो जायगा कि कांग्रेस के संगठन में किसान-मजदूरों का पर्याप्त प्रतिनिधित्व हो।

Swami Sahjanand supported Sri Sampurnanand's amendment in the following words:—

किसान लोग स्वराज्य जैसे शब्दों को नहीं समझते, केवल खेती, भूमि और रोबी जैसे प्रश्नों को जानते हैं और राजनीतिक मामले उनकी समझ से बाहर हैं। बिहार में तो किसान लोग 100 रु० में से 10 रु० ज़मींदारों को दे देते हैं और 10 रु० सरकार को देते हैं, और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उनके पास कुछ नहीं बचता। ज़मींदारी की प्रथा ही समस्त कष्टों की जड़ है और इस पर मैं कोई समझौता करने को तैयार नहीं हूँ। अब वह समय आ गया है कि किसान लोग अपने अधिकारों के लिये लड़ें।

Sri Purushottamdas Tandon then replied to the debate:—

कांग्रेस विभिन्न संस्थाओं की संघटित संस्था नहीं है और उसके अधिकांश सदस्य किसान हैं। यदि हम उसे विभिन्न वर्गों की एक संस्था बना देंगे तो उसके

राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप को धक्का पहुँचेगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसान लोग जितनी ही अधिक संख्या में आवें, उनका स्वागत किया जायगा और यदि हम किसी को बाहर रखने का प्रयत्न करें, तो हम अपने प्रति और कांग्रेस के प्रति भूटे होंगे।

इस आरोप में कोई सच्चाई नहीं है कि कांग्रेस किसानों को दूर रखना चाहती है। पर यदि किसान लोग ऐसा समझते हैं तो यह उनका कर्तव्य है कि वे इस तरह की भावनाओं का कारण उपस्थित करें। उन्हें यह बात स्मरण रखनी चाहिये कि जनसंख्या के अनुपात के अनुसार प्रतिनिधित्व का सिद्धान्त विधान में पिछले १५ वर्ष से है। मैं शायद अन्य लोगों की अपेक्षा अधिक किसान हूँ, और मैं यह नहीं समझता कि सरकार या कांग्रेस के किसी प्रयत्न से किसान का दमन हो सकता है।

“The resolution was put to vote by the President and declared carried by an overwhelming majority.

Sri Bhulabhai Desai next moved the resolution relating to “Agrarian programme.” In doing so Mr. Desai said :—

Mr. President, after many years I have great pleasure in standing before my fellow delegates to the Indian National Congress, and I value the privilege particularly because I have been asked to move a resolution which deals with the biggest problem with which India has been ever faced. The resolution runs as follows :—

12. AGRARIAN PROGRAMME.

“This Congress is of opinion that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce. The final solution of this problem inevitably involves the removal of British imperialistic exploitation, a thorough change of the land tenure and revenue system and a recognition by the State of its duty to provide work for the rural unemployed masses.

“In view, however, of the fact that agrarian conditions and land tenure and revenue systems differ in the various Provinces, it is desirable to consult the Provincial Congress Committees in the drawing up of a full All India Agrarian Programme as well as a programme for each Province. This Congress, therefore, calls upon each Provincial Congress Committee to make recommendations in detail to the Working Committee by the 31st August, 1936, for

being considered and placed before the All India Congress Committee having particular regard to the following matters :—

1. Freedom of organization of agricultural labourers and peasants.
2. Safeguarding of the interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between the State and themselves.
3. Just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue.
4. Emancipation of the peasants from feudal and semi-feudal levies.
5. Substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands.
6. A just allotment of the State expenditure for the social, economic and cultural amenities of villages.
7. Protection against harassing restrictions on the utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs.
8. Freedom from oppression and harassment at the hands of Govt. officials and landlords.
9. Fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment."

I confess it would be hardly possible, even if I have the time, to do justice to the numerous items which I have read out before you. I shall, therefore, occupy the time at my disposal in the statement of the important aspect of the problem.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that so far as the country is concerned, I am one of those who stand for its self-sufficiency in the realm of economic thought and action. There is nothing that we cannot produce by way of natural product or finished product for the consumption of the people of the land even if they were multiplied 4 or 5 times of the present number.

It should be remembered that so far as factory labour in this country is concerned, it is at its best computation about a million or fifteen lakhs today. Even if it were increased to the limits to which industrial expansion could allow, — and for that proposition I stand in agreement with others, for more and more industrialisation of the country so that we could produce enough not to

necessitate purchase of finished products from other countries—at its best computation about a million more could be employed in the expansion of our industrial produce. You have scope for expansion in textile, you have scope for expansion in iron and steel, you have scope for expansion in other industries, and I shall not tire out your patience with the enumeration of other industries in which employment to the labour of India could be given. Still the greatest problem of the country must necessarily be—having regard to the proportion of the population that live by agriculture to the rest of the employed in factories and workshops—and it is true to say that the main and biggest problem is the agrarian question. Apart from reconstruction of society, with which I do not at present deal—pending any such great consummation, it is our duty not to stop short of doing whatever we can do, whatever steps we can take for the amelioration of the peasants, while working to the best of our energy for the political freedom in the first instance. It is impossible to divide the life of people into compartments, political, economic, social, religious and other compartments. Today all those who divide life in these divisions, only divert the attention of people from the political and economic problems towards social and religious and other favourite pastimes. Time has arrived when all the political power should be used solely for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the agriculturists. It is well-known that at the best computation the average income of an Indian does not exceed Rs. 60 to Rs. 72 per year. You can easily imagine that with this income the average Indian perhaps cannot get even one square meal. Human life now requires more humane treatment. That, I consider, is a correct attitude. Conditions have changed and even in the capitalist state of society, labour is no longer considered as a commodity. It is re-regarded as a human element, which requires sufficient food, clothing shelter and education. We are living under conditions which are below the standard of human living. Therefore, the agrarian problem should now engage the best attention of Indian workers and statesmen. It is time that we should discuss the real problem of the land. The biggest and most difficult of solutions of the problems today is agrarian poverty and agrarian indebtedness. Therefore, I ask you to carry this resolution.

Dr. Syed Mahmud made the following speech in Hindustani in support of the resolution:—

यह बड़े भान्य की बात है कि मत्र से महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव के संबन्ध में वकिंग कमेटी तथा सोशलिस्टों में एकता है। इस प्रस्ताव में जो बातें कही गई हैं उनपर आज से ५० वर्ष पूर्व अमल किया जाना चाहिये था। अब वह समय आ गया है जब कि देश अपनी सभी राजनीतिक शक्तियाँ गाँवों में रहने वाले लोगों की रहन-महन के ढंग को ऊँचा करने में लगावे। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की औसत वार्षिक आमदनी ६० और ७२ ६० के बीचमें है और समाज के वर्तमान पूंजीवादी संगठन के ममयांभी यह स्वीकार किया जा चुका है कि मजदूरों के प्रति अधिक मनुष्योचित व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिये और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को भोजन, कपड़े, रहने के लिये मकान और शिक्षा प्राप्त होनी चाहिये। अतः भारतीय राजनीतिज्ञों और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वालों का सबसे अधिक ध्यान कृषि सम्बन्धी परिस्थिति की ओर ही जाना चाहिये। मैं स्वयं ही एक गाँव में पैदा हुआ हूँ और मुझे देश के ग्रामीण जीवन का अच्छी तरह से पता है। मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि ग्रामीण लोगों का जीवन कितना भारस्वरूप है। यह बात ठीक है कि पंजाब, बंगाल, युक्तप्रान्त, मध्यप्रान्त तथा बम्बई में कृषकों की कर्जदारी के संबन्ध में सरकार ने कानून बनाये हैं परन्तु इन कानूनों से वास्तव में किसानों की कर्जदारी की समस्या सुलझी नहीं है। अब भी खेत जोतने वाले किसान महाजनों के चंगुल में फंसे हुए हैं क्योंकि उनको घन कर्ज लेने की दूसरी सुविधा है ही नहीं। इस प्रस्ताव में जिन उपायों का उल्लेख है उनसे यह प्रकट होता है कि हम इस समस्या को किस ढंग से सफलतापूर्वक सुलझा सकते हैं।

Dr. Kasikar (Berar) supporting the resolution said :—

“I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition that has been put before the House. Looking at the present condition and distress prevailing in the country, I think, it is high time that the Congress should take up this question. In the whole of India, Kisans are working under very bad conditions and no facts and figures need be mentioned to explain this. Under the zemindari system, many of the Kisans have been grumbling. The condition of the agriculturists in Berar has been growing from bad to worse everyday. The Congress should seriously take up the question and give all possible relief to the peasants specially in the troubled areas. At present, as you know, the prices of agricultural commodities have gone down enormously and it is a very hard job for the Kisans to pay their rent. The ryotwary conditions are absolutely miserable. In many places revenue is collected from the Kisans with great harassment. Some of the Provincial Congress Committees moved in the matter and some of our colleagues who tried to bring to Government's notice this fact were arrested. The Congress which

claims to represent the masses, the agriculturists and the workers should rise equally to the sense of its duty and try to give all relief it can. What type of relief and what measures of relief are required should be found out by Provincial Congress Committees. If they take up the matter seriously the problem will be solved."

The President then explained in Hindi the object and implications of the resolution. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Next Babu Rajendra Prasad moved the following resolution relating to "Indian States":

13 INDIAN STATES.

"This Congress while re-affirming the resolution regarding Indian States passed in the Calcutta Session of 1928, and expressing its approval of the policy laid down in the statement issued by the A. I. C. C. in Madras in October, 1935, desires to make clear that, in its opinion, the people of the States should have the same right of self-determination as those of the rest of India, and that the Congress stands for the same political, civil and democratic liberties for every part of India. The Congress, however, desires to point out that the struggle for liberty within the States has, in the very nature of things, to be carried on by the people of the States themselves.

अर्थात्, यह कांग्रेस देशी रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस की स्थिति और सन् १९२८ में कलकत्ते के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन तथा मद्रास में अखिल भारतवर्षीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक में पास प्रस्तावों का फिर से समर्थन करते हुए यह घोषणा करती है कि देशी प्रजा को भी अपने भाग्य का विधायक होने का अधिकार ब्रिटिश भारत वालों के समान ही होना चाहिए और कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तान के प्रत्येक भाग के लिए समान राजनीतिक, नागरिक और जनसत्तात्मक स्वतन्त्रता की समर्थक है। कांग्रेस फिर भी यह बताना चाहती है कि देशी रियासतों में रहनेवालों को स्वयं ही अपनी आजादी का आन्दोलन चलाना होगा।

Speaking on the resolution Rajendra Babu said: -

यह प्रस्ताव ३ भागों में विभाजित है—

(१) देशी रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस की स्थिति और सन् १९२८ में कलकत्ते के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन तथा मद्रास में अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक में पास प्रस्तावों का फिर से समर्थन।

(२) यह घोषणा कि देशी प्रजा को भी अपने भाग्य की विधायक होने का अधिकार ब्रिटिश भारत के समान ही होना चाहिए, और कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तान के प्रत्येक भाग के लिये समान राजनीतिक, नागरिक और जनसत्तात्मक स्वतन्त्रता की समर्थक है।

(३) प्रस्ताव में यह कहा गया है कि देशी रियासतों में रहनेवालों को स्वयं ही अपनी आजादी का आन्दोलन चलाना होगा ।

प्रस्ताव के पहले भाग में तो इस विषय पर कांग्रेस के विचारों की एक बार फिर पुष्टि की गई है, दूसरे भाग में देशी प्रजा को भी ब्रिटिश भारत के वासियों के समान ही अपने भाग्य विधायक होने का अधिकार दिया गया है और तीसरे भाग में यह स्पष्ट किया गया है कि ब्रिटिश भारत की वर्तमान स्थिति के अन्तर्गत देशी प्रजा को अपनी आजादी के आन्दोलन को चलाने का उत्तरदायित्व अपने ही ऊपर लेना होगा ।

कांग्रेस को देशी रियासतों की प्रजा के साथ पूरी सहायता मिलनी है और यह चाहती है कि उन्हें भी ब्रिटिश भारत की प्रजा की बराबरी के ही अधिकार प्राप्त हों । परन्तु देशी प्रजा को अपनी आजादी का आन्दोलन प्रधान रूप से स्वयं ही चलाना होगा । इन प्रस्ताव से यह भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि कांग्रेस इस प्रकार की कोई कृत्रिम आशा न दिलावे कि वह किसी नाम देशी रियासत के किसी विशेष आन्दोलन में सहायता करेगी ।

Acharya Kripalani formally seconded the resolution.

Mr. Amritlal Seth moved the following amendment :—

I move that the following words be deleted from the resolution "and expressing its approval of the policy laid down in the statement issued by the A. I. C. C. in Madras in October 1935" in the first sentence, and the whole of the last sentence beginning from "the Congress, however, desires to point out that the struggle for liberty" and ending in "by the people of the States themselves."

Mr. Amritlal Seth moving the amendment to the resolution relating to Indian States said:—

I move for the deletion of reference to the Madras A. I. C. C. resolution. Before recommending to you for the deletion of this I must read out to you what the resolution of the Madras A.I.C.C. says. The relevant portion of the resolution states, "It should be understood, however, that the responsibility and burden of carrying on struggle within the States must necessarily fall on the State people themselves. The Congress can exercise moral and friendly influence upon the State and this it is bound to do whenever possible."

Sir, the resolution in the first place affirms the Calcutta resolution. The relevant portion of the resolution is this : "The Congress further assures the people of Indian States of its sympathy with and support to legitimate and peaceful struggle

for the attainment of full responsible government in the State." This resolution of giving support to the peaceful struggle in Indian States to the people of States was passed in 1928. After 1928 the country saw two great struggles and in these struggles the people of British India and the people of Indian States fought side by side for the common emancipation of their own motherland. After this fight, after this fellowship in fight for freedom, came the Madras resolution that Congress can only exercise friendly and moral influence with the States whenever this is possible. From the Congress attitude of support to the struggle for freedom to the States people in 1928 the Congress in its A. I. C. C. meeting at Madras came down to the attitude of exercising their friendly influence with the States to the extent it may be possible. Now in 1936 the Congress says at Lucknow that the struggle for freedom in Indian States must be carried on in the very nature of things by the people of the States themselves. What a deterioration in Congress attitude? What friendly influence with the States the Congress or its leaders have in mind? Whether this influence is a fact or fiction? The Congress with its goal of independence for the whole of India, with its President saying that the Princes and the whole order of Princes should go in the scheme of revolution in India, how can then be any place for Congress exercising friendly influence with the States? To say that we will exercise friendly influence with the States is more or less to deceive ourselves. The idea of Congress exercising any friendly influence with the States is a sort of fools' paradise. It is merely saying that Congress will do nothing. Even if there is any influence, what is it to us? Friendly influence is no part of our struggle. It is not giving strength to the people of the States but it is bringing weakness on them. If the Congress offers that sort of help to the States, then the people of Indian States would say that we do not want it. If that is the offer made to us, to the people of the States, then I say as a Rajasthani, we reject it with thanks. If the Congress claims to stand for all the 350 million people of India if it says that the whole of India is one and individual, if it says that the fight of freedom of the Congress is for the whole of India, then why do you say to the people of the States "Fight out your own battle : this is your business, your job, you

do it." In one breath you say that the country is one, and in another breath you say that the people of the States should fight their own battle. Where is the consistency ? I ask a straight question. Does the Congress stand for the whole of India ? Does it say that the country is one and indivisible ? Does it say that its fight is for the whole of India ? If the answer is in the affirmative, then there is no room for this resolution. If, however, you say that the Congress stands for fight in British India only, then scrap your constitution. In your constitution you speak for the whole of India. If you say that the Congress stands for fight only in British India, then wherever the word "India" occurs put "British India", in your constitution. Do not have two things and mean one. We the people of States say that in your goal, in your ideal, in your conception let there be one country, one nation and let there be one fight. If that conception is disturbed, if that ideal is lost, and if that vision is gone, then I say you are no more visionaries, you are no more idealists, you are small people with small minds. I will say, if you have that small ideal and that small vision and you stand only for British India, you should learn to cherish better ideals and better visions. I ask this House to support my amendment.

Sri A. P. Sinha moved another amendment to add the word "mainly" after the word "to be carried on" in the last sentence of the resolution. Moving the resolution he said:—

‘यदि कांग्रेस इस संशोधन को भी मंजूर नहीं करती तो फिर इसे अपने ध्येय को ही बदल डालना चाहिए और भूमत्त देश की ओर से विचार प्रकट करने वाली न होकर वह केवल ब्रिटिश भारत की ही प्रतिनिधि संस्था बने।’

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj then supported the resolution of the Working Committee in the following words :—

मैं सीकर की जागीर में पैदा हुआ था और यह जागीर जयपुर रियासत के मान्य है। इस प्रकार सीकर के लोग चौगुनी दामना में पड़े हुए हैं। यदि कांग्रेस चाहे तो यह देशों रियासतों की प्रजा से निकले भूटे वायदे ही कर दे किन्तु बाल्ब में उनकी सहायता न कर सकें तो फिर इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि कांग्रेस अपनी हँसी कराएगी।

इस समय सीकर के इलाके में आन्दोलन उठा हुआ है किन्तु ऐसे मामले में कांग्रेस क्या कर सकती है। मैं इस बात से आप लोगों को सावधान करना हूँ कि आप केवल जाश में आकर किसी प्रभाव को धाम न कर डालें। रियासतों में आन्दोलन का काम आसान नहीं है। कुछ देशों नरेश तो ऐसे हैं जो समय के

अनुकूल आगे बढ़ने का यत्न करते हैं परन्तु कुछ नरेश इसके बिलकुल विपरीत हैं। दूसरे वर्ग के अन्तर्गत अधिकांश देशी रियासतें आती हैं और वहाँ बहुत सी ज्यादतियाँ होती हैं। अतः कांग्रेस के लिए यह अस्मभव होगा कि वह उन सभी देशी रियासतों से सम्बन्ध रखनेवाली शिकायतों के बारे में आन्दोलन चलावे और यदि कांग्रेस में भी हाथ डाले तो इससे देशी प्रजा का पक्ष निर्वल होगा। उनको स्वयं ही अपने पैरों के बल खड़े होना चाहिए। जब तक एक न हो जायें तब तक समान ढंग का विकास नहीं हो सकता। हमारे पिछड़े हुए होने का मुख्य कारण यही है कि ब्रिटिश सरकार हमें शासन-प्रबन्ध में उष्कोटि की व्यवस्था बनाने ही नहीं देती है। उदाहरण के लिये शिक्षा के मामले में बड़ोदा रियासत ब्रिटिश भारत से कहीं आगे बढ़ी हुई है और इसी प्रकार उद्योग-धन्धों के मामले में मैसूर रियासत बहुत उन्नत है। हमारा विश्वास तो यह है कि यदि हम ब्रिटिश भारत में पूर्ण रूप से जनसत्तावादी प्रणाली की स्थापना कर लें तो उसका प्रभाव देशी रियासतों पर भी पड़ेगा। इस समय हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारे सामने जो सवाल मौजूद हैं उनकी संख्या बढ़ जाय और इसलिये हम देशी रियासतों की प्रजा को झूठी आशा नहीं दिलाना चाहते।

Sri Gopal Singh Home supporting the amendment of Sri Amritlal Seth said :—

देशी रियासतों का प्रश्न हमारे सामने कोई नया नहीं है। कांग्रेस के इतिहास में देशी रियासतों का प्रश्न समय समय पर आता रहा है। यह ज़रूर था कि कुछ समय पूर्व ब्रिटिश राज्य के रहनेवाले लोग देशी रियासतों के प्रश्न को अपना प्रश्न नहीं समझते थे लेकिन कांग्रेस की तहरीक ने सारे देश भर में ही अपना प्रभाव डाला और इसका फल यह हुआ कि हम सब की कार्य-प्रणाली, जहाँ तक राजनीतिक अधिकारों का प्रश्न है, एक हो गई। कलकत्ता कांग्रेस में हमने जो प्रस्ताव देशी रियासतों में रहनेवालों के बारे में किया था उसको याद कीजिये उसमें हमने साफ साफ कहा था कि हम देशी रियासतों की प्रजा के अधिकारों के लड़ने के लिये सदैव साथ देंगे और आज जो प्रस्ताव पास कर रहे हैं इसमें तो हमें बहुत ही कमजोरी दिखाई देती है। इस प्रस्ताव का तो मतलब यह है कि हम उन मनुष्यों की सहायता करने को तैयार नहीं हैं जो हमारे साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में लड़ चुके हैं।

आज्ञाद् भारत को यह बरदाश्त न होगा कि उसके इतने अधिक बच्चे गुलाम बने रहें, उनके मनुष्यता के हक भी छिन जायें। और न वह अपने राजकीय अंग को काटने दे सकता है। अगर हम अपने लिए मनुष्यता के, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक अधिकार चाहते हैं तो वही अधिकार अपने देशी राज्यों के भाइयों के लिये भी चाहते हैं।

देशी राज्यों की हालत बहुत ही गई-गुजरी है और यद्यपि हम जानते हैं कि इन राज्यों के पीछे ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद काम कर रहा है फिर भी अपने देश-वासियों द्वारा ही अपने भाइयों का दमन बढ़ा ही तकलीफदेह है। देशी राजे और उनके मंत्री इधर फामिस्टों की जवान से बोलने रहे हैं और पिछले कुछ साल की



Male Volunteers in drill.



Lady Visitors In the Congress Pandal.

इन्की कारवाइयाँ ऐसी हुई हैं जो हमारा कौनों मामलों का जोरदार विरोध ही कहा जा सकता है। जो राज्य बहूत आगे बड़े हुए समझे जाते हैं, वे भी क्रमेश को मर-अनुनी करार देते हैं, हमारे राष्ट्रीय मंडे का अस्मान करते हैं, समाचार पत्रों के दमन के लिखे नये कानून बनाते हैं। फिर पीछे पड़े हुये और आदिम राज्यों के बारे में क्या कहा जा सकता है। पटियाला ही की मिसाल लीजिए। वहाँ लोगों की दशा कैसा रोचनीय है। मुझे आशा है कि प्रेसीडेन्ट महाराज अपनी तटस्थता का त्याग कर हमारे पक्ष का समर्थन करेंगे।

Sri Narasingham, supporting the amendment moved by Sri Amritlal Seth, said :—

“While supporting the Calcutta resolution, Mr. Satyamurthi said : We want to assure the people of Indian States from this platform that all the resources of the Indian National Congress, all the sympathy and support of the Indian people are at the disposal of the people of the Indian States to get full and responsible Government.

“Gentlemen, eight years back we promised the Riyasat people that we give them all our support, that all the resources of the Indian National Congress are at their disposal. To-day after eight years we go back on our own promise and say that we are helpless. What has happened since 1928 that we should go back on our promise. I find no reason for moving this resolution. The Madras has done a wrong thing in having given a wrong interpretation to the Calcutta resolution. We promise a thing to-day and we go back on it tomorrow. In the Federation, the Princes are coming to lord over you, and you are saying that you are not going to lord over them. This resolution only strengthens the hands of the bureaucracy, and, therefore, I request you not to pass it.”

Mr. Amritlal Seth was permitted by the President to speak for a second time on the resolution to reply to the charges made by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj in course of his speech. He said :—

“I do not want to indulge in any personal aspect of this question. I therefore abstain altogether from that side of it. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj has referred to the Indian States Peoples Conference and has taunted us as to what we have done. He has particularly referred to Sikar where the great Jat agitation took place and asked me what our conference and myself did. I am sorry to tell him that he ought to have known better. Although Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, a son of the soil, when the real agitation was on,

could not go there, I went there. The Conference deputed its General Secretary to take statements, collect information and help through publicity and propaganda. The Conference appointed a Committee of Enquiry consisting of Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Palliwal, Mr. Balvantroy Mehta, Mr. K. M. Munshi and myself., I regret to say, Mr. Munshi went to Wardha for approval and informed us that he could not serve on the Committee. So the idea of enquiry had to be abandoned. Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj's attitude was responsible for this.

Seth Bajaj also talked of Loharu. Before he went there, our Conference Provincial Secretary went to the people, interviewed the refugees, saw the victims, photographed those who were killed or wounded in the shooting. This is what the Conference did. Whatever the Conference has thought its duty, it has done. I do not think this question should, at all events, be brought before this House.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj has also asked why did the States people join the National fight. He says we have not obliged British India by going to jail. This is most insulting to the people of the States. Who said that we went to jail because we wanted to oblige British India. We did it, we took part in the fight, we went to jail, because we are the sons of the soil, because we are children of the same Motherland, because we do not distinguish between British India and Indian India. The Congress may disown us, disinherit us, and yet we remain children of the soil and we shall come to join the country. That is our attitude. That is our reply. Even if to-day the majority guided by the Working Committee be against us, even then we belong to the Congress, and we will die for the Congress and the country.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel spoke in 'Hindustani in support of the working Committee's resolution as follows: -

“जितना अनुभव देशी रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में मुझे है उतना कम लोगों को होगा। इस मामले में श्रीअमृतलाल विरोधी पक्ष में ही रहे हैं। यद्यपि वे देशी रियासत में पैदा हुए हैं किन्तु ब्रिटिश भारत में रहते हैं और मैं तो यह नहीं समझता कि उन्हें सभी देशी रियासतों की ओर से विचार प्रकट करने का अधिकार है। सिक्ख बक्सा तथा श्रीअमृतलाल से मैं पृथक्ता हूँ कि क्या कांग्रेस ने उनमें कभी भी यह कहा है कि वे अपनी पत्नियों अथवा बहनों के सम्मान की रक्षा न करें।

आखिर यह कृपाण किस काम के लिए है। कैप्टेन अवधेश सिंह ने जवलपुर कांग्रेस पर यह दोष लगाया था कि वह अपने वायदों पर डटी नहीं रही।”

Captain Avadhesh Singh: “मैंने यह कभी भी नहीं कहा था। मैं सदा ही कांग्रेसमैन रहा हूँ। और कांग्रेसी मामलों में मैंने सदैव दिलचस्पी ली है। मैं किसी भी देशी रियासती प्रजा सम्मेलन का सदस्य नहीं हूँ।”

Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel: “सच बात तो यह है कि देशी रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस के मद्रासवाले निर्णय की जिम्मेदारी श्रीअमृतलाल और कैप्टेन अवधेशसिंह पर ही है और मद्रासवाला प्रस्ताव बर्हिङ्ग कमेटी ने अपने प्रति विश्वास के प्रस्ताव के रूप में ही पेश किया था क्योंकि कांग्रेस इतनी ही जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर ले सकती है जितनी कि वह बरदाश्त कर सकती है। केवल गरमा-गरम मापणों से ही तो जनता को दशा सुधर नहीं सकती। परिस्थिति अत्यन्त नाजुक और जटिल है। शताब्दियों से देश में देशी रियासतों की प्रणाली चली आ रही है और यदि इस जमाने में देशी रियासतों की प्रजा अपनी आवाज उठाने में समर्थ हुई तो इसमें कांग्रेस का शक्तिशाली होना ही प्रकट होता है। फिर भी यह लोग कुछ रियासतों में कांग्रेसविरोधी प्रचार चलाते हैं जिस प्रकार कांग्रेस के आन्दोलन के परिणामस्वरूप पैदा हुए कुछ किसान और मजदूर-संस्थाएँ अब जनवर्ग का प्रतिनिधित्व करने में कांग्रेस का मुकाबिला करने का दावा करती हैं। अन्त में मैं आप लोगों से यह अनुरोध करता हूँ कि आप अपने उत्तरदायित्व का ध्यान रखकर इस प्रस्ताव पर वोट दीजिए।”

After this the amendments were put to vote. Mr. Seth's amendment was put before the house in two parts (deletion of the first and second portions from the resolution) and declared lost. Captain A. P. Sinha's amendment was lost by 276 against 218 votes. The resolution was carried by overwhelming majority.

After the above resolution was disposed of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramya moved the amendments to the Congress Constitution as passed in the Subjects Committee. Most of the amendments were passed without any opposition. There were, however, some amendments which were subject to discussion. Speeches were made and changes suggested. The Working Committee's proposed amendments to Art. IV (a), Art. V(ii), Art. V(a)(i), Art. VI(g)(i) and Art. VII (b). were sought to be amended.

When Art IV (a) substituting “Nagpur” for “Central Provinces” (Marathi) came up for discussion Pt. Balkrishna Sharma, moved an amendment that the name of the United Provinces be changed to Suba-e-Hind. Mr. Sidhwa spoke in Hindi opposing the amendment while, Mr. Sampurnanand supported the amendment of Pt. Balkrishna Sharma, which was lost when put before the House.

In moving for deletion of Art. V(b) (ii), Dr. Pattabhi said :

There is overwhelming evidence from the Provincial Congress Committees in favour of cancelling this clause relating to manual labour. It was due to this fact that the Constitution Sub-Committee made a recommendation to the Working Committee and the Working Committee recommended to the A. I. C. C. the removal of this clause. My sympathy lies in the way of retaining it. But there is no use disguising the fact that it has not been worked very honestly. In a matter like this it is better to forego a principle than encourage anything which is likely to promote dishonesty.

Sri Gopal Sadashiv opposed the amendment of the Working Committee. He spoke in Hindi.

In reply Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said: I should have endorsed every word Mr. Sadashiv has said, because personally I am not in favour of this amendment. But we are putting forward before you a proposition which has been agreed upon by the Working Committee. I ask you to support the amendment removing the manual labour clause.

The motion being put to vote was carried.

To the amendment to Art. VII (a) (i) Sri Kaleswar Rao moved an amendment that the minimum membership on the A. I. C. C. from the provinces be raised to five from four.

In opposing the amendment moved by Mr. Kaleswar Rao to Art. VII(a)(i) Dr. Pattabhi said :—

I must resist this. Formerly there was no minimum at all. It is rather strange that, when the Working Committee has gone forward to give a minimum representation of four members, there should be an amendment demanding five. Appetite grows with eating. Increase of the minimum always puts a premium on indolence. It is but right that minimum should be there to give a fair representation. If four is made into five, again there will be a demand for its increase to six, and in that way there would be no end.

Mr. Kaleswar Rao's amendment was defeated and the Working Committee's amendment was adopted.

Next Dr. Pattabhi moved the Working Committee's amendments to Art. VI(g)(i) and Art. VII(b) and observed: These amend-

ments relate to the abolition of the system of proportional representation by single transferable vote. This is contemplated both in Art. VI(g)(i) and Art. VII (b). Both these are sought to be deleted. I learn that on the proposition to abolish proportional representation in regard to election of delegates there would be no opposition.

The amendment to Art. VI(g)(i) was put to the vote and carried without any opposition.

Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya opposed the deletion of Art. VII (b). In course of her speech she said:

I propose the deletion of Art. VII (b). Really speaking we stand for the principle of proportional representation. You are aware that in the Subjects Committee we did our best for the retention of this principle of proportional representation. We stand for this principle not because I happen to be a member of the Congress Socialist Party or because others who may be supporting it happen to be members of the Party, but because we feel keenly that all minorities should have a chance of getting appropriate representation in any organization. It is on this account that I take my stand here. Much heat has been exhibited in course of the discussion on this matter. It has been said that we are suspicious of the motives of the Working Committee. We do not impute any motives, but we have to judge by result. If we find that by a certain method minorities do not get sufficient representation, if we find that by resorting to certain methods it gradually leads to the diminution of any influence which the minority may be exercising, it becomes necessary to fight for the introduction of that principle which gives them sufficient representation and makes their voice vocal. I am talking of election to the A. I. C. C. where it becomes extremely difficult for the minorities if proportional representation is done away with. If the election had been from primary members, it would have been a different question altogether. But supposing that the P. C. C. is full of conservative elements, it becomes extremely difficult, nay almost impossible, for those who stand for new ideals, who may be radical in their outlook, to get elected to the A. I. C. C., because they have to depend entirely on the votes of the P. C. C. Had it been popular election, I am sure, they would have stood

better chances. Limited as this election is, we feel strongly on this question that if proportional representation is not recognised it would become almost difficult to find representation for minorities.

It is not on behalf of any party that I am speaking. In every organization there would be always minorities, particularly in India, which is just emerging from deteriorated condition. In that minority group there would be new ideas, new ideologies; and it is very essential if any organization is to live, grow, expand and keep to the spirit and express itself, that that organization should reflect the spirit of that age. This group which represents new ideas, new ideologies, should have an opportunity for vocal expression and adequate representation, and that is why I am pressing that the A. I. C. C., which practically decides the political policy of the Congress, which is the most important body of the Congress, should have sufficient and adequate representation for minorities; because otherwise the rising voice of the smaller groups which is really the voice of the future, which is going to mould the future destiny of the country will be stifled. Therefore I do appeal to this House to support this proposal that at least in electing members to the A. I. C. C., which is done by P. C. C.s the system of proportional representation should be retained.

Sri Sri Prakash, and Sri Kishoriprasad Sinha spoke in Hindustani against the amendment for the retention of the clause.

Sri Sriprakash said:—

उम्मीदवारों को क्रमशः तरजीह देकर वोट की प्रणाली डेलीगेटों के चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में तो अवश्य ही अव्यावहारिक है परन्तु अल्पमत वालों के प्रतिनिधियों को भी अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी में स्थान दिलाने के लिये इसका जारी रखना आवश्यक है।

Sri Kishori Prasad said:—

आनुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व के सिद्धांत पर बमर्झे वाले अधिवेशन में गांधी जी ने स्वीकृति दी थी और उसका त्याग नहीं किया जाना चाहिये।

Acharya Kripalani spoke in favour of the amendment as under—

कांग्रेस के जनरल सेक्रेटरी की हँसियत से मेरा अनुभव है कि उम्मीदवारों को चुनने की तरजीह द्वारा वोट देने की प्रणाली यद्यपि अच्छी अवश्य है परन्तु या तो उसे लोगों ने ठीक ठीक समझा नहीं है और या उसका गलत प्रयोग किया है। दो एक प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटियों को छान्दकर और सभी ने इस प्रणाली का त्याग किये जाने का अनुरोध किया है।

हम किसी अन्धो बन्दु को बंदर के हाथ में तो नहीं पकड़ा सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार यह प्रणाली भी व्यावहारिक नहीं है। जिन अल्पमन के प्रतिनिधित्व की बात कही जाती है उनका प्रतिनिधित्व अ० मा० कांग्रेस कमेटी में उस समय भी या जबकि आनुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व की प्रणाली मौजूद नहीं थी।

Mr. Chapalakanta Bhattacharya opposing the amendment said :

On principle I am opposed to tampering with the constitution every year. If the constitution of the Congress be liable to radical changes every year at the sweet-will of the authorities, there is no certainty where we will stand tomorrow.

The other proposals for amendment which have been accepted do not require any comment. I am here to oppose the proposal for the abolition of the system of single transferable voting, which is the most salutary provision in the constitution and which is the most effective way of securing due representation of minorities and ensuring the reflection of the opinion of the electorate in the body politic. Single transferable voting as a system has been accepted almost all the world over. Only at the Bombay Congress last year Mahatma Gandhi on his authority as the father of the present constitution pressed us for the acceptance of this system which he considered to be the best way of recording the actual opinion of the country and we accepted it. What has happened in the meantime to go back on the proposals of Mahatma Gandhi ? There is no reason put forward that the skies have fallen because of the introduction of proportional representation in the Congress. There is no reason adduced that it has done any harm to anybody or any province. In spite of this when the proposal for the abolition of this system comes, naturally we become worried.

Yesterday when Sardar Patel was opposing our amendment for the modification of the Congress attitude towards the Communal Award, he asked you to reject the amendment on the only and simple ground (and Sardar Vallabhbhai adduced no other) that the acceptance of the amendment would mean that what you had done at Bombay was wrong. Today I am going to turn the table on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel with his own argument. I am asking you to retain the system of proportional representation in the Congress Constitution. You accepted it in 1934 as the very

panacea. If today you reject it, at once you betray your own weakness. It will reveal that you don't know your own mind.

To add to this, the abolition of the system will only help to stifle the voice of the minorities. What this stifling of the minorities would lead to, you should consider. If in the province the majorities are encouraged and given opportunity to shut out the minorities it will invariably lead to bitterness and discontent. On the other hand if the minorities are allowed to have proper representation and say, they will work harmoniously. This salutary system of representation has been introduced in the constitution for the good and smooth working of the Congress in the different provinces. I ask you, Gentlemen, therefore not to remove it. If you do so it will indicate a Fascist mentality, a mentality which is not favourable for the growth of democratic opinion in the Congress. It will indicate that in future, parties, with radical opinions, which are the progressive elements in the country, are not to have a fair say in the Congress. With these words I ask you to support the amendment that has been moved for retaining the system of proportional representation.

Mr. Meherally spoke in Hindustani opposing the official amendment in the following terms:—

ऐसा तो कोई विधान ही नहीं है जिसका दुरुपयोग न किया जा सकता हो। यदि प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटीयों को आनुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व प्रणाली का संचालन नहीं आता है तो वे राष्ट्र की प्रतिनिधित्व बनने का हक खो देती हैं।

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, replying to the debate said:—

Let me tell you the objection that has been taken by Mr. Bhattacharya, that you should not tamper with the constitution every year, is not a tenable objection. The setting right of the constitution is like the clearing of cobwebs in our residential houses. If anybody says that cobwebs should not be cleared, all that I can say is that his sense of cleanliness is deficient.

Last year, we had many revolutionary changes with a particular ideal in view. The principle of proportional representation which was introduced last year has been given a year's fair trial, and in the course of the deliberations of the Working Committee, which had called for the opinions of the various Provincial Congress Committees not merely on the system of proportional representation but on the whole constitution that was sought to be

examined in the light of past experience, it was found that there was overwhelming evidence against the system of proportional representation. I am myself fully aware of the history of proportional representation. That as a principle it has been recognized to ensure representation of the minorities in regard to parliamentary procedure, nobody can deny. But ideas while travelling from Europe to India get a little old and rusty and they are even rejected in the West by the time they reach here. The system is good in itself. But it cannot be said that it is a panacea for all the political evils to which the minorities have been subjected in the past. We are not concerned as to whether it is good or bad, but with how it has worked during the past one year in the country for our purpose. Our experience is that it is not suitable for election of the delegates. If you find it bad and unworkable for the election of delegates, you will find it unworkable for the election of members of the A. I. C. C. also.

It has been argued that abolition of the system of proportional representation is bound to result in the exclusion of the Socialist friends. I may assure them that, if socialism is good, socialist friends must be welcome. People at the head of the Congress are mostly socialists. They are socialist in life, in belief, in conduct and in character. If they have renounced their property and devoted themselves to the service of the country, in a real sense they are socialists. You may rest assured there will be no forces to exclude the socialists. If you suspect there will be such forces, I send forth this appeal from this rostrum and couple with it the warning that if any province is going to exclude socialists, it will have to pay very heavily in future, for down will come proportional representation with a vengeance. I have nothing else to add except to appeal that this recommendation which has been moved by myself on behalf of the A. I. C. C., after due deliberation should be unanimously accepted by you.

The amendment when put before the House was declared lost by 160 to 190 votes. It was then pressed to a division and declared as lost by 207 to 227 votes.

NEXT CONGRESS.

After the voting was over, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru addressing

the audience said: "The next thing to be done is to fix the place for the next year's Congress. Perhaps you know that the Subject Committee has accepted the invitation from Maharashtra. Will some one from Maharashtra kindly come up?"

Mr. Shanker Rao Deo formally invited the next session of the Congress to be held at Poona.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru: "You approve of this?"

The audience: "Yes".

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru: "Only one more thing. It is customary on such occasions when all business is over for some one to indulge in a funeral oration. So Mrs. Naidu has come here uninvited to deliver that oration, about the Congress and about the President of that Congress, who has sat on a high pedestal for these three days and is now going back to oblivion."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu paying warm tributes to the President said:—

"In this city of old traditions, this city of forgotten Kings, this city that is now really a shrine of Musafirs and Poets, we have witnessed the birth of a new vision, the coming of a new dream. I am here on your behalf to bear testimony to the marvellous miracles that have happened for us and for India. Out of the past has come the future not by revolution but by proper descent and evolution. Your President and our President, Pandit Jawaharlal, says he is going back into oblivion. He may be hidden in radiance of glory which will illumine our path of freedom. I offer our thanks to him from the depths of our hearts. A few years ago in this city I saw the passing away of a great man. He identified himself with the life of this province and later he became the symbol of India's struggle for freedom, who with the last breath spoke of the freedom of India and his last charge to India was they should never go back on their plighted word. To-day his spirit must rejoice that his son is carrying out the mandate that was a legacy for him. For the first time, has that note been sounded, has that vision been revealed, has that prophecy been made that the Congress should realise that India shall be an integral

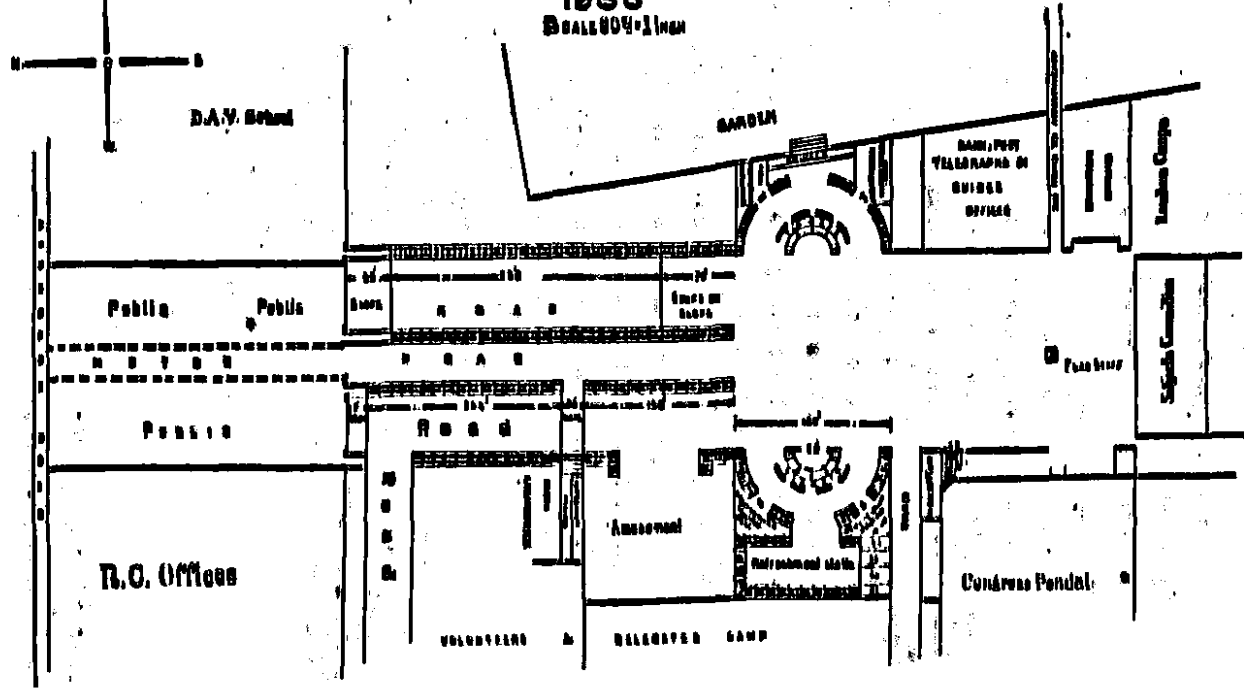
Plan of Swadeshi Bazar of The 40th Indian National Congress

Moti Nager

LUCKNOW

1936

SCALE 800 ft. = 1 inch



part of the great world scheme of freedom and liberation. And so if Jawahar Lal thinks that it is a funeral oration—it is a funeral oration to the dead yesterday but a welcome oration to tomorrow, to the dawn of which the President is the herald. We look up to him for his courage, his great enthusiasm, his great idealism. We think of him with his great international experience and vision. We are proud that he has been chosen unanimously by the nation as her guide to the dawn of freedom. And his task has not been easy. It has been the task of trying to reconcile almost irreconcilable modes of thought and yet he has managed so to harmonise these views that this idealist, this man so implacable for freedom, so insatiate in his desire for freedom, has sweetness, grace, wisdom, statesmanship and forbearance - to be able to hold together in friendliness elements that might have been hostile to one another and irreconcilable with one another. Therefore, I end with adieu to yesterday and welcome tomorrow in which we do join together in our pilgrimage towards the dawn of liberty. (*Applause*).

“A word to the Reception Committee. The men volunteers, the women volunteers, and all those organizers who have been our hosts, they have had difficult task, and we owe a great gratitude to them that it was possible for us to hold this Congress and that we are going out safe with life and limb, in spite of the dust of the city, dust of the dead kings and poets. The dust of that controversy among the Reception Committee members was dead long before our President arrived here to make that foot-procession in which I was crushed and almost killed. May I take it that you pass a vote of thanks? Those who are in favour of it will shout with me *Jawahar!al-ki-jai.*”

Mr. Sri Prakash then thanked the workers and volunteers and the Municipal Committee for all their help. After this the session terminated at 1.15 a. m. in music.

APPENDIX A.

Messages received from Anti-imperialist, Anti-war, Labour and Women's Organizations abroad included :—

1. League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.—“We greet the people of India through the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress. Your Congress is meeting in a period when the possibilities of a new world upheaval are looming large on the horizon; when the world crisis has shaken the capitalist system to the very foundations; when throughout the colonial and semi-colonial countries the movements for liberation are gathering strength to move forward to new and more decisive battles, and when the masses of people throughout the world are deriving new hope and inspiration from the impressive achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union which has raised the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to such a powerful position in the world that it is looked to by the peace-loving peoples throughout the world as the main bulwark against a new world war. In these circumstances the deliberations of your Congress assume particular significance. The National Government of Britain is to-day enormously expanding its armaments and is thereby endangering the peace of the world. It is proposing to increase its airforce overseas by 37 squadrons presumably to crush any movement for independence among the colonial peoples. The people of India may rest assured that the League Against Imperialism will not relax its efforts to combat the rearmament plans of the National Government, and at the same time to enlighten the people of this country as to the fatal effect of colonial domination, not only to the colonial peoples but to themselves as well. We trust that as a result of your deliberations you will be able to achieve greater unity of the Indian people, that you will be able to reach agreement on a programme which can be the basis of a militant struggle against the new Constitution and for the freedom of India. The greater your success in achieving these aims, the more you will hamper the plans of the warmongers and the greater will be the strength of your forces for liberation. Long Live the Anti-Imperialist People's

Front! Long Live the Independence of India. (Signed) Reginald Bridgeman (International Secretary); Ben Bradley (British Section)."

2. Independent Labour Party, England—Telegram from James Maxton M. P., and Fenner Brockway, "*I. L. P. Conference greets Congress in Anti-imperialist solidarity*" and a letter from Brockway, Secretary, I. L. P.,—"*I am instructed by the National Council of the Independent Labour Party to send cordial greetings to your 49th Congress. We hope that it may be the means of mobilising effective action against the continuation of the rule of British Imperialism. The new Constitution for India has been acclaimed in this country as a great measure of self-government. We realise that it stabilises and in some ways strengthens the hold of the British Authorities. We hope your Congress will be able to work out a practical plan of resistance. But beyond this immediate issue there is the bigger struggle for complete national independence and associated with it the struggle to win justice for the peasants and industrial workers. You are engaged on the tremendous task of creating a new India which shall be socially and economically free as well as politically independent. We wish you well in that task and promise you all the co-operation that it is possible to give.*"

3. War-Resisters' International, England,—"*The War-Resisters' International sends its heartiest greetings to the members of the 49th Indian National Congress and assures them of its sympathy in their tremendous struggle for national freedom. It recognizes that the Congress, in its struggle to throw off the yoke of foreign bondage, has an ideal behind it greater than mere nationalism. The people of India have often been an inspiration to their comrades in the West. They have been able to carry out a great struggle with a larger measure of true pacifism and non-violence than has been possible among any other people. We are convinced that the right way to overthrow tyranny is not to kill the tyrant, but to refuse to co-operate with him. You and your great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, have taught us this and we honour you in your struggle. With cordial greetings, (Signed) H. Runham Brown (Secretary).*"

4. International Committee for Political Prisoners, America,—"*Your session in April prompts us to extend to you the greetings of*

American friends who have long followed your struggle for freedom with profound sympathy. On occasions we have joined with you in protesting to the British government its measures of unwarranted repression of your peaceful activities and your political rights. We have counted it a privilege to have aided from time to time, in a slight way, particular political prisoners, either on trial or in prison. We are still prepared at any time, upon request, to organize American opinion directed to the British government on occasion of any measure of repression or any political trial deserving of international attention. Any appeals sent to us, by letter or by cable, will receive prompt and sympathetic attention. With our fraternal greetings, I am, on behalf of our executive committee, (Signed) Roger Baldwin (Secretary)."

5. Greeting from Ligue Internationale Des Femmes Pour La Paix Et La Liberte, Section De Tunisie Tunisie, rendered in English.—*"At their session of 17th March the Tunisian section of the women's International League for Peace and Freedom sends its fraternal greetings to the Indian National Congress. Being aware that India opposes regime which does not take into account sufficiently the legitimate aspirations of Indians and knowing by experience the sufferings and danger caused by the assaults on liberty and racial conflicts, the Tunisian section expresses its opinion that the National Congress will declare itself for methods of reconciliation, mutual understanding and peace ; that it will open an era of justice and fraternity for India.*

(Signed) E. Fichet, Secretary."

6. National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, England:—*"In response to your request of the 13th inst. I herewith extend to you and all the Delegates, my very best wishes for a successful Congress and trust that in as brief a time as possible, the natives of India will be able to secure their complete independence from all forms of exploitation, Imperial or otherwise, and that they will use all their endeavours to defeat everything which stands in the way of the fullest emancipation of every man, woman and child in their great country. With all Good Wishes and Fraternal Greetings, I remain Your's in Unity,*

(Signed) Alex Gossip, General Secretary."

Messages received from Japan wishing all success to the Lucknow Congress and sympathising with Indian Aspirations for freedom included that of (1) Oriental Culture League of Japanese Industrialists, Journalists, Diet-members and Doctors signed by Dr. Sata (President), (2) Kyoto Indo-Japanese Association signed by Dr. Suchiro (President), (3) Mitsuru Toyama, (4) Kansai Indo-Japanese Association signed by Junkichi Okami (Secretary), (5) Greater Asia Independence Association of Japanese Lawyers, Businessmen, Journalists, Police and Military Officers, signed by Yonefusa Wako (Chairman).

Messages received from friends specially interested in India from all over the world include :—

1. Edmond Privat President, International Committee for India—“*Best wishes and success to your labours! Your peaceful volunteers have shown Europe a nobler means of fighting for justice than war. May the great nation who gave us that generous example soon bring to the family of Sovereign States the benefit of her free and equal contribution to peace.*”

2. Madeleine Rolland, Vice-President, International Committee for India :—

“*May I send our Indian friends, gathered together for the 49th session of the Indian National Congress, my fraternal greetings! I feel convinced India will soon be free if they stand united in their common devotion to the mother country, and I trust liberated India will help the world towards the realization of its hopes and bring her priceless contribution to the material and spiritual well-being of humanity, founded on justice and love.*”

3. “*At the time when the 49th session of the Indian National Congress is going to take place, the undersigned persons send to the aforesaid meeting, the assurance that they will follow those works and debates with the most hearty attention. They avail themselves of that opportunity to express their sympathy as regards the aspirations of the people of India.*” Monsieur le Professeur Langevin; Messieurs P. Rivent Professeur Museum, Conseiller Municipal; M. de Gandillac, Professeur de Philosophie; et Madame Bols, Professeurs a Nates; Philip,

Professeur de Droit a la Faculte de Lyon; Przuluski, Professeur au College de France; G. Pioch, Publiciste; Prudhommeaux, Secretaire de L'Association de la Paix par le Droit; Roser, Pasteur, Secretaire de la "Reconciliation"; Madame M Vernet, Directrice de la "Volonte de Paix"; Messieurs E. Mounier, Directeur de la Revue "Esprit", R. Plaud, et Madame Dermenghem; le Docteur et Madame Eliet; Bose; Xavier Michel Jaffard; F. Jourdain; Madame Louise Guiessee.

4. Richard B. Gregg, America :— *"To the Indian National Congress at its forty-ninth meeting I send my warm greetings, sympathy and best wishes! I follow your struggles with great interest. May you have courage, patience, everlasting persistence and faith in the future."*

5. Alice Stone Blackwell, America.—*"Accept my warmest wishes for the attainment by India of full self-government. For many years India has furnished the world's most gigantic demonstration that taxation without representation not only is tyranny in principle, but is sure to become also tyranny in practice."*

6. Messages from "Friends of India" include (a) *"The Friends of India in London have great pleasure in sending hearty greetings and all good wishes for the success of the Congress Session of 1936 in Lucknow. We whole-heartedly congratulate the Congress on the accession of its new President, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and enter into the joy with which its members and all the people will welcome this great leader back to India. It is a matter of thankfulness to all lovers of freedom that Jawahar Lal Nehru should again take his place in the leadership of the National Congress and that the world should no longer be denied the benefit of this great international statesman. We in this country realise that the political background at the moment is extremely dark and that every forward effort in India must be numbed by a sense of deadlock; at the same time we would ask our Indian friends to realise that in their country, even in this dark hour, there have arisen two great personalities whose unique leadership cannot be equalled anywhere in the world. Because of these and of some who went before, India is now awake and no political or imperial power*

can stand for long against the united will of a whole people. In unity will be your strength!" Edith Hunter on behalf of FRIENDS OF INDIA.

(b) "We wish the Indian National Congress every success in its fight for India's Full Independence and for the right of the starving millions." Ellen Horup, Indiens Venner, Copenhagen, Bokken Lasson, Indien Venner, Oslo.

(c) "The Dutch group Friends of India who are believers in non-violent way of struggle want to send to the National Congress a fraternal greeting. We feel most thankful to our Indian brothers and sisters, who in spite of extremely heavy odds, have carried on under the guidance of Gandhi, their struggle for national independence through different phases of non-violent cooperation, and set an example to the West that we can only hope it will learn to follow. We are firmly assured that their struggle, which in itself is only a wave in the worldwide tide bearing upwards all depressed classes and subjected races to this goal, the unity of all mankind in a vast federation of free and equal nations—will attain its glorious ends. We wish this session of the Congress all good, and fervently hope that it will find ways and means to carry on and still strengthen in the sublime spirit the struggle of the Indian people that made us, with so many others, their sincere and loving friends." Henrietta Roland Holst (President), F. Vanderwissel (Secretary), Bloemendaal, Holland.

(d) "We send to the All-India National Congress our hearty greetings and wish it a very successful session. We affirm our belief in favour of self-determination for India and assure the Congress that we are solidly with her and will strive as far as in our power in this land, for India's freedom. May the future bring unity amongst all sections, success to the Indian National Congress and better understanding between India and this country. With best wishes and sincere thoughts." R. D. Saggarr, Hon. Secretary, Friends of India, Dundee, Scotland.

(7) Louise Guieysee on behalf of The Friends of Gandhiji in France: "The Friends of Gandhiji in France send their hearty greetings to the members of the Indian National Congress and their most sincere good wishes for the success of their aspirations."

Messages received from Indian organizations and individuals abroad and at home included those of (1) Jamiatul-Ulama-e-Transval, (2) Indian National Association, Zanzibar (3) Indian Swaraj League, London, (4) C. Vijiaraghavachariar, Salem, (5) Mahendra Pratap (Raja), Japan, (6) Anandmohan Sahay, Kobe, (7) Rashbehari Bose, Tokyo, (8) Nandlal Dalal, Silaman, (9) Kripal Jivani, Jakhao, (10) Chandrasekhardhar Misra, Bagaha, (11) Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Bombay.

C. Vijiaraghavachariar —“*Arrangements general attitude excellent. Warm Congratulations. Sorry illness prevent attendance. Pray forgive. Session critical. Respectfully prayerfully appealing every Congressman to aim high work loftily and achieve united solid front and team spirit without which essentials India's subtrations would never beam above horizon. May Session proudly record epitaphs of all fissiparous tendencies jealousies racial religious geographical. God speed your momentous labours.*”

Raja Mahendra Pratap, Editor, World Federation, on the basis of universal understanding, love, justice, renunciation and service, conveyed his personal greetings to those gathered at Lucknow and congratulated Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru on his election as President, which he considers ‘a triumph for the principle of socialism.’ Further, he writes, “*From Iran to Assam, including Afghanistan and Nepal let us have a commonsense of community unity. Then, fraternize with the rest of Asia. Let us have true love for all humanity. This is the spirit of Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. All these religions venerate that all men were born of one single human principle.*”

Anand Mohan Sahay, Kobe—“*Greetings from compatriots. May you keep our flag flying ever high. Pray would (Congress) constitution so that we may serve freely abroad.*”

K. D. Kumria, General Secretary, Indian Swaraj League, London—“*The Executive of the Indian Swaraj League London sends its Fraternal Greetings to the delegates of the Golden Jubilee Session of the Indian National Congress. We in Great Britain pledge ourselves to*

support the creed of Purna Swaraj for India, and to do our utmost to bring home to the British Public India's demand. We hope that the decisions of this historic session will hasten the achievement of the goal of Indian freedom."

Ghulam Ali Kadir Bhoz, Vice-President, The Indian National Association, Zanzibar. *"On behalf of the Indian National Association representing the Indian Community residing in the Zanzibar Protectorate I have great pleasure in sending hearty greetings to the 49th session of the Indian National Congress. We are very grateful indeed to the Congress for the solicitude and deep anxiety it has always shown for our problems in Zanzibar and Indians abroad especially when inequitable and racial measures are adopted in Zanzibar. Of late, the hardships of Zanzibar Indians have occupied the attention of all the parties in India and the Congress has emphatically declared its sympathy with us. Zanzibar Indians hope that the Congress in its present session will make an emphatic pronouncement on Zanzibar question in particular and Indians abroad in general. May the deliberations of the Congress be crowned with success and result in action."*

Among others, Mr. W. Ross Livingston, Associate Professor of History at the State University of Iowa and Curator of British Documents, writes :—

"In response to your communication of February 13, 1936, I take great pleasure in sending to you this brief word of sympathy and goodwill. I have watched and studied for a number of years the strivings of the people of India toward a larger constitutional freedom, and I rejoice that you have made much progress in the direction. Whether India appears finally in the family of nations as a separate sovereign state or as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, her place will be of the greatest importance in the development of human freedom and in the progress of international relations toward brotherhood and peace. Whatever action you may take I shall watch with the deepest concern your progress among your own people toward the goal of social justice and national accord. May the spirit of truth and of brotherhood abide with you."

Messrs. Horace G. Alexander and George Lansbury M. P. also sent their greetings to the Congress.

APPENDIX B.

Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, Lucknow.

The Reception Committee of the 49th Session of the Indian National Congress, having decided to hold a Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, at the time of the Congress Session, entrusted the organisation of the Exhibition to the All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association, in pursuance of the resolution passed in this behalf by the Congress in Bombay. This resolution has laid down that these functions shall be organised "so as to combine instructions with entertainment of the general public, especially of the villagers with the sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two Associations (A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I A.) and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life". Earnest efforts were therefore made by the organisers to arrange the exhibition as far as possible on these lines.

The exhibition was originally to be opened on the 10th March, '36, but owing to the change made in the date for the holding of the Congress Session, to suit the convenience of the Assembly members, the exhibition was actually opened on the 28th March, '36. Though the change of date gave more time, it really added to the expenditure and difficulties of the work, in as much as the days after the end of March are very hot and subject to fierce dust-storms.

The opening ceremony of the exhibition was performed by Mahatma Gandhiji, who kindly came down a few days earlier from Delhi, specially for the purpose, in spite of his unsatisfactory health. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the President-elect of the Session, was also present on the occasion. The exhibition remained open till 16th April, 1936. The hours of exhibition were from 4 P.M. to 10 P. M.

The exhibition was located to the left of the Flag Staff at Moti Nagar. It had a simple but attractive front. The main

gate was designed by Messrs. Doctor and Mhatre of Bombay to draw prominent attention to the village implements, the plough, the harrow and the wheel and on both the sides of the gate were Fresco paintings, representing the scenes of village life, specially prepared for the exhibition by Syt. Jaimini Roy of Calcutta. The plot allotted for the exhibition was 500 feet in width and 700 feet in length and the area covered eight acres of land. The general plan of the exhibition was prepared by Messrs. Doctor and Mhatre and the lay-out was arranged under their supervision.

The exhibition comprised the following sections :

1. KHADI

The textile section of the exhibition was as usual restricted to hand-spun and hand-woven cotton, silk and woollen fabrics, certified by the All India Spinners' Association.

A spacious court was erected in the centre of the exhibition grounds and in this were displayed the best specimens of cotton khadi, silk and woollen fabrics from all provinces together with specimens of Khadi made in earlier years of the movement for comparison. This court proved a great attraction to the visitors and helped very much to show the progress that has been made in the production of commercial Khadi. The total number of exhibits displayed in this court exceeded five thousand.

On the other side of the khadi court was the khadi self-sufficiency court exhibiting the specimens of khadi got woven by villagers and others from their own yarn for their own use. The yarn spun by leaders and others devoted to the khadi movement was also exhibited in this court. Information regarding work done in connection with the khadi self-sufficiency programme in the different provinces was given by means of maps, charts and photographs wherever possible. More than 900 specimens were received and exhibited in this court.

On the right hand side of the special exhibits court were smaller courts occupied by spinners, weavers and other artisans who had come from various parts of the country and who demonstrated the different processes of preparation of varieties of textile fabrics from cotton, silk and wool. Amongst these were seen skilful spinners from Andhra, Behar and Kashmir spinning

over 100 counts, workers spinning at great speed on ordinary charkhas and double spindled-wheel, weavers weaving cloth of unusual widths, reelers of silk from Assam, weavers of different qualities and patterns of cloth, such as Kashmir Pashmina, Patan Patolas, Benares lace sarees, Mirzapur carpets and printers from Andhra and Meerut. Artisans skilled in embroidery work from Kashmir and Lucknow were also there to show their art. Altogether over 80 artisans had come from different parts to demonstrate their skill.

In the front and right hand side of the special exhibits court, were the khadi stalls where khadi produced in different parts of the country to suit all tastes and means was made available for sale. The total number of stalls occupied was 39.

The khadi section received considerable attention of the public and khadi worth Rs. 60,000 was disposed off during the fortnight.

II. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES SECTION.

In this section efforts were made to represent important cottage industries and handicrafts of the country other than textiles. These were divided into two classes, (1) Village Industries and (2) Rural and Urban handicrafts.

The village industries section comprised the following:—

Bee-keeping, paddy husking and grinding, grinding of cereals, oil-crushing, preparation of jaggery, leather-tanning and preparation of leather articles, disposal of carcasses, etc. Of these the Apiary and tanning section proved to be of great interest to the visitors and because of the practical value brought some students who participated in the work during the course of the exhibition to learn the technique.

The Rural and Urban Handicrafts Section included gold and silver work, copper and brass wares, embroidery and wood-carving, marble and stone wares, ivory and horn work, sandal wood and lacquer work, toys, bangles, musical instruments, brushes, cutlery, paper and stationery, etc.

Over 75 skilled artisans demonstrated their various processes of work to the great interest and benefit of the public.

A spacious hall was also provided in which exhibits of special interest and articles of antiquity were displayed.

A large number of dealers in articles of village industries and rural and urban handicrafts participated in the exhibition and occupied over 118 stalls in which a large variety of articles were made available for sale.

III. AGRICULTURE & DAIRY.

In spite of limited time and resources, an agricultural section on a modest scale was provided for and included the following:

1. Manures—Specimens and methods
2. Specimens of seeds
3. Agricultural implements
4. Water-lifting devices
5. Cattle and cattle-housing
6. Fodder crops
7. Dairy methods
8. Poultry

To give an idea of cultivators' life and problems, useful and interesting information relating to rural life was given by means of charts and statistics.

IV. DIETETICS COURT & INDIGENOUS MEDICINES.

The question of balanced food for the rural population being of great importance, a special section was set up where information regarding nutritive and balanced diet was displayed by means of suitable charts.

In another court adjoining the dietetic section, the medicinal properties of different herbs easily available in the villages were also explained by means of charts.

V. FINE ARTS SECTION.

Although Fine Arts do not fall within the scope of the activities of the two Associations, an appreciation of the great educational importance of this section in familiarising the peoples' imagination with works of art led the exhibition authorities to request S. Nandlal Bose of Shantiniketan to organize this section. The exhibition was laid out on the lines of historical review of Indian Art, mainly paintings, and proved a great success. It might be interesting to note that this is the first time that an exhibition of Indian Fine Arts on such a comprehensive historical scale was organized as a part of the Congress function.

VI. ENTERTAINMENT HALL

For the entertainment of visitors, a special open-air theatre was provided where musical and other performances were arranged in the evening. A musical concert organised by Mrs. A. N. Mulla, the Kathakali dances given by the Malabar artists, the Mushairha and Kavi-Sammelan organized by Mr. A. N. Mulla, were amongst the important items of the programme organized in this connection.

VII. LECTURES.

To popularise the idea underlying the work of the two Associations and the exhibition, Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawahar-Lal Nehru gave special lectures and these meetings were attended by large numbers of visitors.

Regardless of tiring heat and the difficulties of the dust-storms and in spite of the many shortcomings, the enthusiastic public gave a generous response and the total number of visitors went over a lac.

Whatever the success attained by the exhibition it must be stated, it was due on the one hand to the generous co-operation and help given by the Reception Committee and on the other hand to the ceaseless and untiring efforts of a large number of devoted workers belonging to several important Associations, prominent amongst which may be mentioned the following:—

The Gandhi Ashram, Meerut.

The Kashi Vidyapith, Benares.

A. I. V. I. A., Wardha.

Shantiniketan, Bolpur.

The Gandhi Seva Sangha, Wardha.

The U. P., Behar, Bengal, Bombay and Maharashtra Branches of the A. I. S. A.

The Bombay National Guards and Congress and Exhibition Volunteers' corps.

APPENDIX C.

To,

The Chairman,

Reception Committee of the 49th session
of the Indian National Congress.

Dear Friend,

I have great pleasure in Submitting herewith
an audited statement of Accounts of the
Reception Committee from its inception to the
17th August 1936.

Yours in Service,

C. B. GUPTA,
Chairman Finance Committee.

49th INDIAN

MOTINAGAR

Income and Expenditure Account for the period

To Reception Committee	as per Schedule A	Rs.	19,563	3	11
" Construction	as per Schedule B	Rs.	43,759	9	3
" Exhibition	" " "	"	29,723	6	1
" Volunteers	" " "	"	18,479	9	7
" Lighting & Broad Casting	" " "	"	11,452	9	6
" Accommodation	" " "	"	5,219	13	11
" Transport	" " "	"	3,770	1	0
" Subjects Committee	" " "	"	1,518	8	0
" Bazar Committee	" " "	"	1,442	13	3
" Publicity	" " "	"	1,302	12	7
" Leaders' Camp Arrangement	" " "	"	1,119	11	0
" Delegates' Mess	" " "	"	636	5	9
" Decoration	" " "	"	529	12	9
" Sanitation	" " "	"	434	12	0
" Medical Relief Com.	" " "	"	493	11	6
" General Purposes	" " "	"	488	0	0
" Procession & Reception	" " "	"	518	14	3
" Enquiry Com.	" " "	"	310	5	8
" Bank Charges	" " "	"	49	15	0
" Excess of income over expenditure		"	1,353	13	0

1,42,167 12 0

Examined and found correct

(Sd.) B. N. Das Gupta,

B. A., A. S., A.A., F. A.

(Of Messrs Mukerjee & Das Gupta.)

Incorporated Accountants (London).

Registered Accountants

Auditor.

(Sd) Murari Lal M. B.

General Secretary.

Reception Committee.

Lucknow

19th August 1936,

NATIONAL CONGRESS.

LUCKNOW.

from 11th June 1935 to 17th August, 1936.

By Reception Committee Membership Fees	Rs.	28,325	0	0
" Donations	"	5,191	4	3
" Sale Proceeds of Visitors Tickets as per Schedule C.				
" For Congress Open Session	"	49,957	8	0
" .. Subjects Committee	"	9,783	0	0
" Bank Interest	"	100	3	0
" Sale of Tender Forms	"	42	0	0
" Miscellaneous Receipts	"	13	3	3
" Exhibition	"	35,263	14	9
" Bazar	"	8,549	10	6
" Accommodation	"	3,338	7	6
" Reception Committee	"	1,181	4	9
" Delegates Mess	"	422	4	0

Rs. 1,42,167 12 0

(Sd.) C. B. Gupta, M. A. LL. B. (Sd.) Ballbh Das B. A.
 CHAIRMAN, Treasurer,
 Finance Committee,

(Sd.) K. Pestonji,
 Secretary,
 Finance Committee.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

49th Indian National Congress, Lucknow 1936.

Balance Sheet as at 17th August 1936.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Sundry Creditors as per Schedule "C"	Rs. 3,153 13 9	Advances	Rs. 2,280 7 3
Provision for Expenses as per " " "	2,518 0 0	Book Debts for Tickets	" 318 0 0
Excess of Income as per Income and Exp. a/c	1,353 13 0	" " for Imprest	" 126 4 3
		" " Sundries	" 54 15 0
		Suspense	" 232 0 9
		Deposits Receivable	" 185 0 0
		Cash in hand	" 218 7 0
		Cash at Bank	" 3 610 8 0
	7,025 10 9		7,025 10 9

I have examined the Balance Sheet of the Reception Committee of the 49th Indian National Congress as at 17th August 1936 as above set forth with the books, vouchers and records as produced to me and in my opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the Committee to the best of my information and explanations given to me.

(Sd.) B. N. DAS GUPTA,
B.A. A. S. A. A. (London) R. A.
(of Messrs MUKERJEE & DAS GUPTA)
Incorporated Accountant Registered
Accountant.

(Sd.) MURARI LAL, M.B.,
General Secretary.
Auditor.

(Sd.) C. B. GUPTA,
M.A., LL.B.,
Chairman,
Finance Committee.

(Sd.) BALLABH DAS B.A.
Treasurer.
(Sd.) K. PESTONJI,
Finance Secretary.

Lucknow D/19th August, 1936.

SCHEDULE A.
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.
Ticket Committee Expenses:—

a	Printing Charges	Rs.	545	9	9
f	Establishment	"	130	0	0
r	Travelling & Conveyance	"	144	4	6
r	Furniture & Fixture	"	17	0	0
r	Furniture on hire	"	26	12	0
i	Stationery	"	67	2	9
i	Miscellaneous	"	0	12	0
h	Postage	"	1	5	3
g	Advertisement	"	6	0	0
h	Shortage "	"	45	12	3
					Rs. 984 10 6

Store Department Expenses:—

a	Establishment	Rs.	472	3	6
r	Conveyance	"	35	10	3
i	Stationery	"	51	7	1
r	Printing	"	18	0	0
r	Furniture on hire	"	19	8	6
					Rs. 596 13 4

Collection Committee Expenses:—

r	Travelling & Conveyance	Rs.	910	10	3
i	Establishment	"	156	2	3
i	Commission & other Exp.	"	198	11	6
i	Printing & Stationery	"	76	10	0
a	Telephone & Telegrams	"	13	14	0
a	Postage	"	11	13	6
h	Furniture on hire	"	5	15	0
					Rs. 1,383 12 6
i	Establishment	"	3,473	6	6
i	Printing & Stationery	"	1,490	13	3
r	Travelling & Conveyance (Including expenses for the Members of the Board of Control, Cars on hire and Cost of Petrol etc.)	Rs.	1,859	11	0
i	Printing charges of Presidential Addresses	"	1174	9	0
i	Sale proceeds of Presidential addresses	"			Rs. 1,181 4 9
r	Furniture on hire	"	969	7	9
r	Furniture & Fixture	"	847	4	3
r	Provision for printing Report and Audited Accounts	"	1,200	0	0
a	Provision for Despatching audited accounts	"	100	0	0
a	Audit Fee	"	750	0	0
a	Postages & Revenue Stamps	"	400	14	9
i	Telephone & Telegrams	"	1,211	5	3
r	Reporting charges of the proceeding of the Congress	"	401	5	0
					Rs. 16,844 1 1
					Rs. 1,181 4 9

Reception Committee contd.

<i>Brought Forward</i>	Rs. 16,844	1	1	Rs. 1,181	4
Rent & Taxes	"	670	9	6	
Help & Charity	"	374	1	3	
Badges, for Delegates etc.	"	154	0	3	
Bonus to Staff	"	145	0	0	
Reception Committee Meeting	"	430	12	3	
Entertainment expenses	"	354	8	6	
Electric Charges	"	140	5	9	
Ry. Freight, Octroi, Cartage and other sundry	"	256	13	1	
Advertisement	"	168	0	3	
Litigation	"	25	0	0	
	"	19,563	3	11	", 1,181 4

SCHEDULE B.

(Sub Committees)

Decoration

Expenditure

Khadi	Rs.	328	2	6
Garden & Lawn Keeping	"	133	6	6
Railway Freight etc.	"	23	12	9
Establishment	"	27	12	0
Furniture on hire	"	14	0	0
Miscellaneous	"	2	3	6
Stationery	"	0	7	6
	"	529	12	9

Leaders' Camp Arrangement.

Expenditure.

Boarding, Refreshment etc.	Rs.	539	1	9
Furniture on hire	"	266	12	0
Furniture and Fixture	"	170	9	6
Miscellaneous	"	35	11	9
Printing and Stationery	"	32	7	6
Establishment	"	33	6	9
Conveyance	"	26	14	3
Travelling	"	4	14	6
Cars on hire	"	4	0	0
Petrol	"	3	8	0
Postage	"	2	5	0
	"	1,119	11	0

Enquiry Committee.

Expenditure.

Establishment	Rs.	130	15	0
Conveyance	"	59	9	9
Printing and Stationery	"	44	4	8
Entertainment	"	22	8	3
Furniture on hire	"	22	12	6
Furniture and Fixture	"	18	3	3
Miscellaneous	"	12	0	3
	"	310	5	8

Reception Committee contd.

<i>Brought Forward</i>	Rs. 16,844	1	1	Rs. 1,181	4
Rent & Taxes	"	670	9	6	
Help & Charity	"	374	1	3	
Badges, for Delgates etc.	"	154	0	3	
Bonus to Staff	"	145	0	0	
Reception Committee Meeting	"	430	12	3	
Entertainment expenses	"	354	8	6	
Electric Charges	"	140	5	9	
Ry. Freight, Octroi, Cartage and other sundry	"	256	13	1	
Advertisement	"	168	0	3	
Litigation	"	25	0	0	
	"	<u>19,563</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>Rs. 1,181 4</u>

SCHEDULE B.

(Sub Committees)

Decoration

Expenditure

Khadi	Rs.	328	2	6
Garden & Lawn Keeping	"	133	6	6
Railway Freight etc,	"	23	12	9
Establishment	"	27	12	0
Furniture on hire	"	14	0	0
Miscellaneous	"	2	3	6
Stationery	"	0	7	6
	"	529	12	9
		529	12	9

Leaders' Camp Arrangement.

Expenditure.

Boarding, Refreshment etc.	Rs.	539	1	9
Furniture on hire	"	266	12	0
Furniture and Fixture	"	170	9	6
Miscellaneous	"	35	11	9
Printing and Stationery	"	32	7	6
Establishment	"	33	6	9
Conveyance	"	26	14	3
Travelling	"	4	14	6
Cars on hire	"	4	0	0
Petrol	"	3	8	0
Postage	"	2	5	0
	"	1,119	11	0
		1,119	11	0

Enquiry Committee.

Expenditure.

Establishment	Rs.	130	15	0
Conveyance	"	59	9	9
Printing and Stationery	"	44	4	8
Entertainment	"	22	8	3
Furniture on hire	"	22	12	6
Furniture and Fixture	"	18	3	3
Miscellaneous	"	12	0	3
	"	310	5	8
		310	5	8

Lighting and Broad-casting

Expenditure.

Electric Consumption	Rs.	6,844	0	6
Electric Installation	"	3,005	13	6
Installation and hire charges of Loud Speakers	"	1,500	0	0
Railway Freight, Octroi etc.	"	76	10	6
Miscellaneous	"	18	12	0
Stationery	"	4	2	0
Furniture on hire	"	3	3	0
		<hr/>		
	"	11,452	9	6
		<hr/>		

Bazar Committee.

Income

Stall Rent	Rs.	7,177	4
Space Rent		485	0
Advertisement		371	8
Lighting Charges		375	11
Amusement Tickets		135	5
Miscellaneous		4	13

Expenditure

Decoration	Rs.	1,000	0	0
Sanitation	"	109	12	6
Establishment	"	93	14	3
Postage	"	80	11	6
Furniture on hire	"	44	0	0
Travelling	"	24	14	6
Miscellaneous	"	24	1	9
Printing and Stationery	"	46	14	3
Conveyance	"	12	12	6
Advertisement	"	3	8	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	2	4	0
		<hr/>		
	"	1,442	13	3
		<hr/>		
				8,549 10
		<hr/>		

General Purposes Committee.

Expenditure

Entertainment of All India Congress Committee Members	Rs.	158	6	0
Furniture and fixture	"	100	6	0
Construction	"	94	14	0
Printing and Stationery	"	56	8	3
Miscellaneous	"	26	8	3
Establishment	"	21	4	6
Utensils on hire	"	15	5	0
Conveyance	"	14	7	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	0	5	0
		488	0	0

Subjects Committee.

Expenditure

Hire and compensation of Tents	Rs	1,265	0	0
Furniture on hire	"	231	15	0
Stationery	"	11	9	0
Tea sets	"	10	0	0
		1,518	8	0

Procession and Reception Committee.

Expenditure.

Construction	Rs.	347	8	0
Khadi for Decoration	"	104	0	0
Miscellaneous	"	23	0	0
Conveyance	"	18	0	0
Cost of Flag Staff	"	15	2	0
Furniture on hire	"	5	12	0
Printing and Stationery	"	5	8	3
		518	14	3

Delegates Mess.

Income.

Rs. 422 4

Realisation for meals

Expenditure

Boarding and Refreshment	Rs.	464	2	3
Furniture on hire	"	90	6	0
Utensils on hire	"	38	15	6
Heat and Light	"	8	4	0
Railway Freight, Octroi etc.	"	20	4	6
Miscellaneous	"	6	13	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	5	10	0
Stationery	"	1	14	6

636	5	9	422	4
-----	---	---	-----	---

Lighting and Broad-casting

Expenditure.

Electric Consumption	Rs. 6,844	0	6
Electric Installation	" 3,005	13	6
Installation and hire charges of Loud Speakers	" 1,500	0	0
Railway Freight, Octroi etc.	" 76	10	6
Miscellaneous	" 18	12	0
Stationery	" 4	2	0
Furniture on hire	" 3	3	0
	<hr/>		
	" 11,452	9	6
	<hr/>		

Bazar Committee.

Income

Stall Rent	Rs. 7,177	4	0
Space Rent	485	0	0
Advertisement	371	8	6
Lighting Charges	375	11	0
Amusement Tickets	135	5	9
Miscellaneous	4	13	3

Expenditure

Decoration	Rs. 1,000	0	0
Sanitation	" 109	12	6
Establishment	" 93	14	3
Postage	" 80	11	6
Furniture on hire	" 44	0	0
Travelling	" 24	14	6
Miscellaneous	" 24	1	9
Printing and Stationery	" 46	14	3
Conveyance	" 12	12	6
Advertisement	" 3	8	0
Telephone and Telegrams	" 2	4	0
	<hr/>		
	" 1,442	13	3
	<hr/>		
		<hr/>	8,549 10
		<hr/>	

General Purposes Committee.

Expenditure

Entertainment of All India Congress				
Committee Members	Rs.	158	6	0
Furniture and fixture	"	100	6	0
Construction	"	94	14	0
Printing and Stationery	"	56	8	3
Miscellaneous	"	26	8	3
Establishment	"	21	4	6
Utensils on hire	"	15	5	0
Conveyance	"	14	7	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	0	5	0
		488 0 0		

Subjects Committee.

Expenditure

Hire and compensation of Tents				
Committee Members	Rs.	1,265	0	0
Furniture on hire	"	231	15	0
Stationery	"	11	9	0
Tea sets	"	10	0	0
		1,518 8 0		

Procession and Reception Committee.

Expenditure.

Construction				
Committee Members	Rs.	347	8	0
Khadi for Decoration	"	104	0	0
Miscellaneous	"	23	0	0
Conveyance	"	18	0	0
Cost of Flag Staff	"	15	2	0
Furniture on hire	"	5	12	0
Printing and Stationery	"	5	8	3
		518 14 3		

Delegates Mess.

Income.

Rs. 422 4

Realisation for meals

Expenditure

Boarding and Refreshment				
Committee Members	Rs.	464	2	3
Furniture on hire	"	90	6	0
Utensils on hire	"	38	15	6
Heat and Light	"	8	4	0
Railway Freight, Octroi etc.	"	20	4	6
Miscellaneous	"	6	13	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	5	10	0
Stationery	"	1	14	6
		636 5 9		
				422 4

Sanitation.

Expenditure

Phenyle	Rs.	130	15	3
Miscellaneous	"	77	9	3
Stone-lime	"	67	9	0
Well Boring	"	65	0	0
Stationery	"	33	4	0
Coal Tar	"	25	1	0
Furniture & Fixture	"	17	9	0
Furniture on hire	"	8	2	0
Kerosine Oil	"	5	5	6
Establishment	"	3	7	0
Conveyance & Cartage	"	0	14	0
		<hr/>		
		434	12	0
		<hr/>		

Accommodation Committee.

Income.

Rent from Visitors & Delegates Rs. 3,338 7 6

Expenditure.

Rent for Tents, Houses & Kanats	Rs.	3,267	0	0
Furniture on hire	"	1,003	5	6
Travelling & Conveyance	"	102	1	3
Furniture and Fixture	"	563	6	3
Establishment	"	144	9	6
Printing and Stationery	"	50	9	11
Miscellaneous	"	65	0	3
Sanitation	"	4	14	3
Telephone and Telegrams	"	2	0	0
Light	"	16	15	0
		<hr/>		
	"	5,219	13	11
		<hr/>		
	"	3,338	7	6
		<hr/>		

Medical Relief Committee.

Expenditure

Hospital arrangement	Rs.	227	15	0
Medicine and equipment	"	182	9	0
Furniture on hire	"	28	0	0
Stationery	"	18	1	0
Petrol	"	10	12	6
Establishment	"	7	8	0
Miscellaneous	"	0	14	0
Conveyance	"	18	0	0
		<hr/>		
		493	11	6
		<hr/>		

All-India Exhibition

Income

Donation for Exhibition	Rs.	4,000	0	0
Stall Rent	"	5,761	0	0
Entrance Ticket	"	24,235	11	0
Arts Gallery	"	476	5	0
Sundries	"	790	14	9

Exp.

Decoration	Rs.	4,300	2	0
Demonstration	"	4,055	0	6
Boarding & Refreshment	"	3,725	9	3
Travelling & Conveyance	"	2,978	15	6
Office Establishment	"	2,948	14	0
Hire of Furniture, Light etc.	"	1,641	10	0
Fine Arts Gallery	"	1,085	9	3
Printing & Stationery	"	1,613	9	9
Ry. Freight, Octroi	"			
Cartage etc.	"	1,450	5	9
Educational Charts	"	773	8	0
Agriculture & Dairy	"	524	6	10
Motor Car	"	546	7	0
Insurance charges	"	740	8	0
Amusement	"	442	7	6
Exhibits	"	383	11	0
Advertisement & Publication	"	523	0	0
Postage & Registration	"	354	12	3
Furniture & Fixture	"	245	4	3
Telephone & Telegrams	"	277	12	0
Watch & Ward	"	139	4	3
Heat & Light	"	231	9	9
Garden & Lawn Keeping	"	167	2	6
House Rent	"	277	8	0
Library	"	64	9	9
Miscellaneous	"	231	11	0
		<u>29,723</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
			<u>35,263</u>	<u>14</u>
				<u>9</u>

Publicity Department.

Expenditure

Publication, printing and Stationery	Rs.	914	2	7
Furniture on Hire	"	206	14	0
Establishment	"	84	7	6
Miscellaneous	"	28	7	9
Postage	"	25	0	0
Furniture and Fixture	"	23	12	0
Advertisement	"	10	15	9
Conveyance	"	8	6	0
Telephone and Telegrams	"	0	11	0
		<u>1,302</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>

Volunteers' Committee.

Expenditure.

Utensils, Boarding, and refreshment	Rs.	10,017	11	8
Travelling	"	2,916	7	0
Uniforms	"	1,793	3	0
Establishment	"	1,182	11	0
Lathis & equipment	"	726	4	6
Printing & Stationery	"	374	1	2
Furniture & Fixture	"	259	7	0
Conveyance	"	316	3	9
Miscellaneous	"	287	6	9
Hire of Bands	"	205	0	0
Furniture on hire	"	83	1	6
Cars on hire	"	81	0	0
Postage	"	79	8	0
Petrol	"	59	12	6
Medicine	"	38	4	0
Heat, Light, and Fuel	"	34	13	9
Telephone and Telegrams	"	20	3	0
Sanitation	"	4	3	0
Help & Charity	"	0	4	0
		<hr/>		
		18,479	9	7

Transport Committee.

Expenditure.

Boarding	Rs.	11	11	9
Hire of Motor-cars	"	1,786	6	0
Petrol	"	1,320	5	6
Tongas on hire	"	237	4	3
Cycles on hire	"	171	0	0
Riding Horse on hire	"	42	8	0
Establishment	"	8	14	3
Stationery	"	42	14	6
Furniture on hire	"	11	0	0
Printing	"	31	0	0
Miscellaneous	"	49	4	0
Advertisement	"	7	12	3
Entertainment	"	0	11	0
Construction	"	4	0	0
Cartage	"	6	6	0
		<hr/>		
		3,771	1	6

APPENDIX D.
Indian National Congress

*Resolutions passed at the 49th session, held at Lucknow on
April 12-14, 1936.*

1. CONDOLENCE

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Sriyuts B. N. Sasmal, M. V. Abhyankar, A. T. Gidwani, T. A. K. Sherwani, Arif Hasvi, Deep Narayan Singh, Shapurji Saklatwala, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Nabin Chandra Bardolai, Shrimati Kamla Nehru, Syts. Mohanlal Pandya, Seth Nathmal Choradia, Ganpatrao Tikekar, T. V. Venkataram Iyer, Aga Mohammad Safdar and Mahadeo Prasad Seth.

2. GREETING TO PRISONERS ETC.

The Congress sends its greeting to the thousands of Indians whom British imperialism keeps in prison, in detention and in exile, and who suffer in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom. In particular, the Congress sends affectionate greeting to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a member of the Working Committee, and offers its earnest sympathy to the people of the North-West Frontier Province, and of Midnapore District, and other parts of Bengal, who have long had to endure the fiercest repression under a regime approximating to Martial Law.

3. SHRI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ARREST

This Congress has learnt with indignation of the arrest under Regulation III of 1818 of Shri Subhas Bose on his return to India after long exile, when he was on his way to attend this session of the Congress. This Congress considers it a further and significant proof of how British imperialism continues to use its full apparatus of repression to prevent normal political and personal life in India. To Shri Subhas Chandra Bose the Congress sends its warm greeting and sympathy.

4. SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

The Congress draws public attention again to the widespread and intensive suppression of civil and, in many instances,

personal liberties in India by the British Government, with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements. In particular, to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organizations, and labour and peasant unions, and political and other groups; seizure and continued possession by the Government of many ashrams and other educational institutions; the continuation of the Ordinance regime by the certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, even after its rejection twice by the Assembly, and the enactment of similar provincial Acts; the proscription and banning of books and periodicals; the numerous Press laws and censorship resulting in the suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and the forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities; the detention of large number of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial; the numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer; the many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal; the restriction by externment, internment and otherwise to the free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and business, and even obstructing humanitarian and relief work; the application of measures like the Criminal Tribes Act and the Foreigners' Act to political workers; indiscriminate and widespread searches of houses; the difficulties placed in the way of Indians going abroad; and the barriers to the return home of many Indians in foreign countries, who have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland. The Congress notes that at no period since the great Révolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of British administration in India to-day, been so great as it is now. While recognising that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the Constitution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

Further, the Congress deeply regrets that in the Indian States, there is a similar suppression of civil and personal liberties, and,

in many of them, conditions in this respect are even worse than in the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non-existent; that in some States even the Congress has been banned and normal peaceful work of organization prevented, and insult offered to the National Flag. The Congress realises that the effective power behind the States is that of the British Government and many of the States are under the direct control of British Officers. Howsoever the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the Rulers of the States, the Congress declares that it can recognise no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States and the rest of India.

The Congress expresses the determination of the Indian people that notwithstanding this attempt to paralyse national growth and activity they will continue to face the situation with courage and fortitude and will carry on the struggle for freedom till independence is achieved.

5. FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organize a foreign department of the A. I. C. C. office to work under the general superintendence of the Working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary, with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas, and with international, national, labour and other organizations abroad with whom co-operation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom.

6. ROMAIN ROLLAND'S INVITATION TO THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS.

This Congress, having considered the invitation of Monsieur Romain Rolland, Honorary President of the World Committee of the struggle against War and Fascism, to participate in the World Congress for peace to be held in Geneva in September next, conveys its greetings to the organizers of the Peace Congress and its assurances of its full sympathy and co-operation in the great work of ensuring peace in the world based on national and social freedom. The Congress is convinced that such a peace can only be established on an enduring basis when the causes of war are removed and the domination and exploitation of nation by nation is ended.

7. WAR DANGER.

The Congress, at its sessions held in Madras in 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great imperialist Powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism. The Congress therefore reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.

8. SYMPATHY FOR ABYSSINIA.

The Congress expresses the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people who are so heroically defending their country against imperialist aggression, and considers Abyssinia's fight as part of the fight of all exploited nations for freedom.

The Congress condemns the great Powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war.

9. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, which is based on the White Paper and Joint Parliamentary Report and which is in many respects even worse than the proposals contained in them, in no way represents the will of the nation, is designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India and is imposed on the country to the accompaniment of widespread repression and the suppression of civil liberties, the Congress reiterates its rejection of the new constitution in its entirety.

The Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic state, declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not

recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future can be accepted. In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible. The Congress therefore reiterates and stresses the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.

In view of the fact that elections for the Provincial legislatures under the new Act may, according to official statements, take place before the next session of the Congress, this Congress resolves that in such an event candidates should be put forward on its behalf to contest such seats in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and in pursuance of its declared policy. Such candidates must be chosen from those who fully support the Congress objective of Indian Independence and pledge themselves to carry out its policy in regard to the legislatures.

The A. I. C. C. shall place before the country prior to the election, a manifesto explaining the political and economic policy and programme of the Congress in conformity with the resolutions passed by it from time to time. The Provincial Congress Committee may further supplement the manifesto by adding thereto specific items which have special application to their respective provinces. All Provincial manifestos must be approved by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C.

Resolved further that the functions of the Parliamentary Board be discharged in future by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee is authorised to appoint such Boards or Committees as may be necessary to organise elections to legislatures as well as to guide, co-ordinate and control the activities of Congress members in Legislatures. Accordingly the Parliamentary Board need not be reconstituted hereafter.

The question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the legislatures under the constitution having been agitated in the country the Congress, in view of the uncertainties of the situation as it may develop, considers it

inadvisable to commit itself to any decision at this stage on the question and leaves it to be decided at the proper time by the A. I. C. C. after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees.

10. INDIANS ABROAD

This Congress reiterates its sympathy for the Indian settlers in South Africa, East Africa, Zanzibar, and the Fiji Islands and deplores the continuing deterioration in their status and the privation of personal and property rights in spite of past agreements and declarations of Local and British Governments and assures them of its readiness to take such action as may be within its power to ameliorate their condition.

11. CONGRESS AND MASS CONTACTS

The Congress is of opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organisation, so that they may take greater share in the shaping of Congress policy and in its activities, and the organisation might become even more responsive to their needs and desires. With a view to this, and further to bring about closer cooperation with other organisations, of peasants, workers and others, which aim at the freedom of the Indian people and to make the Congress a joint front of all the anti-Imperialist elements in the country, this Congress appoints a committee consisting of Sriyuts Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram and Jayprakash Narayan to make recommendations in this behalf including proposals for such amendment of the constitution as may be considered necessary. The Committee shall report to the A. I. C. C. through the Working Committee by the end of July 1936 and its report shall be then circulated to provincial and district committees for opinion. The final recommendations of the A. I. C. C. on this report shall be placed before the next session of the Congress.

12. AGRARIAN PROGRAMME.

This Congress is of opinion that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce. The final solution of this problem inevitably involves the removal of British imperialistic exploitation, a thorough

change of the land tenure and revenue system and a recognition by the State of its duty to provide work for the rural unemployed masses.

In view, however, of the fact that agrarian conditions and land tenure and revenue systems differ in the various Provinces, it is desirable to consult the Provincial Congress Committees and such present organizations as the Working Committee considers fit, in the drawing up of a full All India Agrarian Programme as well as a programme for each Province. This Congress, therefore, calls upon each Provincial Congress Committee to make recommendations in detail to the Working Committee by August 31, 1936, for being considered and placed before the All India Congress Committee having particular regard to the following matters:—

1. Freedom of organization of agricultural labourers and peasants.
2. Safeguarding of the interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between the State and themselves.
3. Just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue.
4. Emancipation of the peasants from feudal and semi-feudal levies.
5. Substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands.
6. A just allotment of the State expenditure for the social economic and cultural amenities of villages.
7. Protection against harassing restrictions on the utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs.
8. Freedom from oppression and harassment at the hands of Government officials and landlords.
9. Fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment.

13. INDIAN STATES.

This Congress while re-affirming the resolution regarding Indian States passed in the Calcutta Session of 1928, and expressing its approval of the policy laid down in the statement issued by the A. I. C. C. in Madras in October 1935, desires to make it clear that, in its opinion, the people of the State should have the same right of self-determination as those of the rest of India, and that

the Congress stands for the same political, civil and democratic liberties for every part of India. The Congress, however, desires to point out that the struggle for liberty within the States has, in the very nature of things, to be carried on by the people of the States themselves.

14. AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

A number of amendments to the Congress constitution were passed. The amended constitution is printed separately.

15. NEXT CONGRESS.

Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in Maharashtra.

J. B. KRIPALANI

General Secretary,

All India Congress Committee.