

Indian National Congress 1926

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Being the resolutions of the Congress, of the All India Congress
Committee and of the Working Committee
passed during the year 1926

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1926.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at its meetings held in the Western Hostel, Raisina, Delhi on the 6th and 7th March, 1926:—

President:—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

Number of members present:—97

I. (a) This meeting having taken into consideration the pronouncements made in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly by the Governor-General and the Home Member referred to in the report of the Special Committee is of opinion that the insistence of the Secretary of State and the Government of India on full co-operation by the representatives of the people under existing conditions clearly demonstrates the intention of Government to coerce the nation into abject submission without making any advance on the present vicious system of Government.

(b) This Committee therefore has no option but to adopt the recommendations of the Special Committee and call upon Swarajist members of the various legislatures to follow the course laid down in resolution VII (b) (i), (ii) and (iii) passed by the Congress at its Cawnpore Session.

(c) This Committee hereby calls upon the party in the Assembly to leave their seats after raising the constitutional issue once again by moving on the 8th March that the first demand for grant which may come up for discussion be omitted.

(d) This Committee calls upon the Swarajist members of all legislatures to conform to the other directions contained in the said resolution of the Congress and engage themselves in carrying out the programme hereinafter laid down.

II. In pursuance of Resolution VII (b) (iii) 3 and 4 this Committee adopts the following programme of work for the year 1926:—

A:—WORK IN THE COUNTRY.

1. Provincial Congress Committees shall at once take steps to reorganise Congress Committees in the Districts, Tahsils or Taluqas and Villages in their respective jurisdictions.

2. District, Tahsil or Taluq and Village Committees shall

(a) organise propaganda and enrol Congress members under the directions of their respective Provincial Committees,

(b) popularise the Spinning wheel and Khaddar under the directions of Mahatma Gandhi and

(c) work for the removal of untouchability, amelioration of the condition of the suppressed classes, the removal of the drink and drug evil, promotion of education on national lines and the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural.

3. The Working Committee shall take steps to explore avenues for amicable settlement of the communal differences prevailing in the country and report to the All India Congress Committee as early as possible if it is able to find a satisfactory basis for such settlement. In case no such basis can be found the said Committee will report its own views on the merits of the matters in dispute between the various communities and make recommendations to the All India Congress Committee.

B:—GENERAL ELECTIONS.

4. The ensuing general elections will be run by and in the name of the Congress on the following programme subject to such modifications as may be made by the Congress in its sessions of December, 1926:—

The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of determined resistance and obstruction to every activity, Governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj; and in particular Congressmen in the legislatures shall

- (a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government ;
- (b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets (unless otherwise directed by the All India Working Committee), until such response is made by the Government ;
- (c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers ;
- (d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country ;
- (e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of Zamindars and
- (f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

5. In selecting candidates for the Assembly and the various Councils, the Executives of the several Provincial Congress Committees shall act in consultation with the Executives of the Swarajya party in the respective Provinces.

6. In case of any difference of opinion arising between the Executives of the Provincial Congress Committee and the Swarajya party, either Executive may refer the matter to the All India Working Committee and the decision of that Committee shall be final.

7. Where a part of a single constituency for any legislature is in territorial jurisdiction of one Congress Province and the other part or parts in that of another Congress Province, the candidate or candidates for such constituency shall be selected by the Executives of all the Congress Provinces concerned acting jointly in consultation with the Executives of the Swarajya party in the said Provinces.

8. The names of the selected candidates for all legislatures shall be reported to the Working Committee of the Congress for confirmation.

9. No candidates other than those whose selection is confirmed by the Working Committee as aforesaid shall be supported by Congressmen and Congress organisations.

10. Every Congress candidate shall sign a pledge in the following form before he is finally adopted by the Congress :—

“I, being a member of the Indian National Congress, do hereby offer myself as a candidate on behalf of the Congress for election to the Legislative Assembly Provincial Legislative Council from the constituency of.....and declare that if my candidature is approved I shall fully conform to all rules and directions regulating the conduct of elections by members of the party, which have been or may be issued by the A. I. C. C. or its Working Committee or the Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the instructions and resolutions of the A. I. C. C. or its Working Committee. If my candidature is not approved I undertake not to contest the election.

I further agree that in case I am elected I shall faithfully carry out the policy and programme of work laid down in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress adopted at Cawnpore and the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. dated 6th and 7th March, 1936 and in any election manifesto to be issued by the Working Committee.

I shall also faithfully observe all rules and carry out all instructions which may be issued from time to time by the All India Congress Committee and its Working Committee or by the Party in the Assembly Council for the guidance of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly Provincial Legislative Council.

I pledge myself to vacate my seat in the legislature in case I wilfully fail to carry out the policy and instructions of the Congress or the All India Congress Committee or its Working Committee or the Party in the Legislative Assembly Provincial Legislative Council.

A. I. C. C.

11. The All India Working Committee will issue from time to time such other and further directions as may be necessary.

III. In compliance with the Cawnpore Congress resolution VII (b) (iii) 8, this Committee allots a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the initial expenses of the necessary propaganda and other work in connection with the general elections to be spent under the directions of the Working Committee.

IV. This Committee appeals to the electorates and constituencies of the various legislatures in the country to support Congress candidates to the said legislatures in preference to all others.

V. That the 13th April, 1926 be set apart as South Africa Day and be specially devoted to the collection of funds for the South African Indians.

Also that the Working Committee be asked to issue a statement on the South African question.

VI. This meeting of the All India Congress Committee urges the Provincial Congress Committees in the country to organise branches of the Hindustani Seva Dal in their Provinces in accordance with the rules of that organisation and requests them to appoint at least one whole-time permanent paid worker for carrying on the work outlined by the Dal in their areas.

And further this Committee requests all Congress organisations and members in the country to help the Hindustani Seva Dal by contributing liberally to its funds.

VII. This Committee thanks the sub-committee on the Bodh Gaya temple for their able and exhaustive report and resolves that their report be adopted and that the Mahant of Bodh Gaya and the Buddhists be asked to consent to the arrangement suggested therein, *viz.*,

- (a) that both Hindus and Buddhists should be assured fullest liberty of worship according to their own methods;
- (b) that a Committee consisting of five Buddhists and five Hindus one of whom shall be the Mahant of

Bodh Gaya, and the Hindu Minister to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the time being be formed and the management and control of the temple and of the worship in it should be entrusted to the said Committee ;

- (c) that this Committee should have no connection with the properties attached to the Math of Bodh Gaya.

VIII. That resolution I be communicated by wire to the Swarajya Party in the various Provincial Councils now in session and they be called upon to act accordingly ; the attention of the Party in C. P. Council be also drawn to the Cawnpore Congress resolution VII (b) (iii) 2 and the Swarajist members of the said Council be called upon to attend the Council to throw out the Provincial budget including the salaries of ministers.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee which met at the Gujrat Vidyasalh, Ahmedabad on the 4th and 5th May 1926, with the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the Chair :

Number of members present :—68

I. This Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the patriotic efforts made by Pandit Motilal Nehru with a view to arriving at an agreement with the Responsive Co-operationists at Sabarmati.

II. The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Government of India and the Union Government upon the postponement of the Class Areas Reservation Bill pending the deliberations of a Conference between the two Governments.

The All India Congress Committee further congratulates the South African Indian Deputation and the Indian settlers on the happy result of their efforts.

The All India Congress Committee tenders its respectful thanks to Mr. C. F. Andrews for his great sacrifice and for his energy and undying hope and faith without which the result so far achieved would have been impossible.

The All India Congress Committee while noting the happy result of the Government of India's negotiations so far, warns the public against slackening the effort on behalf of the Indian settlers of South Africa and hopes that they will not rest until the position of the settlers is placed on an honourable and satisfactory basis.

The All India Congress Committee authorises the President to send a message of congratulations to the Union Government for their having postponed the said Bill and having agreed to a conference for the purpose of exploring possibilities of a satisfactory solution of the question.

III. The All India Congress Committee profoundly deplors and expresses its great concern at the recent riots in Calcutta resulting in heavy loss of life, serious injuries to hundreds of Indians, desecration of places of worship and loss of property, and conveys its deep sympathy to the families of the deceased as well as to the injured. It calls upon All India leaders and the citizens of Calcutta to devise measures in consultation with men of light and leading in the different communities to prevent repetition of such regrettable occurrences in future.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee which met at Gauhati in December 1926 :—

December 24.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided.

Number of members present :—109

I. The All India Congress Committee authorises the President to convey to Prof. Indra, son of Swami Shraddhananda, its message of profound sorrow at the irreparable loss the nation has sustained in the tragic death of the great Swamiji.

II. The All India Congress Committee recommends to the Subjects Committee that the delegation fee should be increased

to ten rupees and that as a matter of emergency the increased fee of ten rupees be collected from the delegates at the Gauhati Congress.

December 28

Sriman S. Srinivasa Iyengar presided.

Number of members present :—91

I. Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in Tamil Nadu (Madras City).

WORKING COMMITTEE.

II. Resolved that the following be the elected members of the Working Committee :—

Mahatma Gandhi	Syt. T. Prakasam
Pandit Motilal Nehru	Babu Rajendra Prasad
Srimati Sarojini Naidu	Maulana Mohamad Ali
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad	Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta

Syt. T. R. Phookun

Note :—The following office-bearers are ex-officio members of the Working Committee :—

Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar	<i>President</i>
Dr. M. A. Ansari	} <i>General Secretaries</i>
Syt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel	
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	
Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri	} <i>Treasurers</i>
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj	

ELECTION DISPUTES PANEL.

III. Resolved that the following do constitute the Election Disputes Panel :—

Syt. S. Satyamurti	Dr. Moonje
„ G. Harisarvottama Rau	Babu Rajendra Prasad
„ G. B. Deshpande	Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb
„ D. V. Gokhale	Dr. Satyapal
„ M. R. Jayakar	Dr. Murarilal
„ R. K. Sidhva	Syt. Kiran Sankar Roy

WORKING COMMITTEE 1926.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee held in Pandit Motilal Nehru's room, Western Hostel, Raisina, Delhi on March 5, 1926 at 3 p. m and following days.

The following were present on March 5.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (President)	Maulana Mohamad Ali
Pt. Motilal Nehru	Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
Lala Lajpat Rai	Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta
Syt. M. V. Abhyankar	Pandit K. Santanam

1. The minutes of the meetings of the Working Committee held at Cawnpore on the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th December, 1925 were confirmed.

2. The accounts of the T. S. F. from 1-12-25 to 31-1-26 and of the A. I. C. C. office for the months of December 1925 and January and February 1926 were passed.

3. The following budget for the A. I. C. C. offices for the period from 1st January, 1926 to 30th September, 1926 was sanctioned:—

General Secretaries' office :

			Rs.	a.	p.
1. Establishment	...	...	8,000	0	0
2. Postage and telegrams	...	...	1,000	0	0
3. Stationery and printing	...	...	2,000	0	0
4. Travelling expenses	...	...	2,000	0	0
5. Rents and taxes	...	...	500	0	0
6. Miscellaneous	...	...	1,000	0	0
For transfer of office from Allahabad to Madras including Ry. fare of staff and freight of records	...	...	500	0	0
			<hr/>		
			15,000	0	0

	<i>Treasurers' office.</i>			Rs.	a.	p.
Salaries	900	0	0
Printing and stationery	1,100	0	0
Postage and telegrams	50	0	0
Miscellaneous expenses	50	0	0
Auditors' fees and expenses	1,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
				3,100	0	0

4. Sirdar Mangal Singh's letter, dated 15th December, 1925 forwarding the account of the Akali Civil Resisters' families' relief Fund was placed before the meeting and it was resolved that a copy be forwarded to the Punjab P. C. C. for its report thereon.

5. A loan of Rs. 500 made to the Secretary, Assam P. C. C. for the expenses in connection with the Opium Enquiry report was confirmed.

6. The Treasurer's letter regarding the change of name of the Tilak Swarajya Fund with the various Congress organisations into "Congress Funds" was considered.

Resolved that no change is necessary and the same name be retained.

7. Dr. Satyapal's letter on behalf of the Working Committee of the Punjab P. C. C., dated the 16th January, 1926 regarding relief for the family of Pandit Jagat Ram now in jail was read and it was resolved that an allowance at the rate of Rs. 20 *per mensem* be sanctioned for the family for a period of one year at the end of which the question of further relief will be considered if necessary.

8. An expenditure of Rs. 200-11-3 incurred in connection with the Bodh Gaya Enquiry Committee was sanctioned.

9. A sum of Rs. 400 was sanctioned for printing the resolutions of the Congress, the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee for the year 1925.

10. Resolved that the General Secretaries of the Congress do frame draft rules to govern the election of delegates to the Congress, and the conduct of the proceedings during the Congress Sessions and place them before the A. I. C. C. as soon as possible.

11. Regarding the investigation of Congress affairs, and if necessary, reorganisation of Congress committees in Ajmer, resolved that the matter be left to the President to make suitable arrangements in this behalf.

12. The question of a permanent office for the A. I. C. C. was next taken up and it was resolved to postpone the consideration for the present.

13. The Committee resolved to recommend to the A I C. C. that the resignation of Dr. Satyapal from the Special Committee appointed by resolution No. V. of the A. I. C. C. at Cawnpore be accepted and that L. Duni Chand be appointed, as desired by the Punjab P. C. C.

14. The following were appointed members of the Sub-Committee for the relief of Political Sufferers in terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution No. VI. of December 29th, 1925.

1. Babu Purshottam Das Tandan (Chairman)
2. Syt. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi (Secretary)
3. Lala Lajpat Rai
4. Maulana Abul Kalm Azad
5. Lala Duni Chand (Ambala)
6. Syt. T. C. Goswami
7. Swami Govindanand

Certain resolutions drafted by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar for being placed before the A.I.C.C. were discussed.

15. Resolved that Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi be added to the Returned Emigrants Enquiry Committee and that he be requested to take all necessary steps to complete the investigation and make a report at an early date.

16. The Treasurer's letter asking that the correspondence regarding the collection of dues from the P.C.Cs. be carried on by the A.I.C.C. office was considered and it was resolved that the General Secretaries should carry on such correspondence and that the Treasurer should supply all the necessary information to the office.

17. The application of the Hindustani Seva Dal for a grant for carrying out their programme for 1926 was read and it was resolved to make a grant of Rs. 2,000.

18. The loss of books taken to the Cawnpore Congress of the value of Rs. 10-4-0 was noted and the amount was written off.

19. Read letter of Mr. Pathak of Bombay saying that the Bombay P.C.C. has struck off the names of all members who had not paid their subscription for the year 1926 by the 31st January and declaring their seats in the P.C.C. vacant was proceeding to re-election, and inquiring if this was correct, was read

Resolved that the attention of the Bombay P.C.C. be drawn to sub-clause (iv) of the Patna resolution of the A. I. C. C. of date 22nd September, 1925 and that in the opinion of the Committee the failure to pay the subscription by elected members of Congress bodies did not involve the vacating of seats but only loss of the rights enumerated in sub-clause (iv) thereof.

Resolved further that the Bombay P.C.C. be written to, to this effect.

20. The application, dated 24-2-26 for a loan of Rs. 5,000 from the General Secretary, U.P.P.C.C. was considered. Resolved that the Working Committee regret their inability to sanction the loan in view of the present condition of the All India Congress Committee's finances.

The Committee adjourned at 9 p.m.

The Committee met again on Monday, the 8th March at 6-30 p.m. in Pt. Motilal Nehru's room in Western Hostel, Raisina, Delhi.

The following members were present:—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (President)	Lala Lajpat Rai
Pt. Motilal Nehru	Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
Mr. M.V. Abhyankar	Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta

Pandit K. Santanam

1. The situation in C. P. Marathi and the resolution that the Secretary of the P.C.C. had sent for being placed before the A.I.C.C. was taken up. Mr. Abhyankar gave a written statement about the whole position. The Working Committee invited Dr. Moonje to the meeting and asked him whether he had anything to say about Mr. Abhyankar's allegations. Dr. Moonje marked certain portions in the written statement

of Mr. Abhyankar and said they were inaccurate and the rest be admitted to be correct. In the light of his admissions the Working Committee considered whether it was expedient and proper for the C.P.P.C.C. (Marathi) constituted as it at present is with a majority of its executive holding views in favour of responsive co-operation, to undertake to carry out the Cawnpore Congress resolution.

Resolved that Dr. Moonje, the President of C. P. Marathi P.C.C. be requested to report to the Committee within a reasonable time what action his Committee proposes to take in view of those portions of Mr. Abhyankar's statement which were admitted to be correct by him.

2. Letter from Secretary, A.I.S.A. requesting that the loan of Rs. 40,000 advanced to the Hyderabad Congress Committee in 1922 be transferred to A.I.S.A. was placed before the Committee.

Resolved that as the money was advanced out of the Bombay T.S.F. as a loan and as the recoveries so far made have been handed over to the Trustees of Bombay T.S.F. this Committee regrets it cannot comply with the request of the A.I.S.A.

3. Swami Kumaranand's application for grant of relief was considered and it was resolved that considering the special circumstances of the case a sum of Rs. 1,200 be placed at the disposal of the President to be given by her to the applicant in such manner as she thought fit.

4. About the arrangements for the South Africa Day it was resolved that the President be requested to issue an appeal and give the necessary instructions.

The Committee rose at 9 p.m.

The Committee met again in Pandit Motilal Nehru's room, Western Hostel, Raisina, Delhi at 1-45 p.m. on Wednesday, the 10th March 1926.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the President was in the Chair.

The following members were present:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Pandit Motilal Nehru | 4. Maulana Mohamad Ali |
| 2. Lala Lajpat Rai | 5. Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and |
| 3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad | 6. Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta |

Hakim Ajmal Khan was also present at the special invitation of the President.

1. The question of propaganda in connection with the coming general elections, for the initial expenses of which a sum of Rs. 25,000 was allotted under resolution No. III, dated the 7th March, 1926 of the All India Congress Committee was considered and it was resolved that a sub-committee consisting of the following members *viz.*, 1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 2. Pandit Motilal Nehru, 3. Laia Lajpat Rai, 4. Maulana Shaukat Ali, 5. Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, 6. Doctor Syed Mahmud, 7. Syt. T. C. Goswami and 8 Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, with power to co-opt, be appointed to carry on publicity work such as issuing manifestoes and other literature relating to the general elections and to tour the country with a view to educating the electorates, and that the sum of Rs. 25,000 allotted by the A.I.C.C. be placed at the disposal of the sub-committee for this purpose.

It was further resolved that Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar be requested to draft the election manifesto and present it to the Working Committee on the 11th March, 1926.

2. The Committee then proceeded to consider the question of Hindu-Muslim relations in pursuance of clause 3 of resolution II, dated the 6th March, 1926 of the All India Congress Committee.

Pandit Motilal Nehru suggested that the members of the Working Committee present at the time should try to explore avenues for an amicable settlement of the Hindu-Muslim differences and if an agreement could be reached on the lines of such settlement, then a scheme outlining the basis of settlement should be brought up before a full meeting of the committee. Further consideration of the question was adjourned till the next day, the 11th March, 1926.

3. The organisation of the foreign department of the Congress in pursuance of resolution No. IV of the All India Congress Committee, dated 29-12-25 was next taken up and it was decided that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted for the present for the initial expenses of starting publicity offices in selected foreign countries.

The following were appointed members of the Foreign Department :

1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
2. Pt. Motilal Nehru
3. Lala Lajpat Rai
4. Dr. M. A. Ansari (Convener)
5. Mr. T. C. Goswami

It was also resolved that the assistance of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi be taken by this department in regard to the Hindi part of the work relating to Indians in the colonies.

At this stage the committee adjourned till 12 noon on the 11th March, 1926.

The Working Committee met again in Hakim Sahab Ajmal Khan's house, Delhi at 1 p.m. on March 11, 1926 with Mrs. Naidu, President in the chair.

Present :

- (1) Pandit Motilal Nehru
- (2) Lala Lajpat Rai
- (3) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
- (4) Maulana Mohamad Ali
- (5) Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
- (6) Syt. J. M. Mehta

Hakim Sahab was also present.

Discussion on the Hindu-Muslim question was continued.

The Committee adjourned at 5 p.m. till 9 a.m. the next day.

The Committee met again at 9 a.m. on March 12 at 25, Western Hostel with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the chair.

Present :

1. Pandit Motilal Nehru
2. Lala Lajpat Rai
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
4. Maulana Mohamad Ali
5. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
6. Mr. Jannadas M. Mehta

After some more discussion of the Hindu-Muslim question further consideration was adjourned.

1. The Committee next adopted the following resolution :

That Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar be authorised to draw from the Treasurer such sums out of Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 5000 granted respectively for central publicity and the foreign department as may be required from time to time.

The Committee then adjourned at 12 noon and met the next day, the 13th March at 7 p.m. in the Western Hostel. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair.

The following members were present :

1. Pandit Motilal Nehru
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
3. Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
4. Syt. Jannadas M. Mehta

The Committee discussed the Hindu-Muslim problem at length and adjourned at 9 p.m. *sine die*.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee which met at the Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, at 10 a.m. on 4-5-26; at the Circuit House, Ahmedabad at 4 p.m. on 5-5-26 and at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay at 11 a.m. on 7-5-26.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair.

The following members were present on 4-5-26:

Mahatma Gandhi	Moulana Mohamad Ali
Pandit Motilal Nehru	Sjt. J. M. Sen Gupta
Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar	„ M. V. Abhyankar
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj	„ J. M. Mehta

Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

1. The minutes of the last meetings of the Committee held at Delhi on the 5th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th March 1926 were confirmed.

2. The accounts of the A.I.C.C. office for March 1926 and of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for 1-12-25 to 30-4-26 were placed before the Committee.

3. The expenses amounting to Rs. 155-1-0 incurred in connection with the meeting of the A.I.C.C. held in Delhi on the 6th and 7th March 1926, were granted to the Delhi P.C.C.

4. The letter of the Karnatak P.C.C., dated 11-4-1926 regarding the nomination of Sjt. P. Siva Rao as a candidate for the Madras Legislative Council was considered and the following resolution adopted:—

“Resolved that a board of arbitration with one member each from Andhra and Karnatak and with Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar as the umpire be appointed to settle the matter.”

5. The Secretary made a statement explaining the delay in publishing the report of the proceedings of the Cawnpore session.

6. The Secretary read to the committee the following resolutions passed by the Central Sikh League on the 3rd and 4th April 1926 :—

“ The Central League strongly condemns the principle of communal representation. After their experience of the last 6 years of the Reforms, the Sikhs are of the decided opinion that communal representation has proved quite ineffective in safe-guarding the interests of the Sikh minority in the Punjab ”.

“ Instead of allaying communal tension, the introduction of communal representation in the elected bodies and the services has most deplorably embittered feelings between the various communities inhabiting the Punjab ”.

“ The Sikh League strongly appeals to other communities to give up communal representation in the best interests of the country.

“ The Sikh League ratifies the resolution of the General Committee passed in 1923 and further resolves that the forthcoming elections for the various legislative bodies of the country should be run in co-operation with the Indian National Congress. The League calls upon the community to return only the candidates so nominated in order to demonstrate to the Government the confidence of the Sikh community and the policy of the League. The issues involved in the coming elections are of such an important nature as to demand from the Sikhs a clear mandate for immediate full responsible Government in the country ”.

The resolutions were recorded.

7. Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar read out the names of candidates recommended by the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee, which were confirmed :—

Note :—The names of 24 Candidates to the Local Council and 7 to the Assembly from Tamil Nadu were confirmed.

8. The letter of the Byculla D.C.C. Secretary regarding salaried members of the staff of the P.C.C. and D.C.Cs. in

Bombay being members of the P.C.C. was placed before the Working Committee. The Secretary was asked to give a suitable reply saying that nobody could be disqualified from being elected a member of any Congress Committee.

9. The question of Hindu-Muslim relations was considered. The Secretary read out resolution II-3 of the A.I.C.C. passed on the 6th March 1926. After some discussion further consideration of the question was adjourned.

The Committee rose at 12 noon.

The Committee met again at 1 p. m.

Discussion on the Hindu-Muslim question was resumed and the following draft resolutions to be placed before the All India Congress Committee were agreed to:

- (1) Having regard to the terms of the Lucknow Pact it shall not be open to any member of the Congress Party in any legislative body to move any resolution or introduce any measure asking for the abolition of separate electorates and the substitution therefor of joint electorates unless and until there is a general agreement between the Hindu and Mussalman members of the legislative body concerned in that behalf.
- (2) In selecting Mussalman candidates for election to any legislative body the Provincial Executive of the Congress shall ordinarily give preference to those recommended by the Provincial Khilafat Committee.
- (3) No bill, motion or amendment relating to any communal matter shall be moved by any member of the Congress Party in any legislature if a majority of three-fourths of the Hindu or Mussalman members of the Congress Party in the said legislature are opposed to the introduction of such bill, motion or amendment.

The point next discussed was how the members of the Congress Party were to act if a bill, motion or amendment of a communal character was moved by a member of the legislature not belonging to the Party. Pandit Motilal Nehru suggested that having regard to the obvious difference between the character of a body like the Indian National Congress and that

of a legislative body the only practical course to follow would be to give the members of the party freedom of speech and vote. Maulana Mohamad Ali dissented from this view and suggested that the right course would be for the Congress members to remain neutral. This view was not accepted by the other members present who agreed with Pandit Motilal Nehru. In view of this difference of opinion it was agreed that the matter be adjourned for the present and no formal resolutions on the Hindu-Muslim question be put before the All India Congress Committee.

10. While the Committee was proceeding, the following correspondence passed between President Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru on the one hand and the Responsive Co-operationists on the other:—

To Mrs. Naidu, President, Working Committee, Indian National Congress.

DEAR MADAM,

In response to your kind invitation to attend the meeting of the Working Committee this morning at 9, we arrived here and were about to attend the meeting, when we received at the hands of Sjt. Raja Rao, Assistant Secretary of the All India Congress Committee a draft of a proposed resolution, purporting to be sent by Pandit Motilalji for our consideration on the ground that the wording of the Sabarmati Pact was cryptic and required amplification. We have carefully considered the draft which we regard as a travesty of the pact and a complete repudiation of the same. We think that the draft furnishes no common ground on which we could profitably meet and discuss. Under these circumstances we are of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by our attending the Working Committee's meeting this morning and we have therefore decided not to attend the same. We feel that we need not have been dragged all the way to Ahmedabad from our distant homes, to be made sport of in the manner the draft proposes to do.

Yours truly,

(Signed) M. R. Jayakar
" N. C. Kelkar
" B. S. Moonje
" M. S. Aney
" D. V. Gokhale
" G. A. Ogale.

P. S.—We send herewith for your information a copy of the resolution which our party unanimously adopted yesterday by way of ratifying the terms of the pact, as required by the last clause thereof.

IN REPLY MRS. NAIDU WROTE :—

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have just received your letter. The draft sent you by Pandit Motilal is only for discussion at the Working Committee. Your presence is most necessary for this discussion, and I am requesting you earnestly to attend the Working Committee that is now sitting, to press your own points and objections to enable us to arrive at some final settlement, if possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Sarojini Naidu.

IN REPLY THE RESPONSIVISTS WROTE :—

DEAR MADAM,

We are in receipt of your letter. It does not make it clear whether yourself and Pandit Motilalji, the two principal parties to the pact, are going to stand by it, in its passage through the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. We came here to support you in doing so in the fullest expectation that you two would adhere to the pact as it stands and which had your fullest approval. Unless you propose to do so, there is no meaning in our attending the joint deliberations of the Working Committee or even the A. I. C. C. A clear reply to this enquiry will clear up the situation.

You will permit us to observe that it is futile to put forward, even as a basis of discussion, a draft which completely repudiates the pact. It is needless to add that the pact represented the maximum basis of agreement between the two sides. We respect it as such and are prepared to stand by it, provided you do the same. This will save unnecessary waste of time, involved in examining positions which were abandoned after scrutiny by one or the other of the two sides, before the pact was arrived at.

Awaiting your reply,

We are, yours truly,
(Signed) M. R. Jayakar,
for Self and Colleagues.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY:—

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I am really sorry and surprised that you and your friends should consider that either Pandit Motilal Nehru or I should wish to get out of the Pact. The whole purpose of calling the A. I. C. C. was for the purpose of confirming the Pact. Certain conditions were agreed to by both the wings of the Swaraj Party after frank discussion in the friendliest spirit. I put my signature to the Pact purely formally as President of the Congress at your request. The real Pact was between the leaders of the Swaraj Party proper and the leaders of the Responsive Co-operationist Party. The draft submitted is for discussion and I think it your duty as parties to the Pact to attend the Working Committee. We have been waiting since 10 a. m. Please meet us at the Circuit House before 5 p. m. to-day and let us discuss the Pact with the Working Committee. I certainly will stand by the Pact as I understand and accept it, an honourable undertaking between the two wings of the Swaraj Party consistent with the principles and the ideals of the Congress.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) Sarojini Naidu.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S LETTER TO THE RESPONSIVISTS:—

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has shown me your letter. I am sorry you are insisting upon conditions before meeting the members of the Working Committee in a friendly conversation on the pact and the questions which have arisen since it was signed. I am of course prepared to stand by the pact as I understand it. But as you are aware, there has been a difference of opinion among the signatories themselves as to what are the true implications of the language adopted. I certainly do not agree in the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Kelkar and in the section of the press represented by the "Maharatta" and the "Kesari", nor even in the resolution passed by your party in Bombay yesterday. I refer you to my interview to the press and my recent Allahabad speech for my interpretation of the pact. I think that the only reasonable way of dealing with the matter is for us to come together again and have another free and frank talk on the subject.

The draft resolution handed to you this morning was not intended merely to explain the pact but was settled in consultation with other prominent members of the Congress as a formula likely to be approved

WORKING COMMITTEE

by the All India Congress Committee. It is open to us to modify it after discussing it with you if you will give us an opportunity to do so.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Motilal Nehru.

11. The terms of the Pact and the conditions required to be fulfilled before any response by the Government could be considered satisfactory were then considered. Pandit Motilal Nehru informed the Committee that he had laid the following essentials of a satisfactory response before the Sabarmati Conference with the Responsivists on the 21st March but that they were not incorporated in the Pact as it was understood that they would be issued as separate instructions to the members:

- (1) abolishing non-official nominations to the Councils and throwing open the seats of nominated non-official members to election by the general electorates,
- (2) making Ministers fully responsible to the legislature, free from all control of the Governor or the Governor-in-Council in the administration of their respective departments,
- (3) allocating a fixed proportion of the revenues of the province for the development of nation-building departments, without imposing additional burdens on the people,
- (4) vesting in the Ministers full control of the services in the transferred departments and
- (5) introducing such other changes as may be required under the special circumstances of any particular province on representation being made by the Congress Party in the legislature of that particular province."

The Committee was of opinion that in view of the difference of opinion that had arisen, the Pact as it stood with the material conditions omitted from it could not be accepted and the following draft resolution was adopted as representing the minimum response which the Working Committee would be prepared to put before the All India Congress Committee for

confirmation, if the Responsivists agreed to amplify the Pact in accordance therewith:—

“ Having regard to the fact that doubts and differences have arisen as to the true interpretation of the agreement arrived at between Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. Lajpat Rai, M. S. Aney, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, B. S. Moonje, D. V. Gokhale, G. A. Ogale and Pt. Motilal Nehru at Sabarmati on the 21st April 1926,

“ This meeting of the A. I. C. C. while fully agreeing with the principles, policy and programme laid down in resolution VII of the Cawnpore Congress and resolution II B of the A. I. C. C. passed at Delhi on the 6th and 7th March 1926, and fully believing that dyarchy in any form or shape is wholly unworkable in the best of conditions, is of opinion that with a view to remove all doubts and differences and to put the true issue before the country, it is expedient to state clearly what shall constitute the ‘satisfactory response’ referred to in the said resolution.

“ It is therefore hereby resolved :

i. That the acceptance by the Government of the principle underlying the resolution passed by the Assembly on the 18th February 1924 shall constitute a satisfactory response by the Government to the National Demand for full Responsible Government and the immediate adoption by the Government of the various steps mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September 1925 shall for the present be taken to be a sufficient compliance with the said principle.

ii. That if responsible Government in the fullest sense is guaranteed by the Government to come automatically in the near future by the adoption of other steps than those mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September 1925 and if in the meantime, substantially full responsible Government in the Provinces is granted, the response so made by the Government shall be considered sufficient in the Provinces for the purpose of accepting offices of Ministers and considering the Provincial budgets on the merits ;

Provided that no such response shall be considered adequate unless it includes :—

(a) The release or trial according to law of all political prisoners who are at present detained without being convicted by duly constituted Courts ;

(b) The repeal of all repressive laws ;

(c) The removal of all disqualifications now imposed on persons who have served the sentences passed on their conviction of any

offences, from standing for election to all elected bodies in the country and

(d) The abolition of non-official nominations to membership of Councils and throwing open the seats of nominated non-official members to election by the electorates.

iii. That the adequacy of any such action by the Government in any Province as is referred to in Resolution ii shall on the recommendation of the Congress members of the Legislative Council of that Province be decided by the Working Committee."

It was also agreed that in the event of the Responsivists not consenting to the foregoing resolution the same be, if necessary, put forward as an independent resolution after substituting the words:

"it is expedient to confirm and re-state the actual position taken up by the Leader of the Swaraj Party at the negotiations and in entering into the said agreement."

for the words

"it is expedient to state clearly what shall constitute the 'satisfactory response' referred to in the said resolution."

The Committee adjourned at 3-30 p.m.

The Committee met again at the Circuit House at 4 p.m. on 5-5-26.

The President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, was in the Chair.

The following members were present:—

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Sjt. J. M. Mehta

„ M. V. Abhyankar

Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

12. It was decided that meetings of the Special Committee and the Working Committee should be convened in Bombay for the middle of June 1926.

13. The Committee went into the disputes regarding the nomination of candidates in Sindh, heard the parties concerned and arrived at the following decision:—

"That Mr. R. K. Sidhva and Mr. Naraindas Anandji will settle between themselves as to which of them is their nominee for the Karachi seat, and that the final choice do lie between one of them and the

nominee of the Sindh P.C.C., Mr. Durgadas B. Adwani."

14. At this stage the list of candidates recommended by the Andhra P.C.C. was handed to the Secretary, who placed it before the Committee. The Committee confirmed the list.

Note:--The number of candidates confirmed for the Local Council and the Assembly from Andhra was 31 and 4 respectively. Another list of 6 candidates to the Assembly from U.P. was also confirmed.

15. The Committee decided that the confirmation of further lists of candidates may be settled by correspondence.

16. The Secretary stated that in spite of reminders, no reply had been received from Dr. Moonje regarding C.P. Marathi affairs. The Secretary was asked to send another reminder to Dr. Moonje.

17. The question of the utilisation by the Punjab P.C.C. of the famine relief grants sanctioned in 1921 was considered by the Working Committee and the following resolution was adopted:

"Read letter No. 4472, dated 24-4-26 from the General Secretary of the Punjab P.C.C.; resolved that the Secretary Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar be asked to go into the matter and report to this committee as early as possible. The report should be circulated to the members of the committee."

The Committee adjourned at 5-30 p.m.

The Committee met again in the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay at 11 a.m. on 7-5-26 with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the Chair; Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. J.M. Mehta and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar were present, and the Committee adopted the following resolutions:—

- (1) Resolved that the nomination of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta for the Assembly and of Mr. Balubhai Desai for the Legislative Council for the Bombay City be confirmed.

- (2) Resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to enquire from the Hon'ble Mr. Patel whether in view of his statement appearing in the press in reply to the telegram of the Sindh P.C.C. he desires, on vacating his office, to stand as a Congress candidate and if so for what constituency. This information is necessary as the Committee is now selecting candidates for the various constituencies in the Assembly.

The Committee then adjourned sine die.

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee which met in Calcutta on the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th July, 1926.

The Committee met at 3-40 p. m. on 4-7-1926 at 10 1/4 Elgin Road.

Mrs Sarojini Naidu was in the chair and the following members were present :

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
 Mr. S. Sricivasa Iyengar
 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta
 Mr. Jambadas M. Melita
 Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

1. The minutes of the last meetings of the Committee held at Sabarmati on 4-5-1926, at the Circuit House, Ahmedabad on 5-5-1926 and at Bombay on 7-5-1926 were confirmed.

2. The Punjab accounts of the Famine Relief grant were considered and the following resolution was adopted :—

'Having considered the accounts of the Punjab P.C.C. and the report of the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, the Working Committee is satisfied that the amounts aggregating Rs. 50,000 granted to the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee by the All India Congress Committee in 1921, earmarked for famine relief have been properly spent for famine relief, for the relief of political prisoners and for Multan relief and other legitimate purposes, though sanction should have been applied for and

obtained earlier for purposes other than famine relief and a separate account should have been kept of this earmarked fund.'

3. On the motion of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the following resolution on the Hindu-Muslim question was unanimously adopted:

- i. This Committee views with profound regret the tension subsisting at present between Hindu and Muslim communities. It feels that the Congress organisations have so far not laid sufficient emphasis and given sufficient publicity to the resolutions of the Unity Conference held in Delhi in September and October 1924 which are herewith published as an annexure and which were passed by the representatives of all parties and communities, and calls upon them to make a determined effort to popularise these resolutions and devote all their energy and resources in persuading the two communities to compose their differences wherever such exist, on the basis of these resolutions.
- ii. This Committee resolves on the establishment of a permanent Publicity Bureau with a view to educating the masses of India out of communal conflicts and differences and developing a sound national life. It authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Motilal Nehru to organise such a bureau and make a report on it, including an estimate of the probable expenditure; and in the meanwhile, places at their disposal a sum of Rs. 15,000 for starting work.
- iii. This Committee resolves that the amount remaining unspent in the hands of the Treasurer out of the Civil Disobedience Fund, *viz.*, Rs. 14,220 be re-appropriated for the foregoing purpose and handed over to the said Committee.
- iv. This Committee resolves that the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee be called upon to return the unspent balance of the Akali Relief Fund in their hands, *viz.*, Rs. 13,639-6-1.

4. The accounts of the A.I.C.C. office for April and May 1926 and of the Tilak Swarajya Fund for 1-12-1925 to 31-5-1926 were placed before the Committee.

5. The question of omitting the delegates' lists from the Cawnpore Congress report was considered and it was decided that the lists be omitted from the Cawnpore report and from all reports in future.

6. It was resolved that the Secretary be asked to put up a note giving an estimate of the printing charges of the Cawnpore Congress report at the next meeting of the committee.

7. Resolved that Syt. B. Raja Rau, Assistant Secretary, All India Congress Committee, be Under Secretary and his allowance be Rs. 250 per mensem.

8. The Committee next discussed the questions that arose out of Hindu-Moslem and other communal differences and disputes and in particular the question of legislation affecting communal matters, and eventually adopted the following resolution unanimously :

The Committee is of opinion that having regard to the best interests of the country, no bill, motion or amendment relating to any inter-communal matter should be moved or discussed if a majority of three-fourths of the members of any community affected thereby in the legislature, are opposed to the introduction or discussion of such a bill, motion or amendment and that the Congress Party in the legislature concerned should take such steps as may be possible to give effect to this resolution in each case.

9. The following resolution was next adopted :

The Working Committee authorises Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta to form an election propaganda committee to supplement the efforts of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in the matter of carrying on the Congress election campaign in the Maharashtra Province and resolves that a sum of Rs 1000, be placed at the committee's disposal for the purpose.

10. The Committee then proceeded to consider the lists of candidates submitted by the various Provincial Congress Committees for the different legislatures and confirmed them.

Note.—The number of candidates for the local legislative councils confirmed are: Tamil Nadu 8, Assam 15, Andhra 1, Karnatak 5, Bombay 4, Punjab 8, Kerala 1, United Provinces 37, Maharashtra 7, Behar 26. Number of candidates for the Assembly confirmed are: Assam 2, Andhra 1, Karnatak 1, Bombay 1, Punjab 2, Kerala 1, United Provinces 3, Behar 3.

The Committee adjourned at 7 p.m. and met again at 8-15 a.m. on 5-7-26 at 10¹/₄, Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Mrs. Naidu was in the Chair.

The following members were present:

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Mr. J M. Sen-Gupta

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

11. The situation in Gujarat relating to the ensuing elections was considered and the following resolution adopted:—

'The Working Committee regrets that the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee by their resolutions dated 1st June 1926 declined to exercise the responsibilities and discharge the duties imposed on them by the Cawnpore Congress resolution on the programme of Council entry and the General Elections, and resolves to depute Messrs. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Jamnadas M. Mehta as a Committee to visit Gujarat and to select candidates for the constituencies for the Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council and report the same for the confirmation of the Working Committee. The Committee requests Messrs. Dayalji Nannubhai Desai and Waman Mukadam to assist the said Committee in their work.'

12. The Working Committee places on record its great sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Syt. Chiraranjan Das

and begs to offer its deepest sympathy to Srimati Basanti Devi and Srimati Sujata Devi in their bereavement. The Committee also begs to assure them that their grief is shared by the whole country.

13. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's award in the Siva Rao-Bhima Rao dispute was placed before the Committee which accepted the award and confirmed Mr. Siva Rao's candidature from Bellary constituency for the Madras Legislative Council.

14. Resolved that the candidature of Mr. K. S. Venkatarama Iyer be confirmed on condition of his publishing the renunciation of his title of Rao Bahadur and that the announcement of his candidature be withheld till then.

15. The following grants out of Rs. 25,000 earmarked for Central Publicity work were made:—

Karnatak	...	...	...	Rs. 1,000
Assam	...	...	...	„ 1,000

16. In addition to the list of candidates already confirmed, the following names were adopted by the Committee:—

ASSEMBLY.

Chota Nagpur Division ... Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Karachi (N. M.) ... Durgadas B. Advani.

BEHAR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

North Champaran N. M. rural. Mr. Harisankar Singh.

North Manbhum N. M. ... Mr. Jagdam Prasad (subject to the pledge and assurances being duly given).

17. Resolved that the amount lying with the Treasurer out of the Punjab Relief Fund be transferred to the general account of the All India Congress Committee after obtaining legal opinion that it is competent to the Working Committee to do so.

18. Mr. Phookun's proposals about the agreement regarding Congress pavilion were placed before the Committee and the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved that the proposal to guarantee the lease of a Khaddar pavilion with Mr. Mukerjee for the sessions

of the Congress for five years be accepted and that Mr. Phookun do negotiate with Mr. Mukerjee as to the terms and conditions thereof and settle the same.

Resolved that the General Secretary do take steps every year to see that the Reception Committees concerned take the tent on the terms of this agreement, before the annual invitation to the Congress to hold its sessions in the places concerned is accepted during the next five years.

19. Pandit Benarsidas's post card dated 22-5-26 and letter dated 23-6-26 were placed before the Committee. It was resolved that the Secretary do write to Mr. Andrews asking whether in the present situation it is necessary or desirable to take steps to carry out the resolution of the Working Committee dated 29-1-25 regarding Returned Emigrants and whether he can undertake the enquiry.

20. Read letters from Persia dated 15-6-26 relating to ill-treatment of Indians there. Resolved that the Secretary do take necessary action.

21. Read applications from the Secretary, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for grants.

'Resolved that an allowance of Rs. 20 per month be given for the relief of the family of Bhai Bhagwan Singh for a year and that a grant of Rs. 100 be made to Swami Gajanand Azad, both the sums to be paid out of the Punjab Relief Fund.'

22. Resolved that the following names of candidates for the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council be confirmed and that this confirmation be announced after the Secretary hears from the Behar Provincial Congress Committee :—

Monghyr District ... Babu Srikrishna Prasad Singh.
Babu Ramcharitar Singh.
Babu Nemdhari Singh.

*The Committee then adjourned and met again at 9 a.m. on 6-7-26,
at 10, 4 Elgin, Road, Calcutta.*

Mrs. Naidu was in the Chair.

The following members were present :—

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

The Committee discussed the Bengal situation for some time and then adjourned to Mr. T. C. Goswami's residence, Rainey Park, Ballygunj Circular Road.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar was present besides those mentioned above.

23. The Committee resolved that the following names be confirmed:

Assembly ... Mr. Tikamdas (Sind).

Bombay Legislative Council ... Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram
(Sind).

Madras Legislative Council }
Malabar Landholders } Mr. K. T. K. Nambiar.

The Committee after further considering the Bengal situation adjourned at 6 p.m. till at 8 a.m. on 7th July 1926. The Committee met at 8 a.m. on 7-7-1926 at Rainey Park.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair and the following members were present:

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar.

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

24. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee places on record its profound sorrow at the sad and untimely demise of Seth Umar Sobani whose self-sacrificing and patriotic services to the Congress and to the country have endeared him to all his fellow-workers and compatriots and in whose death the country loses an ardent, courageous and generous Indian that gave of his best to the motherland.

25. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee records once again its strong protest against the action of the South African Union Government in proceeding with the Colour Bar Bill in spite of the unanimous protest of this country and the representations of the Government of India and assures the Indian community in South Africa that the whole country is behind them in their struggle to resist the insidious and dangerous implications of the Bill.

26. Read Tamil Nadu Congress Committee's letter regarding renunciation of titles. Resolved that the subject be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

27. Read Mr. Phookun's letter dated 7-7-26 regarding enhancement of delegation fees: Resolved that the All India Congress Committee be asked as a matter of emergency to alter the rules of the Congress so as to provide that the delegation fee of each delegate to the Congress be fixed at Rs. 10 as before, and that the rule be brought into force in the forthcoming Assam session.

28. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee congratulates the members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the happy settlement of the differences that had arisen among them and on the admirable spirit of co-operation displayed by all sections thereof in arriving at decisions which the Working Committee feels confident will result in signal success for the Congress cause.

29. Resolved that the following list of candidates recommended by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be confirmed:—

Note.—The names of 24 Candidates for the local Council and 4 for the Assembly from Bengal were confirmed.

*(ANNEXURE)

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

UNITY CONFERENCE—DELHI.

September 26th to October 2nd 1924.

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.

*NOTE.—Referred to in section 1 of Resolution 8 passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held in Calcutta on 4-7-1926.

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.

2. This Conference deplores 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.

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 Convener*)
2. Hakim Ajmal Khan
3. Lala Lajpat Rai
4. Mr. G. K. Nariman
5. Dr. S. K. Datta
6. Master Sunder Singh of Lyallpur

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 this 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) That 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) That 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 *Azans* 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 illwill.

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 eighth 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 goodwill declared in this Conference may be adopted and given effect to by members of all communities in India.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee which met in Simla on the 4th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th August 1926.

The Committee met at 4 p. m. on the 24th in Room No. 75, Hotel Cecil, Simla, and the following members were present:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (in the Chair) | |
| 2. Pandit Motilal Nehru | 3. Lala Lajpat Rai |
| 4. Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta | 5. Syt. M. V. Abhyaukar |
| 6. Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar | |

(1) The minutes of the last meetings of the Committee held in Calcutta on the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th July 1926 were confirmed.

(2) The accounts of the Office for June and July 1926 and the Treasurer's accounts for 1-12-25 to 31-7-26 were passed. Printed accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for 1925 were also placed before the Committee.

(3) The Committee resolved to sanction the charges for printing the Cawnpore Congress Report as per the estimates submitted.

(4) An additional grant of Rs. 2,000 for travelling expenses of the Secretaries, Working Committee members and staff was sanctioned.

(5) The Committee also sanctioned the grant of Rs. 1,000 already made by the President in anticipation of sanction, for the relief of communal-riot sufferers in Pabna.

(6) The Bombay P. C. C. Secretary's letter regarding the question of the members of Provincial and District Congress Committees holding salaried posts under the Committees was read.

Resolved that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's Secretary be informed that it is within the Committee's discretion to frame rules regarding the conditions of appointment of their salaried officers and as to their holding seats in the Congress Executive or General Committees.

(7) Resolved that the Secretary be empowered to dispose of the old pavilion on the terms referred to by him in his note.

(8) Read Mr. Andrews's and Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi's letters regarding the work of the Returned Emigrants Enquiry Committee.

Resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to write to Mr. Andrews drawing his attention to the report just published on the same subject by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association and enquiring if it would be necessary or advantageous for the Congress to hold any further enquiry into the same matter. The President was authorised to write to Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi regarding his communication, after going through the Returned Emigrants Report of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association.

(9) Resolved on the representation of Mr. Abhyankar that the consideration of the Central Provinces (Marathi) list of candidates for the Legislatures be adjourned till the 15th September with a view to enable the Swarajya Party of the province to send its recommendations in respect of the candidates and that the list be circulated thereafter.

(10) Read letters from the Secretaries, All India Spinners' Association and the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee in regard to the unspent balance out of the grant for Khadi work in Rae Bareli district.

Resolved that the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee be requested to arrange to pay to the All India Spinners' Association, the sum of Rupees nine hundred and odd which is the balance of a grant expressly made to that District Congress Committee for Khadi work.

(11) Resolved that the typewriter belonging to the All India Congress Committee now in possession of the Tamil Nadu Khadi Board, Erode, be made over to them.

(12) The Committee then proceeded to consider the lists of candidates to the legislatures sent by the various Provincial Congress Committees for confirmation. Lala Lajpat Rai desired it to be noted that he took no part in the decisions of the Committee regarding the selection of candidates.

The following further lists from Bengal were approved with the exception of Maulvi Amanat Khan for the Legislative Assembly from Chittagong and Syt. Basanta Kumar Mazumdar for the Legislative Council from Tipperah (non-Muhammadan).

Note.—The names of 17 candidates for the Local Council and one for the Assembly from Bengal were confirmed.

(13) Read telegram from Mr. Aney, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee ;

Resolved that in the circumstances, an Election Committee be organised for the Province of Berar and that Mr. Abhyankar be entrusted with the formation of that Committee and that that Committee be empowered to select candidates and recommend them for confirmation to the Working Committee, to carry on propaganda and to do all other work in connection with the elections to the legislatures with the co-operation wherever possible of the Provincial Congress Committee.

(Pandit Santanam arrived at this stage).

Resolved also that a sum of Rs. 1,000 be granted for this purpose out of the publicity grant.

(14) The further list of candidates received from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee was confirmed as follows :—

Syt. Konduri Venkata Sivaraja	Chittoor District
Syt. Mothey Narayana Rao	West Godavari
Syt K.V.R. Swami Naidu	East Godavari

(The foregoing three candidates have been adopted in place of those previously confirmed, who have subsequently withdrawn.)

It was resolved with reference to Mr. Rameswara Rao's letter, that he be informed that the Committee is unable at this stage to reconsider the decision it had already made confirming the candidature of Mr. Obi Reddy and Mr. Narayana Reddi for the Anantapur district for the Madras Legislative Council.

(15) The list of candidates received from the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee was approved except in regard to the candidature for Shahjehanpur District and it was resolved that Pandit Motilal Nehru be authorised to examine this matter and settle the candidate on behalf of the Working Committee.

Note:—The names of 26 candidates for the local Council and 1 for the Assembly from U. P. were confirmed.

Resolved also that Mr. Manilal Avasthi's candidature be approved for the Cawnpore District (non-Muhammadan) Rural, in accordance with the decision of the Committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee.

Resolved also that the publication of the U. P. list be deferred till the U.P.P.C.C.'s report on the completion of the pledges taken is received.

(16) The Committee then proceeded to discuss the representations received from certain members of the All India Congress Committee from the United Provinces and the Secretary, Sindh Provincial Congress Committee asking that the resolution passed by the Working Committee at its meeting in Calcutta on the 4th July last regarding the introduction of inter-communal measures or motions in the legislatures may be reconsidered. The Committee was of opinion that it was not advisable to reconsider it in the absence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the mover of the resolution, and other Muhammadan members of the Committee and resolved to adjourn the discussion on the matter to the 26th instant, and in the meanwhile to wire to Messrs. Abul Kalam Azad, Mohamad Ali and Ansari requesting them urgently to attend the meeting.

The Committee adjourned at 7 p.m. and met again at 4 p.m. on the 25th August 1926.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair and the following members were present :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru	Syt. M. V. Abhyankar
Pandit K. Santanam	Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	

(17) The Committee proceeded to deal with the list of candidates for Gujrat and the report submitted by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta on the subject, in accordance with the resolution passed in Calcutta.

It was resolved that the recommendations as to the following candidates be confirmed.

Major Joravarsinhji Harisinhji	Ahmedabad District Rural
Syt. Amratlal Dalpatbhai Sheth	Ahmedabad District
Syt. Haribhai Ameen	Broach District

It was also resolved to permit Mr. Harilal Dalsukhram Saheba to stand as an Independent candidate, if he desires to do so.

In regard to the candidates for the rest of the districts the reports of Messrs. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Jamnadas Mehta were referred to Darbar Saheb Gopaldas Desai and Mr. Dayalji who were empowered to select candidates and report them for confirmation to the Special Committee of the All India Congress Working Committee as per the resolution hereinafter passed and also to carry out in co-operation with the Executive of the Gujrat P.C.C., all other work and propaganda necessary in connection with the elections.

It was also resolved to request Mr. Vallabhbai Patel to help Darbar Gopaldas Desai and Mr. Dayalji in the work entrusted to them.

It was resolved that in respect of candidates recommended for the remaining seats and also of the seats about which there are disputes, a Special Committee of the Working Committee consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar be empowered to confirm the recommendations on behalf of the Working Committee.

(18) The following lists of candidates from the Central Provinces (Hindustani) which were unanimously recommended by the Provincial Congress Committee were then confirmed :—

Note.—The names of 16 candidates for the C. P. Legislative Council and 2 candidates for the Legislative Assembly from C. P. (Hindustani) were confirmed.

(19) The following lists received from other provinces were then confirmed :—

KARNATAK.

Bombay Legislative Council.

Mr. Manjunathbhatt Devanbhatt Karki North Kanara (N.-M.)

PUNJAB.

Legislative Assembly.

Lala Sham Lal Ambala.

Legislative Council.

Lala Tara Chand Hoshiarpur Rural.

DELHI.

Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Asaf Ali Delhi.

(20) The Behar lists were then taken up as well as the report of arbitration by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar. The recommendations in respect of the following candidates were confirmed by the Committee :

Note.—The names of 9 candidates for the local Council and 3 for the Assembly from Behar were confirmed.

(21) Read letters received from Mr. Jyoti Shanker Dikshit, Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, forwarding copy of a resolution declared to have been passed at the meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee on the 18th inst. by the casting vote of the President and the protest from several members present at the meeting stating that the proceedings of the meeting and the action of the President were unconstitutional and *ultra vires* and requesting the Working Committee not to treat the said resolution as the opinion of the U.P.P.C.C. nor to take any action on it. The following is the text of the resolution said to have been passed by the U.P.P.C.C. :—

"The Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that the running of the elections by the Congress under the conditions of communal bitterness would be harmful to the best interests of the country and therefore requests the Working Committee to convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at an early date so that it might deliberate on this question and give up running the elections and further employ all the strength of the Congress in fighting the bitterness between the communities."

The Working Committee recorded the following note:—

"On the report of Mr. Jyoti Shankar Dikshit, Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee as to the constitution of the meeting of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee which is alleged to have passed the resolution, it is clear that at the meeting a number of persons who voted for it were not members of the U.P.P.C.C. and that the membership of five others is still in dispute. These members should not have been allowed to vote or take part in the meeting and the resolution said to have been passed by the casting vote of the President, cannot be said to have been regularly passed by the U.P.P.C.C. The recommendation contained in that resolution cannot therefore be entertained by the Working Committee. The resolution of the Cawnpore Congress and the resolution of the All India Congress Committee passed in Delhi in regard to the elections should be duly carried out."

(22) The Working Committee next proceeded to deal with the disputed cases left over in the Bengal list, heard Mr. Basanta Kumar Mazumdar and considered the recommendation by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of his candidature for Tipperah (non-Muhammadan) constituency (Bengal Legislative Council) and adjourned decision on the same to the next day.

(23) The Working Committee considered the requisition signed by six members of the Swarajya Party of the Assembly and received after 6 p.m. asking for permission to attend the Legislative Assembly for the further debate on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill which was taking place the next day and recorded the following note:—

" It appears that the Bill was introduced for the first time on the 20th August without any previous notice. It was not possible to obtain the permission of the Special Committee in time to attend the debate. The Special Committee is the only authority invested with the power of giving such sanction under the Congress resolution. The question was considered whether in the case of emergency the Working Committee has the power to discharge the functions of the Special Committee. There are arguments for and against this proposition. In the circumstances, however, this Committee does not consider it necessary to go into the question. The matter was fully considered at a well-attended meeting of the Swarajist members of the Assembly on the 24th and it was settled by a majority of those present that the matter was not one which calls for a reference to the Working Committee, and that the members were not to attend for any other business on the agenda, for the remainder of the session. It now appears on enquiry that several members have already left Simla after the said decision of the Party. This Committee, therefore, does not feel justified in taking any action on the requisition."

The Committee adjourned at 7-30 p.m. and met again at 11 a.m. on the 26th August 1926. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair.

The following members were present :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Mr. M. V. Abhyankar

Pandit K. Santanam

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

(24) The discussion regarding the Hindu-Muslim question was again taken up and the replies of Maulana Mohamad Ali, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad expressing their inability to attend were read and the following resolution passed :—

In view of the fact that considerable misapprehension prevails as to the true meaning and scope of the resolution of the Working Committee passed on the 4th July last at Calcutta, the members present were of opinion that it was necessary and desirable to elucidate and supplement the resolution passed, and for this purpose it is resolved that a

very early meeting of the Working Committee be called and all members be particularly requested to attend.

The Committee adjourned at 6 p.m. and met at 11 a.m. on the 27th August 1926.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair and the following members were present :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru	Mr. M. V. Abhyankar
Pandit K. Santanam	Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta
Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	

(25) The Committee discussed its resolution passed at Calcutta regarding the Famine Relief accounts of the Punjab P.C.C. and adjourned to 4 p.m. The Committee again met at 4 p.m.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair and the following members were present :—

Lala Lajpat Rai	Pandit Motilal Nehru
Mr. Jamnadas Mehta	Pandit K. Santanam
Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	

(26) Discussion on the Punjab accounts was resumed and Pandit Motilal Nehru's note on the subject was read. The Committee also heard Pandit K. Santanam and adjourned.

The Committee again met at 2-30 p.m. on the 28th August 1926.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the Chair and the following members were present :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru	Lala Lajpat Rai
Mr. Jamnadas Mehta	Pandit K. Santanam
Mr. M. V. Abhyankar	Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

(27) Read letter from the Under Secretary conveying a request from Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, to make a grant of Rs. 500 to Andhraratna Gopalakristnaya who is seriously ailing from pthysis.

Resolved that a grant of Rs. 500 be made to him out of the Political Sufferers' Fund.

(28) The Committee recorded the following note with reference to the Famine Relief accounts of the Punjab P.C.C.:

With reference to the resolution of the Working Committee regarding the Famine Relief accounts passed at Calcutta Pandit K. Santanam has drawn the attention of the Committee to the misinterpretation that has been put upon the said resolution in the Punjab Press to the effect that the amount of the relief fund in question has been "rightly spent for right objects". The Committee desire to make clear the fact that the diversion of the amounts granted for famine relief was wrong as it was unauthorised, but as the objects on which the amount was spent were proper, the Working Committee has sanctioned the same.

(29) The question of the candidature of Dr. Dhanraj Bhasin was left to the Sub-Committee for settlement.

The Committee then adjourned *sine die*.

Summary of proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee held at 5 p. m. on the 11th September 1926, in the house of Dr. Ansari, Darya Gunj, Delhi.

Present :—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (in the Chair).

Pt. Motilal Nehru

M. Abul Kalam Azad

Moulana Mohamad Ali

Pt. K. Santanam

1. With regard to Mr. C. F. Andrews who is shortly proceeding to South Africa the following resolution was passed :

The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee, on the eve of Mr. C. F. Andrews' departure for South Africa, places on record its deep sense of appreciation of and gratitude for the invaluable and selfless services he has rendered to India and specially to the South African Indians.

It welcomes his forthcoming visit to South Africa, at this critical period and has the fullest confidence that he will continue the work he has already so successfully begun as an ambassador of peace between the European and Indian communities in that country.

2. Re: the postcard from Sjt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi, resolved :

That Rs. 70 be sanctioned for the travelling expenses incurred by him.

3. Pt. Motilal Nehru proposed the following resolution:—

'In elucidation of its resolution No. 8 passed in Calcutta on the 4th July 1926, the Working Committee resolves:

That if their efforts as contemplated in the said resolution are not successful and a three-fourths majority of the members of any community of the Congress Party affected by such an inter-communal question consider that it should not be made a party question then the Congress Party in the legislature shall refrain from making it a party question.'

Maulana Mohamad Ali was against such a resolution and remarked that in his opinion the members of the party should remain neutral. After a long discussion the resolution as noted above was carried, Maulana Mohamad Ali dissenting.

4. No regular requisition signed by the required number of members of the All India Congress Committee for calling a Special Session of the Congress was received. Two letters, one from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the other from Mr. R. M. Deshmukh were however received, suggesting the calling of a Special Session of the Congress. Two telegrams, one from Orissa containing five names and another from Sind containing three names were also received. A telegram was also received from the C. P. Marathi, generally supporting the idea of holding a Special Session.

As no regular requisition with the requisite number of signatures was received, the Working Committee did not consider it necessary to take any action at present.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee which met in the President-elect's camp, Gauhati at 5-30 p.m. on 24-12-26.

The following members were present:—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (*in the Chair*)

Mahatma Gandhi

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
 Pandit Motilal Nehru
 Maulana Mohamad Ali
 Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
 Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta
 Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

1. The minutes of the Committee's meetings held at Simla on the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th August and at Delhi on the 11th September, 1926 were taken as read and confirmed.

2. The following accounts were placed before the Committee:—

- (a) T. S. F. audited accounts from 1st December 1925 to 30th September 1926 ;
- (b) A. I. C. C. office audited accounts from 1st November 1925 to 30th September 1926 ;
- (c) A. I. C. C. office accounts for October and November 1926 ;
- (d) Treasurer's office accounts for October and November 1926 ;
- (e) Audited statement of Publicity Committee's accounts up to 30th September 1926.

3. Resolved that the grants made out of the Publicity funds for election publicity in different provinces be sanctioned.

4. (a) Resolved that the following budget for the A.I.C.C. office for the year 1-10-26 to 30-9-27 be sanctioned.—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	9,200	0	0
Postage and telegrams	1,350	0	0
Stationery and printing	1,200	0	0
Travelling expenses	2,000	0	0
Rents and taxes	1,200	0	0
Miscellaneous	750	0	0
	16,300	0	0

(b) Resolved that the following budget for the Treasurer's office for the year 1927 be sanctioned.—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Salaries	1,050	0	0
Exchange	15	0	0
Postage and telegrams	40	0	0
Miscellaneous	50	0	0
Printing and stationery	715	0	0
	1,870	0	0

5. The papers relating to the Tamil Nadu and C. P. Hindustani loans were placed and the following resolution was passed:—

The Working Committee is of opinion that in accordance with the Patna A. I. C. C. resolution No. 1 (part B, para 3) both the loans belong to the A. I. S. A.

The Working Committee suggests to the A. I. S. A. that legal advice be taken if necessary to recover the loan of Rs. 35,000 given to the C. P. Hindustani Committee.

6. The U. P. P. C. C. Secretary's post-card No. 519, dated 21-8-26 expressing the Committee's inability to pay Rs. 1311-7-6 being the arrears of quota due to the All India Congress Committee was considered and it was resolved that the matter be referred to Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta for enquiry and report.

7. On the motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Committee resolved that the Secretary do remind the U. P. P. C. C. of this Committee's resolution No. 10 passed at Simla on the 24th August 1926 and warn them that if they fail to remit to the A. I. S. A. the unspent balance of the grant made for Khadi work in Rae Bareli district at an early date, legal steps will be taken to realise the amount.

8. The General Secretaries' Annual Report for the year 1926 with the accounts was laid before the Committee.

9. The following papers were placed before the Committee for their information and recorded:—

(a) Letter dated 18th August 1926 from Mr. Osman Sobani acknowledging the Working Committee's resolution of condolence on Mr. Umar Sobani's death;

- (b) Lala Lajpat Rai's letter of resignation dated 27th September 1926 from the Working Committee ;
- (c) Sind P.C.C. Secretary's letter dated 14th August 1926 conveying resolutions passed by their Committee regarding the promotion of unity among all parties ;
- (d) Maharashtra P.C.C. Secretary's letter dated 25th September 1926 protesting against the appointment of a Special Propaganda Committee for Maharashtra.

10. Resolved that the following payments be debited to the Political Sufferers' Fund :—

	Rs.
Pandit Jagat Ram	240
Swami Kumaranand	1,200
Family of Bhai Bhagat Ram	240
Swami Gajanand Azad	100
A South African (paid by the Secretary)	2
4 Moplah sufferers (paid by the Secretary)	10

At this stage Mahatma Gandhi informed the Committee that Rs. 100 sent to him by Syt. Ram Sahai Vaidya of Meerut in part payment of his promised donation to the Political Sufferers' Fund had been spent away by Mahatma Gandhi long ago as he had no intimation that the money was intended for a special purpose.

11. Resolved that the amount of Rs. 1,205 being the actual printing charges of the Cawnpore Congress report be sanctioned.

12. The Secretary read to the Committee Raja Mahendra Pratap's telegram suggesting subjects for discussion by the Congress.

13. The Punjab P. C. C. Secretary's letter No. 13953 dated 13-12-26 communicating his Committee's resolution regarding the continuance in office of the old A. I. C. C. members till the settlement of disputes was considered :—

Resolved that the agreement be recorded.

The Committee adjourned at 8 p.m. till 9-30 a.m. next day.

The Committee met again in the President's camp at 9-45 a.m. on 25-12-26.

The following members were present :—

Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar (in the chair)

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta

Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

The Committee considered the various subjects to be brought before the Subjects Committee for discussion and finally agreed upon the following draft resolutions :—

I. This Congress expresses its horror and indignation at the cowardly and treacherous murder of Swami Shraddhananda and places on record its sense of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the tragic death of the brave and noble patriot who dedicated his life and his great gifts to the service of the nation and espoused with fearless devotion the cause of the lowly, the fallen and the weak.

II. This Congress places on record its deep regret at the untimely death of Mr. Umar Sobani, who had rendered signal services to the Congress and the country during the days of the Non-co-operation movement.

III. This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the status of Indian settlers in that subcontinent and prays for divine blessing and guidance upon its deliberations.

This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for the holding of the conference.

This Congress authorises the President to cable the text of the resolution to General Hertzog, Sir Habibulla and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

IV. In the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the

original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations.

V. This Congress reiterates its resolve that the general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and of determined resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. In particular, Congressmen in the legislatures shall:

- (a) refuse to accept ministerships or other offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress or the All India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand;
- (b) subject to clause (d) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government or unless otherwise directed by the All India Working Committee;
- (c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;
- (d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country;
- (e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of landlords;
- (f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

VI. This Congress adopts the following programme of work in the country:—

- (a) The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to win those rights, by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to popularising the spinning wheel and khaddar, promoting intercommunal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and the removal of the drink and the drug evil and shall include the capture of local bodies, the organisation of villages, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and workmen and between landlords and tenants and the general advancement of the national, economic, industrial and commercial interests of the country.
- (b) In particular, Congressmen shall concentrate attention during the next twelve months upon the removal of inter-communal friction and the re-establishment of inter-communal harmony and to that end this Congress authorises the Working Committee to frame a detailed programme of work in the country.

VII. The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information in foreign countries.

This Congress authorises Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to represent it at the Congress of Oppressed Nations which will be held in Brussels on the 20th January next.

VIII. The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Government had no justification whatsoever for the application of emergency legislation like Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925 (which latter was passed into law as a result of an arbitrary exercise of autocratic power against the expressed wishes of the elected members of the legislatures) under which a large number of non-violent public workers of Bengal were arrested and

imprisoned without the formulation of definite charges and without open trial.

The Congress strongly condemns their continued incarceration and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly expressed opinion of the elected members of the legislatures of the country.

The Committee then adjourned till 10-30 a.m. next day.

The Committee met again at 10-30 a.m. on 26-12-26, when the following members were present:—

Syt S. Srinivasa Iyengar (in the chair)	
Mahatma Gandhi	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
Pandit Motilal Nehru	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta	Maulana Mohamad Ali
Seth Jammalal Bajaj	Syt. Jammadas M. Mehta
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	

The following further resolutions were adopted for being placed before the Subjects Committee:—

IX. This Congress realises the gravity of the issues arising out of the report of the Royal Commission on Currency and authorises the Working Committee to go into the whole subject with the aid of experts if necessary, and issue instructions to the Congress members in the Legislative Assembly to take steps to safeguard the interests of the people of India in such manner as it may be advised.

X. This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans with special reference to the question of music before mosques and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee at an early date.

And this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to issue necessary instructions to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report.

The Committee thereafter adjourned till after the Congress.

The Working Committee met again in the President's camp at Gauhati at 8-30 a. m. on 29-12-1926 with Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar in the chair.

Present:—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
 Syt. T. Prakasam
 Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta
 Syt. T. R. Phookun
 Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar

The Committee proceeded to deal with the matters referred to it by the All India Congress Committee.

The draft resolution sent in by Sjt. Pratap Chandra Guba Ray regarding the Congress programme for 1927 was first taken up and after discussion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

1. (a) The Working Committee requests the Provincial Congress Committees to call upon their respective District Congress Committees to appoint Congress workers for the purpose of enrolling Congress members at the rate of not less than ten per village; for collecting, besides subscriptions received from Congress members, funds at the rate of not less than one rupee per village for work in the province; and for constituting one Congress Committee in every Union or group of villages.
- (b) The Working Committee resolves that one-third of the moneys so collected shall, until further directions, be earmarked for the village committees, one-third for the District Committees and the remaining third for the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.
- (c) The Committee further resolves that this work of reorganisation shall be started immediately and carried on up to the end of April, 1927.

While the foregoing resolution was being considered, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Babu Rajendra Prasad came in.

At this stage Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon was permitted by the Chairman to place before the Committee the position

of the Political Sufferers' Fund. The Committee thereupon passed the following resolution:—

2. (a) Resolved in modification of this Committee's resolution No. 10 dated 24-12-26, that the Working Committee do refund to the Political Sufferers' Fund Rs. 1,200 paid to Swami Kumaranand.
 - (b) Resolved that in regard to the payment of Rs. 500 made to Syt. D. Gopalakristnayya, the Working Committee do refund to the Political Sufferers' Fund Rs. 250.
 - (c) Resolved that in future all applications from political sufferers for relief be referred to the Political Sufferers Sub-Committee.
3. Paramahans Ramodar Sadhu's draft resolution on Buddha Gaya Temple was next taken up and the following resolution passed:—

Resolved that the draft resolution re. Buddha Gaya Temple be referred to the Behar Working Committee for report.

4. The Chairman of the Gauhati Congress Reception Committee's application for a contribution was next considered and the Committee adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be paid to the Reception Committee, Assam, as an exceptional and extraordinary case to meet the deficit on the accounts of that Committee in running the Congress.

The Committee then adjourned *sine die*.

The following resolution was subsequently passed by circulation on the same day viz., 29-12-1926:

In view of the provisional report of the Arbitrators re the United Provinces disputes and for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Congress in the United Provinces, it is resolved that the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee's

office be located at Benares and that Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta do act as President and Mr. Sampurnanand, as General Secretary of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee pending the final decision of the arbitrators. It is also resolved that Mr. Sampurnanand, the General Secretary, be authorised to receive and disburse funds for the Provincial Congress Committee and deal with all other business incidental to the carrying on of the work of the Provincial Congress Committee during the said period.

GAUHATI CONGRESS 1926.

The following resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at its 41st session held at Gauhati on December 26, 27 and 28, 1926.

First day, December 26.

I. This Congress expresses its horror and indignation at the cowardly and treacherous murder of Swami Shraddhananda and places on record its sense of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the tragic death of the brave and noble patriot who dedicated his life and his great gifts to the service of the country and of his faith and espoused with fearless devotion the cause of the lowly, the fallen and the weak.

II. This Congress places on record its deep regret at the untimely death of Mr. Umar Sobani who had rendered signal services to the Congress and the country during the days of the Non-co-operation movement.

III. This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the status of Indian settlers in that subcontinent and prays for divine blessing and guidance upon its deliberations.

This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for the holding of the Conference.

This Congress authorises the President to cable the text of the resolution to General Hertzog, Sir Habibulla and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

Second day, December 27.

IV. In the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means conservation of

European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations.

V. This Congress reiterates its resolve that the general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and of determined resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. In particular, Congressmen in the legislatures shall

- (a) refuse to accept ministerships or other offices in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the All India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand;
- (b) subject to clause (d) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government or unless otherwise directed by the All India Congress Committee;
- (c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;
- (d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country, and for the protection of the freedom of person, speech, association and of the press, and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy;
- (e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with a view to ensure a speedy amelioration of the condition of the tenants; and
- (f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust on an equitable basis the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

VI. This Congress adopts the following programme of work in the country:—

The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to wir.

those rights by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to popularising the spinning wheel and Khaddar, promoting intercommunal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and the removal of the drink and drug evil and shall include the capture of local bodies, the organisation of villages, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and workmen and between landlords and tenants and the general advancement of the national, economic, industrial and commercial interests of the country.

VII (a) The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information in foreign countries with a view to interest them in India's freedom.

(b) This Congress appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its representative to the Congress of Oppressed Nations, which will be held in Brussels on the 20th January next.

VIII. This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Government had no justification whatsoever for the application of emergency legislation like Regulation III of 1818 which has been the subject, repeatedly, of condemnation by the Congress and other public bodies and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925 (which latter was passed into law as a result of an arbitrary exercise of autocratic power against the expressed wishes of the elected members of the legislatures) under which a large number of peaceful public workers of Bengal were arrested and imprisoned without the formulation of definite charges and without open trial and still remain without any knowledge of the charges against them and any trial.

This Congress strongly condemns their continued incarceration and deportation outside Bengal, notwithstanding the clearly expressed opinion of the elected members of the legislatures and the country.

Third day, December 28.

IX. This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and

Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March, 1927.

And this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to issue necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report.

X. This Congress realises the gravity of the issues arising out of the report of the Royal Commission on Currency and authorises the Working Committee to go into the whole subject with the aid of experts, if necessary, and issue instructions to the Congress members in the Legislative Assembly to take steps to safeguard the interests of the people of India in such manner as it may be advised.

XI. Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed for the coming year:—

General Secretaries.

- (1) Dr. M. A. Ansari
- (2) Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar
- (3) Syt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel

Treasurers.

- (1) Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri
- (2) Seth Jannalal Bajaj

XII. This Congress appoints Messrs. Dalal and Shah of Bombay Auditors for the next year.

XIII. Resolved that the following changes be made in Art. VII of the Constitution:—

Substitute the following for sec. (iv):—

- (iv) a. 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 meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (i) hereof and does not habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

b. The Working Committee shall frame Rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this section.

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

XV. (a) The Congress notes with great regret that though the Government has admitted the justice and righteousness of the Sikh demand in connection with the Gurdwara movement by passing the Gurdwara Act, it has not yet released Sardar Kharak Singh and other Gurdwara prisoners.

(b) In the opinion of the Congress there can be no solution of the Sikh problem unless

(1) all persons imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement are unconditionally released ;

(2) all repressive measures adopted by the Government against them are withdrawn ; and

(3) the outstanding grievances of the Sikhs are removed.

(c) This Congress further assures the Sikh community that in its struggle with the Government it not only has the entire sympathy of the Congress, but the Congress also whole-heartedly supports the Sikhs in whatever legitimate and non-violent action they may take to vindicate their rights.

XVI. Resolved that the following further changes be made in the Constitution :—

Article VIII, para 2 to read as follows :—

“ No one who had not enlisted himself as a Congress member on or before the 1st October immediately preceding a particular session of the Congress shall be qualified for election as a delegate to that session.”

Para 3 to read as follows :—

“ The members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress. Besides these ex-officio delegates the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand, or its fraction, of the inhabitants of each province including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the

census of 1921 : provided however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States."

Delete Para 4.

In para 7, line 2, substitute for "the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress" "the Office of the All India Congress Committee" and substitute the following for the words at the end of the para, beginning with "such rules":—

"Such rules shall not be valid unless they have been previously confirmed by the Working Committee"

and put a full stop before "such".

Article XI to read as follows :

"Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of one rupee at the office of the All India Congress Committee in the Congress Camp at the place where the Congress is held shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress."

Transitory Provision.

The delegation fee for the Gauhati Session shall be fixed at five rupees and the entire proceeds shall be handed over to the Reception Committee.

Article XVII.

Substitute the following for clause (a) :—

"The All India Congress Committee shall pay to the Reception Committee within a fortnight after the termination of the Congress session half the delegation fees."

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

General Election Manifesto 1926

The Indian National Congress is taking part in the general elections to the Legislatures for the first time. The circumstances in which it has decided to do so are well known and need not be set out here. All that is necessary is to recapitulate some of the resolutions passed by the Congress and the A.I.C.C. so far as they bear on the principles and policy which will govern Congressmen who are elected to the Legislatures of the country.

INTRODUCTORY

2. The A.I.C.C. at its meeting held at Patna on the 22nd September 1925 resolved that "the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country" and provided that "the work in connection with the Indian and Provincial Legislatures shall be carried on in accordance with the policy and programme laid down by the Swaraj Party under the Constitution framed by the Party and the rules made thereunder, subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the said policy." This resolution was confirmed by the Congress at its Cawnpore session and the basic principle on which all political work was to be carried on was laid down in the following terms :—

"This Congress reiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience as the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce the national claim and vindicate our national honour, but realises that the country is not now ready for it and in view thereof this Congress resolves that the guiding principle in carrying on all political work shall be self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj."

THE CONGRESS ADOPTS SWARAJYA PARTY PROGRAMME

3. As regards the work in the Councils the Congress adopted "on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swaraj parties of the Assembly by the resolution passed on the 18th February 1924", and in view of the

fact that there had been no response on behalf of the Government the Congress resolved upon certain steps to be taken in the various legislatures culminating in the withdrawal of all Swarajist members from them. By the same resolution the Congress called upon the A.I.C.C. to frame a programme of work, including the education of the electorates, and authorised it to lay down the lines upon which the general elections were to be run by and in the name of the Congress and to state clearly the issues on which Congressmen were to seek election. The power thus conferred upon the A.I.C.C. was subject to the important proviso that "the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response to the settlement offered by the Assembly is made by the Government". The A.I.C.C. at its meeting held in Delhi gave the necessary directions for the carrying out of the mandate of the Congress and laid down that:—

The ensuing general elections will be run by and in the name of the Congress on the following programme, subject to such modifications as may be made by the Congress in its session of December 1926.

The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of determined resistance and obstruction to every activity, Governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj; and in particular, Congressmen in the legislatures shall:—

- (a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the government until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government;
- (b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets, (unless otherwise directed by the All India Working Committee) until such response is made by the Government;
- (c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;
- (d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country;
- (e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of

tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of Zamindars; and

- (f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

All Congressmen in the Central and Provincial Legislatures with only one or two lamentable exceptions having faithfully obeyed the Congress mandate, the Working Committee has approved and authorised me to publish this as the election manifesto of the Congress.

4. It will be evident from the above *resumé* of the proceedings of the Congress and the A. I. C. C. that, subject to any changes made by the Congress from time to time, the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party were adopted as they stood on the dates on which the Congress at Cawnpore and the A. I. C. C. at Delhi passed the resolutions referred to above. This policy and programme have been the subject of considerable misrepresentation in a section of the Press and by persons who have since seceded from the Congress. It is therefore necessary to remove all misapprehension by tracing as briefly as possible the gradual development of the Swarajist policy and stating clearly what the Congress stands for today.

5. The election manifesto of the Swaraj Party issued on the eve of the last general elections declared that "the Party will not concern itself with trivial reforms in the various departments of the administration to be obtained by the grace of the Government, but would insist on the transference of the power to effect the necessary reforms from the bureaucracy to the people of India." It may be safely asserted that the Swaraj Party has, through good and evil report, firmly adhered to this policy which must be taken to be and is hereby declared to be the general policy of the Congress. The same manifesto provided for certain contingencies which did not happen, but advantage has been taken of these provisions to discredit the Swaraj Party, as, for instance, the constant harping upon the phrase "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction", conveniently ignoring the preceding words "if they (the Swaraj Party) constitute a majority." There was indeed such a majority in the C. P. Council only; but as it turned out soon after the elections, a considerable proportion of that majority was not Swarajist by conviction, but had joined the Party to mark time. They have since openly declared their lack of faith in the Swarajist principles and have joined one or other of the new parties recently formed to oppose Congress candidates at the general elections.

It will thus be seen that the conditions necessary for a resort to the policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction" were never really fulfilled. The Swaraj Party therefore came to the conclusion that in view of the developments in the political situation and the varying attitude of the bureaucracy, it was necessary to reconsider the situation as it had developed.

NATURAL EVOLUTION OF A LIVING PROGRAMME

6. In May 1924 Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had several conferences with Mahatma Gandhi at Juhu (Bombay) as a result of which the well known Juhu statements of the 22nd May 1924 were issued. The Swaraj Party in the Assembly met in June 1924 and on the basis of these statements proposed certain modifications in the rules governing them for sanction of the General Council of the Party. The future line of action chalked out in these proposals was as follows:—

"It shall be the constant aim and endeavour of the Party to secure full satisfaction of the National Demand as set out in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the 18th February 1924, and so long as no adequate response is made by the Government to the said resolution, *the Party shall continue to resort to a policy of obstruction in such form and manner as it may determine from time to time with or without the consent and co-operation of the other parties as circumstances may require.*"

It will be observed that the policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction" having been found impossible in the circumstances, "a policy of obstruction in such form and manner as the Party may determine from time to time", was recommended for adoption. The particular steps to be taken in the Assembly, including important constructive work, were then set out (vide Rules 7, 8, and 15 to 19 of the Rules for the Assembly). These proposals were sanctioned at a general meeting of the Party held at Calcutta on the 16th and 17th August 1924 and again at another general meeting held at Belgaum on the 27th December 1924, and a revised constitution and programme of the Party were issued, the material portion of which is reproduced in the Delhi Resolution of the A. I. C. C. quoted above.

7. Much uninformed and at times malicious criticism has been directed against the developments mentioned above, but it will be evident to all fair and impartial minds that they represent the natural evolution of a living political force as, in its onward progress, it encounters new situations and grapples with new difficulties. While on the one hand it

has kept the goal and the supreme sacrifice it demands steadfastly in view, it has on the other hand shaped its course on practical lines to suit the ever-changing conditions of political life. It is however unnecessary to go into this point in greater detail as the Congress has adopted as its starting point the rules of the Swaraj Party as they stand today and reserved to itself the right to modify them "as may be found necessary from time to time." For the same reason it is unnecessary to encumber this manifesto with a detailed account of the work of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils during the last three years. Some of the more important and characteristic features of that work in the Assembly are set out in the annexure and it may be stated with confidence that the Swaraj Party has achieved phenomenal success under very difficult circumstances. Above all, it has thoroughly unmasked the bureaucratic Government and its allies and fully exposed their pretensions.

A POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE AND RESISTANCE TO EVIL

8. The people of India and the constituencies of the several legislatures must have clearly realised by now that neither in the Central nor in the Provincial Governments have the elected representatives of the people any real power or responsibility which can be effectively used for the establishment of Swaraj or for radical reforms in the administration of the country. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms stand condemned after two periods of Council work as a costly and futile experiment and a serious impediment to Swaraj. The Indian National Congress cannot therefore acquiesce in these Reforms to the extent of "working them for all they are worth" which can only mean the subordination of the National Demand for full responsible Government to a few temporary advantages of doubtful value which are fraught with possibilities of a general set-back in the political development of the country. It is impossible to understand how a party which allows its members to accept office under the Government and thus become a part and parcel of the Government itself, can be trusted to act on the principles of "self-reliance" and "resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj." It is equally impossible to conceive that such a party really believes in Civil Disobedience or to expect that it will ever work for it. While the Cawnpore Congress gave the A.I.C.C. a more or less free hand in laying down the general lines on which the next general elections were to be run, it expressly provided that "the policy of non-acceptance of

offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response to the terms of the settlement aforesaid is made by the Government." This policy must therefore be taken to be the bed rock on which all Congress activities in the Legislatures must be based.

9. In the light of what has been stated above, the most striking features of the Congress programme, where it differs fundamentally from that of the other parties who are setting up their own candidates may be stated as follows:—

(a) The general attitude of Congressmen who will enter the Legislatures, will be one of "self-reliance" and "resistance" as defined above, in contra-distinction to a general attitude of acquiescence and co-operation that will be adopted by the other parties.

(b) In particular, Congressmen will, unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee, refuse supplies and throw out budgets until the Legislature is given adequate control of the latter; while the other parties have a constitutional dread of refusing supplies and will be content to take such part in the farce of budget discussion as the Government is pleased to allot to them.

(c) In the Provinces, Congressmen will oppose to the best of their ability, the present mischievous system of dyarchy and resolutely refuse to accept office until a response to the National Demand acceptable to the Congress is made by the Government: while the other parties will support dyarchy at it is, and accept office without any such response if only their susceptibilities (more apparent than real) are met in some way or other by the Government.

A NATIONAL PROGRAMME INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE LEGISLATURES

10. The other matters with which Congressmen will concern themselves are sufficiently clearly stated in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. already quoted. It will be observed that Articles I to IV refer specifically to work in the Legislatures and Article V to work outside them but the two are inter-related that if properly carried out they are bound to implement and supplement each other. Together they cover a wide field of useful activities embracing every department of national life, social, economic, industrial and commercial—including the adjustment of relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen. In the work of promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, popularising the spinning wheel and Khaddar and achieving total

prohibition, the return of the Swarajya Party to the Central and Provincial Legislatures will powerfully strengthen the hands of the Congress which is pledged to these great items of social and economic reform.

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY

11. There is, however, one important matter not included in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. which requires special mention namely, the attitude of the Congress Party on communal questions. It may generally be stated that the Congress Party in the Legislatures, as indeed outside them, is pledged to stand for Nationalism and for equal rights and opportunities for all communities, classes and castes, but will set its face against communal hatred, strife and corruption. The question of legislation affecting communal matters was discussed by the Working Committee of the Congress at its Calcutta meeting held on the 4th July 1926 and the following resolution was adopted.—

“The Committee is of opinion that having regard to the best interests of the country, no bill, motion or amendment relating to any inter-communal matter should be moved or discussed if a majority of three-fourths of the members of any community affected thereby in the legislature, are opposed to the introduction or discussion of such a bill, motion or amendment and that the Congress Party in the legislature concerned should take such steps as may be possible to give effect to this resolution in each case.”

This resolution was a mere direction to the Congress Party to try their best to prevent communal questions being discussed in the Councils. But it gave rise to various misapprehensions and misrepresentations and was twice reconsidered by the Working Committee, first in Simla on the 24th August and again in Delhi on the 11th September. On the latter date the Committee passed the following resolution :—

“In elucidation of its resolution No. 8 passed in Calcutta on the 4th July 1926, the Working Committee resolves :—

“That if their efforts as contemplated in the said resolution are not successful and a three-fourths majority of the members of any community of the Congress Party affected by such an inter-communal question consider that it should not be made a party question, then the Congress Party in the Legislature shall refrain from making it a party question.”

The meaning is clear. No communal matter can be made a party question if a 3/4ths majority of either community in the Congress Party of the Legislature are opposed to that course. In other words, if a 3/4ths majority of any community desire to reserve to themselves full liberty of speech and vote on any communal question affecting them, all the members of the Party belonging to both communities in the Legislature concerned shall have the same freedom. It was presumed that a 3/4ths majority of the members of any community in the Party may safely be taken as reflecting the general opinion of that community in the country and if they can bring round a 3/4ths majority of the other community to their point of view the agreement thus arrived at should be respected by the whole Party. It may be observed however that this rule awaits the confirmation of the A.I.C.C. and the Congress, but it may be taken as a clear indication that the Congress Executive is fully alive to the difficulties of the communal situation and will do all that lies in its power not only to ease that situation but to secure to the Congress Party in the various Legislatures an ample measure of freedom in dealing with communal questions.

THE WALK-OUT—WHAT IT REALLY SIGNIFIED

12. The withdrawal of Swarajist members from the Legislatures in obedience to the mandate of the Congress has been the subject of considerable misrepresentation in the Press and on the platform. It is asserted that the Swarajists deserted their posts of duty and cannot be relied upon to keep their seats in the new Legislatures when the interests of the country demand it. This is a gross libel on the Congress which directed their withdrawal from the last Assembly and the Councils in furtherance of much higher interests than any that could possibly require the presence of Swarajists in the Legislatures. The following extract from the speech made by the Leader of the Party in the Assembly on the day of the withdrawal, puts the whole position in a nutshell. After a formidable indictment of the Government for its many sins of commission and omission and a reference to the inability of the Party to deal with it in a suitable way by reason of its being in a minority, he concluded his speech with these words:—

“ We waited till a clear answer to our demand was forthcoming.

It has now come clear and crisp from my Honourable friend the Home Member. There is no use for us here. We go out into the country to seek the suffrage of the electorates once more. We do not give up the fight. We fully agree

in the sentiment contained in the statement to which I have just referred. They are quite apposite but not in the sense in which Lord Birkenhead used them. They run thus:—

“ He either fears his fate too much
Or his deserts are small;
Who dares not put it to the touch
To win or lose it all.”

We have no misgivings either about our fate or our deserts, and we go forth into the country to put it to the touch to win or to lose it all...We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands and will send us again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate, and, God willing, with the sanction for fulfilling its aspirations and enforcing its commands.”

After this it is for the Nation to judge who are more likely to stand by it in the coming struggle—those who manfully came out with the resolute determination to enforce its commands, or those who stayed behind amidst official taunts and jeers and are now seeking to co-operate with those very officials and to serve under them.

THE CONGRESS AND THE NEW ANTI-CONGRESS PARTIES.

13. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the obvious fact that the parties recently started under the names of “The Responsivist Cooperation Party” and “The Independent Congress Party” are not in any way connected with the Congress. There is little in common between these parties and the Congress; they entirely differ from the Congress on basic principles; and there is an irreconcilable conflict between their programmes and that of the Congress. They have come into existence with the avowed object of opposing the Congress candidates and defeating the Congress programme. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has declared open war against the Swaraj Party—which means the Congress itself, as the Party is now indistinguishable from the Congress. The constituencies will have to choose between their great National Organization which, after weathering many a storm, represents the entire Indian Nation and new parties started by a few dissenters who have chosen to take up cudgels against the parent institution itself. They pay an unconscious tribute to the Swaraj Party by claiming to follow in its footsteps, forgetting that the Swaraj Party never for a moment renounced their allegiance to the Congress and contested the last elections only after the Congress had granted them express permis-

sion to do so and forbidden all opposition to their election campaign. It is hoped that the country will not be deceived by the thin disguise but will rally round the National Flag held aloft by the Congress.

14. Parties which have no organisation worth the name and consist mainly of persons who are setting themselves up for election on a retrograde programme, can exert no influence on the general political situation in the country. There can be no comparison between them and the Swaraj Party which began as a highly organised body within the Congress with a bold fighting programme. The wisdom of the great experiment inaugurated by the Swaraj Party has been demonstrated by the resolutions of the Cawnpore Congress directing the continuance of that experiment. The consequent absorption of the Swaraj Party in the Congress has ensured the emergence of far more favourable conditions than those that prevailed in the last Councils. It constitutes a further advance in the direction of organising more completely the will of the nation to achieve full responsible Government and of bringing the Legislatures under the steady control of the great National Organization. The consequences which will follow are obvious. In the first place, there will be greater unification in the country, and work in the Councils and work outside them will be inter-related in a much more intimate and dynamic manner than was found possible during the last three years. In the second place, the Indian National Congress will be considerably strengthened and become even more of a real power in the land than it is to-day. In the third place, the concurrent will of the elected sections of the Legislatures and of the Congress will enable appropriate sanctions to be devised for the purpose of enforcing the demands made by Congressmen in the Legislatures in obedience to the mandates of the Congress. Parties which fight shy of these sanctions and pin their faith on co-operation with the Government cannot possibly serve the higher interests of the country.

CONCLUSION.

The Indian National Congress therefore appeals to the people and voters of India to realise that they can enforce the National Demand and vindicate national honour only by supporting and returning exclusively the Congress candidates at the coming general elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly and the several Provincial Legislative Councils.

20th October, 1926. }

MADRAS.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR

General Secretary,
Indian National Congress.

ANNEXURE

[A SHORT RESUME OF THE SWARAJ PARTY'S WORK IN THE
INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1924-26].

I.—GENERAL

THE FIRST SESSION—JOINT NATIONALIST PARTY.

The Swarajya Party of the Indian National Congress in the Assembly started their work in the first session of the last Assembly in 1924 with a party strength of 43 Swarajists and three Burmese associates who had come with a clear mandate to vote with the Swarajists. The other elected members were, as Pandit Motilal Nehru once described them, "either independent of one another or very much dependent on Government and its friends." It was clear from the outset that the Swarajists could not do any effective work in accordance with their programme unless they were able to form a coalition with the Independents. In the negotiations that eventually led to the formation of the coalition that went by the name of the Nationalist Party which carried on joint work in the Assembly for over three sessions, it was made quite clear that no coalition was possible for the Swarajists unless the non-Swarajists agreed to join in presenting the National Demand to the Government and to pursue a policy of obstruction and refusal of supplies in the event of the Government not making a satisfactory response thereto. "Put your demand as low as you like," said Pandit Motilal Nehru, "but once you adopt and put it forward there will be no going back on the policy of obstruction and refusal of supplies in the event of the Government failing to make a response to our satisfaction." This was in substance accepted by the Independents, and the Joint Party programme was based on this fundamental ground described in the following words:—

"If the Government do not make a satisfactory response to the resolution demanding reforms within a reasonable time, the Party (Joint Party) will then be bound to a policy of obstruction and will put the policy into operation at the earliest period when the demands for grants are made by the Government, by refusing supplies; provided the party decide by a majority of three-fourths at a meeting specially to be convened for the purpose that the response, if any, made by Government is not satisfactory."

THE NATIONAL DEMAND AND THE REJECTION OF THE BUDGET.

The Joint Party that subscribed to this policy was 70 strong and indeed it had further accession to its ranks so far as supporting the National Demand was concerned. The well-known Resolution on the National Demand for Self-government was carried by a majority of 76 to 48 against the Government on the 18th February 1924.

The response of the Government was not merely unsatisfactory, but decidedly unfavourable. When the Nationalists, therefore, decided by the requisite majority early in March that the response made by Government was unsatisfactory, the policy of obstruction by refusal of supplies was promptly put into operation on the first day (March 10, 1924) Budget grants were asked for. The demands under Customs, Salts, Income-tax and Opium were successively rejected *en bloc*: and the Government was confronted with a situation for which they had no parallel.

But in the very hour of success, the leading Independents changed their mind and refused to continue further the policy to which they had pledged themselves at the inception of the Nationalist Party. In order to save the Joint Party from premature death, it was decided to take the first day's obstruction as sufficient to establish the principle of 'grievances before supplies' and to let the rest of the demands on other grants take their usual course. The Swarajya Party, however, did not participate in the proceedings, except to join in defeating Government. The Joint Party, however, again mustered strength on the 17th of March and under the lead of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who had re-changed his mind under some divine inspiration, they carried by the joint votes of both the parties, his motion for the total rejection of the Finance Bill. It is unnecessary to describe what the Government did over these rejected grants and Finance Bill. They resorted to their full powers of certification and restored them; but it is necessary to record here that the steadiness and firmness with which the Swarajists maintained their ground obliged the Viceroy not to carry out the threat of the Finance Member, of not reducing the Salt tax in preference to giving relief in Provincial contributions. The reduction of the Salt tax was definite tangible relief to the poor accomplished by the Swaraj Party, even while pursuing the policy of obstruction to achieve the larger end.

In the first session, therefore, of the last Assembly, the whole of the Swarajist policy was fully carried out and stood vindicated out of the mouth of the most eminent Independent in the Assembly, namely Pandit Malaviya, and the session thus closed with this manly stand of the

Nationalist Party for popular rights. The session was also noteworthy for some important resolutions carried by large majorities which were moved by the Swaraj party, for the release of Political prisoners, for the repeal of Repressive Laws and for the removal of the ban on Mr. Horniman. But perhaps, the most significant event in the history of the first session of the Assembly was the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi on the eve of the day when the Assembly was to have moved its demand for Mahatmaji's release with a force and strength that the Government well knew would have been overwhelming. It was, indeed, the first definite acknowledgment and recognition on the part of the Government of the fact that the Swarajists had come into the Assembly as a power of the people to be reckoned with.

THE SECOND SESSION—STEEL PROTECTION.

The second session of the Assembly was a short one and was mainly concerned with the proposals of the Government for the protection of one of the great key industries of India, namely, the production of Iron and Steel. The leaders of the Swaraj Party had in the meantime conferred with Mahatma Gandhi at Jubu and in view of the varying attitude of the bureaucratic Government and of the recent developments in the political situation in India and in the light of the experience gained in the Assembly and in the various Councils, they restated the policy and programme of the party in the words which are referred to in the manifesto. It included as the public are well aware, action to promote the constructive programme of the National Congress and the pursuit of a definite economic policy against exploitation and in furtherance of national industrial development. It also laid down the taking of steps for the protection of the rights of Labour. In pursuance of this programme the Swaraj Party succeeded in improving the Steel Protection Bill so as to give effect to the policy of the party. In particular, it obtained on this occasion from the Government an undertaking for the appointment of a Committee to examine the question of the importation of foreign capital into the country. In the meanwhile, as a result of the programme so far carried out in the Assembly in connection with the National Demand, the Government proceeded to appoint the Reforms Enquiry Committee of which the Leader of the Swarajya Party, Pandit Motilal Nehru was also invited to become a member. But neither its terms of reference nor the manner of its composition could in any sense be deemed to be any response to the National Demand, and the Swarajist Leader promptly declined the invitation. The Government enquiry,

however, proceeded and the evidence that was given before the Committee by those who co-operated and worked the Reforms sincerely and for all they were worth, proved to be a startling confirmation of the position taken by the Swarajists all along, *viz.*, that Dyarchy is a thing of evil and has been an utter failure even as an experiment in the introduction of Self-Government by stages.

THIRD SESSION—THE LEE COMMISSION.

The third session of the Indian Legislative Assembly was dominated by the Lee Commission recommendations which involved an addition to the emoluments of the alien bureaucracy of over 1½ crores annually, payable from out of the tax-payers' money. Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the rejection of the recommendations in a great speech that impressed many waverers outside the party and the motion was carried by the over-whelming majority of 68 to 46. The session, however, did not terminate without one more triumph for the Swarajists. That was the motion by which the House carried Mr. Patel's Bill for the repeal of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, otherwise known as the Samiti Act, by which associations including Congress Committees had been declared unlawful by the Government, and great leaders like Desabandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru and patriots in their thousands had been sent to jail by the Government during the dark days of repression in 1921-22. There was also another victory for the Nationalists recorded during this session in the resolution which was carried in the House without division for the repeal of Excise Duty on cotton goods.

FORMATION OF SEPARATE INDEPENDENT PARTY.

The mentality of the Independents in respect of any strong joint action continued to be unsatisfactory and it eventually led them to organize themselves as a separate party, though they continued for some time more to be members of the Joint Nationalist Party. When the fourth session of the last Assembly opened in Delhi, the Swarajists found themselves unable to put their policy into operation jointly with the Independents, unless they agreed to accept a revised rule regarding refusal of grants propounded to them by the Independent party in the following terms.—

“Every member of the Party

- (a) shall ordinarily vote on all matters which have been made party questions in accordance with the decision of the Party arrived at by not less than a two-thirds majority of members present at a meeting of which previous notice has been given;

(b) is expected to be guided on all questions which the Party has not considered, by the instructions of the Executive Committee or the Emergency Committee.

Provided that, in the event of the Party desiring to resort to a policy of obstruction including refusal of supplies or rejection of Finance Bills, no such decision shall be taken in the Nationalist Party unless both the Swaraj and Independent Parties have separately met in the first instance and decided at their respective meetings to make it a party question. If either group does not desire to resort to a policy of obstruction or of refusing supplies, the Nationalist Party shall not make it a party question. In that event either group will be free to act as it may determine."

THE FOURTH SESSION—BREAKAWAY OF INDEPENDENTS.

It was clear from the outset that the Independents had definitely resolved not to follow the policy they had agreed to pursue in the previous year and were making it practically impossible to put it into force, by the alteration of the rule as above stated. Accordingly, when the stage for the consideration of the Budgets, Railway and General, came, the joint agreement on which alone a policy of obstruction and refusal of supplies could be resorted to, was not only not forthcoming, but the Independent party definitely resolved to oppose the motions of the Swarajists based on the principle of refusal of supplies. The Swarajists, however, adhered to the principles which they had all along adopted and they again put them into operation by moving the rejection of grants both in respect of Railway and General Budgets. The Independents did not even remain neutral. They actually chose to oppose the motions and thereafter the joint Nationalist Party virtually broke up and the Swarajists were left to carry out their programme as best they might. But the controversies and the differences that arose soon revealed the real hold of the Swarajists on the country as compared with the Independents. After the conclusion of the Delhi session of 1925 as many as eight Independents who were not in the Swaraj Party previously openly joined the Swaraj Party so that in the Autumn session in September, the strength of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly stood at 56.

In spite of this pronounced cleavage between the Independents and the Swaraj Party that developed during this session of 1925, the Swaraj Party were able to carry important resolutions and motions on legislative

proposals against Government and on these, on most occasions, the Independents had necessarily to support them and vote with them.

The most important of these were the resolutions demanding the release of the Bengal detenues and the Repeal of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance by which the Bengal Government had once more started a severe repressive campaign, in pursuance of which they had interned, without enquiry or trial, some of the most beloved patriots of the land whose innocence was to the mind of the public, transparent. Indeed, Pandit Motilal Nehru's exposition of the real inwardness of the Government's repressive policy as against the so-called anarchist organisations was masterly and was practically left unanswered by the Government spokesmen. As a consequence of this, the House also rejected the supplemental legislation proposed by the Government in aid of this repression.

The Assembly, moreover, followed up its resolution on the repeal of the Cotton Excise Duty by refusing the grant for the maintenance of the establishment employed for the levy of the Cotton Excise Duty. The Swarajists, during this session also took active part in the debates on the Budget and on Bills as well as on Resolutions, with due regard to the revised programme that had been adopted by the Swaraj Party at Belgaum.

FIFTH SESSION—REITERATION OF NATIONAL DEMAND.

When the Assembly met for the fifth session in Simla last year, it elected as its President Mr. Patel, the Deputy Leader till then of the Swaraj Party. The principal business that was transacted was a repetition of the National Demand once again with reference to the most unsatisfactory recommendations of the majority of the Reforms Enquiry Committee as well as the important findings of the minority report of the said Committee. The National Demand was once again formulated in conjunction and after full discussion with the Independent Party who practically accepted the draft resolution of the Swaraj Party and supported the same with all their strength in the Assembly. The reiteration of the National Demand was thus carried once again by the overwhelming majority of 72 to 45. There were various other minor measures brought up in connection with which the Swarajists fought for the interests of the people and which it is not necessary to detail here.

SIXTH SESSION—THE CAWNPORE MANDATE.

When the sixth session of the Assembly began in January this year, the Swarajists had received their mandate from the Cawnpore Congress,

which had endorsed and taken as its own the political programme of the Swarajya Party. Lala Lajpat Rai who had himself supported the Cawnpore resolution on this subject had been elected to the Assembly for the seat vacated for him by one of the Swarajists, and though, as he said, he was not expressly elected on the Swarajist ticket he accepted the policy and programme of the party, which, according to him, were not inconsistent with his own views, and joined the party.

There were various legislative and administrative questions dealt with in the Assembly during this session including important legislation dealing with Trade Unions, but the whole session was dominated by the decision of the All India Congress Committee on what is known as the "Walk-Out" which in accordance with the Cawnpore resolution, had to be carried out in consequence of the definite refusal of the Government to give any response to the reiterated National Demand made by the Swarajists, Independents, Nationalists and others on behalf of the country in September 1925. It is not necessary to deal here with the programme of the "Walk-Out" or to say anything in defence of it. It has been fully dealt with in the manifesto. It is only necessary to add that in strict accordance with the Cawnpore decision, the Swarajists attended the Assembly again to prevent the hasty enactment of the objectionable provisions of the Currency Bill. Their mere presence was sufficient to compel the Government to consent to a motion for adjournment of this matter to the next Assembly.

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing short *resume* it will be clear that the Swarajists' record in the last Assembly has been one of conspicuous success, its main features being :—

- (a) that the party presented the National Demand with the united support and strength of practically all the Indian elected representatives in the Legislature ;
- (b) that the party strove to put the policy of obstruction and refusal of supplies in force when there was no satisfactory response to that Demand ;
- (c) that it throughout maintained and carried out the basic principle on which the General Council of the Swarajya Party and later the Congress has directed the party to pursue its work in the Legislative Councils, namely, "the guiding principle in carrying on all political work shall be self-reliance in all

activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj;

(d) that it has also achieved tangible results, beneficial to the masses of the people by

1. the reduction of the Salt Tax,
2. the reduction of the Railway fares,
3. the remission of Provincial Contributions,
4. repeal of the Cotton Excise Duty and the imposition of the duties for the protection of the national industries like steel and paper manufacture,
5. the enactment of laws for the protection and growth of Trade Unions,
6. the passing of resolutions for the restoring of the civil and political liberties of the people in various ways, for the release of patriots and political prisoners, and the repeal of repressive laws.

II. ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL.

Since the beginnings of British Rule, India has continued to suffer from the evils of overtaxation. Indian patriots like Dadabhoj Nowroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale made repeated efforts—without much avail—to relieve the country from the disastrous effects of this grievous burden of taxation that is sapping the vitality of the vast masses of the people of this country. These evils were accentuated during the War and by 1923 the country had become saddled with additional taxation to the tune of 40 crores a year since 1914. The Swarajists in the last Assembly have fought hard for remission of taxation and during their three years' tenure, taxation to the extent of 9 crores of rupees a year has been reduced. It will continue to be the policy of the Swarajists to press their demand for substantial remissions of taxation. The Party is convinced that so far as central finance is concerned, the further reduction of the salt tax and of railway rates and fares and the restoration of the pice postcard and half an anna envelope are absolutely necessary as the first steps in the policy of bringing taxation to some extent at least in consonance with the capacity of the people to bear it. The high scale at which taxation is maintained in this country is due to the extravagance involved in a top-heavy administration, particularly owing to the appalling military expenditure imposed on India at the dictation of the Imperial Government. The Party will therefore strenuously press for drastic reduction in all expenditure and particularly in military expenditure.

2. The Swarajya Party was instrumental in getting an enquiry into the currency policy of the Government. The report of the Royal Commission on Currency has failed to win the approval of the country as a whole on any material point and the attempt to fix the ratio between the rupee and the sovereign at one shilling six pence gold to the rupee, has created widespread alarm amongst the agricultural and industrial classes. There is no doubt whatever that this artificial raising of the value of the rupee will result in serious economic distress and will bring countless suffering on the already indebted agricultural population, by reducing the prices of agricultural produce and thereby cutting down the wages of the tillers of the soil. Nor will its repercussions on our industries be less baneful. The Party will offer a most determined resistance to the passage of the proposed Currency Bill so far as its main provisions are concerned. The Party will also advocate every measure which will make the currency and exchange mechanism of the country as free from

manipulation as possible. An honest gold standard, with a free market for gold and with gold in active circulation, is the ideal which the party is steadily keeping in view.

3. The industrial development of the country has always had very high place in the programme and policy of the party and all proposals for granting discriminating protection to vital national industries will continue to receive the sympathetic support of the party. Unemployment is as is well-known, very rife in our urban population and agriculture alone does not any longer suffice to provide our growing population with their daily bread. The only sound solution is to so develop the various industries in the country that they may provide wider and wider avenues of employment to our rising generation. India with its 315 millions provides within its own borders an immense market for the products of various manufacturing industries. There is no reason why such industries should not rapidly develop if a well-thought-out industrial policy is steadily followed. The Party has consequently made this one of the most important planks in its programme.

4. It is impossible to divorce railway administration from the consideration of the economic well-being of our country. It will be obvious on the slightest consideration that heavy rates and fares are a serious impediment in the way of trade and travel. Both agriculture and industries have to suffer a heavy handicap owing to the existing railway policy and the Party is resolved to pursue the line of action which will remove the said handicap at the earliest possible time.

In general, reduction of taxation, economy in administration and resistance of extravagance will always receive the support of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and the various Councils.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1926

Presented by the General Secretaries to the All India Congress Committee.

In compliance with Art. XXIII we beg to submit the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and a full account of the funds which have come into our hands. Since the last Congress there have been three meetings of the All India Congress Committee; at the first of these meetings held at Cawnpore on the 29th December last the All India Congress Committee elected 34 representatives of all the Provinces except Ajmer, who were to constitute along with the members of the Working Committee of the Congress a Special Committee in terms of Resolution VII of the Cawnpore Congress. The representative of Ajmer could not be elected by the All India Congress Committee owing to the peculiar circumstances of that province. The President was empowered to nominate the representative later on, but even this it was not possible to do. At this meeting of the All India Congress Committee a very important resolution was adopted whereby the Working Committee was asked to appoint a sub-committee for the purpose of collecting and distributing funds for the relief of political sufferers, prisoners, exiles and their families. The Working Committee which met in Delhi on the 5th March, 1926 accordingly appointed the Political Sufferers Sub-committee. Financial help has been given to two political sufferers, namely Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya (Andhra) and Swami Kumaranand (Ajmer) out of the funds ear-marked for the purpose. An allowance at the rate of Rs. 20 per mensem was also sanctioned out of the Punjab Relief Fund for the family of Pandit Jagat Ram of the Punjab (in jail) for a period of one year. In addition to these, relief was also provided out of the Punjab Relief Fund to the family of Bhai Bhagwan Singh and to Swami Gajanand Azad of the Punjab. The Treasurer has since been asked to debit these amounts to the political sufferers' fund.

2. The second meeting of the All India Congress Committee during the year under report was held at Delhi on the 6th and 7th March, 1926. At this meeting the Committee framed the programme of work to be carried out by the Swarajya Party and the Congress organisations in co-operation with each other throughout the country in accordance with Resolution VII of the Cawnpore Congress which for the

since the inauguration of the Reforms, permitted the employment of the whole of the machinery and general funds of the Congress for the purpose of taking up and carrying on all necessary political work and which required that the Congress do run candidates for the then forthcoming general elections to the legislatures of the country. The Committee issued detailed instructions to be followed by Congress Committees and Congressmen in regard to these general elections and also settled the form of election pledge to be signed by every Congress candidate.

3. The most important decision taken by the Committee at this meeting was its adoption of the Special Committee's opinion that the Government had failed to accede to the National Demand for reforms made by the Assembly, and its acceptance of the Special Committee's recommendation that the "Swarajya Party in the Central and provincial legislatures do now take the steps laid down in Resolution VII (b) (iii) 1 and 2 passed by the Congress at its Cawnpore session."

4. The All India Congress Committee also called upon the Swarajists in the Assembly not to wait till the Finance Bill came up for consideration, but to leave their seats after raising the constitutional issue once again on the 8th March when the first demand for grants would be moved. The Swarajist members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and several local councils in session at the time accordingly made that famous demonstration on the 8th March which has since come to be known as the "Walk-Out." The All India Congress Committee, however, made an exception in the case of the Swarajya Party in the C. P. Council and called upon them to attend the Council to throw out the provincial budget including the salaries of Ministers, in pursuance of Resolution VII (b) (iii) 2. Much unfair criticism was indulged in in some quarters about the action of Swarajist members of the Assembly and a few local councils in going back for some special or unforeseen purposes; but these critics apparently ignore the specific instructions contained in the proviso under section 2 of Resolution VII (b) (iii) adopted by the Congress at Cawnpore which clearly lays down "that it shall be open to the Special Committee to allow the Swarajist members of any legislature to attend the said legislature when such attendance is in its opinion essential for some special or unforeseen purpose."

5. The All India Congress Committee also allotted at Delhi a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the initial expenses of the necessary propaganda work in connection with the general elections. An account of

the expenditure incurred out of this allotment duly audited up to the 30th September is being enclosed herewith.

6. A resolution was adopted by the All India Congress Committee at this meeting asking the Provincial Congress Committees to organise branches of the Hindustani Seva Dal and to appoint whole-time permanent workers for carrying on the work outlined by the Dal in their respective areas. A grant of Rs. 2,000 was also sanctioned to the Dal by the Working Committee at Delhi.

7. The report of the Bodh Gaya Temple Enquiry Committee was submitted to the All India Congress Committee at this meeting and the recommendations contained in the report were accepted by the latter committee.

8. The third and last meeting of the All India Congress Committee was called at Ahmedabad to consider what was known as the Sabarmati Pact. But the question of the Pact did not actually come before the All India Congress Committee as it had fallen through in the Working Committee on account of differences of opinion among the signatories about the interpretation of the terms of the Pact.

9. The Hindu-Moslem relations unfortunately continued during the year to be far from cordial, although communal outbreaks were not so wide-spread as in 1924. In Bengal, however, very serious Hindu-Moslem riots occurred in some places, particularly in Calcutta where during several weeks it seemed as though ordered government was at an end and the authorities responsible for law and order miserably failed to maintain peace. The All India and the Working Committee have made earnest attempts to foster feelings of friendship and goodwill between the two communities. At the instance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Working Committee which met in Calcutta on the 4th July 1926 resolved on the establishment of a permanent publicity bureau with a view to educating the masses of India out of communal conflicts and differences and developing a sound national life, and authorised Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru to take necessary steps in this behalf and organise the bureau. The President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu visited Pabna, another place in Bengal where serious Hindu-Moslem outbreaks occurred in July and Rs. 1,000 were voted for the relief of sufferers there.

10. One of the principal matters to which the Working Committee and the office-bearers had to devote a good deal of attention

during the year, was the running of candidates by and in the name of the Congress in the general elections to the several legislatures, that have just ended in all the provinces. The work involved, besides frequent meetings of the Working Committee, a good deal of discussion and decision by correspondence and long and frequent tours on the part of the executive. Although the amount placed at the disposal of the Working Committee for publicity and propaganda was small, the political and educative work that has been carried out by the central and provincial Congress organisations throughout the country and among the masses has been valuable and fruitful. At the date of writing this report, the full results of the elections from all the provinces are not available, and it is too soon to sum up the general position of the Congress parties in the several provinces. But it may be safely stated that whatever might be the relative strength of frankly communal and anti-Congress groups, whatever might be the dividing line between those who stood by the Congress programme and those who, though belonging to the Congress, opposed the success of that programme and its exponents in the elections, the country has unmistakably accepted the Congress as the one and only institution by and through which all Indians, to whatever community they may belong, can achieve Swaraj. In four provinces particularly, Congressmen have been returned by the electorates in large numbers, namely, Assam, Behar, Bengal and Madras.

11. In this connection it is specially worthy of note that both the Bengal *detenus* in the Mandalay jail set up by the Congress, Syt. Subbas Chandra Bose and Syt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, have been returned at the recent general elections. Syt. Subbas Chandra Bose has been elected to the Bengal Legislative Council by an overwhelming majority and Syt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra to the Legislative Assembly unopposed. It would be difficult to find a more convincing condemnation of the obstinate and oppressive policy of the bureaucracy in respect of the *detenus*.

12. It is gratifying to find that in spite of their preoccupation with the Congress election campaign the Provincial Committees have been able to carry on vigorously general Congress work including the enlistment of Congress members. Information has not been received from all the provinces at the time of writing, but so far as the reports received go, it would appear that in Bombay 22 members are on the Congress rolls besides 103 on the All India Officers Association out of whom 33 have enlisted themselves

also as Congress members. In Karnatak the membership figure has risen to 14,278. In C. P. Hindustani 3,676 congress members have been registered this year. In Gujarat 651 persons have been enrolled, of whom 338 have come in under the yarn franchise.

13. The All India Spinners' Association has on its rolls 3,472 members of class A, 942 of B and 48 associates. It is specially gratifying to note that besides these, 185 juveniles have been subscribing yarn. In all, 2,708 lbs. of yarn are reported to have been received by the All India Spinners' Association.

14. The enclosed statement of T.S.F. accounts for the year show that the opening balance with the Treasurer amounted on the 1st December, 1925 to Rs. 1,74,606-1-11. His closing balance on the 30th September, 1926 was Rs. 1,44,803-11-10 including Rs. 39,729-3-0 earmarked funds. It will be evident from these figures that the funds at the disposal of the All India Congress Committee are rapidly diminishing. It is urged that prompt and effective steps should be taken to place the central organisation of the Congress in a permanently sound financial position. The fund needed for an investment that will leave the All India Congress Secretariat free from anxiety as to its normal existence and functions, is by no means large and the attention of the All India Congress Committee is invited to this vital matter in the hope that proper steps will have been taken in this behalf before the Gauhati Congress disperses. The delegates' fee must at all events be raised to the old figure of Rs. 10, to enable the All India Congress Committee to have the usual income from its share of the delegation fees.

15. The realizations made by the All India Congress Committee during the year did not amount to much; neither has the position of outstandings as printed last year improved, most of them being bad debts. The assets too remain practically the same as last year's, except for the addition of a few articles of furniture which had to be purchased in Madras in view of the transfer of the office from Allahabad.

16. The Secretaries desire to record in this report their appreciation of the devoted and loyal work of the Under Secretary, Mr. Raja Rau and the staff during a busy and trying year. Mr. Raghupati Sahai the other Under Secretary, was lent to the United Provinces C. age.

Committee for important work in connection with the general election, in that province.

M. A. ANSARI

K. SANTANAM

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR.

[Mr. A Rangaswami Iyengar has been the Working Secretary for the year and much of the success of the Congress in the general elections has been due to his unremitting and devoted work.

M. A. Ansari

K. Santanam.]

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from the 1st November 1925 to the
30th September 1926 in the office of the General Secretary, Madras.

Receipts.		AMOUNT.	
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
I.	To opening balances :—		
	(a) cash in hand ...	133 1 6	
	(b) at Bank ...	3,012 11 6	
	(c) unrealised cheque ...	19 9 0	
			3,165 6 0
II.	Sale proceeds of Congress Publications from 1st November 1925 to 30th September 1926 excluding postage on V.P.Ps.		
	(a) due to Secretary Karnatak P. C. C. on account of Belgaum Congress reports	39 8 0	
	(b) due to Secretary Assam P. C. C. on account of Opium Enquiry reports ...	10 8 0	
	(c) received on behalf of the Treasurer for Congress publications ...	263 10 0	
	(d) due to Treasurer for Congress publications ...	69 9 0	
			383 3 0
III.	Sale proceeds of furniture at Allahabad ...		205 8 0
IV.	Received from the Treasurer towards grant * ...		14,156 15 6
V.	To Advances recovered or accounted for :—		
	Syt. B. Raja Rau ...	225 0 0	
	„ N. C. Banerjee ...	50 0 0	
	„ Abdul Waheed ...	20 0 0	
	Superintendent Government Printing Calcutta ...	24 2 0	
			319 2 0
VI.	Interest received ...		34 10 3
VII.	Miscellaneous receipts ...		65 14

* A cheque for Rs. 2,500 has since been received from the Treasur

Continued on na

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st November 1925 to the 30th September 1926 in the office of the General Secretary, Madras.— (contd.)

Receipts.—(contd.)		AMOUNT.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
VIII. Received from No. 3 a/c. Propaganda and Publicity a/c. towards the payment of Rs. 1000 to Secretary Assam P.C.C. from this a/c. ...		1,000	0 0
Total ...		19,330	11 1

Disbursements.		AMOUNT.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
IX. By travelling expenses:—			
Office staff ...	1,356 2 3		
General Secretary Syt. Bharucha ...	442 11 0		
General Secretary Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar ...	272 9 0		
Office staff for the removal of office to Madras ...	739 4 9		
		2,810	11 0
X. By salaries ...		8,314	14 6
XI. Postage and telegrams ...		1,211	4 0
XII. Printing and Stationery ...		1,146	4 6
XIII. Rents and taxes ...		962	7 0
XIV. Library (purchase of books) ...		65	0 0
XV. Furniture purchased ...		432	15 6
XVI. Miscellaneous payments ...		266	0 0

Continued on next page.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from the 1st November 1925 to the
30th September 1926 in the office of the General Secretary, Madras.

Disbursements.—(contd.)		AMOUNT.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
XVII. Payments to Treasurer :—			
Sale proceeds of Congress publications of last year ...	97 4 0		
Delhi P. C. C. yarn quota ...	36 1 6		
Punjab Relief fund ...	372 13 0		
Sale proceeds of Congress publications ...	263 10 0		
Paid on behalf of the Treasurer to Andhraratna D. Gopalakrishnayya.	500 0 0		
To President Mrs. Naidu ...	357 12 0		
		1,627	8 6
XVIII. By advances—			
Syt. Raghupati Sahai ...	300 0 0		
„ B. Raja Rau ...	385 6 9		
„ K. B. Ramakrishnaiah ...	50 0 0		
„ Sheo Balak Singh ...	50 0 0		
„ V. D. Sharma ...	45 0 0		
„ A. S. Ramulu ...	5 0 0		
		835	6 9
XIX. Closing Balances :—			
Cash in hand ...	96 15 3		
In Bank at Allahabad ...	21 8 9		
„ „ at Madras ...	1,539 11 4		
(includes a payment of Rs. 1000 by cheque to Secretary Assam P. C. C.)		1,658	3 4
	Total ...	19,330	11 1

MADRAS, }
16-11-26. }

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH,
Accountant.

B. RAJA RAU,
Under Secretary.

Examined and found correct.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR,

M. K. DANDEKAR

General Secretary

Incorporated Agent

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Publicity and Propaganda Account up to 30-9-26.

RECEIPTS,	Rs. A. P.
To Treasurer A. I. C. C. ...	25,000 0 0
Syt. C. Gopala Menon ...	50 0 0
Mr. K. F. Nariman ...	50 0 0
Syt. Shivnandan Prasad ...	50 0 0
„ Jaleswar Prasad ...	50 0 0
„ D. V. Belvi ...	50 0 0
„ K. R. Karant ...	50 0 0
„ Sarveswar Barua ...	50 0 0
„ Muthuranga Mudaliar ...	50 0 0
Secretary, Karnatak P. C. C. ...	50 0 0
Syt. Rajnal Lakshichand ...	50 0 0
Kumar Ganganand Sinha ...	50 0 0
Secretary, Assam P. C. C. (Messrs. T. P. Chaliha and Kameswardas) ...	100 0 0
Secretary, Punjab P. C. C. (Lala Ramnarain and Lala Bodhraj) ...	100 0 0
Secretary, Karnatak P. C. C. (Syt. S. V. Kaujalgi) ...	50 0 0
Secretary, Maharashtra P. C. C. ...	50 0 0
Syt. V. Krishna Menon ...	50 0 0
Secretary, Gujarat P. C. C. ...	50 0 0
Syt. R. K. Gavande ...	50 0 0
Syt. F. J. Ginwala ...	50 0 0
Interest ...	139 7 0
	26,169 7 0

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Publicity and Propaganda Account up to 30-9-26.

DISBURSEMENTS.	Rs.	A.	P.
By Tamil Nadu and Andhra grant ...	1,500	0	0
Secretary, Kerala P. C. C. ...	500	0	0
Syt. A. G. Abhyankar ...	500	0	0
Mr. Joshi ...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Rohinikanta Hatibarua ...	1,000	0	0
Pandit Motilal Nehru ...	3,000	0	0
Dr. N. B. Khare ...	1,500	0	0
Secretary, Karnatak P. C. C. ...	1,000	0	0
" Ascam P. C. C. ...	1,000	0	0
Syt. Jamnadas M. Mehta ...	1,000	0	0
Travelling expenses of Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar ...	1,572	7	3
Telegrams ...	285	9	6
Travelling expenses of Syt. B. Raja Rao ...	111	10	0
Commission on cheques and cheque books ...	4	0	0
Advance to			
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar ... 100 0 0			
Advance to			
Syt. B. Raja Rao ... 70 0 0			
		170	0 0*
By Balance (Cash at Bank.)	12,045	12	3†
	26,189	7	0

*These advances have since been adjusted in October 1926.

†An amount of Rs. 1,200—0—0 was paid after 30-9-1926 (Tr. Nos. 65, 66 and 66a) on account of advances to Syt. S. Satyamurti and Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, a grant of Rs. 500 to the Bombay P. C. C. and another grant of Rs. 500 to Kerala P. C. C.

MADRAS, } K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH, B. RAJA RAU,
 16-11-26. } Accountant. Under Secretary.

Examined and found correct.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR,

M. K. DANDEK page.

General Secretary.

Incorporated /

**THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL
SWARAJYA FUND.**

The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office Accounts.
*The Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st December 1925 to
30th September 1926.*

Receipts.			AMOUNT.
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Cash and Investments as on 1-12-25 ...			1,74,606 1 11
Tilak Swarajya Fund :—			
General (including Rs. 30,335-11-9 transferred from Punjab Relief Fund) ...	30,366	7 9	
Earmarked ...	15,460	12 0	
			45,827 3 9
Yarn Quota Received :—			
A. I. S. A. ...	354	4 9	
Maharashtra P. C. C. ...	29	4 3	
Punjab P. C. C. ...	5	10 0	
Gujarat P. C. C. ...	70	7 0	
			459 10 0
Miscellaneous Receipts :—			
Interest ...	7,673	7 5	
Brokerage ...	119	7 6	
Pavilion Rent ...	2,551	12 3	
Printing & Sta. Adj. ...	225	0 0	
Dead Stock Adj. ...	225	0 0	
Sale Proceeds of Cong. Publications ...	284	13 0	
Delegation Fees—Belgaum ...	163	0 0	
			11,242 8 2
Advances Recovered or Adjusted :—			
Buddha Gaya En. Comm. ...	50	0 0	
A. I. C. C. Auditors ...	600	0 0	
General Secretary A.I.C.C. Madras ...	18,000	0 0	
Central Propaganda ...	25,000	0 0	
Foreign Propaganda ...	5,000	0 0	48,650 0 0
Total ...	.....		2,80,785 7 10

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office Accounts.
The Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from the 1st December 1925 to
30th September 1926.

Disbursements.	AMOUNT.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Grants made to:—			
Swami Kumarananda ...	1,200	0	0
Hindustani Seva Dal ...	2,000	0	0
Delhi P. C. C. ...	155	1	0
Pabna Relief ...	1000	0	0
Tamil Nadu Khadi Board ...	225	0	0
Gen. Secy. A. I. C. C. Madras (Office Expenses) ...	17,000	0	0
Syt Benarsidas Chaturvedi (Travelling Exp.) ...	70	0	0
Central Propaganda ...	25,000	0	0
Foreign Propaganda ...	5,000	0	0
			51,650 1 0
Tilak S. Fund earmarked (Includes Punj. Relief Fund Adj.) ...			31,468 3 9
Interest and brokerage on old B. N. C. C. Fund distributed in equal shares among the ... of the ... Uttara, Bombay, Karnataka & ... P.C.Cs. ...			291 12 0
Treasurer's			
Sal. Rs. 825/- Mi. 219-			
F. C. & Tel. 5, 30-10-6 Sta.			1,804 0 9
.current			

Continued on next page.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office Accounts

The Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st December 1925 to 30th
September, 1926.—(contd.)

Disbursements.			AMOUNT.			
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Advances —						
Gen. Secy. A.I.C.C. Madras ...	17,008	9	0			
President, I.N.C. Shrimati Naidu ...	300	0	0			
Central Propaganda ...	25,000	0	0			
Foreign Propaganda ...	5,000	0	0			
				47,308	9	0
Assam P.C.C. Opium Loan ...				500	0	0
Cong. Pavilion Adj. ...				801	12	3
Dead Stock Adj. ...				225	0	0
Buddha Gaya Ea. Comm. Expenses ...				200	11	3
Auditors' Expenses ...				899	6	0
Working Comm. Expenses ...				832	4	0
Cash and investments as per B/S ...						
Total ...						

70 MEDOWS STREET, FORT,
Bombay, 8th December 1926.

Exa...

Inc ...

Total ...

C. H. SHAH,

Accountant.

REVA

H

The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office Accounts
The Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September 1926.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME						
				Rs.	A.	P.				
				Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
CURRENT	By Tilak Swarajya Fund General	51,650	1	0	30,366	7	9			
	(Includes Rs. 30,335-11-9 transferred from Punj. Rel. Fund a/c.)	832	4	0						
	Delegation Fees	200	11	3	163	0	0			
	Miscellaneous Receipts:—	899	6	0						
	Interest	1,804	0	9	7,399	10	5			
	Brokersage	10,301	12	3	101	8	6			
	Pr. & St. Adj				225	0	0			
	Pav. Rent				2,551	12	3			
	Sale of Con. Books,				284	13	0			
								10,562	12	2
Yarn Quota received from P. C. Cs.							459	10	0	
Balance C/d to B/S being the deficit for this year							24,136	5	4	
Total	65,688	3	3	Total	65,688	3	3			

(99)

Examined and Found Correct.
 70, MEADOWS STREET, } DALAL & SHAIH.
 FORT, } Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Bombay, 8th Dec. 26. } Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.

C. H. SHAIH, }
 Accountant. }
 REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN, }
 Hon. Working Treasurer A.I.C.C.

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND.

The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office accounts.

Balance Sheet as at 30th September 1926.

Funds and Liabilities.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
General Fund:—		
Balance as per last year ...	1,86,256 6 4	
Less deficit this year ...	24,136 5 4	
	1,62,120 1 0	
Earmarked Funds:—		
Last year's Balance ...	31,935 10 9	
Recd. during the year ...	15,460 12 0	
	47,396 6 9	
Less pd. and adjusted this year ...	31,468 3 9	
	15,928 3 0	
Civil Disobedience Funds ...		14,220 0 0
Bombay P.C.C. Old Fund ...		9,581 0 0
Total ...	...	.....

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND
The All India Congress Committee Treasurer's Office Accounts.

Balance Sheet as at 30th September 1926.

Property and Assets.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Cash and Investments with Banks :—						
Fixed Deposits ...	1,33,733	0	0			
Accounts ...	11,056	1	4			
		14	10	6		
					1,44,803	11 10
P. P.C.C. ...	35,000	0	0			
All India Khadi Board (Tamil Nadu P.C.C. transfer) ...	15,000	0	0			
Assam P.C.C. Opium ...	500	0	0			
Kerala P.C.C. ...	1,500	0	0			
					52,000	0 0
Advances :—						
President, I.N.C. Shrimati Naidu...	300	0	0			
Gen. Sec. A.I.C.C. ...	352	1	5			
Unity Con. Delhi ...	73	8	0			
Emigrants' En. Comm. ...	37	0	9			
					762	10 2
Congress Pavilion ...					4,000	0 0
Dead Stock ...					282	14 0
Total ...					2,01,849	4 0

We have examined the above balance sheet with the books and vouchers of the All India Treasurer's Office and find same correct. We have also verified the investments.

"Treasurer"
 "All India"
 "Depreciated"

STREET, FORT, }

September, 1926.

DALAL & SHAH

Incorporated Accountants (London).

Hon. Auditors, A.I.C.C.

H. SHAH,

Accountant

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,

Hon. Working Treasurer, A.I.C.C.

EARMARKED FUNDS AS ON 30TH SEPTEMBER 1926.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Khaddar Propaganda	...	...	1,001	0	0
Help to Akalis	...	...	51	0	0
Untouchability	...	...	10	0	0
Bengal National Workers	...	...	10	7	0
Swarajya Party Fund	...	...	14	12	0
South African Fund	...	...	200	0	0
Political Sufferers' Fund	...	...	1,150	0	0
Civil Resisters Family Relief Fund	...	...	13,491	0	0
Total			15,928	3	0
In Fixed Deposits with Banks as on					
30th Sept. 1926:—					
Central Bank of India Ltd. Bombay	...	...	9,581	0	0
Bank of Baroda Ltd. Bombay	...	...	30,000	0	0
Union Bank of India Ltd. Bombay	...	...	20,780	0	0
Bank of India Ltd. Bombay	...	...	20,000	0	0
Punjab National Bank Ltd. —					
Bombay Rs. 35,000—0—0					
Lahore „ 18,372—0—0			53,372	0	0
Total			1,33,733	0	0
In Current accounts with Banks as on					
30th Sept. 1926:—					
Central Bank of India Ltd. Bombay	...	...	2,023	0	0
Bank of India Ltd. Bombay	...	...	1,329	1	9
Bank of Baroda Ltd. Bombay	...	...	888	4	8
Shilotri Bank Ltd. Bombay	...	...	409	4	4
Allahabad Bank Ltd. Bombay	2	12	1
Punjab National Bank Ltd. Bombay	6,403	10	6
Total			11,056	1	4

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