

The Indian National Congress. 1924.

Being the resolutions of the Congress and of the All India
Congress Committee and of the Working Committee
of the Congress passed during the year 1924.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
All India Congress Committee meetings in 1924 :—	1 to
At Cocanada on 1st and 2nd January	1
At Ahmedabad on June 27th, 28th and 29th	3
At Bombay on 23rd November	6
At Belgaum on 28th December	8
Working Committee meetings in 1924 :—	9 to 3
At Cocanada on 2nd January	9
At Bombay on January 30th and 31st and February 1st	10
At Delhi on February 26th and 27th	16
At Bombay on April 23rd and 24th	18
At Sabarmati and Ahmedabad on June 26th, 29th, 30th and July 1st	20
At Delhi on October 3rd	26
At Bombay on November 21st	30
At Belgaum on December 23rd	31
Belgaum Session 1924	39
Delhi Unity Conference resolutions	46
All Parties Conference resolutions	51
Annual Report of Secretaries of A. I. C. C. for 1924	52
Audited Statement of Accounts of the A. I. C. C. Office for 1924	58
All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund :—	61 to 66
(i) Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 19th December 1923 to 10th December 1924	61
(ii) Revenue Account from 19th December 1923 to 10th December 1924	65
(iii) Balance Sheet as on 10th December 1924	66
Index	67

Some misprints corrected.

- On page 3 line 8 for *indispensible* read *indispensable*.
On page 3 line 9 for *have* read *has*.
On page 3 line 32 and line 40 for *advisible* read *advisable*.
On page 25 line 26 for *provincial* read *provisional*.
On page 28 line 27 for 29 read XIX.
On page 30 line 25 delete *of 1818*.
On page 31 line 11 for *and had* read *had*.
On page 37 line 35 for *assasination* read *assassination*.
On page 56 line 4 for 19408 read 19498.
On page 59 note (iii) for *Rs. 215-12-6* read *Rs. 213-12-6*.
On page 64 2nd column for *Rs. 13833-14-0* read
Rs. 13833-14-9.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1924.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Cocanada on the 1st and 2nd January, 1924:—

1. Resolved that the following do constitute the Working Committee:—

Ex-officio : Maulana Mohamad Ali—President

Syt. Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri }
Syt. Velji Lakhamsi Napoo.... } Treasurers.

Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande. }
Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew. } General Secretaries.
Syt. Jawaharlal Nehru. }

Elected members : 1. Deshbandhu Das.
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
3. Syt. Konda Venkatappayya.
4. Maulana Shankat Ali.
5. Seth Jammalal Bajaj.
6. Syt. Vallabhdbhai Patel.
7. " C. Rajagopalachariar.
8. Sirdar Mangal Singh.
9. Syt. Shankerial Banker.

II. (1) The All India Congress Committee is of opinion that all the resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, excepting privileged resolutions, passed during the year, and the accounts, should be printed together in convenient form for sale and distribution with the annual report. The Working Committee is authorised to take necessary steps in this behalf.

(2) The Working Committee is also directed to take necessary steps to get published in convenient form all the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee together with a report of receipts and expenditure, from the Calcutta special session to the Cocanada session of the Congress.

III. Resolved that the Working Committee prepare a scheme for Permanent staff and office. having a permanent staff and office in a central place and place it before the All India Congress Committee.

IV. The Akali question be referred to the Working Committee for necessary action.
Akalis.

V. In supersession of the resolutions passed on the subject from time to time by the Working Committee, this Boundary disputes. Committee appoints an Arbitration Committee consisting of Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar, two representatives from Utkal and two from Andhra, elected by the respective Provincial Congress Committees, to investigate the question of the Andhra-Utkal delimitation and arrive at a decision before the 31st of March, 1924, the decision of the committee being final.

VI. The following are elected to the Election Disputes Panel:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Election Disputes
Panel. | 1. Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram. |
| | 2. Babu Bhagwandas. |
| | 3. Syt. C. V. Vaidya. |
| | 4. Syt. Manilal Kothari. |
| | 5. Dr. M. A. Ansari. |
| | 6. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. |
| | 7. Syt. George Joseph. |
| | 8. Pandit K. Santanam (Lahore) |
| | 9. Syt. B. F. Bharucha. |
| | 10. Syt. T. Prakasam. |
| | 11. Dr. Subrahmanyam. |
| | 12. Dr. Murarilal. |

VII. Mr. Viswanath Mukerji's proposition suggesting the creation and promotion of a labour and peasant Labour and peasant organization. organization is referred to the Working Committee for disposal.

VIII. In accordance with the programme adopted by the Congress at Cocanada, the All India Congress Constructive programme. Committee resolves that every Provincial Congress Committee do at once take steps to carry out the constructive programme. Provincial Congress Committees are directed to prepare detailed and considered schemes showing the items of the Bardoli constructive programme to be now concentrated upon in each province and the ways and means decided upon for carrying them out. Reports shall reach the general secretary before February 15th, 1924.

IX. Resolved that Deshbhakta Venkatappayya be requested to deal with and dispose of finally the election - Old election disputes. disputes of last year.

X. That the Working Committee be authorised be negotiate with the Reception Committee of the Indian Congress pavilion. National Congress at Cocanada and Mr. Mukherjee the owner, with a view to purchase the tent wherein the Congress was held, and to purchase it should they consider it desirable.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on June 27th, 28th and 29th, 1924 :—

I. (1) In view of the fact that the members of Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected hand-spinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product handspun khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swarajya, and although their acceptance have been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the All India Congress Committee resolves that members of all elected Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling or other similar cause, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall each send to the secretary of the All India Khaddar Board, or to any person appointed by him in this behalf, at least 2,000 yards of even and well twisted yarn of their own spinning, so as to reach him not later than the 15th of August 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall, unless unavoidably prevented, be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the general election for the members of the several organisations.

(2) In view of the fact that certain members, whilst the proceedings of the committee were going on, deemed it necessary to withdraw from the committee, by reason of their resentment of the penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution, and in view of the fact that the penalty clause of the resolution was carried only by 67 against 37 votes, and further in view of the fact that the said penalty clause would have been defeated if the votes of the withdrawals had been given against, the committee considers it proper and advisable to remove the penalty clause from the resolution and to re-affirm the said resolution without the said penalty clause.

II. In as much as it has been brought to the notice of the committee that instructions issued from time to time by officers and organisations duly authorised thereto have sometimes not been carried out properly, it is resolved that such disciplinary action including dismissal, as may be deemed advisable by the respective executive committees of the Provincial Congress Committees of the provinces in which the failure has occurred shall be taken against the persons about whom complaint may be made, and in the cases of complaints by or on behalf of the

central organisations such disciplinary action as may be taken by the provincial executive committee shall be reported to the complaining organisations. In cases of default by whole organisations the disciplinary action shall be taken by the superior organisations.

III. The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five Request to Representatives. boycotts *viz.*, of all foreign cloth, government law courts, educational institutions, titles and legislative bodies, except in so far as the boycott of the legislative bodies may be affected by the Cocanada resolution, and the propaganda for the exclusive use of khadi, are still part of the Congress programme, and therefore considers it desirable that those Congress voters who believe in the Congress programme do not elect to the various organisations subordinate to the Congress those who do not believe in the principle of and carry out in their own persons the said five boycotts, except where affected by the said Cocanada resolution, and do not exclusively use hand-spun khaddar; and the All-India Congress Committee therefore requests such persons who are now members of the Congress elective organisations to resign their places.

IV (1). In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee the Assam opium policy. the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries. The All-India Congress Committee is further of opinion that the people of India would welcome the the total abolition of the opium traffic for purposes of revenue and is also of opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements of India.

(2)—The All India Congress Committee hereby appoints Mr. C. F. Andrews to conduct an enquiry, in association with the Assam Provincial Congress Committee into the opium habits of the people of Assam and the effects upon them of the opium policy of the Government, and for this purpose authorises the Working Committee to make the necessary arrangements.

V. After reading the report of Messrs. Andrews and Chaturvedi on emigration from India for labour purposes, Indians overseas. the All India Congress Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to send, if necessary, the deputation suggested in the report to the Malaya peninsula and Ceylon, and invite the co-operation of other organisations on the deputation.

VI. (1) All motions intended to be discussed at the annual session of the Indian National Congress, whether from Provincial Congress Committees or delegates should be sent to reach the general Notice of resolutions.

secretaries at least ten days before the session of the Congress begins. The secretaries shall digest them and incorporate them in the draft programme to be placed before the Subjects Committee.

(2) Such resolutions as have not found place in the printed draft will not be entertained by the Subjects Committee, unless they are signed by at least 20 members of the All India Congress Committee or 50 delegates of the Congress.

VII. Resolved that that the resignation of Syt. Velji Lakhamsi Nappoo be accepted. Resolved further that Seth Janmalal Bajaj be appointed treasurer in place of Syt. Velji L. Nappoo with powers to operate on the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, either jointly or severally.

And further Seth Janmalal Bajaj and Syt. Rewashanker Jagjiwan Javeri are hereby empowered to appoint an attorney or attorneys either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Janmalal Bajaj and Seth Rewashanker Jagjiwan Javeri. Provided, however, that the devolution of any of the above powers does not absolve the treasurers from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

Resolved that Syt. Rewashanker Jagjiwan Javeri do continue as working treasurer.

VIII. Resolved that Mahatma M. K. Gandhi be elected Election to W. C. a member of the Working Committee.

IX. Resolved that the award of Syt. Konda Venkatappayya in the Bassein Taluq election dispute be confirmed and the petition for reconsideration by Syt. Divekar be rejected.

X. The All-India Congress Committee regrets the murder of Ernest Day by Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the family of the deceased; and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder, the All-India Congress Committee strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the non-violent policy of the Congress, and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards Swaraj, and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which in the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee is capable of evoking the purest sacri-

lice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere.

XI. The All-India Congress Committee places on record its appreciation of the amazing self sacrifice undergone by the Sikhs in the prosecution of the defence of their religious rights and congratulates them specially on the bravery and cool courage exhibited by them at the time of the unnecessary, uncalled for and cruel firing at Jaito.

XII. Resolved that the resignation of Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande from the office of the general secretary be accepted and Syt. Rajendra Prasad be elected in his place.

XIII. Resolved that the following resolutions be referred to the Working Committee :—

(i) The resolutions of Syt. Bajrang Sahai regarding the training of women workers and the recalling of Congress men from local boards.

(ii) The resolution of Syt. Laxminarayan Agnihotri requiring compulsory learning of the Devanagari character and Hindustani language by all members of the All India Congress Committee.

(iii) Mr. Viswanath Mukerji's resolution regarding the depressed classes and another resolution regarding action to be taken against those who apologised to Government.

(iv) Swami Govindanand's resolution regarding changes in the Congress constitution.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on 23rd November, 1924 :—

I. This Committee expresses its deep sorrow at the passing away of Bi-Amman Saheba, the mother of the Ali brothers, whose loss is a blow to the country's struggle for freedom, and prays that the Almighty may grant her peace and that the country may have the strength to bear this sorrow.

II. The Committee accepts the following agreement entered into by Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru on the other :—

"Whereas although Swaraj is the goal of all the parties in India the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the

nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to reunite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the local government with the sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we the undersigned strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum :—

" The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India.

" The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the antecedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and the promotion of unity between different communities, specially between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them, should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation and for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and raise and administer its own funds.

" Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congress men and women and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress constitution and should substitute the following therefor :—

No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause, a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in Belgaum on December 23rd 1924. At this meeting the minutes of the previous two meetings were confirmed and the general secretaries' annual report, together with statements of accounts, was presented to the Committee. The retiring president was thanked on behalf of the Committee which then resolved itself into the Subjects Committee of the Congress.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Belgaum on 28th December, 1924 :—

- I. Resolved that the question of the appointment of an auditor for 1925 referred by the Congress to the All India Congress Committee be postponed to the next meeting of the Committee.
- II. Resolved that the next Congress be held at Cawnpore.
Next Congress.
- III. Resolved that the Working Committee be nominated by Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu C. R. Das, and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the three signatories to the Calcutta Agreement.
Working Committee.
- IV. Resolved that the Working Committee do frame instructions for the successful working of the spinning franchise.
The new franchise.
- V. Regarding the question of the restoration of the Buddha Gaya temple to the Buddhists, resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be requested to go into the matter in terms of the Working Committee resolution dated 29-1-23 and to present his report by the end of January.
Buddha Gaya temple.
- VI. Resolved that in the opinion of the Committee it is desirable for Congress men to offer themselves for election to the local bodies wherever it is likely to further the programme of the Congress.
Entry into local bodies.
- VII. Resolved that the Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the Egyptians in their troubles and hopes that they will bear their sorrows bravely and rise superior to the terrorism now set up in their land.
Egypt.
- VIII. Resolved that in view of the allegations of the Punjab Muslim press against the desecration of the shrine of Shah Hamdan, the universally venerated saint of Kashmere, said to have been committed by a section of the Srinagar Hindus, the All India Congress Committee instructs the Working Committee to enquire into the allegations and similar allegations by the Hindu press in respect of Hindu shrines in Kashmere, and report to the All India Congress Committee at an early date.
Desecration of holy places.

- IX. Resolved that the resolution of Syt. Duni Chand (Punjab) regarding communal, political and semi-political organisations be postponed till the next meeting of the Committee.
- Communal organiza-
tions.

Note.—Immediately after the adjournment of the Committee, Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru met to consider the formation of the Working Committee. The following Committee was formed in accordance with their decision :—

- Ex-officio :*
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mahatma Gandhi— <i>President.</i> | |
| 2. Syt. Revashankar Jagjivan Javeri. | } <i>Treasurers.</i> |
| 3. Syt. Seth Jarnalal Bajaj. | |
| 4. Syt. Shuaib Qureshi. | } <i>Secretaries.</i> |
| 5. Syt. B. F. Bharucha. | |
| 6. Syt. Jawaharlal Nehru. | |
- Elected :*
7. Deshbandhu Das.
 8. Pt Motilal Nehru.
 9. M. Abul Kalam Azad.
 10. Maulana Mohamad Ali.
 11. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.
 12. Syt. N. C. Kelkar.
 13. Sirdar Mangal Singh.
 14. Syt. M. S. Aney.
 15. Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu.

WORKING COMMITTEE 1924.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held at Cocanada on 2nd January, 1924:—

I. Resolved that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru be appointed working general secretary, and that the office of the All India Congress Committee be located at Allahabad.

II. Resolved that the president and the general secretaries be authorised to engage two competent permanent under-secretaries to look after Congress organisation, constructive work and national education. The president and the general secretaries are authorised to engage such members of the existing staff and such new members as may be necessary.

III. Resolved that the president be in charge of the department of national education.

IV. The resolution of the All India Congress Committee relating to the publication of the resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee was taken up and it was resolved that the president and the working secretary be authorised to have the resolutions published.

V. Resolved that Syt. Shankerlal Banker be deputed on behalf of the Working Committee to confer with the All India Volunteer Board in regard to the proposed volunteer organisation. Resolved further that Rs. 1,000 be placed at the disposal of the president of the Volunteer Board.

VI. Read the recommendations of the committee appointed to consider the Boycott of Empire goods. Resolved that a Central Bureau as recommended may be organised, provided that

(i) cotton goods be excluded from the scope of the bureau's activities and the propaganda and policy regarding the same be left entirely to the All India Khaddar Department.

(ii) in regard to other articles the bureau should devote considerable attention to swadeshi production and the dissemination of information regarding it.

Resolved further that Rs. 10,000 be budgeted for the Central Bureau for 6 months and such part of it as can be sent immediately be sent, that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be requested to advance the sum and that the Boycott Committee be informed that no bigger sum can at present be provided for, having regard to our finances.

VII. Resolved that the Cocanada Congress pavilion be purchased and that the delegation quota payable by the Cocanada Reception Committee be paid direct to the contractor, Mr. Mukherjee. The balance of money stipulated to the contractor will be paid by the All India Congress Committee.

VIII. Resolved that Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gidwani be requested to represent the Congress in Amritsar and Mr. Gidwani be requested to stay on at Amritsar and carry on publicity work on behalf of the Congress. Mr. Gidwani is authorised to draw Rs. 250 per month as an allowance during his stay in Amritsar.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held in Bombay on 30th and 31st January and 1st February, 1924 :—

At the chairman's suggestion silent prayers were offered for Mahatma Gandhi's recovery.

I. The report and recommendations of the National Education Conference convened by Babu Bhagavan Das were laid before the Committee. It was decided to postpone its consideration till the formation of the National Education Board.

II. Letter dated 1st September 1923 of the principal of the Satyabadi Vidyalaya, Sakhigopal, was considered. The Committee decided that no further help could be given to the school.

III. The letter of the secretary, Utkal P. C. C., asking for financial help, and the letter dated 28th August 1923 from the secretary, Tilak Swaraj Fund Trustees, was considered together with resolution No 4 of the Working Committee, dated 3rd August, 1923. The Committee decided that in view of the financial condition of the All India Congress Committee no grant could be made to Utkal but that other assistance will be rendered in re-organising Congress work in the province.

IV. It was also resolved that Mr. Secretary Gangadhar Rao Deshpande should look into the financial condition of all Provincial Congress Committees as ascertained by the auditor and should arrange for a member or members of the Working Committee or any prominent Congressman to visit such provinces as are in straitened circumstances in order to assist them in re-starting work and particularly in enrolling members and raising funds so that they may be in a position to organise effectively Congress work.

V. The letter, dated 17th October 1923, of the secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and the letter dated 30th October 1923, from Dr. P. C. Ghosh were considered together with all other papers relating to the Bengal Workers' Fund. It was resolved that in view of the donor's letter the balance of the Workers' Fund with Dr. Ghosh be administered by him in his personal capacity and the account of the fund be sent by him to the All-India Congress Committee and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

VI. M. P. V. Mahajan's complaint against the president of the Maharashtra P. C. C. was considered and it was resolved that Secretary Jawaharlal Nehru be asked to deal with the matter and to dispose of it.

VII. The letter dated the 17th December 1923, of the secretary, Punjab P. C. C., regarding the balance of the Punjab Relief and Martial Law funds was considered and it was resolved that resolution No. 9 dated the 17th January 1922, of the Working Committee be confirmed and the amount be transferred to the All India Congress Committee funds.

VIII. Dr. Sathaye's scheme for labour organisation and Dr. Mukerjee's resolution relating thereto were put before the Committee. It was resolved that in view of the present financial condition of the All India Congress Committee the consideration of these schemes be postponed.

IX. The Committee was informed by the secretary that the Cocanada Congress pavilion had been finally purchased on behalf of the All India Congress Committee and the price paid. It was decided that Mr. Secretary Deshpande do take charge of it and arrange for its transport to the Karnatak and for its storage and insurance.

Mr. Deshpande to obtain the necessary funds for the purpose from the Karnatak P. C. C.

X. Mr. Mandlik's complaint against the new rules of the Maharashtra P. C. C. was considered. It appeared to the Working Committee that the last rule, empowering the president to suspend any rule, gave too large and sweeping powers to the president. The Committee, therefore, requested the Maharashtra P. C. C. to state the reasons for having such a rule.

XI. Considered the cable from South Africa inviting Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Naidu's cable from East Africa. Resolved that Mrs. Naidu and Syt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi be requested to proceed to South Africa from East Africa to study the urgent problems affecting Indians and to give advice and render all possible assistance to them. The secretary was authorised to incur necessary expenditure in this behalf.

XII. The audited accounts of the All India Congress Committee and P. C. Cs. for 1923 were laid before the Committee together with the auditor's suggestion that a statement be issued about Congress finances. It was resolved that the auditor be requested to get the accounts of the All India Congress Committee and the various P. C. Cs. printed in book form, together with an introductory explanatory statement of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the last three years in a popular form. The statement to be approved and signed by the secretaries.

XIII. Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son's claim for Rs. 73-4-0 was referred to the working secretary for disposal.

XIV. Letter dated the 11th January 1924, of the secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, regarding the advance to be given to the Boycott Committee in terms of the Working Committee's resolution No. 6 dated the 2nd January 1924, was

considered. It was decided that the amount advanced by the Bombay P. C. C. will be as a loan to the All India Congress Committee.

XV. It was resolved that Rs. 5,000 be given to Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande for Canara relief in terms of resolution No. 5 dated the 19th September 1923, of the Working Committee. Mr. Secretary Deshpande be requested to obtain and examine the accounts of the Malabar Relief Committee.

XVI. The papers relating to a loan to Tamil Nadu for khadi work were referred to the All India Khaddar Board for disposal.

XVII. Syt. V. N. Chandavarkar's acknowledgment conveying his thanks for the Cocanada Congress resolution No. 1 was laid before the Committee.

XVIII. Mr. Blizard's letter dated 29th September 1923, regarding the accounts of the "India" newspaper was considered. It was decided to request him to send the balance of the money £5-1-10 to the All India Congress Committee.

XIX. Mr. J. M. Parikh's letter dated 30th August 1923, was considered. The working secretary was authorised to take steps to have the library of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress brought over to India.

XX. The statement of accounts of the Bombay Tilak Swarajya Fund Trustees was laid before the Committee.

XXI. A telegram from Dr. M. A. Ansari regarding expenses for preparation and circulation of the National Pact was considered. It was resolved that Rs. 500 be sanctioned for the purpose.

XXII. The treasurer and the working secretary informed the Committee of the present state of the finances of the All India Congress Committee. The consideration of the budget estimate for the All India Congress Committee office was postponed till the next meeting. Meanwhile the working secretary was authorised to incur necessary expenditure.

XXIII. The working secretary placed some draft rules for the collection, custody and expenditure of Congress funds before the Committee. It was resolved that each Provincial Congress Committee should adopt standing rules for the collection, custody and expenditure of Congress funds and for this purpose the model rules laid before the Committee by the secretary (with such modifications as have been suggested in the course of the discussion) may be considered as a basis. The rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committees for this purpose should be submitted to the Working Committee for approval

XXIV. The Akali situation was then fully discussed and it was resolved,

(i) that out of the money earmarked for civil disobedience, a sum of Rs. 22,000 be sanctioned for helping the families of Sikhs going to jail in offering civil disobedience to government, in addition to Rs. 3,000 given for this purpose by the Burma Provincial Congress Committee; that is, a total amount of Rs. 25,000 be granted. This money is to be sent to the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and is to be spent by them for the purpose specified in consultation with the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

(ii) That Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned from the general funds to be paid to Syt. A. T. Gidwani for the Congress Akali Sahayak Publicity Bureau, and that Mr. Gidwani be requested to send accounts and a budget estimate of future expenditure.

XXV. Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni's letter dated 25th January 1924, regarding the printing of the Guru-ka-Bagh Enquiry Committee's report was laid before the Committee. Resolved that Professor Ruchi Ram be authorised to get the report printed. The report should be priced and offered for sale.

XXVI. Syt. Reva Shanker J. Javeri was appointed working treasurer.

XXVII. The Committee considered the suggestion of some Provincial Congress Committees for the appointment of Press Advisory Committees in terms of the Delhi Congress resolution No. 9 (2). The Punjab P. C. C.'s suggestions were accepted and Pt. K. Santanam, Malik Lal Khan and Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal were appointed. It was decided to request the Bombay P. C. C. to include one or two non-Hindu names in the suggestions. Also decided to request the Bengal P. C. C. to suggest a name of a person knowing Hindi as one of the three nominees.

XXVIII. The question of drafting rules for the Civic Guards was considered. It was resolved that in view of the Cocanada Congress resolution relating to volunteer organisation this organisation be requested to carry out the object of the civic guards resolution through their volunteers.

XXIX. The Cocanada Congress resolution No. 5 was considered. It was decided to ask the president and secretaries to draft a scheme and put it up before the Committee.

XXX. Syt. Reva Shanker J. Javeri and Syt. Shankerlal Banker be requested to prepare a scheme for having a permanent staff and office of the All India Congress Committee in terms of the All India Congress Committee resolution, dated January 2nd, 1924.

XXXI Resolved that a Committee consisting of Syt. Banaridas Chaturvedi and Syt. C. F. Andrews be appointed to consider the prevention of emigration to foreign countries in terms of the Cocanada Congress resolution No. 10.

XXXII. Resolved that the secretary do send telegrams to Dr. Moonje and Dr. Cholker asking them to remit immediately to the Congress treasurer the balance of the Nagpur Congress delegation fees.

The secretary to put up a list of all persons and committees owing money to the All India Congress Committee at the next Working Committee meeting.

XXXIII. After a general discussion about future work the following resolution was passed :—

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is deeply thankful to Merciful Providence that Mahatma Gandhi has passed safely through his recent grave illness and that his further services in the cause of freedom have thus been vouchsafed to the nation. The Committee appeals to the nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from Government his and the nation's freedom and establish Swarajya, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 18th February and ending on 18th March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country. The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to clothe the nation in khaddar, to enrol Congress members and to collect money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. All Congress committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution.

XXXIV. (i) Mr. A. T. Gidwani made a statement about Hindu Sikh relations in the Punjab. It was resolved that the Punjab P. C. C. be asked to take steps to adjust the differences amicably and if necessary to appoint a committee for this purpose in consultation with the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

(ii) Mr. Gidwani also made a statement about the oppression being carried on in the Doaba in the Punjab. Resolved that the Punjab P. C. C. be requested to report to the Working Committee on the situation in the Doaba and on the steps they are taking to deal with it.

(iii) Mr. Gidwani further gave particulars of the expenses being incurred in his Akali Sahayak publicity office at Amritsar. It was

resolved that a sum of Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned for the Akali Sahayak Bureau, Amritsar in addition to Rs. 1,000 that have been sanctioned by resolution No. 29 (ii) dated 31st January 1924, and that Mr. Gidwani be asked to send his accounts and budget.

XXXV. Mr. Secretary Jawaharlal Nehru placed before the Committee the rules relating to volunteer organisation drafted by the All India Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal. It was resolved that these be sent to all P. C. Cs. and their opinions and suggestions invited on them and that these be put up before the Working Committee for consideration. Further that in order to avoid delay P. C. Cs. might meanwhile start work on the lines indicated in the proposed rules.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held in Delhi on 26th and 27th February, 1924 :—

I. Read Mr. K. Natrajan's letter dated 29th January, 1924 and review of the work of the Indian National Social Conference dated 25th December, 1923. Resolved that as Mr. Natrajan does not propose any scheme requiring immediate expenditure of money, the amount with Mr. Natrajan be returned to the treasurer, All India Congress Committee, minus a sum of Rs. 500 which may be retained by him for carrying on the object of the grant.

II. The Committee considered the schemes of work prepared by the Provincial Congress Committees in compliance with resolution 10 of the All India Congress Committee dated 2nd January, 1924. Resolved that the Working Committee notes with satisfaction that most provinces have framed definite schemes of constructive work and have already begun to take vigorous action. The Committee appeals to the people to give every help to the Congress organisation in attaining a substantial measure of success in the fulfilment of their programme. The Committee specially recommends that special attention be paid to the enrolment of members, collection of funds and the organisation of khaddar and volunteers.

III. The secretary informed the Committee that in consultation with the president, Syt. Raghupati Sahai had been appointed under-secretary on a subsistence allowance of Rs. 250 per month.

IV. The president be authorised to have a private secretary on a salary not exceeding Rs. 150 per month.

V. Resolved that the following budget for 1924 for the office of the All India Congress Committee be approved :—

Establishment	Rs. 8,000
Postage and telegrams	1,500
Printing and stationery	1,500
Travelling expenses	1,200
Rents and taxes	500
Miscellaneous	1,000

Rs. 13,700

VI. Read letter No. Re. I dated 18th February, 1924 of the general secretary, Reception Committee, Special Session, Delhi. Resolved that he be informed that his interpretation of Art. XVII regarding the All India Congress Committee's quota of delegation fees is incorrect. Half the delegation fees are held by the Reception Committee in trust for the All India Congress Committee, and should have been sent within two weeks after the termination of the session regardless of any expenditure or liabilities incurred by the Reception Committee. The Reception Committee is therefore called upon to take immediate steps to remit Rs. 9315 at the earliest possible date to the treasurer, All India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee further regret that they cannot make a grant for the publication of the full report of the Delhi Special Congress. If the Reception Committee are unable to print the report and are taking no steps in the matter, a brief summary of the proceedings together with the resolutions of the special session be published with the report of the Cocanada session. The working secretary is authorised to take the necessary steps in the matter.

VII. Letter No. 374 dated 21st February, 1924 from the President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee was considered. It was resolved that the Working Committee recommends to the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee that the rule relating to the powers of the president to suspend any rule be deleted or modified so as to prevent the possibility of the constitution being arbitrarily over-ridden.

VIII. Resolved that with reference to the resolution regarding Mr. P. V. Mahajan's complaint against the president of Maharashtra P. C. C. passed at the meeting of the Working Committee dated January 30th, the reference to the working secretary will also include Mr. Mahajan's complaint against the "Nava Kal."

IX. The Committee considered the Akali situation. Resolved that

- (i) The Working Committee expresses its deep sympathy with the brave Sikh community on the tragic events at Jaito and congratulates the Jatha on their gallant and determined behaviour and on their non-violence.

- (ii) In view of the fact that Syt. A. T. Gidwani has been arrested Mr. George Joseph be requested to take charge of the publicity work of the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau at Amritsar.
- (iii) Mr. Joseph be requested to make enquiries from eye-witnesses and others having direct knowledge of the firing at the Akali Jatha at Jaito, and the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee be requested to render every assistance. Sardar Mangal Singh and Syt. K. Santanam be also requested to help in the enquiry.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held in Bombay on 23rd and 24th April, 1924 :—

I. The following statements were laid before the Committee :—

- (i) The treasurer's statement of receipts and expenditure from 19th December 1923 to 21st April 1924.
- (ii) A statement of the accounts of the office of the All India Congress Committee from 11th December 1923 to 31st March 1924.
- (iii) A statement of loans advanced by and monies due to the All India Congress Committee. It was resolved that the general secretary do take special steps to recover the monies due to the All India Congress Committee and that for this purpose he be authorised to incur necessary travelling expenses.

II. Read Syt. C. Rajagopalachari's letter dated 23rd March 1924 asking for an extension of time for the repayment of Rs. 15,000 advanced to Tamil Nadu P. C. C. Resolved that the time be extended till the 30th June 1924.

III. The secretary informed the Committee that a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 had been received from Rangoon for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Of this Rs. 59,757-12-0 were for the central fund and Rs. 65,242-4-0 were earmarked for constructive work in Gujarat.

IV. The secretary laid the papers relating to the loan of Rs. 40,000 to Mr. Badrul Hassan for khaddar work in Hyderabad (Dn.) before the Committee. It was resolved that the secretary should get the khaddar in dispute valued with the help of the All India Khaddar Board.

V. The Committee considered

- (i) Mr. Phookan's telegram asking for help for fire and cholera relief in Assam.
- (ii) telegram from Dr. Sathaye asking for financial assistance for labour relief in Bombay.
- (iii) an application of the Assam P. C. C. for a grant of Rs. 28,000.

Resolved that the Committee regret their inability to give financial help in the above cases.

VI. Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal's resignation from the National Pact Committee was accepted and it was resolved to request the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee to suggest the name of another Sikh gentleman to serve on the National Pact Committee.

VII. Syt. C. Rajagopalachari's resignation from the Andhra-Utkal Boundary Arbitration Committee was accepted. Resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be requested to work on the committee in place of Syt. C. Rajagopalachari.

VIII. The secretary informed the Committee of the circumstances under which Mr. Panikkar was asked to take charge of the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau in Amritsar. It was resolved that Mr. Panikkar's appointment on Rs. 300 per month and on the conditions mentioned in Mahatma Gandhi's letter dated 15th March 1924 be approved.

Further resolved that the payment of Rs. 100 to Pandit Karamchand Shukla be sanctioned.

IX. Resolved that Syt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi be paid for the period he was away on deputation in East Africa on behalf of the Congress the allowance he was being paid in the Gujarat Vidyapitha.

X. Letter from the secretary, Punjab P. C. C. No. 879, dated 19th March 1924, about fraudulent conduct of certain Congress workers was considered. The Committee was of opinion that in all cases of suspected embezzlement or fraud the P. C. C. should institute proper enquiries and in clear cases of fraud or misappropriation full publicity should be given to the facts and the persons concerned. The Committee also wished to draw the attention of all P. C. Cs. to the model rules for the collection, retention and expenditure of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and other Congress monies, which have already been sent to all Provincial Committees. In the opinion of the Committee few cases of misappropriation are likely to occur if these rules are fully acted upon and enforced.

XI. Read letter from the secretary, All India Khaddar Board dated 29th March 1924. Resolved that in view of the formation of the All India Khaddar Board in place of the Khadi Department of the All India Congress Committee the monies standing in the name of the Khadi Department in various banks be transferred to the All India Khaddar Board and Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj, chairman of the Khaddar Board, do operate on the accounts instead of Syt. Maganlal Gandhi.

XII. The recommendations of the Bengal and U. P. P. C. Cs. for the Press Advisory Committees were considered. It was resolved that the following do form the committees :—

For Bengal :—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Syt. Jitendra Lal Banerji and Syt. Lakshmi Narayan Garde.

For U. P. :—Syt. Purushottam Das Tandon, Moulvi Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani and Syt. Sitla Sahai.

XIII. The secretary informed the Committee that a number of Congress reports belonging to the A. I. C. C. were with Syt. C. Vijjaraghavachariar and that he had so far not returned them.

XIV. The letter dated 18th April 1924 from the secretary, C.P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee regarding Syt. Bhagwandin's membership of two Provincial Congress Committees was considered. The Committee was of opinion that Article VII of the constitution clearly precluded any person from belonging at one time to two Provincial Committees and any person so elected must make his choice and resign from one of the committees.

XV. Mr. Panikkar explained the Akali situation in the Punjab. It was resolved that Dr. Kitchlew be requested to enquire and report. The president be authorised to take action on the report.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee which met on June 26th, 29th, 30th and July 1st, 1924 at Sabarmati and Ahmedabad :—

1. The Maharashtra election dispute was taken up and it was resolved that in view of the fact that certain new facts have been brought out in the revision application which Syt. Venkatappayya says will affect his decision, the matter be referred to Syt. Venkatappayya for reconsideration.

II. It was resolved to recommend the following resolutions to the A. I. C. C.:-

(i) "In view of the fact that the members of Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected handspinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product handspun khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the All India Congress Committee resolves that members of all elected Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall each send to the secretary of the All India Khaddar Board at least 2,000 yards of even and well-twisted yarn, so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of August 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall, unless unavoidably prevented, be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations."

(ii) "Inasmuch as complaints have been received that provincial secretaries and other members of Congress organisations do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the All India Congress Committee hereby resolves that those in charge of matters referred to them failing to comply with the instructions of officers thereto appointed shall be deemed to have vacated their offices and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general election."

NOTE.—In all cases arising within the provinces, the executive committees of the Provincial Congress Committees, and in all other cases the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee, shall have authority to declare the vacancy.

(iii) "In the opinion of the All India Congress Committee it is desirable that Congress electors do not elect to the various Congress organisations practising lawyers, those who deal in or wear mill-spun cloth, parents and guardians

sending their minor children to schools under government control, holders of government titles and members of legislative bodies ; and the All India Congress Committee therefore requests such persons who are now members of various Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

- (iv) "The All India Congress Committee regrets the murder of Ernest Day by Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family ; and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder, the All India Congress Committee strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the non-violent policy of the Congress ; and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards Swaraj, and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which in the opinion of the All India Congress Committee is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere."

III. Syt. Velji L. Nappoo's resignation was considered. It was decided to recommend to the All India Congress Committee to accept the resignation and to appoint Syt. Jammalal Bajaj treasurer in his place. Further resolved to recommend that Mahatma Gandhi be elected to fill the vacancy in the Working Committee.

IV. The letter No. X-83 dated 21. 5. 24 from the secretary, Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, regarding the offer of land in Delhi was considered. Resolved that the Working Committee is not prepared to accept the offer of the site on the conditions proposed.

V. The report of the National Pact sub-committee was laid before the Committee. It was resolved to recommend to the All India Congress Committee to have the report circulated amongst the members.

VI. Resolved that the Working Committee authorises* and requires the secretary to issue all circulars and proceedings and such like in Hindustani and English, using Devanagri, Urdu and English scripts. The secretary be authorised to appoint the necessary staff for the purpose.

VII. Read report of Messrs. Andrews and Banarsidas Chaturvedi on the stopping of emigration of labour. Resolved that the following resolution be submitted to the All India Congress Committee: "The All India Congress Committee authorises the Working Committee to send if necessary, the deputation suggested in the report and invite co-operation of other organisations on the deputation."

VIII. The Working Committee recommends to the All India Congress Committee the following resolution :—

- (i) In the opinion of the All India Congress Committee the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other parts of the world. The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that the people of India would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for purposes of revenue and it is further of opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements of the people of India.
- (ii) The All India Congress Committee hereby appoints Mr. C. F. Andrews to conduct an enquiry in association with the Provincial Congress Committee of Assam into the opium habits of Assam and the effects upon revenue of the opium policy of the Indian Government, and for this purpose authorises the Working Committee to incur necessary expenses.

IX. As suggested by the Delhi and Maharashtra Provincial Committees the Press Committees for these provinces are appointed as follows:—

- (i) Delhi—Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. Asaf Ali, Chowdhry Raghbir Narain Singh.
- (ii) Maharashtra—Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Mr. V. V. Dastane.

X. Resolved that it is not necessary at this stage to appoint any new member on the committee to draft a National Pact but in view of the fact that Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal did not take part in the deliberations of the committee a copy of the report be sent to the president of the Sikh League for his opinion.

XI. Considered the All India Congress Committee's resolution No. 7 on Indians Overseas and the report of Messrs. Andrews and Banarsidas Chaturvedi. Resolved that the secretary do communicate with the Provincial Congress Committees of Burma, Andhra and Tamil Nadu and also with the Servants of India Society.

XII. Resolved that the question of getting a history of the non-cooperation movement compiled be referred to the president and Mahatma Gandhi for consideration and necessary action.

XIII. Considered the letter dated 16th June 1924 of the Belgaum Reception Committee regarding the purchase of tents for the

accommodation of delegates to the Congress. Resolved that it is not desirable to purchase the tents.

XIV. Babu Rajendra Prasad be authorised to digest the opinions on the rules of the Hindustani Seva Dal and circulate them among members of the Committee with a request that they send their opinions within 10 days of the receipt of the opinions circulated. In the meantime the Provincial Congress Committee to proceed with the organisation of the Dal.

XV.—Resolved that Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned for the Assam Opium Enquiry subject to the Assam Provincial Congress Committee's collecting Rs. 2,000 for the same purpose. The secretary is authorised to send part of this money for preliminary expenses.

XVI. (a) Resolved that a qualified accountant be appointed to be responsible for maintaining the accounts of the All India Congress Committee and for supervising and checking provincial accounts. The accountant will work under the treasurers and will have the necessary staff.

(b) The treasurer will deal directly with the provinces in regard to dues and collections and will take necessary assistance from the secretary.

(c) The treasurers are requested to recommend a suitable person for the post of the accountant and the pay and staff necessary for his office.

XVII. Considered the auditor's suggestion about accounts. Resolved that the matter be referred to the treasurer for report after consulting with Mr. B. F. Bharucha and the auditor.

XVIII. Considered the explanation of U. P. Provincial Committee's secretary regarding the U. P. loan and grant. Resolved that the latest loan of Rs. 15000 should be returned as early as possible in which event the writing off of the previous arrears may be considered.

XIX. Considered the report of the secretary, Central Provinces (Hindustani) Provincial Congress Committee about the loan for khaddar work. As it appeared from this report that a considerable part of khaddar loans was misapplied by the Central Provinces (Hindustani) Working Committee and their subordinate committees, this committee calls upon the working committee of the Central Provinces (Hindustani) Provincial Congress Committee to meet without delay and submit a full explanation. This Committee further informs the Central Provinces (Hindustani) Provincial Congress Committee that until the funds misapplied are returned no applications for further grants or loans for any purpose will be entertained.

XX. Resolved that the general secretary do ascertain how grants hitherto made for special purposes to committees and individuals have been utilized.

XXI. The Jallianwala Bagh accounts were placed before the Committee.

XXII. The Ajmere khaddar grant papers were placed before the Committee. Resolved that Seth Jamnalal be requested to deal with the matter.

XXIII. The accounts of the Punjab Martial Law Relief Fund were considered. Pandit Malaviya's letter dated 20th June was read. Resolved that balances of the amounts collected throughout India during the Punjab Martial Law administration be recovered from the gentlemen holding them and that the same be earmarked for the relief of persons subjected to government repression. The claims of the Punjab will receive priority in making such grants.

XXIV. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee has read with much regret the reports that goondas hired by the orthodox opponents of the Vykam Satyagrahis who are acting on behalf of the unapproachables are let loose on the Satyagrahis and that the latter are mercilessly beaten by the goondas and the Travancore authorities are neglecting their duty of protecting the Satyagrahis against molestation. The Working Committee trusts that the reports are unfounded and appeals to the Travancore Durbar to extend to the reformers the same protection from hooliganism that is always extended to its subjects by every well ordered government.

XXV. Read the letter of the secretary of the Provincial Reception Committee of the 39th Indian National Congress, Belgaum dated 30-6-24. Resolved that since resolution 3 of the All India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad passed on the 29th June 1924 is addressed only to Congress voters and deals only with the elective organisations, it has no application to the Reception Committee or its office-bearers or any sub-committee formed by it.

XXVI. Resolved that Rs. 2,500 be sanctioned for the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau. This sum will include the amounts already disbursed by the secretary and the treasurer in anticipation of sanction.

XXVII. Resolved that the monies recovered by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee from outside India for help of the Akalis be kept reserved for that purpose.

XXVIII. Resolved that Mr. Bharucha be deputed to Hyderabad with full power on behalf of the Working Committee to decide the dispute about Hyderabad khaddar accounts.

XXIX. Resolved that Mr. Panikkar be asked to obtain the accounts of the amounts advanced to Mr. Gidwani in connection with the Akali Sahayak Bureau.

XXX. That the accounts in connection with the Kenya Deputation submitted by Mr. Banarsidas Chaturvedi be passed subject to the account for his salary after his return to India, and that this last named matter be referred to Mahatma Gandhi for decision. That the accounts of Mr. Joseph be looked into and settled by the secretary.

XXXI. The secretary placed before the Committee the correspondence with Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar relating to the Congress reports with him.

XXXII. Read letter of B. Rajendra Prasad requesting payment of Rs. 2,000 received by the treasurer earmarked for Patna National College. Resolved that the treasurer be authorised to pay the amount of the money received and not yet paid to the Behar College.

XXXIII. Read letter from Mr. S. K. Pramanik dated 25-6-24. Resolved that the letter be referred to Behar and Utkal Provincial Congress Committees for such report as they may desire to make in respect thereto.

XXXIV. Considered the resolution of Mr. Lakshminarayan Agnihortri referred to the Working Committee by the All India Congress Committee. Resolved that the proposal be rejected.

XXXV. Considered the resolution of Mr. Vishwanath Mukerjee regarding depressed classes. The matter is under consideration.

XXXVI. Considered the resolution of Mr. Viswanath Mukerjee regarding action to be taken against persons who have tendered apologies. Resolved that no action is necessary.

XXXVII. Considered the resolution of Mr. Bajrang Sahai regarding recalling Congress workers from local boards. Resolved that the proposal be rejected.

XXXVIII. That an increment in salary of Rs. 25 per month be given to Mr. Raja Rao, Assistant Secretary.

Summary of proceedings of Working Committee meeting held in Delhi on 3rd. October, 1924.

1. The letter dated the 4th August from the auditor, Mr. Sopariwalla was considered. Resolved that he be requested to audit

the provincial accounts and in case he is unable to do so the president and treasurers be authorised to make other arrangements for the audit.

II. Read letter dated the 8th July, 1924, from the hon. secretary, All India Moslem League, Lucknow, requesting the Congress to co-operate with a committee of the League appointed to frame a constitution for the Government of India. Resolved that this Committee does not think it advisable to appoint a committee at present to go into the matter.

III. The following resolution was passed in regard to the delegation fee quota of the Delhi Special Congress :—

The Committee has noted with disapproval the tone of the letter dated the 10th August, 1924, of the general secretary of the Delhi P. C. C. and regrets that the P. C. C. has failed to carry out the directions of the Working Committee in spite of several reminders. The Working Committee wishes to make it clear that its previous decisions must be carried out before any question of a grant or loan can be considered. If the P. C. C. is not in possession of sufficient funds and has paid the money belonging to the A. I. C. C. erroneously to another party the P. C. C. must try to recover it forthwith.

IV. Read Seth Jammalal Bajaj's letter relating to the A. I. C. C.'s quota of delegation fees. Resolved :

(a) that the letter be forwarded to the Constitution Sub-Committee formed under resolution No. 11 below.

(b) that in future the secretaries and treasurers should make arrangements with the Reception Committee of the Congress to receive half the delegation fees mentioned in Article XVII (a) of the Constitution from day to day as the delegates pay down the fees.

V. The question of the A. I. C. C.'s dues payable by the U. P. P. C. C. was taken up and Syt. P. D. Tandon, general secretary of the P. C. C. made a statement before the Working Committee and read out letter No. 1155 dated the 21st September, 1924. Resolved that the secretary and the treasurer be requested to report to the next meeting of the Working Committee and that pending the report, the Khaddar Board be not prevented from considering any application from the U. P. P. C. C. for a grant or loan.

VI. Mr. George Joseph made an oral application for a grant or loan for the Vykam Satyagraha ; Resolved that the president be authorised to make such grant for the Vykam Satyagraha as he thinks proper after consulting Mahatma Gandhi.

VII. Resolved that Rs. 2,000 be sanctioned for meeting the expenses incurred in connection with the Unity Conference.

VIII. Babu Rajendra Prasad's note on the suggestions made for changes in the Hindustani Seva Dal rules was considered. Resolved that the Working Committee leaves it to the Hindustani Seva Dal to frame rules for its internal management and recommends to them to carry on intensive work in local areas.

IX. Read papers relating to the loan for Rs. 15,000 advanced to Tamil Nadu P. C. C. Resolved that the time for repayment of the loan be extended till the 31st March, 1925.

X. Resolved that the loan of Rs. 9,000 taken from the Bombay P. C. C. for the Boycott Committee be returned.

XI. Resolved that a Committee consisting of the president, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru be appointed to suggest changes in the constitution and circulate them to the members of the Working Committee.

XII. Considered the accounts of the Akali Sahayak Bureau. Resolved that the account submitted by Mr. K. M. Panikkar be passed. Further resolved that the accounts of the Bureau during the secretaryship of Acharya Gidvani be settled by the secretary and the treasurer after making necessary enquiries from the Acharya.

XIII. The secretary laid the papers of the Jallianwalla Bagh Committee before the Working Committee and explained the position of the former.

XIV. In view of the explanation of the C. P. Hindustani P. C. C. regarding the loan of Rs. 35,000, resolved that in modification of this Committee's resolution No. 29 passed on 30-6-24, applications for grants and loans from this P. C. C. be considered by the Khadi Board. Meanwhile all efforts should be made to realise the loan of Rs. 35,000 due from the P. C. C.

XV. The accounts of (i) the Satyagraha Committee, Amritsar, (ii) the Guru Ka Bagh Enquiry Committee and (iii) the printing of the Guru Ka Bagh Enquiry Committee's report were considered.

Resolved that the secretary and the treasurer be requested to deal with accounts (i) and (ii).

Further resolved that Rs. 1226-12 be sanctioned for meeting the expenses incurred in connection with the printing of the report.

XVI. Svt. Bajrang Sahai's proposal to train women workers was considered and the following resolution passed:—That in the

opinion of this Committee it is not feasible to prepare any scheme for the purpose.

XVII. The recommendations from P. C. Cs. regarding Press Advisory Committees were placed before the Committee. It was resolved that the following do form the Committees :—

For C. P. Marathi :—

Syt. James D. Rubbella, Syt. Nilkanth Rao Deshmukh, Syt. Vinobaji Bhave.

For C. P. Hindustani.

Syt. Khandekar, Syt. Karamat Hussain, Syt. Sunderlal.

For Tamil Nadu.

Janab Haji Mohamed Maulana Sahib, Syt. E. V. Ramasamy Naiker, Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar.

For Andhra.

Syt. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Syt. T. Prakasam, Syt. K. Nageswara Rao.

XVIII. Considered the report from the secretary, All India Khaddar Board regarding response to the spinning resolution of the All India Congress Committee ;

Resolved that the Working Committee notes with satisfaction the returns of yarns so far received in response to the A. I. C. C. resolution but regrets that a considerable number of members elected to various committees have failed to send any yarn. The Committee calls upon all those who have not so far sent any yarn to comply with the terms of the resolution.

XIX. Resolved that the treasurer's recommendation contained in his letter dated 17-7-24 be accepted and Mr. Padwekar be appointed accountant on Rs. 150. per mensem with effect from the date from which he has been working.

XX. Considered Mr. Konda Venkatappayya's letter dated the 29th August, 1924, regarding election complaints pending decision. Resolved that no further action need be taken about the matters referred to.

XXI. Read the correspondence relating to the proposed separation of the Gondia taluq from the C. P. Marathi province.

Resolved that no change should be made at this stage in view of the fact that there is difference of opinion between the P. C. Cs. of C. P. Marathi and C. P. Hindustani.

XXII. The letter of the secretary, Kerala P. C. C. dated 19-9-24 asking permission to utilize the balance of the Malabar Relief Fund for flood relief was considered. Resolved that the permission asked for cannot be given and that the P. C. C. be requested to return the balance of Rs. 564-10-2 to the treasurer of the A. I. C. C.

XXIII. The Working Committee rejoices that Mahatma Gandhi's great fast which caused the gravest anxiety to the nation is drawing to a successful termination and prays that it may be completed in due course without any injury to his health. The Committee trusts that as a result of the fast and the labours of the Unity Conference mistrust and dissensions between Hindus and Musalmans will disappear. The Committee appeals to the country to organise public meetings and thanksgiving services in temples, mosques and churches on the 8th October.

This Committee calls upon all Congress organisations and workers to give full publicity to and carry out all the resolutions passed at the Unity Conference.*

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee held in Bombay on 21st. November, 1924 :—

I. The following resolution of Mahatma Gandhi on the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance of 1818 was discussed and was adopted for recommendation to the All Parties Conference summoned by Maulana Mohamad Ali, and the president and Mahatma Gandhi were authorised to make such changes in the draft resolution as might be necessary after consultation with the other members of the Conference :

Whilst firmly of opinion that anarchical crime, however laudable the motive may be behind it, can never secure to the people of India Swaraj, which is their birthright, and whilst desirous of stamping out such crime from the country, this Conference, representing all classes and communities of India, and every variety of political opinion, views with the strongest disapproval the action of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, in adopting, as they have done, without consulting public opinion, extraordinary measures against persons in Bengal, some of whom occupy a considerable status in society and positions of great public responsibility;

*The resolutions passed by the Delhi Unity Conference are given later in this volume after the resolutions of the Belgaum Congress.

and the Conference trusts that they will be either immediately discharged or brought to a speedy and open trial under the ordinary laws of the country.

With every desire to do justice to the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, and in view of the fact that the majority of those who have been arrested are well-known to be prominent members of the Swaraj party of Bengal or those connected with Satyagraha at Tarkeshwar, which was initiated and conducted by the Provincial Congress Committee of Bengal, which in that province is practically synonymous with the Swaraj party, and in view of the fact that experience has shown that previous repressive measures, whether adopted by the Government of India or by local Governments only, and had been initiated against influential and strong public activity that had caused inconvenience to the central governments or to the local governments, this Conference suspects that the present measures are aimed at the Swaraj party in Bengal.

This Conference is of opinion that extraordinary measures in supersession of the usual procedure, for the arrest and trial of persons suspected of serious crime, should not be taken without the sanction of public opinion expressed through ordinary channels, and that Regulation III of 1816 which gives the Government the powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement should be forthwith repealed. *

II. Sirdar Mangal Singh explained the situation in the Punjab regarding the Government repression of Akalis. It was resolved that a Congress Enquiry Committee of three members be formed to proceed to the Punjab and to make enquiries and submit their report to the Working Committee: the names to be announced by the president.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held at Belgaum on 23rd December, 1924.

I. The Committee considered and adopted the following resolution for recommendation to the Subjects Committee of the Congress:—

A (i) The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party, on the other:—

[This agreement is printed at pages 6 and 7 of this book.]

(ii) The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also

* The resolutions passed by the All Parties Conference at Bombay are given later in this volume.

enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the new ordinance or Regulation 3 of 1818 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity can in the present circumstances of the country be only developed by universalising handspinning and the use of khaddar and thereby achieving the long deferred exclusion of foreign cloth; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose, welcomes the introduction of handspinning as part of the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

- (iii) The Congress warns all Congressmen against regarding the requirements in respect of handspinning and khaddar to be the maximum expected of them. On the contrary the Congress expects every Indian man and woman to discard all foreign cloth and to use and wear handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth and personally to spin at least half an hour per day till boycott of foreign cloth and foreign yarn is attained and handspinning has been restored to its original status as the universal cottage industry of India.
- (iv) With a view to accomplish the boycott of foreign cloth without delay the Congress expects all Congress men and Congress women to concentrate their attention on the spread of handspinning and the antecedent processes and the manufacture and sale of khaddar.
- (v) The Congress appeals to the princes of India and the members of political and other organisations not represented on the Congress to extend their help to the spread of handspinning and khaddar by personal use and otherwise and especially by giving liberal patronage to those artists who are still alive and capable of working artistic designs in fine khaddar.
- (vi) The Congress appeals to the Europeans who claim to be friendly to India to help the nation to revive her ancient cottage industry and to achieve the boycott of foreign cloth, the introduction of which is causing an enormous drain of money and imposes partial idleness on the millions of peasants who before the destruction of handspinning were able to supplement their slender resources by that industry.

- (vii) The Congress appeals to the merchants engaged in the foreign cloth trade to appreciate the interests of the nation, to identify themselves with them and discontinue further importation of foreign cloth and help the national cottage industry by dealing in khaddar.
- (viii) The Congress appeals to the heads of all religious denominations whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, to preach to their congregations the message of khaddar and advise them to discontinue the use of foreign cloth.
- (ix) It having come to the notice of the Congress that coarse cloth is manufactured in mills in the name of khaddar and sold in the Indian market, the Congress appeals to the mill owners to discontinue this undesirable practice and further appeals to them to encourage the revival of the ancient cottage industry of India by restricting their operations among those parts of the country that have not yet come under the Congress influence and appeals to them to discontinue the importation of foreign yarn.

B (i) The present Art. VII of the constitution to be repealed and the following to be substituted therefor :—

Every person not disqualified under Art. IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided also that no one shall be a member of any Congress committee or organisation who does not wear handspun and handwoven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 24000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause, a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person, provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

- (ii) In Article VII "four annas per year" shall be altered to "24000 yards of even and well-twisted yarn per year of the subscriber's own spinning or where the subscriber is disabled by reason of illness or otherwise, or where he is unwilling, that quantity of handspun yarn spun by deputy".
- (iii) The second paragraph shall be changed to read :—

"The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to 31st December from year to year provided that during 1925 the year shall be reckoned from 1st February to 31st December and the subscription shall be 22000 yards

of handspun yarn in terms of the foregoing paragraph. The said yarn subscription shall be payable in advance and may be paid in instalments of 2000 yards per month payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year."

- (iv) No person shall be qualified to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or a sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due
- (v) Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her name restored to the Congress register by paying the subscription in respect of which the default had occurred and the instalment for the month then current.
- (vi) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the secretary All India Khaddar Board from month to month the yarn received by it in virtue of this article or dispose of it as otherwise directed by the secretary All India Khaddar Board. The A. I. K. B. shall pay to the P. C. C. the value at average market rate to be published from time to time of the yarn thus sent to it after deducting 25%, provided that the Working Committee is empowered to frame such regulations in regard to collection and disposal of the yarn subscriptions as may be found desirable from time to time.

C—Delete Articles VI (e) and IX (b) of the constitution.

II. The Committee resolved to recommend to the Subjects Committee a change in the constitution reducing the number of delegates to the Congress to 3000.

III. The Committee further resolved to recommend to the Subjects Committee the following changes in the constitution :—

- (i) The elections to the A. I. C. C. shall be held in January, after the sessions of the Congress, instead of in November as at present, and consequential changes shall also take effect.

Temporary Provision :—In 1925 a fresh election of the A. I. C. C. shall take place in February, which shall elect the Working Committee for the year in place of that elected in December 1924, provided that the latter shall hold office until the members of the fresh committee are elected.

(ii) Notwithstanding anything contained in the constitution, the Working Committee shall have power to dissolve any committee or Congress organization that has failed to enforce the new franchise in a satisfactory manner and shall make such arrangements as may be necessary for the election of new committees or organizations and for carrying on the work of the dissolved committees or organizations in the interval.

(iii) In Article XXIII add after " Congress " in line 3 :

" The treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The general secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the A. I. C. C. They shall co-operate with the Reception Committee in the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special sessions held in the course of the year. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale; provided that the delegates to the Congress shall get the report of the session attended by them at half the sale price. "

Add at the end of the Article XXIII : " and published along with the next Congress report. "

The Committee also resolved to recommend to the Subjects Committee the following resolutions for adoption by the Congress :—

(i) *Kohat.* The Congress deplores the Hindu Muslim tension and the riots that have taken place in various parts of India. The Congress deplores the riots that recently took place in Kohat resulting in loss of life and destruction of property including temples and is of opinion that the local authority failed to perform the primary duty of protection of life and property. The Congress further deplores the enforced exodus of the Hindu population from Kohat and strongly urges the Mussalmans of Kohat to assure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and property and to invite them to return as their honoured friends and neighbours. The Congress advises the refugees not to return to Kohat except upon an honourable invitation from the Kohat Mussalmans and upon the advice of Hindu and Mussalman leaders. The Congress advises the public whether Hindu or Mussalman not to accept the finding of the Government of India as also of others on the Kohat tragedy and to suspend judgment till the board appointed by the Unity Conference or some other equally representative body has enquired into the unfortunate event and come to a decision upon it.

- (ii) *Untouchability.* The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress made in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to make a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of provincial Congress committees to devote their attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants such as wells, places of worship, facilities for education etc. and making provision for the removal of such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Vykom who are engaged in asserting the right of way of untouchables through a thoroughfare which is open to caste Hindus on their non-violence, patience, courage and endurance and hopes that the State of Travancore, which is justly regarded as enlightened, will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claim and grant speedy relief.
- (iii) *National Educational Institutions.* The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trusts that the provincial committees will keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing national educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not actively encourage Hindu Muslim unity and which excludes untouchables, which does not make handspinning and carding compulsory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half an hour per working day, and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear khaddar.
- (iv) *Paid National Service.* Whereas it has been discovered that many otherwise deserving men are unobtainable for national service because of their reluctance to accept remuneration for service, the Congress places on record its opinion that there is not only nothing derogatory to one's dignity in accepting remuneration for national service but the Congress hopes that patriotic young men and women will regard it as an honour to accept maintenance for service faithfully rendered and those needing or willing to do service will prefer national to any other service.
- (v) *Indians Overseas.* The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have

repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles regrets its inability to render effective assistance till Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor General of the Union of South Africa to the ordinance of the Natal Provincial legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed with impunity.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of the deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

The Congress places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who by her energy and devotion endeared herself to the Indian settlers and by her persuasive eloquence gained a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans there.

The Congress also notes with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of the settlers of Kenya by Mr. Vaze of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi.

- (vi) *Condolence.* The Congress records with sorrow the deaths of Bi Amman, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. Subrahmania Aiyer and Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri, and also of Messrs. Rustomji Jiranji Ghorkhodu and P. K. Naidu in South Africa, and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.
- (vii) *Egypt.* Whilst strongly deploring and condemning the assassination of the late Sir Lee Stack in Egypt the Congress still more strongly deprecates and condemns the reprisals taken by the British Government as being totally out of proportion to the crime, vindictive and calculated not merely to punish the guilty, but to humiliate and crush the spirit of independence of the Egyptian nation. The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the Egyptians in their troubles and hopes that they will bear their sorrows bravely and rise superior to the terrorism now set up in their land.

- (viii) *Burma.* The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the Burmans in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed by the repression now going on in their midst.

The Congress notes with regret the tendency among the Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle. The Congress further advises the Indian settlers in Burma to deem it their duty to help in every legitimate way the Burmans in whose country they have settled for material advantage.

- (ix) *The Akalis.* The Congress tenders its congratulations to the Akalis upon their great and silent suffering in the cause of Gurdwara reform and hopes that their efforts will be crowned with success.
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BELGAUM CONGRESS SESSION—1924.

The 39th Sessions of the Indian National Congress were held at Belgaum on December 26th and 27th, 1924. Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was chairman of the Reception Committee and Mahatma Gandhi was the president. The following resolutions were passed :

I.

The Congress records with sorrow the deaths of Bi Amman, Sir Ashutosh Chaudry, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. Subrahmania Aiyer, Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri, Mr. Govind Vyankatesh Yalgi, Mr. Waman Rao Moharir, Mr. T. V. Gopalswami Mudaliar and Mr. C. V. P. Shivam, and also of Messrs. Rustomji Jivanji Ghorkhodu and P. K. Naidu in South Africa, and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.

II.

A—(i) The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party, on the other :—

The agreement and the spinning franchise.

[This agreement is given on pages 6 and 7 of this book.]

(ii) The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the new ordinance or Regulation 3 of 1818 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity can in the present circumstances of the country be developed by achieving the long deferred exclusion of foreign cloth ; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose welcomes the introduction of handspinning in the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

(iii) In view of the foregoing the Congress expects every Indian man and woman to discard all foreign cloth and to use and wear handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth,

With a view to accomplish the said purpose without delay the Congress expects all Congress members to help the spread of hand-spinning and the antecedent processes and the manufacture and sale of khaddar.

(iv) The Congress appeals to the princes and wealthy classes and the members of political and other organisations not represented on the Congress, and municipalities, local boards, panchayats and such other institutions, to extend their help to the spread of handspinning and khaddar by personal use and otherwise, and especially by giving liberal patronage to the class of artists, still surviving, who are capable of working artistic designs in fine khaddar.

(v) The Congress appeals to the merchants engaged in the foreign cloth and yarn trade to appreciate the interests of the nation, and discontinue further importation of foreign cloth and yarn and help the national cottage industry by dealing in khaddar.

(vi) It having come to the notice of the Congress that varieties of cloth are manufactured in mills and on hand looms out of mill yarn and sold in the Indian market as khaddar, the Congress appeals to the mill-owners and other manufacturers concerned, to discontinue this undesirable practice and further appeals to them to encourage the revival of the ancient cottage industry of India by restricting their operations among those parts of the country that have not yet come under the Congress influence, and appeals to them to discontinue the importation of foreign yarn.

(vii) The Congress appeals to the heads and leaders of all religious denominations whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, to preach to their congregations the message of khaddar and advise them to discontinue the use of foreign cloth.

B. The present Article VII of the constitution to be repealed and the following to be substituted therefor :—

(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no one shall be a member of any Congress committee or organisation who does not wear handspun and handwoven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business, and does not make a contribution of 24,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning, or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause, the same quantity of yarn spun by any other person ; provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(ii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from 1st January to 31st December. The said subscription shall be payable in advance and may be paid in instalments of 2000 yards per month payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year.

Transitory Provision. During 1925 the subscription shall be 20,000 yards only and shall be payable on or before 1st March or in instalments as aforesaid.

(iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due.

Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

(iv) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the general secretary, All India Congress Committee, from month to month returns of membership and of the yarn received by it in virtue of this Article. The Provincial Congress Committee shall contribute 10% of the yarn subscriptions or their value to the All India Congress Committee.

C. Delete Article VI (c) and Article IX (b) of the constitution.

III.

The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of Indians Overseas. the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress, whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles, regrets its inability to render effective assistance until Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor General of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of the franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

IV.

The Congress places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who by her energy and devotion endeared herself to the Indian settlers and by her persuasive eloquence gained a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans there.

Appreciation of Services.

The Congress also notes with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of the settlers of Kenya by Mr. Vaze of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi.

V.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the people of Burma in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed down by the repression now going on in their midst.

The Congress notes with regret the tendency among the Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle.

VI.

The Congress deplores the Hindu Muslim tension and the riots Kohat and Gulbarga. that have taken place in various parts of India. The Congress deplores the riots that recently took place in Kohat resulting in loss of life and destruction of property including temples and gurudwaras and is of opinion that the local authority failed to perform the primary duty of protection of life and property. The Congress further deplores the enforced exodus of the Hindu population from Kohat and strongly urges the Musalmans of Kohat to assure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and property and to invite them to return as their honoured friends and neighbours. The Congress advises the refugees not to return to Kohat except upon an honourable invitation from the Kohat Musalmans and upon the advice of Hindu and Musalman leaders. The Congress advises the public whether Hindu or Musalman not to accept the finding of the Government of India as also of others on the Kohat tragedy, and to suspend judgment till the board appointed by the Unity Conference or some other equally representative body has enquired into the unfortunate event and come to a decision upon it.

The Congress expresses its heart-felt sympathy for the sufferers in the Gulbarga riots and condemns the desecration committed on the places of worship in that town.

VII.

The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to make a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of Provincial Congress Committees to devote greater attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants such as in regard to wells, places of worship, facilities for education etc., and making provision for meeting such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Vykam, who are engaged in asserting the right of way of untouchables through a thoroughfare which is open to caste Hindus, on their non-violence, patience, courage and endurance, and hopes that the State of Travancore which is regarded as enlightened will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claim and grant speedy relief.

VIII.

The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trusts that the provincial committees will strive more vigorously than they have done to keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing national educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction and which does not actively encourage Hindu Muslim unity, education among untouchables and removal of untouchability, which does not make handspinning and carding and training in physical culture and self-defence compulsory and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half an hour per working day and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear khaddar.

IX.

Whereas it has been discovered that many otherwise deserving men are unobtainable for national service because of their reluctance to accept remuneration for service, the Congress places on record its opinion that there is not only nothing derogatory to one's dignity in accepting remuneration for national service, but the Congress hopes that patriotic young men and women will regard it as an honour to

accept maintenance for service faithfully rendered and that those needing or willing to do service will prefer national to other service.

X.

Delegation fee : In Article XI "Rs. 10" to be altered to "Re 1".
Changes in Constitution.

In Article XXIII—Add after the first sentence ending with the word "Congress": "The treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The general secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special sessions held in the course of the year, in co-operation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale."

Add at the end of Article XXIII "and published along with the next Congress report".

XI.

The Congress congratulates the Akalis on the patient endurance and courage with which they are carrying on their struggle for gurudwara reform and hopes that these qualities of theirs will withstand and survive the insidious attempts now being made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the brave Akalis.

The Congress views with horror and indignation the report of over one hundred deaths among the Akali prisoners in Nabha jail and expresses the strongest disapproval of the refusal of the Nabha authorities to permit the Akali Repression Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee, to visit the jail. The Congress is of opinion that the phenomenal mortality among the prisoners is proof of inhuman conduct of the authorities towards the prisoners.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families.

XII.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that notwithstanding the setback suffered by the campaign against the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs initiated in 1921, Congress workers in several parts of the country have continued it with vigour and determination. The Congress hopes that the peaceful endeavour of workers to wean those who

Drink and opium traffic.

are addicted to the drink or the opium habit from the curse will receive further and greater strength and encouragement than hitherto.

The Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India and would therefore welcome its abolition.

The Congress is further of opinion that the regulation by the Government of India of the opium traffic is detrimental not only to the moral welfare of India but of the whole world, and that the cultivation of opium in India, which is out of all proportion to medical and scientific requirements, should be restricted to such requirements.

XIII.

Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed :
Office-bearers.

General Secretaries.

- (1) Mr. Shuaib Qureshi.
- (2) Mr. Barjorji Framji Bharucha.
- (3) Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Treasurers.

- (1) Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri.
- (2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

XIV.

Resolved that the venue of the next session of the Congress be fixed by the All India Congress Committee.
Next Congress.

XV.

Resolved that the All India Congress Committee do appoint the Auditor.
auditor for 1925.

UNITY CONFERENCE.

Resolutions passed at the Unity Conference held at Delhi, from September 26th to October 2nd, 1924.

RESOLUTION No. 1.

This Conference places on record its deep grief and concern at the fast which Mahatma Gandhi has undertaken. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion is essential and condemns any desecration of places of worship to whatsoever faith they may belong and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith, and further condemns any attempt by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others.

The members of the Conference assure Mahatma Gandhi and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to enforce these principles and to condemn any deviation from them even under provocation. This Conference further authorises the president to convey personally to Mahatma Gandhi the united wish of this Conference that Mahatma Gandhi should immediately break his fast in order to permit this Conference to have the benefit of his co-operation, advice and guidance in deciding upon the speediest means of effectively checking the evil which is fast spreading over the country.

RESOLUTION No. 2.

This Conference deplors the dissensions and quarrels that are now going on between Hindus and Muslims in several places in India resulting in loss of life, burning and plunder of property and desecration of temples. The Conference regards them as barbarous and contrary to religion. The Conference tenders its warm sympathy to the sufferers. This Conference is of opinion that it is unlawful and irreligious for any person to take the law into his own hands by way of retaliation or punishment. The Conference is of opinion that all differences, no matter of what nature soever, should be referred to arbitration and if that be impossible even to a court of law.

RESOLUTION No. 3.

There shall be a Central National Panchayat of not more than 15 persons, with power to organise and appoint local panchayats in consultation with the local representatives of the different communities, to enquire into and settle all disputes and differences including recent occurrences, where necessary and desirable. The said National Panchayat shall have power to frame rules and regulations for carrying out this resolution.

The Conference appoints the following to act as the Central National Panchayat, with power to add to their number up to 15 and co-opt local representatives as additional members :—

1. Mahatma Gandhi (*Chairman and Conveyor*)
2. Hakim Ajmal Khan.
3. Lala Lajpat Rai.
4. Mr G. K. Nariman.
5. Dr. S. K. Datta.
6. Master Sunder Singh of Lyallpur.

RESOLUTION No. 4.

With a view to give effect to the general principles for promoting better relations between the various communities of India laid down in Resolution 1 and to secure full toleration of all faiths, beliefs and religious practices the Conference records its opinion :—

- (a) That every individual or group shall have full liberty to hold and give expression to his or their beliefs and follow any religious practice with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with their rights. In no case may such individual or group revile the founders, holy persons or tenets of any other faith.
- (b) That all places of worship, of whatever faith or religion, shall be considered sacred and inviolable and shall on no account be attacked or desecrated whether as a result of provocation or by way of retaliation for sacrilege of the same nature. It shall be the duty of every citizen, of whatever faith or religion, to prevent such attack or desecration as far as possible and where such attack or desecration has taken place it shall always be promptly condemned.
- (c) (i) That Hindus must not expect that the exercise of the right of cow-slaughter by Muslims can or will be stopped by the use of force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court but only by mutual consent and must trust to the good sense of Muslims and the establishment of better relations between the two communities to create deeper respect for their feelings.
- (ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence, nor will it authorise cow-slaughter in a place where it has not taken place before ; any dispute on facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under resolution No. 3.

- (iii) Cow-slaughter shall not take place in a way offensive to the religious sentiments of the Hindus.
- (iv) The Muslim members of the Conference hereby call upon their co-religionists to do everything in their power to reduce cow-slaughter.
- (d) (i) The Muslims must not expect to stop Hindu music near or in front of mosques by force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court except by mutual consent but must rely upon the good sense of Hindus to respect their feelings.
- (ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence nor shall it authorise the playing of music in front of mosques where it has not been played before. Any dispute with regard to the latter shall be referred for settlement to the National Panchayat formed under resolution No. 3.
- (iii) The Hindu members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to avoid playing music before mosques in such a manner as to disturb congregational prayers.
- (e) (i) The Muslims must not expect to stop by force, resolution of a local body, act of legislature or order of court, except by mutual consent, the performance of *arti* or the playing of music including the blowing of *shankhs* by Hindus during worship and on other occasions in their houses or temples or public places at any time even if the house or temple or place in question is situated in close proximity to a mosque; but they should trust to the good sense of the Hindus to accommodate them.
- (ii) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence; any dispute on facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under resolution No. 3.
- (f) That Muslims are at liberty to chant *Azan* or offer prayers in their own houses or in any mosque or public place not set apart for the religious observance of any other community.
- (g) (i) Where the slaughter of an animal or sale of meat is permissible on other grounds, no objection shall be taken to the method of slaughter, whether by *Jhatka*, *Bali* or *Zibah*.

- (ii) Wherever there is any dispute regarding the sale of any kind of meat in a particular locality or quarter it shall be referred for settlement to the local panchayat formed under resolution No. 3.
- (h) That every individual is at liberty to follow any faith and to change it whenever he so wills, and shall not by reason of such change of faith render himself liable to any punishment or persecution at the hands of the followers of the faith renounced by him.
- (i) That every individual or group is at liberty to convert or re-convert another by argument or persuasion but must not attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means, such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under 16 years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under 16 years of age is found stranded without his parent or guardian by a person of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy about any conversion or re-conversion.
- (j) That no community should attempt to stop by force the construction of a new place of worship by a member of another community on his own land but such new place of worship should be built at a reasonable distance from an existing place of worship of any other community.

RESOLUTION No. 5.

This Conference is of opinion that a section of the press, specially in the North, is responsible for increasing the tension between different communities by publishing wild exaggerations, reviling each other's religion and by every means fomenting prejudice, and condemns such writings and appeals to the public to stop patronage of such newspapers and pamphlets and advises central and local panchayats to supervise such writings and from time to time to publish correct versions.

RESOLUTION No. 6.

It having been represented to this Conference that in certain places acts of impropriety have been committed in relation to mosques the Hindu members of this Conference condemn such acts wherever committed.

RESOLUTION No. 7.

The Hindu and Muslim members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to extend full tolerance to the minor communities

of India and to deal with them in all questions of communal intercourse with justice and generosity.

RESOLUTION No. 8.

This Conference is of opinion that attempts on behalf of members of one community to boycott members of any other community and to stop social or commercial relations with them, made in certain parts of the country, are reprehensible and are an effective bar to the promotion of good relations between the various communities in India. The Conference therefore appeals to all communities to avoid any such boycotts and exhibitions of ill-will.

RESOLUTION No. 9.

This Conference calls upon men and women of all communities throughout the country to offer daily prayers during the last critical week of Mahatmaji's fast and to organise mass meetings on *the 8th of October* in every town and village to express the nation's thankfulness to the Almighty and to pray that the spirit of good-will and brotherliness may pervade and unite all the communities of India and that the principles of full religious toleration and mutual good-will declared in this Conference may be adopted and given effect to by members of all communities in India.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE.

Resolutions passed by the All Parties Conference held in Bombay on the 21st and 22nd November, 1924.

I. (a) While firmly of opinion that anarchical organisations can never secure Swaraj to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisations, if any, this Conference representing all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion, views with strongest disapproval and condemns the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the legislature and as it easily lends itself at the hands of the executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated.

(b) This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance and the trial, if necessary, and in accordance with the ordinary law, of the persons detained under it.

(c) This Conference further urges that Regulation 111 of 1818 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without trial, and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn.

(d) This Conference records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights, long overdue, of the people, and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy therefor.

II. This conference appoints a committee, with power to co-opt, to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the National Congress and to prepare a scheme of Swaraj including a solution of Hindu-Muslim and like questions in their political aspect and to report not later than the 31st March, 1925 and to convene this Conference for a date not later than the 15th April, 1925, the report of the committee to be published in the press a fortnight before the meeting of the Conference.

(The names of the Committee members have been omitted.)

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1924.

Presented by the general secretaries to the All India Congress Committee and subsequently to the Belgaum Congress.

The year under report has been a difficult one for Congress work owing to communal friction and a feeling of uncertainty as to the future programme of the Congress. The Cocanada Congress had laid stress on the constructive programme and the first A. I. C. C. meeting of the year called upon the Provincial Committees to concentrate on special items of the Bardoli programme. The Congress had also formed an All India Khaddar Board to hold office for three years with full powers to carry on khadi work in the country. This Board has achieved some success in the proper organisation of khadi work, but otherwise most of the provinces have a poor record of constructive or any other work.

2. Soon after the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi's unexpected and serious illness riveted the attention of the whole country and his subsequent discharge from jail was exceedingly welcome. The country looked forward immediately to guidance from him about future action. For some months afterwards, during his convalescence and after, there was this general expectation of a fresh lead from him. In June the A. I. C. C., largely at Mahatma Gandhi's instance, adopted a number of important resolutions. One of these called upon the elected members of all Congress organisations to spin daily and to send every month at least 2000 yards of yarn of their own spinning to the All India Khaddar Board. Another resolution called upon the elected representatives to observe in their persons the full Congress programme and to resign from their places if they were unable to do so. The murder of Ernest Day was also condemned.

3. After this meeting of the All India Congress Committee every effort was made to increase voluntary spinning and fairly satisfactory progress was made every month. Gujarat and Bengal have done specially well in this and Andhra and Tamil Nad have also a very creditable record. The rate of monthly progress may be judged from the number of spinners sending their yarn every month. In August there were 2780, in September 6301, in October 7741 and in November 7905.

4. In Northern India communal troubles, resulting in frequent outbreaks of violence, have dwarfed all other issues and prevented

any substantial work from being done. Many newspapers have, by their violent and unrestrained writings, contributed to the bitterness of feeling. Riots occurred in many places, specially in Delhi, Gulbarga, Nagpur, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, Jubbulpore, and gravest and saddest of all, at Kohat. Mahatma Gandhi, in sorrow and penance for the tragic events, undertook a fast of 21 days at Delhi. Maulana Mohammad Ali, the President of the All India Congress Committee, together with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Swami Shradhdhanand, thereupon issued invitations to representatives of all the principal organisations to attend a Unity Conference at Delhi to consider the communal problem. The invitation was responded to by many leaders and eminent divines and the conference sat for many days and successfully tackled the difficult problems it had to deal with. The conference passed a number of resolutions laying down the principles and practice to be followed by the various communities in India in matters leading to friction with other communities.

5. Attempts were also made repeatedly during the year to reduce the differences which had arisen between Congressmen themselves. Later on this led to the proposal that the various political parties in India should all unite in the Congress. Early in November a joint statement was issued by Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. It was proposed in this statement that, in order to secure the co-operation of all parties, the programme of Non-co-operation should be suspended as the national programme, except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear foreign cloth. It was further recommended that different sections of the Congress should devote themselves to different classes of constructive work and that the Swaraj Party should, on behalf of the Congress, carry on their work in the Councils. It was also suggested that in future Congress members must give 2000 yards of hand spun yarn monthly instead of the present subscription of annas four per annum.

6. The President of the A. I. C. C. invited an All Parties' Conference at Bombay in the latter half of November to explore the possibilities of having a joint platform for all parties in the Congress and to consider the situation created by the policy of repression started in Bengal. This conference was attended by representatives of all the principal political parties and it passed almost unanimously a resolution condemning the Government policy in Bengal. It further appointed a large and comprehensive committee to draw up a scheme of Swaraj and to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the Congress. This committee is to report by the 15th April 1925.

7. A meeting, of the All India Congress Committee, which followed the All Parties' Conference, approved of the joint statement of Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

8. The Akali situation has continued to be very grave during the year. Jathas of 25 continued to be sent daily for some time to Jaito to resume the reading of the Akhand Path. Later, in February a "Shahidi" Jatha of 500 was sent. Dr. Kitchlew and Acharya A. T. Gidvani accompanied this Jatha as spectators. The Jatha was fired at near Jaito and there were many deaths. Dr. Kitchlew and Syt. Gidvani endeavoured to give aid to the injured but they were both arrested by the Nabha authorities. Dr. Kitchlew was released after some days but Mr. Gidvani is still kept in Nabha Jail. "Shahidi" jathas have continued to go to Jaito one after the other and have been arrested. The Akalis have come into conflict with the authorities in several other places besides Jaito and have been arrested in large numbers. They have been subjected to a very severe policy of repression and many thousands are at present in jail. Reports state that they are being very badly treated both in the jails of Nabha State and those of British India. The Working Committee has recently sent an enquiry sub-committee to enquire into these charges of ill-treatment.

9. The Akali Sahayak Bureau opened last year in Amritsar on behalf of the Congress was continued. Acharya A. T. Gidvani, who was in charge of it, being arrested near Jaito in February, Syt. K. M. Panikkar was put in charge. The Working Committee also gave substantial financial assistance to the families of the Akalis who had gone to jail.

10. Towards the end of October the Governor-General issued an Ordinance for Bengal purporting to deal with anarchical crime. Immediately afterwards a large number of arrests were made in Bengal under this Ordinance and under Regulation III of 1818. Many of the arrested persons were prominent Congressmen, among them being Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose and Syt. Anil Baran Roy, last year's and this year's General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. This action of Government was strongly condemned all over the country, it being stated that, under the pretext of crushing anarchical crime, Government was endeavouring to stop legitimate political activity. As already mentioned, the All Parties' Conference condemned the measures taken by Government in Bengal.

11. The work of raising the "depressed" classes and the so-called "untouchables" was carried on with vigour in some parts of the country. At Vykam in the South the question arose as to whether certain classes of people could use a public road near a temple. This led to friction as the right was disputed. Satyagraha was offered on behalf of the persons excluded and they courted arrest by going along the prohibited route. This Satyagraha has continued now for more than six months and many have been sent to jail.

12. Srimati Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi visited East Africa on behalf of the Congress and Mrs. Naidu presided there over the session of the East African Indian National Congress. She also made an extensive tour of South Africa. Her visit to these countries was of great value to the cause of our countrymen abroad. It made a great impression on Indians and Non-Indians alike and was very much appreciated by our countrymen overseas.

13. The All India Congress Committee passed a resolution in June last condemning the opium policy of the Government of India. The committee also directed that an enquiry be held in Assam into the growth of the opium habit and the effect of the Government's policy on it. Mr. C. F. Andrews and the Assam Provincial Congress Committee were put in charge of this enquiry. A large number of witnesses have been examined and the report is expected to come out soon.

14. The All India Congress Committee also decided to send a deputation to Malay and Ceylon to enquire into the condition of Indian labour there, with a view, if necessary, to restrict or stop the emigration of Indian labour abroad. Mr. C. F. Andrews was able to visit Malay and he has presented a report, and in view of his detailed survey it may not be necessary now to send other investigators to Malay.

15. The Malabar Disturbances Enquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee in 1922 have presented their report. This consists of a record of attempts made to start work and of the utter lack of success of all such attempts. It appears that the people living in the area concerned were in a state of terrorism and were far too frightened of Government displeasure to venture out and give any kind of evidence.

16. There have been three meetings of the All India Congress Committee and seven meetings of the Working Committee from the beginning of the year to the date of this report. Many of the Provincial Committees have not been working properly and some have not sent reports. Such reports as have come to the A. I. C. C. are usually meagre and unsatisfactory, and often the figures given are incomplete as some districts have not given the necessary information. Andhra gives no figure for Congress membership or Tilak Swaraj Fund collections. A sum of Rs. 22875 was however collected there for the Gandhi Purse. Behar reports 11795 members and Rs. 9326 collections. Central Provinces (Hindustani) had 35000 members and collected Rs. 4500. C. P. (Marathi) reports 14178 members and Rs. 596 collections. Bombay had 13199 members and collec-

ted Rs. 3714. No special effort was apparently made in Bombay to make collections. Delhi reports collections amounting to Rs. 3140 and gives no figure for membership. Gujarat had a membership of 19408 and collected Rs. 5045 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, besides Rs. 65242 collected in Rangoon and earmarked for Gujarat. Collections were also made in Gujarat amounting to Rs. 61507 for the Gujarat Vidyapitha and Rs. 129467 for the Gandhi Purse. Karnatak, busy with the preparations for the coming Congress, could not do much for the constructive programme. They report 5602 members and Rs. 2272 collections, apart from the Reception Committee's collections. Maharashtra had 9447 members, no figure for collections being given, Punjab and the United Provinces do not give their number of members but say that Rs. 6763 and Rs. 12303 respectively were collected. Utkal reports 1740 members and Rs. 593 collections. Assam reports practically no constructive work, and the remaining provinces have not reported at all.

17. It will be seen that Congress membership was low and the collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund were meagre. In most places, owing to communal friction or on account of the heavy and unprecedented floods which devastated large areas both in the North and South, no organised attempt was made to enrol members or to make collections. A sum of Rs. 1,25,000 was however received from the Burma Provincial Congress Committee for the Swaraj Fund, a little over half of this sum being, as mentioned above, earmarked for the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee. Many of the outstandings of the All India Congress Committee were realised during the year. A list of the realisations and of the present outstandings is attached to this report.

18. In the United Provinces, Svt. Shiva Prasad Gupta has made a munificent gift of rupees ten lakhs for national education. He has formed a trust to administer this fund, the income of which is for the present being given to the Kashi Vidyapitha.

19. The Guru-ka-Bagh Enquiry Committee, which was appointed in 1922, presented a very belated report in the course of the year and this has recently been published. The All India Congress Committee office has also just issued a collection of all the resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee from September 1920 to December 1923.

20. No progress has so far been made in the organisation of separate Congress departments or of a National Service of paid workers as directed by resolution 5 of the Cocanada Congress. The work of organisation of Volunteers has however been largely left to the Hindustani Seva Dal. The Dal in addition to its initial troubles

has had to face all the other difficulties referred to and so far has not been able to do much. Khadi work has, as already stated, been entrusted to the All India Khaddar Board, which has now become the most important of Congress departments. The question of having a permanent office for the All India Congress Committee has not been settled yet.

21. The general secretaries have to record with deep sorrow the death in November of the noble and lion-hearted lady who was known and loved in every part of India as Bi Amman Saheba. Neither her great age nor her troubles and infirmities had dimmed the lustre of her eyes or lessened her fierce ardour for her faith and country. Nothing could stop her from ceaseless travelling and working all over the country for the cause she dearly loved and to which she had given everything. And almost to the very end she continued to work on and to inspire millions of her countrymen.

22. One of the general secretaries elected at the Cocanada Congress, Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, resigned from this office in June last and his place was filled by the election of Syt. Rajendra Prasad. One of the Treasurers of the All India Congress Committee, Syt. Velji L. Nappoo, also resigned and Seth Jarnalal Bajaj took his place. The vacancy thus caused in the Working Committee was filled by the election of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. C. H. Sopariwalla, the auditor appointed by the Congress, was unable to undertake the audit of the accounts of the Provincial Committees owing to ill-health. The Working Committee thereupon authorised the President and Treasurers to appoint another auditor, and they appointed Mr. C. S. Patel, certified auditor. Mr. Patel has already audited the accounts of several Provincial Committees.

23. An audited statement of the receipts and expenditure of the All India Congress Committee office from 11th December 1923 to November 30th 1924 is attached to this report. The Treasurers' statement of accounts is also attached, and so also is a final statement of account, of the Punjab Relief Fund of 1919, prepared by the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALLAHABAD.

December 17th, 1924.

General Secretaries.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 17th December 1923 to 30th November 1924 in the office of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.—

Receipts.	AMOUNT.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
A. Budget grant for A. I. C. C. Office :—		
(i) Received from Cocanada Reception Committee	500 0 0	
(ii) Received from the Treasurer, A. I. C. C.	10,378 5 10	
(iii) Opening balance :—		
In hand	173 1 6	
Behar Bank	1,000 0 0	
With ex-General Secretary, Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakristnayya ..	1,648 8 8	
		13,700 0 0
B. Sale proceeds of Congress publications		583 3 6
C. Return of advances made :		
(i) Tour and office expenses of ex-president Syt. K. Venkatappaya ..	595 0 2	
(ii) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	0 15 0	
(iii) Syt. Ganesh Prasad	54 9 1	
(iv) Sheonandanlal	5 2 0	
		655 10 3
D. Miscellaneous receipts :—		
Sale proceeds of furniture	140 13 4	
Sundries	7 15 0	
		148 12 4
TOTAL ..		15,087 10 1

Continued on next page.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 15th December 1923 to 30th November 1924 in the office of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.—(contd.)

Disbursements.		AMOUNT.	
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
E.	By travelling expenses of ex-president Syt. K. Venkatappayya		595 0 2
F.	Travelling expenses of office establishment (including Hindu-Muslim arbitration and enquiry work) :—		
	(i) Travelling expenses incurred before arrival of office at Allahabad including those in connection with Cocanada Congress	244 2 9	
	(ii) Travelling expenses including luggage charges for current records incurred during removal of office from Bezwada to Allahabad	360 14 3	
	(iii) Travelling expenses incurred since removal of office to Allahabad	1,081 1 1	
			1,686 2 1
G.	*Advances to :—		
	(i) Syt. V. Lakshmi Kantham	30 4 0	
	(ii) Cash balance with ex-General Secretary, Syt. D. Gopalakristnayya, transferred to his account	123 3 8	
	Syt. D. Gopalakristnayya	169 3 0	
	(iii) Syt. R. K. Nehru	213 12 6	
	(iv) Manager, Allahabad Law Journal Press	300 3 0	
	(v) Secretary, Unity Conference, Delhi	0 4 0	
			836 14 2

Continued on next page.

*Note regarding advances mentioned on the disbursements side.

- (i) Syt. V. Laksmikantham was a clerk in the A. I. C. C. office at Bezwada. The sum of Rs. 30-4 shown opposite his name requires adjustment.
- (ii) a. Rs. 123-3-8 is the balance of the amount which was with Mr. Gopalakristnayya as office cash balance when he was General Secretary.
b. Rs. 169-3 was advanced to Mr. Gopalakristnayya last year and has not yet been accounted for.
- (iii) Mr. R. K. Nehru, at present at Oxford, was requested to arrange the despatch of the library of the British Committee of the Congress to India and the sum of Rs. 215-12-6 has been sent to him for the purpose.
- (iv) The Allahabad Law Journal Press has been printing the book of Congress resolutions. A small advance was made. This is more than covered by their bill. The amount will be adjusted.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 11th December 1923 to 30th November 1924 in the office of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.—(concl'd.)

Disbursements.—(contd.)	AMOUNT
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
H. Salaries.. .. .	7,231 13 10
I. Postage and telegrams	1,137 4 6
J. Printing and stationery	1,409 12 6
K. Furniture	446 9 0
L. Congress publications	4 7 0
M. Library	43 14 0
N. Rent and taxes	510 8 0
O. Miscellaneous	432 15 0
P. Closing balance :—	
(i) In hand	151 3 0
(ii) In bank	601 2 10
	752 5 10
TGTL ..	15,087 10 1

(Sd.) B. RAJA RAU,
Assistant Secretary.

(Sd.) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
General Secretary.

Examined and found correct.

(Sd.) C. S. PATEL,
Government Certified Auditor,
A. I. C. C. Auditor.

ALLAHABAD, }
10th November 1924. }

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 19th December 1923 to 10th
December 1924.*

RECEIPTS.	AMOUNT.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance as on 19-12-23	
In fixed deposit with the Punjab National Bank, Ltd., Bombay	65,000 0 0
In current account with the	
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Bombay ..	5,955 11 11
Union Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay ..	1,425 10 3
Central Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay ..	11,071 1 6
Bank of Baroda, Ltd., Bombay ..	2,696 7 11
Shilotri Bank, Ltd., Bombay ..	1,048 13 10
Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay ..	1,493 2 6
In hand	27 9 0
	23,718 8 11
Tilak Swarajya Fund—General	1,345 9 6
" " " Earmarked	5,161 0 0
	6,506 9 6
Receipts from the Burma Provincial Congress Committee for general purposes	76,757 12 0
Receipts from the Burma Provincial Congress Committee for earmarked purposes	68,242 4 0
	1,45,000 0 0
Amounts received towards quota from the	
Bombay Provincial Congress Committee ..	649 0 0
Delhi " " " ..	262 0 6
Gujrat " " " ..	939 10 0
Maharashtra " " " ..	500 0 0
Sind " " " ..	376 11 5
U. P. " " " ..	200 0 0
	2,927 5 11
Share of Delegates fees	
Cocanada Congress	8,000 0 0
Nagpur Congress	14,000 0 0
	22,000 0 0
Miscellaneous Receipts	
Interest	7,673 9 9
Brokerage	142 6 6
Sale proceeds of books	1,496 9 0
Sundry Receipts	4 14 0
	9,317 7 3

continued on next page.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 10th December 1923 to 10th
December 1924.—(contd.)*

RECEIPTS.—(contd.)	AMOUNT.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Amounts received being refund out of grants made	
Malabar Relief Fund	11,000 0 0
East Africa Deputation	2,251 12 0
Nagpur Satyagraha	524 9 0
Conversions Enquiry Committee	2,500 0 0
Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee—Dr. Kitchlew	3,000 0 0
Hindu Muslim Differences Enquiry Committee	2,500 0 0
Social Work	2,300 0 0
	24,076 5 0
Advances recovered or accounted for	
General Secretary, All India Congress Committee	30,564 6 5
Malabar Enquiry Committee	1,500 0 0
Labour Sub-Committee	200 0 0
Employment Bureau	200 0 0
	32,464 6 5
TOTAL ..	3,31,010 11 0

DISBURSEMENTS.	AMOUNT.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grants made to	
Canara Relief Fund	5,000 0 0
Hindustani Seva Dal	1,000 0 0
Provincial Congress Committee Ajmer	300 0 0
	6,300 0 0
Amounts handed over out of Tilak Swarajya Fund earmarked	
Help to Akalis	3,000 0 0
Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee	65,242 4 0
Kerala Provincial Congress Committee	1,747 3 9
National College, Patna	2,000 0 0
National Workers in Bengal	3,500 0 0
National Medical College, Calcutta	4,016 9 0
	79,506 0 9

Continued on next page.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 19th December 1923 to 10th
December 1924.—(contd.)*

DISBURSEMENTS.—(contd.)	AMOUNT.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
C. D. Fund	
Akali Satyagraha, Punjab	22,000 0 0
President's Expences	
Staff, Travelling. Stationery. Postage.	
633-1-6 355-3-0 24-12-6 297-15-0	
Miscellaneous 29-1-6.. ..	1,340 1 6
Travelling expenses of some of the Working Committee Members	495 2 6
Office expenses of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee as mentioned in his Annual Statements of Receipts and Disbursements-	
Advanced in the years 1921 (10,660-0-0 1922 (9,000-0-0) 1923 (19,831-6-9) and 1924 (15,492-13-10)	54,984 4 7
Less received in 1922 (2,667-0-4), adjusted in 1923 (6,260-0-0) and balance of advance (4,200-0-0)	13,127 0 0
	41,857 4 3
Expenses incurred on behalf of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee	
Travelling expenses Miscellaneous	
107-2-6 30-11-0	137 13 6
Office expenses of the Hon. Treasurer	
Staff Travelling expenses Exchange	
750-0-0 16-11-3 63-6-0	
Postage Printing and Stationery	
73-15-0 965-11-0	
Miscellaneous	
35-0-0	1,904 11 3
Expenses of the Auditor	
Postage 2-4-0 Miscellaneous 10-0-0	12 4 0
Expenses of Sub-Committees	
Boycott Sub-Committee	59 4 6
National Pact Committee	471 14 0
Hindu Muslim Difference Enquiry Sub Committee	360 13 0
Labour Sub-Committee	225 12 0
Malabar Enquiry Committee	1,317 1 0
Conversions Enquiry Committee	12 1 6
Employment Bureau.. ..	6 1 6
East Africa Deputation	1,918 9 9
	4,371 9 3

Continued on next page.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND,

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 19th December 1923 to 10th
December 1924. (concl'd.)*

DISBURSEMENTS.—(contd.)	AMOUNT.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Purchase of Congress Pavilion	13,500 0 0
Advances made	
General Secretary, A. I. C. C. 4,200-0-0;	
Akali Publicity Bureau 3,431-7 6; East Africa	
Deputation 7-12-3; Gurukabagh Enquiry	
Committee 500-0-0; President (Maulana	
Mohamad Ali) 500-0-0; Inspecting Auditor	
300-0-0; Unity Conference, Delhi 1,604-5-6;	
Sikh Repression Enquiry Committee	
1,000-0-0; Boycott Committee 1,000-0-0;	
C. D. E. Committee 1,040-5-6; Assam Opium	
Enquiry Committee 250-0-0	
Cash and Investments	13,833 14 0
In fixed deposit with the	
Bank of Baroda, Limited, Bombay .. 45,000 0 0	
Central Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay .. 40,000 0 0	
Punjab National Bank, Ltd., Bombay .. 20,000 0 0	
Union Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay .. 20,000 0 0	
In current account with the	1,25,000 0 0
Punjab National Bank, Ltd., Bombay .. 10,004 1 9	
Bank of Baroda, Ltd., Bombay .. 67 1 5	
Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay .. 3,018 2 9	
Central Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay .. 7,098 4 11	
Shilohri Bank Ltd., Bombay .. 86 6 7	
Allahabad Bank Ltd., Bombay .. 340 3 7	
Union Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay .. 36 7 6	
In hand	20,751 13 3
TOTAL ..	3,31,010 11 0

M. N. PADWEKAR,

Accountant.

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,

Hon. Working Treasurer.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.

I beg to report that all my requirements as an auditor have been complied with.

I certify that in my opinion the above return of receipts and disbursements exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund's affairs according to the best of my information and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the above Fund.

I have examined investments.

14, HUMMUM STREET, FORT,
Bombay, 17th December, 1924.

C. H. SOPARIWALA,
Hon. Auditor,
All India Congress Committee.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

Revenue Account for the period from 10-12-23 to 10-12-24.

	Rs.	as.	ps.		Rs.	as.	ps.
To Grants	6,300	0	0	By Tilak Swarajya Fund, general ..	1,345	9	6
To President's expenses	1,340	1	6	By Receipt from Burma Provincial Congress Committee	76,757	12	0
To Expenses of some of the members of the Working Committee	495	2	6	By Share of Delegates' fees	22,000	0	0
To General Secretary's office expenses 1921, 1922, 1923 and 1924 adjusted	41,995	1	9	By Miscellaneous receipts	9,317	7	3
To Treasurer's office expenses	1,904	11	3	By Refund of grants	24,076	5	0
To Auditor's expenses	12	4	0	By Amounts received towards Provincial quota	2,927	5	11
To Sub-Committee expenses	4,371	9	3				
	56,418 14 3						
To Advances recovered in 1921 now adjusted	7,100	0	0				
To Surplus carried to Balance Sheet	72,905	9	5				
	1,36,424 7 8				136,424 7 8		

EXAMINED AND FOUND CORRECT.

C. H. SOPARIWALLA.

M. N. PADWEKAR,

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,

14, HUMMUM STREET,
FROT,

Hon. Auditor.

Accountant.

Hon. Working Treasurer.

All India Congress Committee,

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

Balance Sheet as on the 10th December 1924.

	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	
GENERAL FUND:—						Rs. as. ps.	
Last year's balance after deducting deficit for that year ..	183,273	15	10				
Add surplus as per Revenue Account ..	72,905	9	5	256,179	9	3	
EARMARKED FUND:—							
Balance ..	7,175	3	9				
Amounts received during the year ..	5,161	0	0				
Amount received from Burma Provincial Congress Committee ..	68,242	4	0				
	80,578	7	9				
Less amounts paid ..	79,506	0	9	1,072	7	0	
Balance of C. D. Funds ..	36,220	0	0				
Less paid this year ..	22,000	0	0	14,220	0	0	
Amount received from Bombay Provincial Congress Committee being the amount with that committee of the old Committee ..				10,704	6	6	
				282,176	6	9	
CASH and investments as shown in the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements.						1,45,751 13 3	
LOANS—BALANCE OF PREVIOUS YEARS.							
Loan of 1921 ..	35,000	0	0				
Loan of 1922 ..	25,000	0	0				
Loan of 1923 ..	30,000	0	0			90,000 0 0	
ADVANCES:—							
Balance as per last year ..	58,374	1	2				
Add—made during the year ..	13,833	14	9				
	72,207	15	11				
Less Amounts accounted for in the statement of Receipt and Disbursements ..	32,464	6	5				
	39,743	9	6				
Less amount adjusted in the Revenue Account ..	7,100	0	0				
	32,643	9	6				
DEADSTOCK—Balance as per last year ..						281 0 0	
Congress Pavilion ..	13,500	0	0				
	2,82,176	6	9				

EXAMINED AND FOUND CORRECT

14, HUMMUM STREET,
FORT,
Bombay 17th Dec. 1924.

C. H. SOPARIWALLA,
Hon. Auditor.
All India Congress Committee.

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant.

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,

Hon. Working Treasurer

INDEX.

	PAGE.
A ccountant, appointment of, for supervising Congress accounts	..24, 29
Accounts, Akali Sahayak Bureau's, .. ..	..26, 28
" All India Congress Committee Office, .. ..	.. 58
" arrangement for audit of, .. ..	..26, 27
" auditor's suggestions about, .. ..	.. 24
" Guru-ka-Bagh Enquiry Committee's, .. ..	.. 28
" " " Report, .. ..	.. 28
" "India" Newspaper, .. ..	.. 13
" Jallianwala Bagh, .. ..	.. 25
" Malabar Relief Committee's, .. ..	.. 13
" Malabar Relief Fund, .. ..	.. 30
" Mr. Banarsidas Chaturvedi's Kenya Deputation, .. ..	.. 26
" Mr. G. Joseph's Kenya Deputation, .. ..	.. 26
" publication of, .. ..	.. 12
" Satyagraha Committee's .. ..	.. 28
" supervision and checking of, .. ..	.. 42
Africa, East, Mr. Banarsidas Chaturvedi's allowance for the period of absence in, .. ..	.. 19
Africa, East and South, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu with Pt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi to proceed to, .. ..	.. 12
Agreement between Mahatma Gandhi and Messrs C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru	6, 7, 31, 39
Aiyer, Dr. Subramania, condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Ajmere khaddar grant .. ..	.. 25
Akali prisoners, death of, in Nabha jail .. ..	.. 44
Akali Sahayak Publicity Bureau .. ..	.. 14, 15, 16, 18 19, 25, 26, 54
Akalis .. ..	.. 1, 17, 20, 38, 44, 54
" committee appointed to enquire into repression of	31, 44, 54
" financial help to families of, .. ..	.. 14, 25, 54
All India Congress Committee, budget for 1924, .. ..	..16, 17
" " " " office accounts .. ..	.. 58
" " " " permanent staff and office of, .. ..	.. 1, 14
" " " " recovery of monies due to, .. ..	.. 18
" " " " treasurer's and secretary's statement on finances of, .. ..	.. 13
All India Congress Committee's quota of delegation fees .. ..	.. 27
All India Khaddar Board, monies of Khaddar Department to be transferred to, .. ..	.. 20
All India Khaddar Board, yarn subscription to be sent to, .. ..	.. 3, 34
All India Khaddar Department to be in sole charge of propaganda and policy re cotton goods .. ..	.. 10
All India Volunteer Board (and see Hindustani Seva Dal) .. ..	.. 10
All Parties' Conference .. ..	..30, 53
Andhra-Utkal boundary dispute .. ..	.. 2, 19
Apology to Government, action against tendering, .. ..	.. 6, 26
Assam, appeal for fire and cholera relief in, .. ..	.. 19
Assam P. C. C. application for money from, .. ..	.. 19
Assistant Secretary, increment in salary of, .. ..	.. 26
Auditor, appointment of, .. ..	.. 8, 57
Azan, right of chanting, .. ..	.. 48

	PAGE.
B ardoli programme, Provincial Committees to concentrate on special items of,	52
Bassein election dispute (see election dispute)	
Basu, Mr. Bhupendranath, condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Behar College	26
Behar and Utkal P. C. Cs. boundary dispute	26
Bengal Ordinance, arrests under new,	32, 39
Bengal Ordinance, promulgation of,	30, 31
Bengal, repression in,	7
Bengal Workers' fund	11
Bharucha, Syt. B. F., election of, as general secretary A. I. C. C.	45
Bhargri, Mr. G. M., condolence at the death of,	39
Bi Amman, condolence at the death of,	6, 37, 39, 57
Boycott of empire goods, central bureau for,	10
" of empire goods central bureau, money budgeted for,	10
" " " " committee, money advanced to, by Bombay P. C. C.	13, 28
Boycott of foreign yarn and foreign cloth	32
" of one community by another	50
Boycotts, observance of, by Congress representatives	4, 21
British Committee of Indian National Congress, library of,	13
Buddha Gaya temple	8
Burma, claim for communal representation by Indian settlers in,	38, 42
Burma P. C. C., money given for help to families of Akalis by,	14
Burma, repression in,	38, 42
C anara relief, money granted for,	13
C. P. Hindustani, loan to, for khaddar work	24, 28
Ceylon, deputation to,	4, 55
Choudhry, Sir Asutosh, condolence at the death of,	39
Circulars and proceedings to be issued in Hindustani,	22
Civic guards	14
Civil disobedience, help to families of Sikhs going to jail in offering,	14
Communal troubles	52, 53
Congress departments, organisation of,	14, 56
Congress funds, draft rules for collection, custody and expenditure of,	13, 19
Congress membership, change in rules regarding,	7
Congress, membership of two provincial committees of,	20
Congress organisations, elected representatives of, request to and regarding election of,	4, 21
Congress pavilion, purchase of,	2, 10, 12
Congress programme, elected members to observe in person full,	52
Constitution, Congress, changes in,	6, 33, 34, 35, 40, 41, 44
Constitution, Congress, committee appointed to suggest changes in,	28
Constructive programme, carrying out by provinces of,	2, 16
Conversion or re-conversion, religious, condemnation of compulsion in,	46
Conversion or re-conversion, religious, condemnation of unfair means in,	49
Conversion of persons under 16 years of age	49
Cow-slaughter... .. .	47, 48
Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, promulgation of,	51
D ay, Ernest, condemnation of murder of,	5, 22, 52
Defaulters regarding instructions from superior Congress officers and organizations, disciplinary action against,	3, 21

	PAGE.
Delhi, offer of land in,	22
Delhi, riots in,	53
Delhi Special Congress, delegation fees quota of,	17, 27
Depressed classes, raising of,	6, 26, 54
Devanagari characters, learning of,	6
Deshpande, Syt. Gangadhar Rao, resignation of, from secretaryship of A. I. C. C.	6, 57
Doaba, oppression in,	15
Drink and drug habit, campaign against,	44, 45

East Africa (see Africa)

Egypt, sympathy with the people of,	8
" , reprisals by British Government in,	37
Election disputes, Bassein,	5
" " , Maharashtra,	20
" " , old, Syt. Venkatappayya to deal with,	2, 29
Election disputes panel	2
Emigration, prevention of,	15, 22

F oreign yarn and foreign cloth, appeal to merchants to discontinue im- portation of,	33, 40
Foreign yarn and foreign cloth boycott (see boycott)	
Franchise, Congress	8, 32, 39
Fraudulent conduct of some Congress workers	19

G andhi, Mahatma M. K., election to Working Committee of,	5, 57
" " " fast of,	30, 46, 50, 53
" " " illness of,	10, 15
Gandhi month	15
Ghorkhodu, Mr. Rustomji Jiwanji, condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Gidwani, Syt. A. T., to carry on publicity work in Amritsar	10
" " " arrest of,	18
Giri, Syt. Dal Bahadur, condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Gondia Taluq, separation from C. P. Marathi of,	29, 30
Gopinath Saha's murder of Ernest Day	5, 22, 52
Grants, general secretary to enquire about utilisation of,	25
Gujrat, money received from Rangoon for work in,	18
Gulbarga, riots in,	43, 53
Guru ka Bagh, accounts of, (see accounts)	
Guru ka Bagh, report of enquiry committee	14, 28, 56

Hand spinning (see spinning)

Hindu-Muslim question, committee for preparing a scheme for solution of,	51
Hindu shrines in Kashmere, alleged desecration of,	8
Hindu-Sikh relations in the Punjab	15
Hindustani, learning of,	6, 26
Hindustani Seva Dal	16, 24, 28, 56
Hyderabad, loan for khaddar work in,	18, 25

	PAGE.
I ndia " newspaper accounts	13
Indians overseas	23, 36, 37, 41
J aito, firing on Sikhs at,	6, 17, 18, 54
Jallianwala Bagh accounts,	25
Jubbulpore, riots at,.. .. .	53
K ashi Vidyapith,	56
Kenya	37, 42
Kenya deputation	26
Khaddar and hand spinning, appeal to princes etc., for encouragement of,	32, 40
Khaddar, exclusive use of,	32, 39
" mill-cloth and mill-yarn cloth sold as,	40
" wearing of, obligatory at Congress and political functions	7, 33
Kitchlew, Dr., to carry on publicity work in Amritsar	10
Kohat, riots in,.. .. .	35, 42, 53
L abour and peasant organisation	2
Labour organisation, Dr. Sathaye's scheme of,	12
Labour relief in Bombay	19
Local boards, entry into, by Congressmen	8
" " recall of Congressmen from,	6, 26
Lucknow, riots at,	53
M aharashtra election disputes	20
Maharashtra P. C. C., Mr. Mahajan's complaint against president of,	11, 17
" " new rules of,	12, 17
Malabar disturbances enquiry committee's report	55
Malabar relief fund accounts	36
Malay Peninsula, deputation to,	4, 55
Malay Peninsula, Mr. C. F. Andrew's report on conditions in,	55
Martial Law Funds, balance to be transferred to A. I. C. C. funds	11
Membership, Congress, reports from provinces regarding,	55, 56
Membership of two Provincial Congress Committees	20
Millowners, appeal to,	33
Minor communities, full tolerance to,	49, 50
Moharrir, Mr. W. R., condolence at the death of,	39
Moslem League, All India,	27
Mudaliar, Mr. T. Y. G., condolence at the death of,	39
Mukerjee, Sir Asutosh, condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Music near mosques	48
N agpur Congress delegation fees	15
Naidu, Mrs. Sarojini, tour of, in East and South Africa	12
Naidu, Mr. P. K., condolence at the death of,	37, 39
Natal provincial legislature, Ordinance of,	41
National educational institutions	36, 43
National education board	11
National education conference, report of,	11
National education, gift of Rs. 10 lacs by Syt. Shiva Prasad Gupta for,	56
National education, president to be in charge of,	95

	PAGE.
National pact	13 19, 22, 23
National service, paid,	36, 43, 44.
Nehru, Pt. Jawaharlal, appointment of as general secretary A. I. C. C.	9, 45
Newspapers, violent writings in, .. .. .	.. 53
Non-cooperation, history of, .. .. .	.. 23
Non-cooperation, suspension of programme of, .. .. .	.. 7, 53
O pium, campaign against, .. .. .	.. 44
Opium enquiry in Assam	4, 23, 24, 55
Opium, " " " " report of, .. .. .	.. 55
Opium, Govt. of India's policy regarding,	4, 23, 45, 55
Overseas Indians (see Indians overseas)	
P anchayat, Central National, .. .. .	.. 46
Parties, scheme for reunion within Congress of political, .. .. .	.. 51
Press Advisory Committees	14, 20, 23, 29
Press, responsibilities of, regarding Hindu-Moslem tension .. .. .	.. 49
President, private secretary to, appointment of,.. .. .	.. 16
Proceedings and circulars to be in Hindustani .. .. .	.. 22
Provincial Congress Committees, rules for funds (see Congress funds)	
P. C. Cs. to send returns of membership .. .. .	.. 55, 56
Punjab Relief Funds .. .. .	.. 11, 25
Q ureshi, Mr. Shuaib, election of as general secretary A. I. C. C. .. .. .	.. 45
R ajendra Prasad, Svt, elected secretary A. I. C. C. .. .. .	.. 6, 57
Reception Committee of Congress, application of spinning resolution to members of, .. .. .	.. 25
Regulation III of 1818 and new Bengal Ordinance, arrests under,	32, 39, 51
Religion and conscience, freedom of, .. .. .	.. 46, 47
Religious denominations, heads of, appeal to, .. .. .	.. 33, 40
Religious observances, enforcement of, .. .. .	.. 46
Report, Assam opium enquiry, .. .. .	.. 55
.. Mr. C. F. Andrews', on conditions in Malay .. .. .	.. 55
.. Delhi Special Congress, .. .. .	.. 17
.. Guru-ka-bagh Enquiry Committee's,	14, 28, 56
.. Malabar disturbances Enquiry Committee's, .. .. .	.. 55
.. National Education Conference, .. .. .	.. 11
.. National Pact sub-committee's, .. .. .	.. 22
.. Congress, with Svt. C. Vijayaraghavachari .. .. .	.. 20, 26
Resolutions, notice of, .. .. .	.. 1
Resolutions, publication of,	1, 10, 51
Riots in Delhi, Gulbarga, Nagpur, Lucknow, Jubbulpore, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, Kohat .. .. .	.. 51
S aha, Gopinath, murder of Ernest Day by,	5, 22, 52
Sale of meat, dispute regarding,.. .. .	.. 49
Satyabadi Vidyalaya, Sakhi-gopal .. .. .	.. 11
Satyagraha Committee's accounts .. .. .	.. 28
Shah Hamdan, alleged desecration in Kashmere of the shrine of, .. .. .	.. 8

	PAGE.
Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee	14
Shivam, Mr. C. V. P., condolence at the death of	39
Sikhs (see Akalis and Jaito)	
Slaughter of animals, methods of,	48
Social Conference, National, help to,	16
South Africa	12
Spinning	3, 21, 29, 32
Spinning, monthly progress in,	52
Statement of Mahatma Gandhi and Messrs C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru (see also agreement)	53
Subscription, yarn,	7, 83
" default in payment of,	34
Swadeshi goods, production of and dissemination of information about,	10
Swaraj, Committee for preparing a scheme of	51
Swarajya Fund—See Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund	
Swaraj Party to carry on work in legislatures on behalf of Congress	7
T amil Nadu, loan to,	13, 18, 28
Tents for accomodation of delegates, purchase of,	24
Tilak Swarajya Memorial Fund accounts (and see Congress Funds)	61
Tilak Swarajya Fund collections, report from provinces regarding,	55, 56
Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, money from Rangoon for,	18
Treasurer, election of,	5, 22, 45, 57
Treasurers to deal with provinces in regard to dues and collections	34
U nder secretaries of A. I. C. C., appointment of,	9
Under Secretary, appointment of Syt. Raghupati Sahai, as,	16
U. P. C. C.'s loan and grant	24, 27
Unity Conference, Delhi,	46, 53
" " expenses of,	28
" " resolutions, action on,	30
Untouchability	43
V olunteer organization, (see also Civic guards and Hindustani Seva Dal)	10
Vote, right of,	34, 41
Vykom Satyagraha.. .. .	25, 27, 54
W omen workers, training of,	6, 28, 29
Working Committee, election of,	1, 8, 9
" " dissolution of Congress organizations by,	35
Worship, construction of place of,	49
Y algi, Mr. G. V., condolence at the death of,	39