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This volume is the sixth in the series published annually by the A. I. C. C. Office, and contains the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee in 1928. The first volume is a collection of the resolutions passed between September, 1920 and December, 1923 and is priced at annas 8 a copy paper cover, Re. 1 half cloth and Re. 1/8 full cloth. The second, third, fourth and fifth volumes cover the years 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927 and are respectively priced at annas 5, annas 4, annas 10 and annas 8. The present volume can be had at annas 8 a copy. Orders for these and other Congress publications are registered at the A. I. C. C. Office, Hewett Road, Allahabad.

The Indian National Congress 1928

Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India
Congress Committee and the Working Committee
during the year 1928

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1928

Summaries of Proceedings

DELHI—November 3rd and 4th

1. The audited statements of P. C. Cs' accounts with the Auditors' report and the proceedings of the Working Committee held at Madras, Benares, Delhi, Bombay and Lucknow were placed before the Committee.

2. This Committee expresses its deep regret at the deaths of Syts. Anandi Prasad Sinha, Maganlal Gandhi, Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya and Pandit Gopabandhu Das, and places on record its appreciation of the services they rendered to the cause of national freedom.

3. This Committee expresses its strong resentment at the wanton, brutal and cowardly attack by the police on unarmed peaceful people in Lahore and offers its respectful congratulations to Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Drs. Alam, Satyapal and Gopichand, Mr. Suri, Lala Hansraj and others for their facing fearlessly and peacefully the assaults of the police.

Lala Lajpat Rai thanked the Committee on behalf of himself and others mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

4. The All India Congress Committee condemns the action of the Madras Government in having forfeited 2,000 copies of the late C. Subramanya Bharati's national and other songs and appeals to all the people in Tamil Nadu to popularise his songs and thus answer the challenge of the Government.

5. (i) This meeting of the A. I. C. C. adheres to the decision of the Madras Congress declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Indian people and is of opinion that there can be no true freedom till the British connection is severed.

(ii) This Committee accepts the recommendations of the Nehru Committee as agreed to by the Lucknow All Parties Conference for the settlement of the communal differences.

(iii) This Committee cordially congratulates the Nehru Committee for their labours, patriotism and far-sightedness and without prejudice to the resolution of the Congress relating to complete independence, is of opinion that the recommendations of the Nehru Committee are a great step towards political advance and, without committing itself to every detail, generally approves of them.

6. This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its sympathy with the workers who have been on strike in various parts of India and its admiration for the determined struggle which they have waged against hunger and the forces of the employing class and the Government.

7. The A. I. C. C. has noted with satisfaction that notwithstanding all the efforts to the contrary the boycott of the Simon Commission has been carried out with success and that all representative organizations and representative men have kept aloof from the Commission. The Committee trusts that the boycott will be maintained to the end.

The Committee recommends that there should be *hartals* in the places visited by the Commission.

8. The following resolution of the Working Committee was placed before the A. I. C. C. for the information of the house :—

The Working Committee resolves that a Congress Research Section be organised, and that, to begin with, two scholars be appointed, and that Rs. 6,000 be set apart for the present for this purpose. The Committee resolves further that the Working Secretary should take the necessary steps in this behalf.

9. The following resolution passed by the Working Committee for adoption by the A. I. C. C. was adopted :—

The A. I. C. C. recommends to the Congress to affiliate the London Branch of the Indian National Congress.

10. The following resolution of the Working Committee was placed before the A. I. C. C. for the information of the house :—

Read letter from the League against Imperialism *re* Next World Congress of the League :

Resolved that the Working Secretary be authorised to act on behalf of the Congress.

11. The following resolution of the Working Committee was adopted :—

That the report * submitted by the Committee appointed to revise the Congress constitution be considered by the
 Constitution Com- Subjects Committee of the ensuing Congress at
 mittee Calcutta.

12. The following resolution passed by the Working Committee on the 1st September, 1928 at Lucknow was adopted :—

This Committee has noted with regret that various Congress Coun-
 Council Work cil Parties have not been following the instruc-
 tions contained in the Madras Congress resolution
 on Council work. The Committee, however,
 recognises that these Parties had to face difficult situations and it was
 not often easy to follow the Congress instructions. In view of all the
 circumstances the Committee is of opinion that Council Parties should be
 allowed greater latitude in regard to Council work. The Committee,
 however, hopes that the spirit of the Congress resolution will be
 adhered to.

Note.—*The resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee immediately after the Madras Congress, on the 29th December, 1927 have been printed in the previous volume, I. N. C. 1927.*

CALCUTTA—December 26th

1. A summary of the proceedings of the
 Working Committee Proceedings Working Committee held in Delhi on the 3rd,
 4th and 5th November, 1928 was placed be-
 fore the House.

2. The General Secretaries' annual report
 Annual Report and Accounts and statements of audited accounts for 1928,
 were adopted.

3. The following resolution was passed by the Committee :—

Resolved that the Muttra District be re-transferred to the U. P.
 Transfer of Muttra District and that the Working Committee do take
 necessary steps for the reallocation of the number
 of delegates and A. I. C. C. members,
 between Delhi and U. P.

The Committee then resolved itself into the Subjects Committee of the Congress.

*This report is given as an Appendix.

CALCUTTA—January 2nd, 1929

The following resolutions were adopted:—

1. In accordance with Article IX of the Constitution the All India Congress Committee resolves that the Provincial Subscriptions Committee for themselves and pay them by the end of February, 1929.

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

<i>Mr. S. Satyamurti</i>	<i>Dr. Moonje</i>
<i>„ G. Harisarvottama Rau</i>	<i>Mr. Rajendra Prasad</i>
<i>„ G. B. Deshpande</i>	<i>Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb</i>
<i>„ D. V. Gokhale</i>	<i>Dr. Satyapal</i>
<i>„ S. A. S. Tyabji</i>	<i>Dr. Murari Lal</i>
<i>„ R. K. Sidhua</i>	<i>Mr. Kiran Sanjker Roy</i>

3. Resolved that Dr. M. A. Ansari and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru be the General Secretaries for the year.

4. Resolved that Seth Jammalal Bajaj and Shri Shivaprasad Gupta be the Treasurers for the year.

5. Resolved that in addition to the five office-bearers the following ten members do constitute the Working Committee:—

<i>Shri M. K. Gandhi</i>	<i>Shri Rajendra Prasad</i>
<i>Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya</i>	<i>Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta</i>
<i>Maulana Abul Kalam Azad</i>	<i>Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar</i>
<i>Mrs. Sarojini Naidu</i>	<i>Shri Subhas Chandra Bose</i>
<i>Shri S. Srinivasa Iyengar</i>	<i>Shri B. Sambamurti</i>

6. Resolved that Messrs. Dalal and Shah be appointed auditors for the year.

Note.—*This meeting of the A. I. C. C. as well as the meeting of the Working Committee held on January 3rd took place in 1929. But the resolutions passed at these meetings follow and supplement the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress and are therefore included in this volume.*

WORKING COMMITTEE 1928

Summaries of Proceedings

BENARES—January 15th

1. Secretary Jawaharlal Nehru read out telegrams from a number of gentlemen regretting their inability to attend the boycott Conference which was being held that day.

2. The Committee considered the boycott of the Statutory Commission and after discussion arrived at the following decisions :

(1) public meetings to be held throughout the country at 5 o'clock on Friday the 3rd February, 1928, the day on which the Simon Commission lands at Bombay.

(2) *hartal* to be observed throughout the country from morning till the time of the public meetings referred to above.

(3) at these meetings an identical resolution to be adopted. This resolution to be drafted so as to embrace the following points :

(i) the right of the country to immediate Swaraj and its determination to work for it.

(ii) boycott of the Statutory Commission ; and

(iii) boycott of foreign cloth.

The Committee further resolved that the foregoing decisions be placed before the Boycott Conference which was coming off immediately.

(The Boycott Conference consisting of members of the Working Committee and representatives of other organisations met later in the day and passed a number of resolutions. The Working Committee thereupon met again the same day.)

3. The Committee unanimously adopted the following resolutions passed by the boycott Conference :

This Conference representing various political parties is unanimously of opinion that the Statutory Commission must be left severely alone by the people of India and in pursuance of this resolution, it appeals to the people

(1) to observe *hartal* all over India on February 3rd, the day the Statutory Commission lands at Bombay, the *hartal* to be observed from the morning till the time of the meetings referred to in clause 2

(2) to hold public meetings all over India on February 3rd at 4-30 p. m. At these meetings the following resolution to be placed for adoption :—

'This meeting of the citizens of.....places on record its condemnation of the appointment of the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of Indian opinion and its firm resolve to have nothing to do with that Commission in any form and at any stage of its work. It calls upon all the elected members of the Council of State, the Assembly and the Legislative Councils and in particular the representatives of this (town, province etc.) to do everything that lies in their power to oppose and prevent the formation of a Committee of the legislature in connection with the said Commission. This meeting places on record its opinion that the constitution of India should be framed by Indians and strongly supports the proposal of a special convention to frame such a constitution.

4. The Bengal Council Congress Party's application to attend the Legislative Council was considered and it was resolved that the Party be permitted to attend the Council for the purpose of opposing the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill and the Primary Education Bill, in terms of the Madras Congress resolution on the boycott of the Statutory Commission.

5. The application of the Leader of the Congress Party in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council was considered and it was resolved that permission be accorded to the Party to attend the Council in order to oppose the Behar and Orissa Mica Bill of 1927 and the Local Self-Government Amendment Bill of 1927. The Committee further resolved that no permission could be given, under the terms of the Congress resolution, to Congress Parties in the legislatures to support any Bill whether brought forward by the Government or non-officials.

6. The Secretary, East Godavari District Association's letter regarding permission to be given to members of the Congress Party to attend the Madras Legislative Council in order 'to agitate about the Settlement Operations by way of interpellations resolutions and otherwise' was considered and the Committee decided that no such permission could be given.

7. The Treasurer's accounts for October and November, 1927 were placed before the Committee.

8. The following budget for the Treasurer's office was then sanctioned :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Salary of the staff for the year and for 8 months of 1926-27 at Rs. 75 per month	1,500	0	0
2. Printing and stationery average	250	0	0
3. Postage	25	0	0
4. Hundawan	25	0	0
5. Miscellaneous	50	0	0
.. .. .	1,850	0	0

9. The Committee proceeded to reconsider the location of the A. I. C. C. office and fixed Allahabad as the headquarters for the year, instead of Delhi as previously decided.

10. Messrs. Dalal & Shah were re-appointed auditors of the A. I. C. C.

11. The Committee authorised the Working Secretary to pay a sum not exceeding £ 100 to the League against Imperialism.

12. The Committee resolved to have its next meeting at Delhi on the 9th February.

13. In pursuance of the resolution of the Madras Congress on Swaraj Constitution the following gentlemen were co-opted by the Working Committee.—

Syts. C. Vijiaraghavachariar and A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

14. Syt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's statement of accounts of the Political Sufferers' Fund was placed before the Committee.

15. The draft rules framed by Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Behar, Punjab, Andhra and C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committees were referred to the Constitution Committee appointed by the A. I. C. C. on the 29th December, 1927 at Madras.

16. The letter No. 1264, dated the 10th January, 1928, received from the office of the Madras Congress Reception Committee was considered, and it was resolved that the Reception Committee be requested to undertake on behalf of the General Secretary, the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings of the Congress.

17. The Committee postponed till the next meeting, consideration of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee's application for a grant in aid of the no-tax campaign in Alibag and Pen Talukas.

18. The Secretary informed the Committee of the financial difficulties in which Mr. Fenner Brockway found himself on account of his visit to India and his unfortunate accident. It was resolved that the Secretary be authorized to pay a sum not exceeding £100 to Mr. Brockway towards his expenses.

DELHI—February 9th—11th, 13th, 14th, and 22nd and
March 11th

1. On the invitation of the President a number of members of the Assembly and others were present to explain the various measures which they expected would be brought up in their respective legislatures and to ask for the guidance of the Committee in regard to them. The Committee heard Messrs. Govind Das (C. P. Hindi), G. Sankaran Nair (Secretary, Malabar Tenants' Association), S. Murtuza, M.L.A. (Madras), A. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.L.A. (Madras), Shafee Daudi, M.L.A. (Behar), Jamnadas Mehta, M.L.A. (Bombay) and S. C. Mitra, M. L. A. (Bengal).

The non-members then withdrew and the Committee considered

the various points that had been raised in regard to the scope of clause (d) of resolution XI of the Madras Congress. It was decided to issue instructions to Congress Council Parties. Draft instructions were approved of but their formal adoption was postponed till the following day.

2. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's letter, dated 4th February and telegram, requesting permission to attend the Assembly in order to oppose the Reserve Bank Bill were considered. It was stated that in view of the urgency of the matter provisional sanction had been obtained from the President and the other members of the Working Committee in Delhi and the necessary action had already been taken. The Committee approved of the sanction and the steps taken.

3. The application of Mr. G. S. Gupta (C. P. Council) in regard to the Tenancy, Settlement and Irrigation Bills was then considered. It was resolved that these Bills may be opposed in terms of the instructions to be issued.

4. Permission was also granted, on Mr. Madhava Nair's application, to oppose the Malabar Tenancy Bill in accordance with the instructions.

5. Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha's application in regard to the Tenancy Bill in the Behar Council was considered and permission to oppose either directly or by way of amendment, was granted in terms of the instructions to be issued.

6. Mr. Ginwala's letter and telegram, dated 6th February requesting permission to oppose the Budget, the University Bill and the Stamp Bill in the Bombay Council were considered. Resolved that permission be given in regard to the University Bill and further particulars be asked for about the Stamp Bill. Permission to oppose the Budget is given in the instructions.

7. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta's telegram, dated 4th February, asking for permission to oppose the Medical Act Amendment Bill in the Bengal Council was considered and it was decided to give permission.

8. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's telegram, dated 4th February, suggesting that a boycott of British goods be announced on behalf of all parties was laid before the Committee. Resolved that the consideration of the proposal be deferred for the present.

9. The application of the Maharashtra P. C. C. for a grant for the Alibag No-Tax Campaign was considered. The Committee regretted that it could not give a grant.

10. The following resolution was then adopted :

The Working Committee congratulates the country on the successful *hartal* observed and the demonstrations and protests made all over India against the Statutory Commission on the day of its arrival. The

Committee regrets that there were some disturbances in connection with the *hartal* at Madras and Calcutta and that the police opened fire on the crowd in Madras which resulted in the death of two persons and injuries to others. The Committee notes with regret that these disturbances were due to the conduct of those who were determined to defeat the boycott. The Committee also regrets to note that at several places those in authority and their supporters brought undue pressure to bear upon the people not to observe the *hartal*. The Working Committee strongly condemns the orders issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in Madras prohibiting meetings, demonstrations, processions and propaganda for *hartal*, which were served on members of the Boycott Propaganda Committee, as arbitrary and unwarranted. The Committee condemns the action of Government in having issued these orders in a vindictive spirit and at the instance of interested parties.

11. The instructions to Congress Council Parties were considered. After some discussion it was decided to postpone their adoption to the next day.

12. The proposed Swaraj Constitution was then discussed. It was decided to invite a few leaders of other parties to the meeting of the Working Committee the next day to discuss the constitution.

13. The Committee adopted the following instructions for Council Parties:—

"In view of numerous inquiries made by members of Congress Council Parties in regard to the scope and interpretation of clause (d) of resolution XI of the Madras Congress, relating to the boycott of the Statutory Commission, the Working Committee issues the following instructions for the guidance of all such members:—

(1) The object of clause (d) of the resolution is to reduce participation in the activities of the Councils to a minimum and therefore members should only attend and take part in these activities for really important measures as specified in the clause. Attendance for minor matters would nullify the spirit and the letter of the resolution.

(2) No bills should be introduced or supported.

(3) No resolutions, except such as may be necessary for the purpose of making the boycott of the Statutory Commission effective, should be moved or supported.

(4) Members should not attend Select or other Committees of the legislatures except for the purpose of opposing legislative or financial proposals detrimental to the interests of the country.

(5) Members can attend for the purpose of moving or supporting a vote of non-confidence in the ministry.

(6) Questions should not be put except in regard to the Statutory

Commission, or to enable a motion for the adjournment of the house being made, or to draw attention to any extraordinary occurrence or repressive action of the authorities.

(7) Motions for the adjournment of the house may be made with reference to the subjects mentioned in the preceding clause. (Clause 6).

(8) Budget and other financial proposals may be opposed directly or by way of amendment.

(9) Important legislative proposals may be opposed, subject to the requisite sanction, directly or by amendment.

(10) In regard to matters referred to in clauses 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 above, the decision shall rest with the Congress Party in the Assembly or the Provincial Council as the case may be.

(11) In regard to matters referred to in clause 9 above, the decision shall rest with the Working Committee. In case of an emergency when the Working Committee is not sitting or is not going to sit in the immediate future, a Sub-Committee consisting of the members of the Working Committee in Delhi at the time, shall have power to decide.

14. After some discussion it was decided to place the following points for discussion before the Conference the next day:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Full Responsible Government | 4. Franchise |
| 2. Hindu-Muslim question and rights of minorities | 5. Declaration of rights |
| 3. Re-distribution of provinces | 6. Rights of labour and peasantry |
| | 7. Indian States |

15. The following resolution was passed:—

Resolved that the General Secretary Jawaharlal Nehru be authorised to open an account or accounts in one or more Banks on behalf of the All India Congress Committee and to operate on such accounts.

16. Mr. Satyamurti's telegrams from Madras were considered. Mr. Prakasam gave an account of the Madras occurrences. After some discussion the matter was adjourned.

17. The Committee considered the application from the Secretary, Congress Assembly Party to oppose the Hindu Family Transaction Bill in the Assembly on the 14th February. In view of the fact that the matter was not of vital importance and that the majority of members of the Congress Party in the Assembly had either voted against the permission being sought or had refrained from voting, it was resolved that permission be not granted.

18. The Madras situation was again discussed. It was pointed out that the local situation was a changing one, and any definite instructions sent by the Working Committee instead of proving helpful may

prove a hindrance. It was further desirable that the final decision should rest with local Committees. On the advice therefore of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, President of the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee and Mr. T. Prakasam, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, it was resolved to request the Executive Committees of these two Provincial Congress Committees to consider the matter and give the necessary directions.

19. The Madras situation was again considered and the telegrams relating to it were read out. The Committee resolved to issue the following statement :

The Indian National Congress resolved to observe *hartals* throughout the country on the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission in India, and later on in such towns as they might visit, in order to demonstrate Indian determination to have nothing to do with the Commission.

The great success of the *hartals* held all over the country on the 3rd February has clearly demonstrated that India is unanimous in condemning the Commission.

The Commission is going to Madras on or about the 26th February ; but the executive authorities have declared all necessary propaganda for *hartal* to be illegal, and served orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code on the workers and public restraining them from all their legitimate activities.

We are clearly of opinion that the promulgation of these orders is a confession by the authorities that but for such orders the *hartal* would again be a great success.

The fact that Government has resorted to such tactics is proof positive of the existence of a general feeling of emphatic disapproval of the Commission. We are credibly informed that the authorities are to be assisted by the rowdy elements in the city to break up the *hartal*. In these circumstances we hold that the object of the *hartal* has been achieved and we advise the Madras Boycott Committee and Congress Committees to confine their activities to the holding of mass meetings condemning the Commission.

20. Mr. Ginwala's telegram asking for permission to oppose the Stamp and Court Fees Bills in the Bombay Council was considered. Resolved to request Mr. Ginwala to explain the importance and the injurious nature of the Bills.

21. It was recorded that the Sub-Committee of the Working Committee had authorised the opposition to the Navy Bill in the Assembly.

22. The Egyptian crisis was considered and it was resolved that Pandit Motilal Nehru do draft and send a resolution conveying the sympathy of the Congress to the Egyptian Nationalist Party.

23. The Committee confirmed the action of the Congress Party in the Assembly in regard to attendance and taking part in the motions, resolutions and discussions relating to the budget and the finance bill.

24. Letter dated 20th February, 1928, from the Secretary, Deva Dasi Association, read. Resolved to inform her that the Working

Committee agrees with the principle of the bill and cannot therefore instruct Congressmen to oppose it.

25. Letter dated 2nd March, 1928, from the Secretary of the U. P. Council Congress Party, considered. Resolved that the matter be placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C.

26. Letter dated 24th February, 1928, from Sardar Sardul Singh regarding the action taken by the Government against the ex-Maharajah of Nabha was considered. It was decided that as the members of the Working Committee had already expressed their opinion on the subject in the Delhi public meeting and in the Assembly on a motion for adjournment, and as the events had occurred some time ago and it was too late for a resolution of the Committee, the matter be dropped.

27. Letter dated 9th February, 1928, from the Deputy President, South African, Indian Congress regarding the Liquor Bill was considered. Resolved that as the Bill had been withdrawn the matter be dropped.

28. The consideration of the application of the Hindustani Seva Dal for a grant and the letter from the League for the Prevention of Unemployment were postponed till the next meeting of the Committee.

BOMBAY—*May 16th to 19th*

1. The Committee discussed the work of the All Parties Conference at length.

2. The Committee recorded its deep grief at the premature deaths of Syt. Maganlal Gandhi and Syt. Anandi Prasad Sinha.

3. The quarterly statement of the All India Congress Committee Office accounts for the period ending 29th February, and the monthly statements for March and April were placed before the Committee and passed.

4. The treasurer's statements of T. S. F. accounts from December, 1927 to April, 1928 were also placed before the Committee.

5. The Committee sanctioned Mr. C. Vijjaraghavachariar's travelling expenses as a co-opted member of the Committee to Delhi and back, in order to attend the All Parties Conference and the Working Committee meetings. The amount sanctioned was Rs.325 being one second class return railway fare and two third class return railway fares for the Secretary and the servant who accompanied Achariar.

6. The letters of the Secretaries of the U. P. and Bengal Council Congress Parties were considered. The Secretary was directed to reply that the Working Committee's instructions already issued on the subject of work in Councils gave sufficient freedom of action. The

subject will be further considered by the A. I. C. C. at its next meeting.

7. The application for a grant from the Hindustani Seva Dal was considered. *Resolved* that a grant of Rs.1,000 be made.

8. Letter, dated 7th February, 1928 from Mr. Rosair regarding the League for the Prevention of Unemployment was considered. It was resolved that this was not within the scope of the Congress.

9. The following items of expenditure already incurred were sanctioned :

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Printing charges of Mr. Secretary Rangaswami lyenger's Draft Swaraj Constitution, etc. ..	380	0	0
2. Paid to Syt. Belarilal, representative of the Depressed classes	54	8	0
3. Paid to lawyers at Madras	25	0	0
4. Miscellaneous expenses of the Sub-Committee of the All Parties conference at Delhi ..	8	0	0
5. Advance written off	16	9	0

10. The following resolution was passed:

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Bardoli on the brave stand they have taken against the Government of Bombay who have refused an impartial and independent inquiry that the Satyagrahis demand for an examination of the enhancement in assessment in that *Taluqa*, which enhancement they claim is unjust and made on a wrong and unjustifiable basis;

And thanks Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel and his band of volunteers for rendering, at considerable sacrifice, timely assistance to the Bardoli Satyagrahis; and appreciates the action of those M.L.Cs. who have resigned their seats on the Bombay Council as a protest against the high-handed policy of the Bombay Government;

This Committee places on record its strong disapproval of the measures adopted by or on behalf of the Government of Bombay, which appear to this Committee to be in several instances lawless, and in any case far in excess of the requirements of the case;

This meeting has read the letter addressed by the Commissioner of the Northern Division to a Surat Medical Practitioner, in which the Commissioner describes tried and trusted servants of the nation such as Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel, Syt. Abbas Tyabji and Dr. Sumant Mehta as a 'swarm of agitators living on them (the people of Bardoli) and misguiding them', and which contains many gross exaggerations bordering on falsehoods, and regarding as this meeting does the tone of the letter as highly offensive and unworthy of a high official,

asks the Government of Bombay to compel the Commissioner, N. D., on pain of dismissal, to withdraw the letter and offer a public apology for it ;

And this meeting asks the Government of Bombay to comply with the reasonable request of the Satyagrahis for an impartial and independent inquiry, and inasmuch as the struggle has assumed an all India importance and character asks the public to give the Satyagrahis all the moral and material support within the power of the nation.

11. The Committee discussed at length various proposals regarding the protection to be given in the Constitution to minorities and backward communities. No decision was arrived at.

12. After some discussion it was decided to recommend to the All Parties Conference to appoint a Committee to draft the Constitution and present a report by July 1st ; the Conference to meet again on August 1st to consider the report.

LUCKNOW—August 28th and September 1st

1. The All Parties Committee's report and the procedure to be followed in the All Parties Conference regarding the report were discussed. Draft resolutions for the Conference were also considered.

2. The Secretary informed the Committee that a large number of letters had been received from Congress Committees and Congressmen generally in the Central Provinces (Marathi) complaining of irregularities in Congress elections in past years and requesting the Committee to appoint someone to supervise the elections this year. In particular a letter from Mr. Abhyankar of Nagpur was considered. The Committee was of opinion that in view of the annual election disputes in C. P. Marathi it would be desirable to depute someone to supervise the elections on behalf of the Working Committee. The President and the Secretary were authorised to arrange for such supervision.

3. *Resolved* that Dr. Besant be co-opted a member of the Working Committee under resolution XVII of the Madras Congress.

4. The Chairman informed the Committee of the proceedings of the All Parties Conference and placed the resolutions of the Conference before the Committee. The Working Committee recorded its great satisfaction at the notable success attained by the Conference in solving the communal problems and laying down the principles of a constitution for India with the united consent of the delegates of the numerous organizations represented at the Conference. In the opinion of the Committee the Conference had rendered a signal service to the country by triumphing over communalism and had brought the day of India's freedom appreciably nearer.

With reference to the resolution of the Conference regarding the holding of a convention of all parties and with a view to giving effect to it, the Working Committee authorised the Constitution Committee of the Conference to take all necessary steps in regard to it.

5. The Committee resolved to invite other all India organizations to hold their annual meetings in Calcutta during the national week along with the Indian National Congress.

6. It was also resolved that an All Parties Conference Fund be started and that a separate account or accounts be opened in a bank or banks in the name of the Conference. This account to be operated upon by the Working General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee under the general directions of the Chairman of the Constitution Committee of the Conference.

7. The Committee sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,000 to the All Parties Conference Fund. In addition to this promises were made on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committees of Bengal, Bombay, Delhi, the Punjab and Tamil Nadu, and a number of private individuals. The total amount promised amounted to Rs. 22,000.

8. The letter of the leader of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council was considered, and the general question of attendance of Congress members at meetings of legislatures was discussed. The following resolution was adopted :

This Committee has noted with regret that various Congress Council Parties have not been following the instructions contained in the Madras Congress resolution on Council work. The Committee however, recognises that these parties had to face difficult situations and it was not often easy to follow the Congress instructions. In view of all the circumstances the Committee is of opinion that Council Parties should be allowed greater latitude in regard to Council work. The Committee, however, hopes that the spirit of the Congress resolution will be adhered to. The Committee recommends accordingly to the A. I. C. C.

9. The Committee resolved that the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee be held in Calcutta in the third week of October.

10. Svt. Subhas Chandra Bose informed the Committee that he and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru were interested in a new organization, the "Independence for India League"; and in case this new activity of theirs was compromising for the Working Committee or the All India Congress Committee, they offered their resignations from the Secretaryship of the Congress. The Chairman stated that he had already received a letter of resignation from Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In the Chairman's opinion, however no occasion had arisen for Svt. Subhas Chandra Bose or Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to resign. In view

of the Madras Congress resolution on complete national independence the conduct of the two secretaries was perfectly consistent with the avowed declaration of the Indian National Congress. The Committee agreed with the Chairman that there was no occasion for the resignation of either secretary and asked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to withdraw his resignation.

11. The appointment of someone to supervise the Congress elections in C. P. Marathi was again considered by the Committee, and it was resolved to appoint Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and Syt. Mohan Lal Saksena to visit C. P. Marathi and supervise elections there on behalf of the Working Committee.

12. The following resolution was passed on the Trades Disputes Bill :

The Committee is of opinion that the Trades Disputes Bill, which is proposed to be introduced by the Government in the Assembly, is a deliberate and most unjustifiable attack on the fundamental rights of labour to organise and to strike as well as on peaceful demonstrations organised for political purposes. The Committee calls upon the Congress Party in the Assembly to resist and oppose the measure.

13. The Committee is also of opinion that the proposed Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill is not only unnecessary but is a dangerous attack on individual liberty and must be opposed.

14. The Committee then considered the request of Mr. Phookun, President, Assam P. C. C., for a grant to make up the deficit of the Gauhati Reception Committee and regretted its inability to render any further financial help.

15. Mrs. Naidu's Foreign Publicity account for Rs. 100, leaving a balance of Rs. 20-2-0 with her was passed.

16. A. I. C. C. Office accounts for May, June and July, and Treasurer's accounts for the same period were placed.

17. The All Parties Conference expenses amounting to Rs. 682-8-0 up to 31st July, 1928, were passed.

18. The Committee placed on record its deep sorrow at the premature death of Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya, ex-Working Secretary of the Congress, and of Pandit Gopabandhu Das of Uikal.

19. The amount of Rs 6,545 due from the Cawnpore Reception Committee to the A. I. C. C. was ordered to be written off, being irrecoverable.

DELHI—3rd, 4th and 5th November

1. The Committee considered the report of Messrs. Mohan Lal Saksena and Khaliquzzaman who had been appointed by the

Working Committee to supervise the Congress elections in the C. P. (Marathi). Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. M. V. Abhyankar and Dr. N. B. Khare were present and represented the two parties in the province. It was stated on behalf of both the parties that the matter need not be placed before the All India Congress Committee, and that both were agreeable to accepting the decision of the Working Committee or of Dr. Ansari and Pt. Motilal Nehru.

It was therefore resolved that the matter be referred for final decision to Dr. Ansari and Pandit Motilal Nehru assisted by such other members as might be present when the matter was considered.

Dr. Moonje stated that he would like to send for Mr. Charde the Vice-President of the Provincial Congress Committee from Nagpur who would be in a position to place all the facts before the Committee. If summoned by telegram he could arrive early on the morning of the 5th November.

With agreement of parties therefore the morning of the 5th November was fixed for the consideration of the C. P. (Marathi) election disputes.

2. The resolutions of the All Parties Conference on the Nehru Committee's report were then taken up and discussed at length. The following resolution was then unanimously agreed upon for being placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

(1) This meeting of the All India Congress Committee adheres to the decision of the Madras Congress declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Indian people and is of opinion that there can be no true freedom till the British connection is severed.

(2) This Committee accepts the recommendations of the Nehru Committee as agreed to by the Lucknow All Parties Conference for the settlement of the communal differences.

(3) This Committee cordially congratulates the Nehru Committee for their labours, patriotism and far-sightedness and without prejudice to the resolution of the Congress relating to complete independence, is of opinion that the recommendations of the Nehru Committee are a great step towards political advance and without committing itself to every detail generally approves of them.

The following resolutions were also passed for adoption by the All India Congress Committee :—

3. This Committee expresses its deep regret at the deaths of Spts. Anandi Prasad Sinha, Maganlal Gandhi, Anchraratna Gopalakrishnaya and Pandit Gopabandhu Das and places on record its appreciation of the services they rendered to the cause of national freedom.

4. This Committee expresses its strong resentment at the wanton, brutal and cowardly attack by the police on unarmed peaceful people

in Lahore and offers its respectful congratulations to Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Drs. Alam, Satyapal and Gopichand, Mr. Suri, Lala Hansraj and others for their facing fearlessly and peacefully the assaults of the police.

5. It was resolved that the Working Committee's resolution No. 6 passed at Lucknow on the 1st September, 1928 be left to the decision of the All India Congress Committee.

6. The following resolution was adopted by the Working Committee for being placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

This meeting of the All India Congress Committee expresses its sympathy with the workers who have been on strike in various parts of India and its admiration for the determined struggle which they have waged against hunger and the forces of the employing class and Government.

7. The Committee adopted the following resolution :—

The Working Committee resolves that a Congress Research Section be organised and that, to begin with, two scholars be appointed, and that Rs. 6,000 be set apart for the present for this purpose. The Committee resolves further that the Working Secretary should take the necessary steps in this behalf.

8. The following resolution was passed for adoption by the All India Congress Committee :—

The All India Congress Committee has noted with satisfaction that notwithstanding all the efforts to the contrary the Boycott of the Simon Commission has been carried out with success and that all representative organizations and representative men have kept aloof from the Commission. The Committee trusts that the boycott will be maintained to the end.

9. The Committee adopted the following resolution on the subject of Special Convention :—

The attention of the Working Committee having been drawn to the resolutions of the Madras Congress and the All Parties Conference relating to the Special Convention, the Committee was of opinion that in order to carry out the direction of the Congress the Convention should consist of, among others, the members of the All India Congress Committee and the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. Provided that no person belonging to the latter group who has voted for co-operation with the Simon Commission in a Legislature or is acting on a Committee which is co-operating with the Commission or gives evidence before it, should be invited.

Resolved that this resolution be communicated to the Constitution Committee of the All Parties Conference.

The following further resolutions were adopted for being placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

10. The All India Congress Committee recommends to the Congress to affiliate the London Branch of the Indian National Congress.

11. Read letter from the League against Imperialism *re* Next World Congress of the League:

Resolved that the Working Secretary be authorised to act on behalf of the Congress.

12. The Working Committee recommended the following resolution for adoption by the All India Congress Committee :—

That the report* submitted by the Committee appointed to revise the Congress Constitution be considered by the Subjects Committee of the ensuing Congress at Calcutta.

13. The Committee considered a letter from Dr. Moonje addressed to the Chairman, Dr. Ansari, in which he stated that Mr. Charde had not come from Nagpur, nor had he sent any reply to his telegram. Dr. Moonje himself was unwell and in any case he was ignorant of the recent happenings and could not help the Committee much in regard to them. He suggested that the Committee do appoint arbitrators in accordance with the provision in the Congress constitution.

The Committee was of opinion that in view of all the circumstances and the agreement arrived at between the parties on November 3rd that the matter should be finally decided on by Dr. Ansari and Pandit Motilal Nehru assisted by the other members of the Working Committee, on November 5th, it was not desirable to postpone consideration of the matter. Any appointment of arbitrators, as suggested by Dr. Moonje, would mean great delay and might deprive C. P. (Marathi) of proper representation at the Calcutta Congress. The Committee which included Dr. Ansari and Pandit Motilal Nehru, therefore decided to take the matter into consideration.

Having given full consideration to the report of the supervisors and the objections made to it and the papers dealing with the C. P. Marathi election disputes, the Committee passed the following resolution :—

The Committee has noted with regret the grave irregularities in elections in C. P. (Marathi) in the course of the past three years and the non-compliance by the Provincial Congress Committee with the directions issued to it, which have resulted in the province being represented in the All India Congress Committee by, and having as its office-bearers, persons elected three years ago. The Committee further regrets to observe that in its endeavour to ensure that proper elections were held this year under the immediate supervision of its

* This report is given as an appendix.

representatives, it received no help from the provincial authorities, whose treatment of the Committee's supervisor was lacking in courtesy and the spirit of co-operation.

The Committee is of opinion that full opportunities were given by the supervisors to all members to participate in the elections, and, while regretting that some members kept away from the elections, the Committee cannot hold that such abstention invalidated the elections.

It is therefore resolved that the elections held under the directions of the supervisors in C. P. Marathi be and are confirmed and any other elections held contrary to these directions cannot be recognised as valid elections.

The Committee trusts that all parties and all members of the Congress in C. P. Marathi will join in putting an end to internal dissensions and will co-operate in strengthening the Congress organization and in working for the Congress programme.

14. The A. I. C. C. office accounts and Treasurer's accounts for August and September, 1928 were placed before the Committee.

15. The printing charges of the boycott of British goods report and tables, amounting to Rs. 76-12 were sanctioned.

16. The expenditure of Rs. 367 incurred over a new typewriter was passed.

17. The All Parties Conference expenses of Rs. 95-8-6 for August and of Rs. 142-5 for September, 1928 were also sanctioned.

18. It was resolved that the Andhra-Tamil Nadu dispute about old Congress funds be referred to Babu Rajendra Prasad for disposal. The Committee was of opinion that as the matter had already been gone into by Babu Rajendra Prasad, he be specially requested to decide the dispute finally.

19. The President informed the Committee that he had approved of the nomination of Mr. Chotalal Shroff made by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee for the Bombay Council bye-election. The Committee confirmed the action of the President. The Committee was also informed that Mr. Shroff had been elected.

20. The motor charges of Rs. 30 incurred by Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar and his servant's railway fare of Rs. 105-13-6 from Salem to Bombay and back and again to Lucknow and back were sanctioned as a special case although it was not usual for the Committee to allow the servant's expenses.

21. Mr. T. R. Phookun's letter dated 11-10-28, requesting that the delegateship-fee for the ensuing session of the Congress be raised to Rs. 10 and that Rs. 9 out of the fee be sanctioned for the Gauhati Reception Committee was considered. The Committee was of

opinion that it was unable to accede to his request as it had no power to do so. The Committee felt that they had already given to the organisers of the Gauhati Congress an unusual amount of assistance and that having regard to the Congress finances it was difficult for the All India Congress Committee to shoulder the liabilities of the Gauhati Reception Committee. In view however of the fact that the prestige of the Congress was involved in the matter the Committee decided as a very special case to grant a further sum of Rs. 5,000 to meet the deficit. At the same time the Committee desired to make it clear that this was the last contribution which they could possibly make and could not be added to in the future.

22. (i.) The letter received from the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, dated 17-10-28 regarding the T. S. F. quota of Rs. 43,892-12-2 due to the All India Congress Committee was considered. The Committee was of opinion that should the view taken by the Provincial Congress Committee Council be accepted it would seriously affect the All India Congress Committee's finances. The Committee therefore particularly requested the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to reconsider the decision and remit the dues at an early date.

(ii.) The Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee's resolution regarding the quota of Rs. 3,335-4-10 was considered and the Committee was definitely of opinion that this resolution was unfair to the All India Congress Committee. The Committee therefore requested the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee to remit at an early date the full quota due to the All India Congress Committee.

(iii.) The Committee also desired the Secretary to collect the outstanding due from other provinces and from individuals.

23. The following budget for the All India Congress Committee office for 1928-29 was sanctioned :—

	Rs.	as.	ps.		Rs.	as.	ps.
Establishment	8,000	0	0	Rents and taxes	1,200	0	0
Postage and telegrams	1,200	0	0	Miscellaneous	500	0	0
Stationery and printing	1,000	0	0	Furniture	250	0	0
Travelling expenses	1,500	0	0	Library	100	0	0
	Total		13,750				0 0

24. The resolution of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature dated 18th September, 1928 regarding the conduct of Mr. M. K. Acharya in the Assembly on the Public Safety Bill was considered. The Committee accepted the recommendation of the Party and directed the General Secretary to call upon Mr. Acharya to resign his seat in the Assembly as he had broken the election pledge and the Party discipline.

25. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's conduct in publishing damaging statements in the press regarding the Congress Party and its leaders was considered and the Committee resolved that Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer be called upon to show cause why he should not be called upon to resign his seat in the Assembly in view of his gross misconduct in attempting to bring the Congress Party in the Assembly and its leaders into contempt.

The Committee was prepared to give Mr. Ranga Iyer every opportunity to place his point of view before them. The Secretary was asked to communicate this resolution to Mr. Ranga Iyer and circulate among the members or place before the next meeting, any statement which Mr. Iyer might desire to make.

26. The All Parties Committee's report printing account was placed before the Committee.

CALCUTTA—December 21st—25th

1. The procedure to be adopted at the All Parties Convention was discussed. It was decided that voting should be by a show of hands and the counting of individual votes. In the event however of any organization dissenting, its dissent was to be recorded. In case it was not clear what the viewpoint of an organization was the delegates of that organization were to be given an opportunity of meeting together and later communicating the decision of the majority of them.

2. The All India Congress Committee Office and T. S. F. accounts were placed before the Committee.

3. The following amounts were written off as irrecoverable:—

Mr. Sampurnanand (Returned Emigrants Inquiry Advance)	13	12	6
Mr. Manilal Avasthi (Price of I. N. C. copies)	..	39	0 0
Assam P. C. C. (Opium Inquiry Loan)	..	..	484 15 0
Nagpur Reception Committee (Balance of half-delegation fees)	..	..	.. 34,151 8 3

4. The excess of expenditure incurred under head "Library" amounting to Rs. 37-2-0 was sanctioned.

5. The Annual Report and accounts were passed.

6. The Working Committee recommended to the All India Congress Committee that the Muttra District be retransferred to the U. P.

7. The Committee considered the complaint received from Mr. Sohanlal Sharma and others regarding Congress organization in Ajmer. It was resolved that this be considered by the Working Committee to be elected after the Congress.

8. The question of the election of delegates and office-bearers of Delhi was considered and it was decided that this be postponed to the next meeting for consideration. Meanwhile it was resolved that the two parties be asked if possible to come to a mutual agreement.

9. The question of arrears due to the All India Congress Committee was brought to the notice of the Committee and it was resolved that fresh attempts be made to realise them.

10. The applications for affiliation were considered and it was resolved to recommend the following to the Subjects Committee:—

This Congress recognises the London Branch of the Indian National Congress and authorises it to form subordinate committees in Great Britain.

The Congress further recognises the New York Branch of the Congress and authorises it to form subordinate committees in America.

The Congress also recognises the Committee of the Congress formed in Goa.

The Working Committee is authorised to determine the number of delegates and the quota of subscriptions to be paid by these branches and the rights of such delegates to take part in the meetings of the Subjects Committee of the Congress.

The Congress further authorises the Working Committee to consider the application of the Committee formed in Kobe, Japan, for affiliation and to recognise it after due enquiries if it so desires.

11. The arrest and deportation of Mr. W. J. Johnstone, fraternal delegate from the League against Imperialism was considered and the following resolution was adopted:—

This Congress condemns the action of the Government in arresting and deporting without trial Mr. W. J. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate to the Congress from the League against Imperialism and considers this a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to prevent the Congress from developing international contacts.

The following recommendations for the Subjects Committee were also adopted:—

12. This Congress records its deep sorrow at the deaths of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lord Sinha and Lala Lajpat Rai, ex-Presidents of the Congress, and Shri Maganlal Gandhi, Shri Gopabandhu Das, Anghraratna Gopalakrishnayya and Shri Anandi Prasad Sinha, and sends its respectful condolences to their families.

13. This Congress condemns the attack by the Lahore police on Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders near the railway station while leading the boycott procession on the arrival of the Simon Commission, as deliberate and unprovoked and believes that the death of Lalaji was accelerated by the injuries he received at the hands of the police.

14. This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress adopts the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

Provided however that the Congress shall not be bound by the constitution if it is not accepted on or before 31st December, 1930 and provided further that in the event of non-acceptance by the British Parliament of the constitution by that date, the Congress will revive non-violent non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to Government.

The President is hereby authorised to send the text of this resolution together with the copy of the said report to His Excellency the Viceroy for such action as he may be pleased to take.

Nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the propaganda for familiarising the people with the goal of independence in so far as it does not conflict with the prosecution of the campaign for the adoption of the said report.

15. Meanwhile the Congress shall engage in the following activities :—

(1) In the legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible.

(2) Inside and outside the legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of handspun and handwoven khaddar.

(3) Specific grievances wherever discovered and where people are ready shall be sought to be redressed by non-violent action as was done recently at Bardoli.

(4) Members of legislatures returned on the Congress ticket shall devote the bulk of their time to the constructive work settled from time to time by the Congress Committee.

(5) The Congress organization shall be perfected by enlisting members and enforcing stricter discipline.

(6) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses.

(7) Measures shall be taken to remove the disabilities of

women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national up-building.

(8) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition.

(9) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up village reconstruction in addition to what is being done through the spinning wheel and khaddar.

(10) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation building in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure the co-operation in the national effort of the people engaged in different pursuits.

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme, every Congressman with a monthly income of Rs. 100 and over shall contribute 5 per cent. of his monthly income provided that in special cases exemption may be granted at the discretion of the Working Committee.

CALCUTTA—January 3rd, 1929

1. The letter received from Prof. Indra, Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, intimating that an agreement had been arrived at on the question of elections in Delhi province was placed before the Committee.

It was resolved that in accordance with this mutual arrangement the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee do hold fresh elections at an early date for the All India Congress Committee and the Provincial office-bearers.

2. The Committee considered two letters from the President, Hyderabad Congress Committee. With the permission of the Chairman, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram was present.

It was resolved that

- (i) The President and General Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee be authorised to take steps to reorganise Congress Committees in Sind.
- (ii) The Hyderabad Congress Committee be authorised to appoint a Board of Trustees to manage the house property mentioned in the letter of the President, Hyderabad District Congress Committee. Provided that all the trustees shall be members of the Congress Committee. Further that the ownership of the property shall vest in the Hyderabad Congress Commit-

tee and it shall not be sold without the permission of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee.

3. The Committee considered the correspondence with Dr. Moonje regarding C. P. Marathi election disputes.

It was resolved that the Committee regrets that as no new data on this question have been received by the Committee it sees no reason to alter its previous decision arrived at in Delhi on the 5th November, 1928.

4. The Committee considered the report and the recommendations of the Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj and Jairamdas Doulatram regarding the election of delegates for Ajmer. In view of the grave irregularities disclosed in this report it was resolved that the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee be superseded and the President of the All India Congress Committee be authorised to nominate a Sub-Committee of two or more members to arrange for the election of a new Provincial Congress Committee and the reorganisation of Congress Committees in Ajmer Province. This Sub-Committee to have power also to enquire into the collection and allocation of the extra fees from delegates by the Secretaries of the Ajmer P. C. C. in connection with the Calcutta Congress.

5. The Committee considered the correspondence with Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer regarding the notice issued to him to show cause why he should not be called upon to resign his seat in the Assembly. It was resolved that the matter be referred to the Congress Party in the Assembly for further action and that the Party be requested to report the action taken by them to the Working Committee.

6. Resolved that the selection of a delegate to the next World Congress of the League against Imperialism be considered at the next meeting of the Committee.

7. The General Secretary informed the Committee that many applications had been received for research scholarships. The Secretary was asked to put up his recommendations at the next meeting.

8. Resolved that the next meeting of the Committee do consider the fixation of the number of delegates to the Congress to be returned by the affiliated branches in London and elsewhere.

9. With reference to resolution V of the Congress relating to the meeting of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in India in 1930 it was resolved that the Working Secretary and Mr. S. Satyamurti do take the necessary preliminary steps and submit a report.

10. Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta, Treasurers, be empowered to operate on the accounts already

opened in the banks in the name of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund either jointly or severally and further Seth Jannalal Bajaj and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta are hereby empowered to appoint an attorney or attorneys either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Jannalal Bajaj and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta. Provided however that the devolution of any of the said powers does not absolve the Treasurers from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

Resolved that Seth Jannalal Bajaj be the Working Treasurer.

11. The Working Secretary be authorised to take the necessary steps to organise a Foreign Department in accordance with the direction of the Congress.

12. The Committee considered Resolution XIV of the Congress relating to the future programme and with a view to giving effect to it the following decisions were taken:—

- (a) Resolved that Mr. C. Rajagopalachar be authorised on behalf of the Committee to suggest a scheme and appoint a committee to carry out the programme of prohibition mentioned in Clause (1) of the resolution.
- (b) Resolved that Mahatma Gandhi be requested to prepare a scheme to be adopted by this Committee to bring about the boycott of foreign cloth through the Congress organizations.
- (c) Resolved that the Provincial Congress Committees and Congress Parties in the Provincial Legislative Councils be requested to report as to what specific grievances, if any, exist in their respective jurisdictions which could be redressed by non-violent action, as was done recently at Bardoli.
- (d) It was resolved that clause (4) of the resolution on future programme be circulated to the Congress Parties in the Provincial Legislative Councils and Central Legislature.
- (e) Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of the President and the General Secretaries be appointed to prepare a scheme for perfecting the Congress organization.
- (f) That a Sub-Committee consisting of Sm. Basanti Devi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Avantika Bai Gokhale (Convener) be appointed to prepare a scheme to give

effect to clause (6) (relating to disabilities of women) of the programme.

- (g) Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. C. Rajagopalachar (Convener), Seth Jammalal Bajaj and Mr. Rajendra Prasad be in charge of untouchability work.
- (h) Resolved that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru be asked to prepare a scheme for the organisation of volunteers in order to carry on work among the city labourers and for village reconstruction.

13. The Committee considered Mr. Chattopadhyaya's application for opening an Indian Students' Information Bureau in Berlin. It was resolved that the application be granted and that a sum of £ 30 per month be sanctioned for one year for organising the Bureau.

CALCUTTA CONGRESS SESSIONS 1928

The 43rd Sessions of the Indian National Congress were held in Calcutta, on December 29th, 30th, 31st, 1928 and 1st January, 1929. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Pandit Motilal Nehru was the President. The following resolutions were passed:

This Congress records its deep sorrow at the deaths of Hakim
I—Condolences Ajmal Khan, Lord Sinha and Lala Lajpat
Rai, ex-presidents of the Congress, and Shri
Maganlal Gandhi, Shri Gopabandhu Das,
Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya and Shri Anandi Prasad Sinha, and
sends its respectful condolences to their families.

This Congress condemns the attack by the Lahore police on Lala
II—Attack on Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders near the railway
Lajpat Rai station, while leading the boycott procession
on the arrival of the Simon Commission, as
deliberate and unprovoked and believes that the death of Lalaji was
accelerated by the injuries he received at the hands of the police.

This Congress recognises the London branch
III—Affiliations of the Indian National Congress and authorises
it to form subordinate committees in Great
Britain.

The Congress further recognises the New York branch of the
Congress and authorises it to form subordinate committees in America.

The Congress also recognises the Committee of the Congress formed
in Goa.

The Working Committee is authorised to determine the number
of delegates and the quota of subscriptions to be paid by these branches
and the rights of such delegates to take part in the meetings of the
Subjects Committee of the Congress.

The Congress further authorises the Working Committee to con-
sider the application of the Committee formed in Kobe, Japan, for
affiliation and to recognise it after due enquiry if it so desires.

This Congress, being of opinion that the struggle of the Indian
IV—Foreign Depart- people for freedom is a part of the general
ment world struggle against imperialism and its mani-
festations, considers it desirable that India should
develop contacts with other countries and peoples who also suffer

under imperialism and desire to combat it. The Congress therefore calls upon the All India Congress Committee to develop such contacts and to open a foreign department in this behalf.

This Congress directs the Working Committee to correspond with the leaders and representatives of the other Asiatic Nations and to take other steps to summon the first session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India.

V—Pan-Asiatic Federation

This Congress sends its warmest greetings and its hearty congratulations to the people of China on their having attained their full and complete freedom and nationhood and their having ended the era of foreign domination in their country.

VI—China

This Congress sends its warmest greetings to the peoples of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Iraq and its assurances of full sympathy with them in their struggle for emancipation from the grip of Western imperialism, which is, in the opinion of the Congress, a great menace to India's struggle for freedom.

VII—Greetings to Egypt and other Asiatic countries

This Congress welcomes the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism to be held next year and authorises the Working Committee to appoint a representative on behalf of the Congress.

VIII—Next World Congress of the League against Imperialism

This Congress reiterates the War Danger resolution of the Madras sessions of the Congress, and wishes to declare that the present Government of India in no way represent the people of India and their policy has been traditionally guided by considerations of holding India under subjection and not of protecting her frontiers. The people of India have no quarrel with the neighbouring states or the other nations of the world and they will not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims.

IX—War Danger

That the Congress should vigorously carry on propaganda for boycotting all foreign cloth in general and British goods in particular.

X—Boycott of British Goods

This Congress congratulates Shri Vallabhbhai Patel and the people of Bardoli on the great success achieved by them in their campaign of non-violent resistance to the unjust enhancement of land revenue by Government.

XI—Bardoli satyagraha

This Congress is of opinion that it is contrary to the spirit of the national struggle for freedom and derogatory to the nation's dignity for Congressmen to participate in any way in functions meant to consolidate foreign rule and do honour to the alien rulers of India and their officials. The Congress therefore reiterates its advice to the people in general and to Congressmen in particular that they should abstain from attending Government levees, durbars and all other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.

XII—Ban on Government Levees

This Congress, having considered the Constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

XIII—All Parties Committee Report

Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the Constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929; but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence.

Meanwhile, the Congress shall engage in the following activities:—

XIV—Future Programme

(1) In the legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible.

(2) Inside and outside the legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of handspun and handwoven khaddar.

(3) Specific grievances wherever discovered and where people are ready shall be sought to be redressed by non-violent action as was done recently at Bardoli.

(4) Members of legislatures returned on the Congress ticket shall devote the bulk of their time to the constructive work settled from time to time by the Congress Committee.

(5) The Congress organization shall be perfected by enlisting members and enforcing stricter discipline.

(6) Measures shall be taken to remove the disabilities of women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national up-building.

(7) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses.

(8) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition.

(9) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up work among the city labourers and village reconstruction in addition to what is being done through the spinning wheel and khaddar.

(10) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation-building in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure the co-operation in the national effort of the people engaged in different pursuits.

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme, the Congress expects every Congressman to contribute to the Congress coffers a certain percentage of his or her income according to his or her ability.

This Congress expresses its emphatic protest at the Trades Disputes Bill and the Public Safety Bill which it regards as a wholly reactionary attempt to restrict the growth of an organised labour movement, and as an absolutely unjustifiable infringement upon the rights of the people.

This Congress congratulates the people of the country on the success of the boycott of the Statutory Commission, and in particular the people of Lahore and Lucknow, who despite the savage and brutal attacks of the police maintained discipline and peacefully continued their boycott demonstrations and thus triumphed over official lawlessness and brutality.

The Congress has noted however that some people have deliberately violated the nation's resolve to boycott the Commission and have in defiance of the nation's will co-operated with the Simon Commission and taken a leading part in welcoming it. In view of this unnational conduct of some people and in view of the part taken by some officials, British and Indian, in the brutal assaults by the police

on national workers this Congress advises the people to refrain, as far as possible, from having any social dealings with any such persons who assault national workers or who take a leading part in co-operating with the Commission. In particular the Congress advises that such persons should not be invited to social functions and no function given by them or in their honour should be attended.

This Congress appeals to the people to make the boycott complete and effective in the provinces which the Commission may visit hereafter by organising amongst other things *hartals* and other mass demonstrations and advises the people to disobey all orders of the Government prohibiting such activities.

[This Congress urges on the ruling princes of the Indian States to introduce responsible government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free press and security of person and property.

XVII—Indian States

This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States. |

XVIII—Changes in the Constitution

Resolved that the following changes be incorporated in the Constitution:—

Art. III (f).—That the A. I. C. C. be authorised to affiliate Committees outside India.

Art. V Resolved that the N.-W. F. Province be separated from the Punjab and formed into a separate Congress province.

Art. VIII, Paragraph 3.—Delete the proviso at the end of the clause after "1921" and put a full stop.

Art. VIII Last paragraph. Instead of "10 days" substitute "7 days", and the whole paragraph to read thus:

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the office of the All India Congress Committee, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the office not later than 7 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. In case of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf. Such rules shall not be valid unless they have been previously confirmed by the Working Committee. No changes however shall be made in the delegates' list within seven days of the Congress.

Art. IX. Instead of the words "from time to time" insert

"at its first meeting after the Congress" and add the following sentence at the end:—

"In fixing the subscription the All India Congress Committee shall pay regard not merely to the population of the province but to its financial capacity.

Art. XI Resolved that the fee to be paid by each delegate to the Congress be Rs.5.

Art. XVII (a) "One-fifth of" instead of "half."

Art. XVII (b) That 50 per cent of the surplus remaining in the hands of the Congress Reception Committee be paid over to the All India Congress Committee.

[Note:—This rule will not apply to the last session of the Congress]

Art. XXIII Paragraph 1.—Instead of "three" before "General Secretaries" insert "two".

At the beginning of the second paragraph add the following:—

There shall be a permanent fund of the Congress the interest on which shall be used for the ordinary work of the All India Congress Committee. The corpus of the fund shall not be spent.

Add new paragraph 4:

There shall be one permanent paid Secretary who shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee.

Art. XXIV line 3: Substitute "10" for "9."

XIX—Office bear-
ers This Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to elect the General Secretaries and Treasurers for 1929.

This Congress further authorises the All India Congress Committee to appoint an Auditor for 1929.

XX—Deportation
of Mr. W. J. Johnstone This Congress condemns the action of the Government in arresting and deporting without trial Mr. W. J. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate to the Congress from the League against Imperialism, and considers this a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to prevent the Congress from developing international contacts.

XXI—Bengal's
Martyrs This Congress conveys its sympathies to the families of the under-mentioned brave sons of Bengal who underwent suffering and imprisonment without trial for the cause of the country and died during and as a result of their incarceration:—

Anurup Chandra Sen
Ranajit Banerjee

Noresh Chandra Choudhuri
Joshoda Ranjan Pal

Shib Sankar Brahmachari

In the opinion of the Congress the internment of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha in Kodaikanal under Regulation III of 1818 is unjust, unconstitutional and vindictive. The Congress assures the Maharaja and his family of sympathy in the grave wrong done to them.

XXII—Maharaja of Nabha

XXIII—Next Congress

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

This Congress emphatically condemns the action of the British Government in continuing the detention of Bhai Santa Singh, Bhai Gajjan Singh and Bhai Daswandha Singh under Regulation III and congratulates them on their heroic suffering.

XXIV—Regulation III Detenus

XXV—Martial Law and other Political Prisoners

This Congress also condemns the continued incarceration of the Punjab Martial Law prisoners including Messrs. Bugga and Ratto, and of the Martial Law prisoner Shri M. P. Narayana Menon of Kerala who has spurned all offers of conditional release, and of the Moplah prisoners, and the Congress congratulates them on their suffering and sacrifice.

This Congress strongly condemns the unwarranted raids and searches in Lahore and the arrests of L. Kedarnath Saigal and other prominent nationalist workers of the Congress, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Students' Union in the Punjab. It records its strong indignation at the behaviour of the police in torturing the arrested persons.

MESSAGES FROM ABROAD

Cablegrams to the President

• *From Sarojini Naidu, New York, U. S. A.*

Under your wise and valiant leadership, may the Nation initiate and triumphantly help every programme of splendid sustained and united endeavour to deliver India from the manifold forces of intricate and intimate bondage that beset her and so transfigure the haunting dream of National liberty into a noble and imperishable reality.

From Hala Charaqui, Medina, Arabia

I regret my inability to attend your Congress. I am with you in your just demands. Sincere wishes for success of Congress and for realization of your national aspirations.

From S. J. Saklatwala, Sandown, England

Wish success in efforts bona fide freedom also trust with full support

on enlightened Moslem opinion you will support Islam's struggle in Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Iraq for mass uplifting against old world superstitions in false name of religious orthodoxy.

*From Sailendra Nath Ghose and Ranilal Bajpai,
New York, U. S. A.*

In name American Branch, Congress, we greet you India unite act.

From C. B. Vakil, Secretary, London Branch I. N. C., London

London Branch National Congress with Associated Branches, Manchester Edinburgh convey salutations and reaffirms Congress creed complete independence.

*From James Maxton, President, Edo Fimmen, Vice-President
Muenzenberg and Chattopadhyaya, Secretaries,
League against Imperialism, Berlin*

Executive Committee League against Imperialism in name one hundred affiliated associated organizations send cordial fraternal greetings forty-third Congress. Hopes battle absolute independence will be continued to victory by India's organised masses and that demand Dominion Status will be branded as compromise with Imperialism with betrayal Indian people. Draws attention growing war danger with India as base and urges intensive propaganda against imperialist war. Calls upon you protest expulsion Johnstone, our fraternal delegate to your Congress, thus prevented delivering our message personally. Hopes India will send powerful delegation anti-imperialism World Congress and strengthen united front oppressed nations against world imperialism. Long live independent India.

*From J. Maxton, Chairman and R. Bridgeman, Secretary,
British Section, League against Imperialism, London*

British Section League against Imperialism conveys warmest greetings Indian National Congress. League clearly sees that problem of real liberty conquered peoples lies along road of complete national independence and trusts that Congress will adhere to declaration of independence made last year at Madras.

*From Goune Sinha, President, All Ceylon Trade Union Congress
and Chairman, Ceylon Labour Party, Colombo*

On behalf workers Ceylon convey you fraternal greetings and wish Congress every success in fight India's freedom. Thanks invitation.

*From Eaglesham, Secretary, Communist Party,
New Zealand, Blackball N. Z.*

Communist Party, New Zealand sends fraternal greetings to National Congress.

From the Indian National Association, Capetown, South Africa

Wishing Congress successful session. Hope New Agent-General will consult all Indian opinion before concluding negotiations Union Government regarding existing rights and future legislation affecting Indians.

LETTERS

From Sun Soong Chung Ling (Madame Sun Yat Sen)

To the Indian Nationalist Congress.

I am unable to attend your Congress in person, because the foreign power who holds you in subjection has refused—as it refused last year—to issue to me the requisite visa. This petty act, however, will not prevent me from sending a message to assure you that the cause of Indian Independence continues to command the interest and sympathy of all true followers of Sun Yat Sen who died wishing success of the Indian Nation in their struggle for freedom, and who looked upon that struggle as part of the larger movement of Asia towards the social readjustments rendered necessary by the material developments of the West.

A free and independent India is a vital interest of the New Order in Asia, whose definite emergence has been heralded by the Chinese Revolution and whose growth and progress are governed by forces which no counter-revolution in China or any betrayal and treachery fostered by imperialism can arrest.

But if Indian independence is to be realised in our times, Swaraj must secure the wide and active support of the broad masses of the workers and peasants of India. As in China, these two elements of your population are the greatest pillars of India's strength. And if there is any outstanding lesson in the Chinese revolution for Indian nationalism, it is the imperative need to mobilise the workers and peasants of India in the national struggle with British Imperialism.

Berlin

SUN SOONG CHUNG LING
(*Madame Sun Yat Sen*)

From Romain Rolland

(Translated from original letter in French)

Mr. President of the Indian National Congress,

I address my respectful and affectionate salutation to India assembled today in her Indian National Congress. The world sees her children assemble with the high hopes which brought into being the States General of 1789, which opened out a new era to man. May today begin the era which will bear in history the name of the Independence of India—India Liberata!

This sacred land from which have gone forth the greatest streams of ideas and of civilisations, which have fertilised the ancient continent, has shown for a century a miraculous power of renewing itself. An uninterrupted succession of geniuses, of whom may I mention in these times of Renaissance, the great figure of the Precursor, Ram Mohan Roy—in association with that of the heroic apostle of truth and love whom the world venerates, M. K. Gandhi, have forged again the unity of the spirit of India. A bond of intrepid workers and of great citizens among whom I mention one whom India mourns today—Lajpat Rai—have made it possible for the nation to catch up the Western giant in his onward march.

The time has come when the enchained Prometheus struggles to free himself on the Himalayas. May Prometheus having freed himself remain, whatsoever may happen, faithful to himself, to his past, to those ideas for which he has suffered, to justice, to the universal soul which he has within him—the *Atman Brahman*—to the high mission of humanity which is his true reason for existence.

We in the West know too much of the abuses, the errors and the crimes of a monstrous nationalism not to hope that India will escape the murderous route followed by the peoples of Europe and America ; that she will raise herself above it and attain the superior status for the future of humanity, when she will realise in her people the harmony of all faiths, the co-operation of all forces, and the union of all ideas for the good of all humanity.

Villeneuve

ROMAIN ROLLAND

December 1928

From Henri Barbusse

(Translated from the original letter in French)

Paris, November, 1928.

Comrades, friends and brothers,

As it is physically impossible for me to go to you at this moment owing to other engagements and previous obligations, I wish to offer you my homage and the fraternal and ardent homage of all those proletariat and intellectual West who fight by my side and are wholeheartedly in sympathy with the men who raise the banner of India's independence.

I wish you fruitful work in the present session of your Congress, which is the organisation symbolizing in the most authoritative and in the most formidable manner this magnificent watchword—the Independence of India, the forerunner of the glorious social development and the high future destiny of your great race.

The greeting that I send to the representatives of this race, which is raising itself against a foreign imperialism, is the greeting of the International of the Anti-militarists, of the League against Imperialism, of the Committees for the Defence of the Victims of the White Terror, and of all the other organisations which I represent. It is also my personal greeting, the salutation of a revolutionary.

We wish you to realise the ardent sympathy which all the proletarian and intellectual revolutionaries of old Europe feel for the emancipation of India, a prey as she is to exploitation, to slavery, to inexpressible oppression, and the tremendous importance which this problem has acquired in their eyes. We wish you to realise how much the indignation evoked in the Indian continent by the Simon Commission, despised by all true Indians, has had its repercussions amongst us; and with what fraternal emotion the masses and the younger generation follow the efforts of the League for National Independence founded under the direction of our friend Jawaharlal Nehru and all the true revolutionary movements having for their object the liberation of your vast and splendid country from a degrading servitude, and to give to the innumerable Indian masses towed by British Imperialism the right to live, liberty, and the conquest of power.

Your great cause is the cause of all the exploited people of the world who today are preparing to demonstrate to all their desire to get rid of the exploitation of the great powers. That is the reason why all these masses proclaim their profound solidarity with you and look forward to prove this solidarity to you in an effective manner.

I hail the independence of India! I hail the liberation of the oppressed!

Henri Barbusse

From League for the Defence of the Negro Race

(Translated from the original letter in French)

Paris, 10th November 1928

The League against Imperialism and for National liberty has invited us to the coming annual sessions of your National Congress.

We greatly regret the physical impossibility of sending a special delegation. But we wish to note our entire agreement with the National Congress. We associate ourselves with all the activities for your national liberty and with your protests against the situation created by the English Government by the Simon Commission which is calculated to weaken the strength of certain of your fighting elements. We greatly desire a unified India in face of the urgent problem, a truce to political

and religious strife which is supported by English Imperialism. During the course of your debates which are about to take place, think of us. Remember in French dark Africa, despite the refinements of the oppression exercised by French Imperialism, the people are awakening to the bitter fight for National liberty and international equality. We are prevented from communicating with other people and that is why you may ignore the drama which is being unfolded here for world opinion. Our English, Belgium and Italian comrades in Africa are hardly in a better state. Remember that under France the workers and peasants are suffering atrociously under the joint action of racial prejudice and merciless imperialism; remember that in the United States of America the Negroes are hard hit by ostracism. You know better than we do what is going on in South Africa. We have the duty and the right to point out the actual state of affairs to the National Congress.

Mr. General Secretary, dear comrade, please receive yourself and all those who attend the annual session our fraternal salutation. May your deliberations be followed by results for the good of India.

Long live India bent upon achieving her national freedom! Long live all oppressed peoples!

From Chedly ben Mustafa of the Destour (National) Party in Tunis, Africa, Dated Tunis 30th November, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

In the name of the people of Tunis still under the yoke of French imperialism, the Executive Committee of the National Party of Tunis directs me to convey to you their fraternal salutation on the occasion of the Indian National Congress Sessions on December 26th, 27th and 28th next.

Our party knows about the political boycott you have organised against the Simon Commission and the economic boycott by which you are resisting England.

Cognisant as our Party is of your efforts to achieve political and social emancipation, we realise also that your fight is only an episode in the great world movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples and the large numbers of human beings who are exploited.

At the moment when you affirm your wish to have no compromise of any kind with British Imperialism, our party sends you its sympathy, its encouragement and the assurance of its solidarity with you.

In adding the testimony of my militant faith in the work of truth and justice in which we are co-operating with all our living strength, I would assure you, my dear Comrade, that the people of Tunis have the most ardent wish for the triumph of India's cause.

We do not despair here to see in the near future, India, free and independent, taking along with her the other peoples, her brothers, who hunger for their political and social emancipation.

With our fraternal sentiments,

Chedly ben Mustafa

Member of the Committee of the Destour Party and of the Executive Committee of the International League against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism.

From Dr. Otto Reinemann on behalf of the German Preparatory Committee for a World Federation of Youth for Peace.—

Frankfurt/M Germany. November 26th 1928

It was the young people who after the great war first crossed the frontiers of the nations till that moment hostile, convinced that they would find the human being in the enemy of yesterday. A strong desire for peace inspired them. In the first decade after the war members of the Youth movements of the different nations gathered ever more frequently to give expression to this desire for peace. But they were forced to realise that the real enemies of peace, that is imperialism and exploitation, both national and social, have not lost power since 1918, but on the contrary have gained it more and more. They were forced to realise that real peace can only be founded on *freedom* and *justice*.

The idea of a *World Federation of Youth for Peace* has gripped the leaders of the Youth movements of many countries since several years; a great Congress at Eerde (Holland), in August, 1928 prepared the way. The representatives of German Youth groups of all political and philosophical stand-points have placed the realisation of the nature of true peace in the foreground of all discussions and resolutions. They feel especially driven to this as Germans, as members of a nation placed between the mentality of the East and the West; their country is nationally bound today; the masses of its workers are struggling hard today for social justice, for the abolition of the present economic system of brutal exploitation.

The undersigned German preparatory Committee for a World Federation of Youth for Peace, in which the representatives of those German Youth groups who agree with the idea of a World Federation of Youth are gathered together sends its *fraternal greetings* to the All India Congress at Calcutta whose holy task is the attainment of India's freedom. These German Youth groups *sympathise* heartily with this *fight for India's national independence*. They believe that

India's fight is an important part of the great fight of the oppressed peoples and the masses of the international revolutionary proletariat against the all too strong front of imperialism and capitalism. The fight of national freedom and for just economic order free of exploitation are one and the same thing; our front must be unanimous and strong.

*From Soleiman Mirzu on behalf of the Persian Socialist Party,
Teheran. 18th November, 1928*

We have just come to know from a kind letter from the League against Imperialism that you have had the goodness to invite us to send delegates to the next sessions of the National Congress for the Independence of India.

Unfortunately it is not possible for us, owing to certain difficulties to which we cannot give expression for the moment, to accept your kind invitation and to be present in Calcutta and give you our hearty co-operation. We take the liberty however to send to the National Congress, through your good self, our most ardent prayers and our sincerest good wishes.

We are certain that the Congress movement will be helped by many international factors and that all the oppressed peoples will do their utmost so that your just emancipation may soon be crowned by real victory.

It goes without saying that Persia, owing to many historic and other bonds, is one of the countries which particularly shares your sufferings and will acclaim whole-heartedly the independence of India. Our Socialist Party is specially interested in this.

Please accept, therefore, dear friends, our excuses for our inability to be present there and at the same time our best wishes.

*From H. Runham Brown, Honorary Secretary, War Resisters'
International, Enfield, (England)*

The War Resisters' International is unable to be represented at the Indian National Congress which is to take place in Calcutta on December 26th—28th, but on its behalf I have much pleasure in enclosing herewith a message of greeting which I trust you will present to the Congress.

"War Resisters' International sends warmest greetings to Indian National Congress of December, 1928 and assures representatives of people of India of its full sympathy with their just demand for National Independence.

We are with you uncompromisingly opposed to both political and economic imperialism which are only made possible by domination of force. We rejoice that under inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi Indian peoples have been applying way of non-violence to overcome violence and we hope India may be able to give an example to whole world in securing freedom without degrading itself to level of its oppressors by copying their methods."

From M. E. Burns, London District Secretary, League against Imperialism, London, December 12, 1928

On behalf of organised workers in the London District who are joining up in the struggle against Imperialism, the London District Committee of the League against Imperialism sends fraternal greetings to the Indian National Congress.

The Committee declares its absolute repudiation of the Simon Commission, and in its work in London is making every effort to expose the real purpose of the Commission. It hopes that the present session of the Congress will be the means of securing a new advance in the struggle for Indian independence.

From M. H. Andrews, Secretary, South African Trades Union Congress, Johannesburg, December 3, 1928

My National Executive Council has been informed that your Congress meets on December 26th, 27th and 28th.

I am instructed to say that if it were possible my Congress would have been pleased to send a fraternal delegation, but nevertheless assures your Congress of the sympathy of the South African Trades Union Congress with the Indian workers in their struggle for economic and political freedom. It recognises the heroic struggles which the Indian workers have conducted against their unspeakable exploitation and hopes and believes that the deliberations of your Congress will assist and inspire the Indian people to further efforts in the direction of their emancipation from Imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

From B. Weinbren, Chairman, South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, Johannesburg, December 28, 1928

On behalf of the S. A. F., N.-E. T. U. I desire to extend our fraternal greetings to your Committee and to wish you a most successful conference. My Committee regrets our inability to be with you during the Congress, but sincerely hopes that your Congress will give the lead to the working class of India in their terrific struggle against the Imperialist oppression and the capitalist yoke which is suffocating our Indian comrades. Although many thousands miles away from you, the

members of the Federation and its affiliated unions will be eagerly awaiting the result of your deliberations. One and all we wish you every success and hope that the next Congress which will be very soon, will be in a liberated working class India.

*From the Secretary, Arab Secretariate of the Anti-Imperialist League, the Secretary, Workers' Class of Palestine and the Secretary, Arab Workers' Group, Jerusalem
December 6, 1929*

The undersigned organisations beg you to convey their greeting to the Indian National Congress meeting on December 26, at Calcutta.

Oppressed like you by British Imperialism which rules our country most arbitrarily without regard to the needs of its population, creating divisions between races and religions and exploiting the sweat of the toiling masses—we have the highest appreciation and profess most sincere sympathies for the liberation movement of the Indian Nation. We are sure that no power in the world can withstand the strife for freedom of India, if it only succeeds to mobilize the millions of workers, hundreds of millions of poor peasants to fight British imperialism.

We hope that your Congress will be a step in this uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle. We also trust that your Congress will lay the foundation for the mighty alliance between the Indian masses and the revolutionary section of the European proletariat on the one hand, and with the other oppressed nations in all parts of the world, on the other.

From Harry Pollit, Honorary General Secretary, National Minority movement, London, 10th December, 1928

We received recently, through the League Against Imperialism, an invitation to send a fraternal delegate to your Congress. We at once appointed our Chairman, Tom Mann, who is known to all here and in South Africa, Australia and China as an opponent of British imperialism, to attend your Congress and convey to you the greetings of these workers here in the British trade unions whom we represent.

Unfortunately the British government flatly refused to allow our chairman to travel to India at all. Any "labour" gentleman who is willing to do the work of the Imperialist rulers can get a passport to India—can even travel at the expense of the British government to inquire the fate and future of the great Indian people. But those who have a different message for the Indian people—a message urging that it is time they should take their fate and future into their own hands—are not allowed to visit this part of the Empire.

We therefore can only send you our friendly greetings by this letter, with the message that we wish to give all in India who seek for

an ending of India's present subjection and the exploitation of the Indian workers and peasants.

Our message is: Do not believe that the workers of Britain are rightly represented by the bureaucrats and Parliamentarians who have recently visited India. These gentlemen call themselves "Labour" but they have betrayed and misled the workers of this country, just as in the past they called themselves friends of India, but now at the time of testing are to be found at the side of Simon, at the beck and call of the murderers of Lala Lajpat Rai.

And the workers in this country are finding, slowly but surely, the truth about these men as Labour leaders, just as you are finding out the truth about them as friends of India. The workers of Britain, who have never desired the subjection of any people, are more and more supporting the League against Imperialism, more and more supporting our Movement which aims at the freedom of all who are oppressed and exploited, and will be ready to give you aid and fight on your behalf when our common enemies, the ruling classes of Britain, try to suppress your movement towards independence by new Amritsars.

For we believe that the Simon Commission—including the two "Labour leaders", Mr. Hartshorn and Major Attlee—are preparing the way for new repression in India; their function is to give an appearance, for those who can be misled into weakness, of consultation and compromise. But behind this apparent willingness to listen to Indian opinion is the confident hope, in the minds of the callous exploiters who rule us and you, that the Indian people will be so divided—as hitherto the British working class have been—that British Imperialism may be enabled to build up greater fortunes than ever out of the blood, the misery and the starvation of India.

When the people of India, through your efforts, oppose this increased exploitation and move towards freedom men such as Mr. Baldwin, who appointed the Simon Commission, or Mr. Lloyd George, who carries the responsibility for Amritsar, or Mr. Macdonald, who imposed the Bengal Ordinances, will try to use the guns again to hold you back.

But guns will not hold back a united people, as here we hope that in the years to come guns will not break a united working class. In all the struggles of the future—struggles not of your choosing, but imposed upon you by the ruthless oppression of imperialism—rest assured that there is a growing body of workers in Britain who hold out to you the hand of friendship and fraternal aid, and look forward with you to the days when all peoples shall be linked together only by the bonds of consideration for the welfare of others, and a common determination to share fairly among all the wealth that the labour of all produces.

With fraternal greetings.

From A. Eaglesham, General Secretary, Communist Party of New Zealand, Blackball, 7th December, 1928

On behalf of the Communist Party of New Zealand I hereby convey fraternal greetings to the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress.

The Communist Party of New Zealand sends a message of solidarity to the workers and peasants of India in their bitter struggle against the oppression of British Imperialism. We pledge our fullest and most active support to the exploited masses of India in their fight for complete National Independence and for their social emancipation.

Your's for International Solidarity against Imperialism!

From J. E. Potter Wilson, Secretary, the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, December 5, 1928

The Workers' Welfare League of India has pleasure in forwarding greetings and best wishes for a successful and useful Congress. It trusts that the Congress in its deliberations will give due and full consideration to the need of energetic efforts being made to raise the standard of the workers of India.

The League urges that to lift up the masses both materially and educationally and to range them in full co-operation as a solid backing to Congress effort will add considerable power and stimulus to the aims for which the Indian National Congress exists.

Again wishing your Congress every success.

From Alex Gossip, General Secretary, National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, London, 16th November, 1928

I am directed by my Executive Committee to send you their very best wishes and fraternal greetings on occasion of your coming congress and sincerely trust Conference will be fruitful of good results to downtrodden and oppressed workers in India

We strongly approve of your determined opposition to Sir John Simon Commission as we have taken very active part in opposition to same and we think it a gross insult to whole of our fellow workers in India.

Again wishing you the very best of success.

From the Educational Workers' International, Paris

(Translated from the original message in French)

Brothers of India.

In the name of the 8,10,000 teachers of all countries, of all races

and of every degree, who form part of our Trade Union International, we send you a warm and fraternal greeting.

To our greeting we join our best wishes for all success in your activities.

We promise you that our support in your struggle for the emancipation of the Indian people shall never fail you.

The conditions under which you are holding your Sessions this year are not unknown to us ; throughout the world the adversaries of Imperialism followed with great admiration the movement of indignant protest that roused your country against the Simon Commission, and against the measures of repression that were recently imposed on your people. We also know that there is not one Trade Union in your country that has not declared to carry through a social and political boycott of the Commission, and our great international teachers' Trade Union assures them its solidarity in their long and difficult struggles.

We know very well that at your Sessions you will discuss efficacious measures to be taken in order to assure the liberty of the press, of meeting and of association, in view of fighting for independence. In these conditions we are happy to be able to give you unreserved support. Already some weeks ago, our International, inside of which, independently of shades of political opinion, teachers affiliated to the two big Trade Union Internationals, or affiliated to neither, are grouped on the principle of the class struggle basis for the liberation of the working class, the struggle against world fascism and the struggle against war and imperialism, sent an appeal to struggle to the Conference of the All India Federation of Teachers' Associations:— Born from the working class, it continued, teachers of the children of the people, it is their duty to let European, American or Japanese Imperialism and its native bourgeois accomplices know that they mean to stand by the people in their struggle to re-conquer the right to the fruit of their labour, to national freedom and to the establishment of a regime of fraternal co-operation between the metropolitan working class and the colonial population, as well as the right to freedom from Imperialism.

Our ten years of activity in colonial and semi-colonial countries are the token of our determination to struggle with the oppressed peoples of all countries. It is through independent circumstances of work that so far our activities in Asia have only been developed in Indo-China, inspite of the frightful repression of the teachers' movement by French Imperialism at our fourth Conference (Vienna, August, 1926), a fraternal delegate from Indo-China teachers reported on the oppression of teachers, schools and culture in his country ; he officially declared that our "Unitary International is the first to take an

interest in us, the first to admit us in its ranks, and according to us, it is particularly this that distinguishes this Unitary International from all others, and which has received all our sympathy, all our hopes, and all our confidence, no matter whether we be progressives, socialists, communists or no party at all."

Although so far, the relations between our Secretariat and Indian colleagues have been insufficient, we have closely followed the struggle of the Indian people for the schools; our monthly bulletin as well as our press bulletin have described the miserable conditions under which Indians live. They related how in Bengal, 131,000 children died in 1926 less than a year after birth; that on account of British rule, 92.8% men and 98.2% women are illiterate; how in Bengal, 4 shillings and 5 pence is spent per Indian pupil on education, whereas £7 14s. 11½d. is spent per European child; and how 5½d. per head, per annum is spent on education, whereas 4 shillings and 7d. is spent for the army, police, etc..

Our action has always been organised to protest against child oppression and the exploitation of teachers who are only paid Rs.8 a month. At our last World Conference (Leipzig, April, 1928), we resolved to form a teachers' commission in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Two months ago we launched an appeal to our Indian colleagues to take part in this commission.

At the same time, we felt obliged to warn them against the World Federation of Teachers' Associations, to which, we are convinced they made a mistake in affiliating. We reminded them that this organisation founded in 1925, at San Francisco, is only an instrument of Anglo-Saxon Imperialism, the most insidious and most merciless of all, as is proved by the praise of Yankee "pacifism" at the Toronto Conference (1927), and the attempts to capture the educational organisations of Latin America, at the same time as the conquest of Anglo-Saxon financial capital.

We are convinced that, owing to your example and support, educational workers of India will be able to free themselves from the harmful influences, accomplices of Imperialism, and take their places as fighters on the anti-imperialist front; we are convinced that they will understand their duty of struggle for the well-being of the people and culture, both compromised by imperial barbarism.

We once more repeat our wishes for full success in your activities.

Long live independent India, economically and spiritually flourishing in a community of a world freed by the triumph of higher social and international relations.

Paris

December 5, 1928

The General Secretary

L. Vernochet

Fraternal Delegates

The Parti Constitutionaliste of French Indo-China sent two fraternal delegates to the Congress—Monsieur Bui Quong Chieu, the president of the party and Monsieur Duong Van Giao, the Secretary. Monsieur Chieu addressed the Congress in French and gave a message of goodwill and solidarity on behalf of his people.

Other fraternal delegates also came to the Congress. Mr. V. J. Kusha represented the London Branch of the Indian National Congress, Mr. D. P. Mahabubani, the Kobe (Japan) Branch of the Congress and Mr. T. Braganca Cunha, the Goa Branch.

It is understood that several additional messages were sent to the Congress but these did not reach their destination. One of the messages was from the Perhimpunan Indonesia, which is a federation of Indonesian Nationalist Parties.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1928

Presented by the General Secretaries to the All India Congress Committee in accordance with article XXIII of the Congress Constitution.

The hand of death has fallen heavily on the country and the Congress during the year under report. Hardly had the Madras Sessions of the Congress ended when news came of the death of an ex-president, the loved and respected Hakim Ajmal Khan, than whom no one had laboured more for the removal of distrust and friction between Hindus and Muslims. Later in the year another ex-president, Lord Sinha, passed away, and on the 17th of November the whole country was shocked and deeply grieved to learn of the sudden death of a third ex-president, Lala Lajpat Rai. The tragedy of Lalaji's death was all the more felt and resented because it followed a wanton and unprovoked police assault on his person, which, according to his doctors, hastened the end.

Among other national workers who have passed away were Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya, one time General Secretary of the Congress and the hero of the Chirala-Perala Satyagraha in 1921; Shri Gopabandhu Das, the selfless leader of Utkal; Shri Maganlal Gandhi, who laboured like none other in his quiet and unassuming way for the *charḡha* and handspinning; and Shri Anandi Prasad Sinha.

2. The three outstanding events of the year have been the Bardoli Satyagraha, the boycott of the Simon Commission, and the All Parties Conference and Committees to draft a constitution for India in compliance with a resolution of the Madras Congress.

3. The Bardoli Satyagraha movement organised by the peasantry of Bardoli Taluq, under the able leadership of Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, was a remarkable example of the efficacy of well organised peaceful resistance to official oppression and violence. The peasants objected to the reassessment of the Taluq and declared that it had been carried out without any proper investigation, and was in fact utterly at variance with existing conditions. Their protests and peti-

tions were however ignored and their request for an enquiry was refused. Having exhausted all gentler methods of persuasion they started Satyagraha and refused to pay any revenue. Methods of terrorism were resorted to and land and cattle were sold for ridiculous prices. But the peasantry held together and refused to be cowed down into submission. They succeeded ultimately in making their organised strength felt and the government had to yield to their demand for an enquiry. This enquiry is still being held.

4. The Bardoli Satyagraha was not merely a local struggle for a local grievance. The whole question of an arbitrary system of land assessment was raised by it and hence the interest in it was nation wide. Every zamindar and *kisan* was affected by it, and the Satyagraha, ending in the victory of the peasantry, was hailed with joy by the peasantry all over the country. As the enquiry is still proceeding it cannot be said that the question is settled. But whatever the ultimate issue of this enquiry may be, the organised and peaceful courage of the Bardoli peasantry has had a great effect on the *kisans* all over the country.

5. The Madras Congress called upon the country to boycott completely the Statutory Commission, known commonly as the Simon Commission. A large number of other organisations in the country joined in this boycott. The Working Committee, in co-operation with other organisations, declared a *hartal* for February 3rd, the day, the Commission was to land in Bombay. This *hartal* was observed all over the country and monster meetings were held. Successful *hartals* have also been held in the cities visited by the Commission.

6. The Legislative Assembly and some Provincial Councils also joined in the boycott and refused to co-operate with the Commission. Some Provincial Councils, largely with the help of official and nominated members, declared for co-operation. The elected members of all the Councils, however, have almost solidly stood for the boycott.

7. The boycott of the Commission has continued and has been intensified during their second visit to India. In spite of the tortuous manoeuvres and tactics of the Chairman of the Commission and his transparent attempts to carry on propaganda for himself and his colleagues, and in spite of all manner of official pressure and duress, the boycott has stiffened and has demonstrated to the world that India will have nothing to do with the Commission.

8. The great success of the boycott induced the Government to try methods of coercion and terrorism. In Lahore a vast gathering of people, headed by Lala Lajpat Rai met to demonstrate against the Commission, was assaulted by policemen and many respected leaders were injured by baton blows. Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the sufferers and it is probable that his death was hastened by this

cowardly assault. But in spite of this charge being made openly an impartial enquiry was denied by Government.

9. Lucknow experienced several wanton and unprovoked police charges on unarmed and peaceful gatherings on the occasion of the visit of the Commission. Mounted and foot police displayed their skill with the baton and the *lathi* on the heads and backs of well-known public workers of all parties and injured scores of people.

Lucknow was converted into an armed camp with thousands of mounted and foot police and on four days there were brutal attacks by the police. Private houses were invaded by the police and respected national workers were beaten and arrested there for daring to call out "Simon, go back". The citizens of Lucknow, however, refused to be cowed down by these brutalities and increased their demonstrations. They even added a touch of humour to them and set the whole city laughing at the discomfiture of the authorities. During a party given by some taluqadars to the Simon Commission, the Kaiserbagh was surrounded by thousands of police and no one who was suspected of being a boycotter was allowed to approach even the public roads near the Bagh. In spite of these precautions the harmony of the party was marred by the arrival from the skies of numerous black kites and balloons bearing the legends "Simon, go back", "India for Indians", etc.

10. The events of Lucknow make it clear that the authorities in the United Provinces at least are modelling themselves on the old Punjab model and Haileyism is coming to mean much the same thing as O'Dwyerism. O'Dwyerism was followed by non-co-operation and the greatest national awakening of modern times in India. That awakening shook the fabric of British rule. India is different today from what it was nine years ago and Haileyism is likely to lead to an even greater national response which may carry us to our goal.

11. The tremendous success of the boycott can be measured by these methods of terrorism adopted by the authorities. But as was to be expected these methods have served to increase the intensity of the boycott. They have resulted in the decision by the nationalist press not to publish the proceedings of the Commission; and proposals have been made to organise a social boycott of all officials, British and Indian, who take active part in wanton assaults on the public, and also of all those who, in defiance of the will of the nation, co-operate with and give entertainments to the Commission.

12. The Madras Congress authorised the Working Committee to prepare a Swaraj Constitution, based on a Declaration of Rights, in co-operation with other parties. Representatives of other organisations were invited and the All Parties Conference was held in Delhi in February, in Bombay in May and in Lucknow in August.

It was not possible, as laid down in the Congress resolution, to convene a Special Convention in March. The work of drafting a constitution proved more arduous than was perhaps expected, chiefly because of the difficulty of reconciling conflicting claims. Ultimately a Committee, with Pandit Motilal Nehru as chairman, was appointed to determine the principles of the constitution. This Committee produced a report, which has come to be popularly known as the "Nehru Report", which attracted a great deal of attention in India and elsewhere. The Committee have in their report dealt very ably and skilfully with the communal problem and have succeeded in producing a solution which has met with a very large measure of approval all over the country.

13. The constitution drafted in the Report was based on the model of the dominions. This, it was urged by many Congressmen, was contrary to the Congress goal of Independence. It was stated, however, that the Congress goal remained unaffected, and the Report and the All Parties Conference decision only stated the largest measure of common agreement between various groups and organisations in the country. Many Provincial Conferences all over the country made this clear by declaring that they accepted the Report subject to the Congress goal of independence. The All India Congress Committee at their meeting held in Delhi on November 3rd considered the Report and the All Parties decisions. While welcoming the Report as a large step in advance, and specially endorsing the solution of the communal problems in it, the Committee declared that the Congress stood for independence. It was further made clear that independence meant severance from the British Empire.

14. The publication of the All Parties Report gave rise to some controversy between those who favoured independence and those who were prepared to accept dominion status. Many Congressmen, who did not wish the ideal of independence to be toned down in any way, started a new organisation called the Independence for India League. This League is confined to members of the Congress and has for its object not only independence for the country but also the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of social and economic equality.

15. The Special Convention, which according to the resolution of the Madras Congress, was to have been held in March last, is now proposed to be held in Calcutta just before the Congress sessions.

16. The ordinary work of the Congress was somewhat overshadowed during the year by the All Parties Conferences. There were a few meetings of the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee. Apart from the meeting held in Madras just after the Congress sessions there was only one other meeting of the A. I. C. C. which was held in Delhi on November 3rd and 4th. The Working Commit-

tee has so far met on five occasions, at Benares, Delhi, Bombay, Lucknow and again at Delhi, besides the meeting held at Madras soon after the Congress.

17. The Madras Congress, in pursuance of the boycott of the Simon Commission, restricted the work inside the Legislative Councils to a minimum. Difficulties, however, were experienced in carrying out this direction and the secretaries regret to say that it was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Ultimately the Working Committee recommended to the A. I. C. C. to give greater freedom to members of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The A. I. C. C. accepted the recommendation of the Working Committee.

18. The Government attempted in the course of the year to rush through the Assembly and place on the Statute Book various repressive measures, in particular the Trades Disputes Bill and the Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill. The Working Committee directed the Congress Party in the Assembly to oppose these measures and they succeeded, in co-operation with other groups, in having a tie in the voting on the Public Safety Bill. The President of the Assembly gave his casting vote against the measure, which was thus rejected. The Trades Disputes Bill has been referred to a committee. The two measures are likely to come up again before the Assembly. They aim at strangling the Young Trade Union movement in India and at preventing all outsiders, who are not approved of by the Government, from entering India. They will have to be strenuously opposed.

19. The resolution of the Madras Congress on War Danger attracted considerable attention in India and foreign countries. Most Provincial Conferences repeated it and called upon the people to be prepared for this danger and to follow the lead given by the Congress in case a crisis arose. Reports of war preparations in India continue to come and it is apparent that every effort is being made to be ready for war. The situation in Europe appears to be getting worse specially since the recent Anglo-French Pact and a conflict may be precipitated at any moment. It is desirable for the Congress to watch developments so that if a crisis comes it may be ready to give the right lead.

20. The office of the A. I. C. C. has remained in constant touch during the year with the headquarters of the League against Imperialism in Berlin. The League has helped the A. I. C. C. office to keep in touch with nationalist, labour and progressive movements in other countries, and has carried on propaganda for the freedom of India, in Europe and elsewhere. The League is getting more affiliations from representative nationalist and labour organisations in Europe, America, Asia and Africa and is becoming a powerful centre for anti-imperialist

activities. The league has decided to hold its second World Congress in July next year in Paris and has invited the National Congress to send representatives. This invitation will be considered by the Subjects Committee in Calcutta.

21. An outstanding feature of the year has been the rise of the Youth movement in the country. Youth Leagues and students' organisations have been formed all over the country and are specially strong in Bombay and Bengal. Delegates were sent by some of these organisations to the World Youth Congress held at Eerde in Holland in August last. Young men have also taken a very prominent part in the Simon boycott demonstrations. In Lucknow they were the chief sufferers from police *lathi* and baton blows.

22. A Committee appointed by the A. I. C. C. to report on the revision of the Congress Constitution has made certain recommendations which have been referred to the Subjects Committee. The Committee has laid special stress on having a permanent office and a permanent staff. The secretaries feel that unless this is done it will be difficult to carry on Congress work with any efficiency or effectiveness. The Committee further recommended that the Congress should be prepared to affiliate other organisations which accept the objects of the Congress.

23. The Working Committee has decided to appoint research scholars to carry on research work on behalf of the Congress. This is an important decision which will be of great help in bringing together useful information on public questions and at the same time in training competent young men for national service. But research work can only be done properly in a permanent office with a good library attached to it.

24. The All India Spinners' Association have been carrying on their good work with vigour and energy and are consolidating their position and extending the scope of their activities. Complete figures for the year are not yet available but from the information so far received, the value of production amounted to Rs.23,75,757 and of sale to Rs.32,22,122. At present there are 170 centres of production and 322 sale depots. The members on the rolls are 1527 of the A. class and 279 of the B. class. Of these, 221 are also members of the Congress. Besides, the Association has enrolled 205 Juveniles.

25. The Hindustani Seva Dal have started a physical culture institute at Bagalkot in the Karnatak. They have held several training camps in various parts of the country and they have added to their reputation for doing thorough work. It is unfortunate that Provincial Congress Committees do not encourage them as much as they might and so help in building up a well trained and efficient All India Volun-

teer Corps. In Karnatak province alone they enrolled 4796 members of the Congress.

26. The year 1928 stands out as a year of grave and unprecedented industrial trouble. Strikes and lockouts have followed each other in quick succession and have often been followed by police attacks and firing on strikers. Of the many important strikes the chief one was the strike of the Bombay textile workers who showed wonderful solidarity and tenacity in continuing the strike for six months in spite of hunger and every kind of pressure from the employers and the Government. The Government resorted on many occasions to firing on the strikers. The industrial troubles and strikes have stiffened the trade union movement and have given it a more militant outlook. The condition of the workers is so utterly bad that industrial troubles are bound to continue, specially as attempts are being made on behalf of the employers to reduce even their present deplorable standard of living.

27. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the A. I. C. C. has no permanent fund or sufficient income. It is not possible to carry on our activities for long on collections made in past years. The only two regular sources of income now are from Congress delegates fees and A. I. C. C. membership dues. These may bring in a sum of about Rs.4,000 per annum. The Constitution Committee has laid stress on the Congress taking early steps to increase this regular income. An increase in the delegation fee to at least Rs.5 is a desirable change.

28. The financial position of the A. I. C. C. would be considerably improved if the many outstandings were paid up. It is very unfortunate that Provincial Congress Committees and individual Congressmen should not pay the A. I. C. C. the moneys due to it. We attach to this report a list of outstandings. We would specially draw attention to the following sums due from Provincial Congress Committees: Bengal Rs.1,39,003; Bombay Rs. 43,892; Sind Rs.19,672; Punjab Rs.8,412; Tamil Nad Rs.3,335. The Bengal P. C. C. has never paid any part of its T. S. F. collections to the A. I. C. C. Bombay on the other hand has made generous contributions to other provinces and has also paid substantial sums to the A. I. C. C. But there appears to be no reason why the amount now due from it should not be paid up. The Tamil Nad P. C. C. has a large surplus in hand from the last Congress and can easily pay.

29. Among the individuals who owe large sums to the A. I. C. C. we might mention Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, both of whom hold balances from the Punjab Relief Funds. Pandit Malaviya has fixed deposit receipts for Rs 45,842. He agreed to transfer these receipts to the A. I. C. C. three years ago but unfor-

tunately he has not done so yet. Mr. M. R. Jayakar has paid part of the balance with him but he has made no further payment for the last three years.

30. We would like to express our indebtedness to all our colleagues in the office of the A. I. C. C. for the earnestness and efficiency with which they have carried on the work of the office. We would specially like to express our gratitude to Shri B. Raja Rau, the Under Secretary, on whom the burden of the day today work of the office has largely fallen. We would like to mention that Mr. Raja Rau was entitled to an increment in his salary of Rs.25 per month from March, 1928. Mr. Raja Rau, however, waived his right to this increment for this year.

The Working Secretary desires to express his own indebtedness to Mr. Raja Rau and his other colleagues in the office for the uniform courtesy and co-operation which he received from them. The work of the All Parties Conference and the publication and sale of the All Parties Report put a heavy strain on the office staff. But whatever the work happened to be there was always a willing response.

31. Our colleague Mr. Shuaib Qureshi left India for Europe in September last. He is thus unable to sign this report.

Subhas Chandra Bose
Jawaharlal Nehru

APPENDIX

Report of the committee appointed by the All India Congress Committee to revise the Congress constitution.

This committee consisted of A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Shiva-prasad Gupta and three Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee. One of the Secretaries, Shuaib Qureshi has, we understand, gone aboard.

Members of the All India Congress Committee were invited to send in their suggestions for the revision of the constitution. A similar invitation was extended to the public through the press. Large number of replies were received. Most of the suggestions made however deal with simple details or else they attack the very basis of the present constitution. Some of us feel that it is desirable to make radical alterations in the constitution and to overhaul it from top to bottom. We have come to the conclusion however that the present is hardly the time to attempt to do so. Any such attempt might result in the shelving of the whole question by the Congress. We have therefore decided to make a few suggestions only and we trust that these will be accepted by the All India Congress Committee and the Congress.

(1) We are all very definitely of opinion that there should be no further delay in the All India Congress Committee having a permanent office. This question has been discussed for many years past and most people agree with it in theory. Yet nothing definite has been done with the result that Congress work has suffered and money has been wasted. Any person who has been connected with the Congress office realises the great waste of time, energy and money involved in a continually shifting office. We therefore think that the Congress must come to a decision on this question now.

The only possible places for the headquarters of the Congress seem to us to be Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi or Allahabad. We feel that the two former though undoubtedly offering all the advantages of great cities, have many disadvantages also and the latter outweigh the former. Delhi is a deserted place for a greater part of the year and the rest of the time, the Assembly dominates the scene. We do

not therefore approve of it for the Congress headquarters. We are left thus with Allahabad. This is a more or less neutral place with no outstanding advantage but at the same time with no marked disadvantages. It is central and it would cost less to run the office here than in the big cities. We therefore suggest that Allahabad should be fixed upon as the permanent headquarters of the All India Congress Committee.

We would recommend that steps should gradually be taken for the erection of a suitable building for the office and library. Meanwhile a hired building can be used.

(2) We are of opinion that the ordinary routine work of the office should be largely carried on by the Under Secretary of the Committee who should be in charge of the office. In place of the present rule of having three Secretaries we think the older rule of two Secretaries should be introduced. We would very much like these two Secretaries or at any rate, one of them to be paid. We believe that it is most unfair to expect whole time work without paying for it as most people cannot possibly afford to do so. We should therefore like this convention to grow up. We would suggest that the maximum allowance for either of the Secretaries should be Rs.300 per mensem.

(3) Both the permanent office and the payment of Secretaries necessitate having a permanent fund. We recommend that an attempt should be made to raise a minimum sum of five lakhs of rupees to serve as a permanent fund. As far as possible this fund should not be touched and only its interest should be used for the ordinary work of the All India Congress Committee.

(4) We recommend that the fee of the delegates of the Congress should be Rs.10 and in no event lower than Rs.5.

(5) We also recommend that Art. IX of the Congress constitution should be enforced without delay. In fixing contributions under this article we would suggest that regard be paid not merely to the population of the province but to its financial capacity.

(6) We suggest that there should be a definite provision in the constitution that 25% of the total fees collected from members of the Congress should go to the All India Congress Committee.

Thus a province should pay in any event this 25% of the fees and in addition, whenever the All India Congress Committee considers proper, a separate annual subscription.

(7) We are of opinion that the Congress should offer to affiliate other organisations in the country which accept the objects of the Congress. We feel that the Congress can only gain additional strength by adopting the modern methods of organisation *i. e.* by affiliating

organisations. We know that this may create a number of difficulties and the constitution may have to be changed radically. We think however that these difficulties should be faced. For the present we do not wish to go far in this direction but we would certainly open the door of affiliation. Later we may decide on the next step. We specially desire that labour and peasant organisations should thus affiliate themselves with the Congress. But of course we are not limiting this right of affiliation to labour and the peasantry. Should the Zamindars' Association or a Chamber of Commerce or a professional organisation desire affiliation they will have every right to apply for it. A condition precedent to their affiliation will be their acceptance of the objects of the Congress. They need not of course subscribe to every resolution or item of the Congress programme. The power to affiliate or not should be given to the Working Committee. The organisations affiliated should pay an affiliation fee which usually corresponds to the numbers on their rolls. The Working Committee may be empowered to fix it in each individual case.

(8) We are of opinion that the time has come when the proviso to Art. VIII of the constitution to the effect that the Congress should not interfere with the internal affairs of the Indian States should be deleted. Whether the Congress does so in fact or not it is for the Congress to decide. But there is absolutely no reason why our constitution should prevent us from doing so should we at any time desire it. As a matter of fact there is a very strong body of opinion in favour of interference and indeed it is wholly impossible not to interfere in some way or other. Therefore we propose that this proviso be deleted.

Allahabad

Oct. 25th, 1928

A. Rangaswami Iyengar

Shivaprasad Gupta

Jawaharlal Nehru

[Subhas Chandra Bose was not present at our meeting and no communication has been received from him on this subject.]

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1927
to 30th September, 1928 in the All India Congress
Committee Office, Allahabad

RECEIPTS

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. To opening balance		
(a) Cash in hand	89 14 6	
(b) In Banks at Madras	2,012 0 2	
(c) In Bank at Allahabad	14 0 9	
		2,115 15 5
2. (i) To advances recovered or accounted for:		
Secretary, Bombay P. C. C.	39 3 0	
Peon Subbaya Pillai	16 9 0	
		55 12 0
(ii) To advance still unaccounted for:		
Secretary, Congress Assembly Party .. ..	..	72 4 0
3. Received from or on behalf of Treasurer during the year	9,182 2 1	
Sale-proceeds of A. P. report	2,345 0 0	
Sale-proceeds of Congress Publications in this office	90 0 0	
Sale-proceeds of Congress publications by Bombay P. C. C.	13 7 6	
Total	11,630 9 7	
Less closing balance and advances as per audited statement of accounts for the year ending 30-9-1927	2,243 15 5	
		9,386 10 2
4. Interest .. ..	..	6 6 0
5. Amount received on behalf of Foreign Publicity account .. ..	..	100 0 0

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1927 to
30th. September, 1928 in the All India Congress Committee
Office, Allahabad (contd.)

RECEIPTS (contd.)

	Rs a. p.	Rs. a. p.
6. Delegation fee received on behalf of Congress Reception Committee, Madras	1,623 0 0
		13,359 15 7

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant

B. RAJA RAU
Under Secretary

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and disbursements, from 1st October, 1927 to
30th September, 1928 in the All India Congress Committee
Office, Allahabad (contd.)

DISBURSEMENTS

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Salaries .. .. .	..	7,093 4 0
2. Postage and telegrams .. .. .	..	1,147 0 0
3. Printing and Stationery.. .. .	..	888 3 5
4. Travelling expenses of staff	593 13 9	
" " of Secretary		
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	256 9 0	
Travelling expenses of Secretary Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru	82 12 0	933 2 9
5. Rents and taxes .. .. .	..	934 7 5
6. Library	93 2 0	
Less amount realised on account of a lost book	6 0 0	87 2 0
7. Furniture:—		
• Typewriter	367 0 0	
Other furniture	360 12 6	
	727 12 6	
Less amount realised by sale of furniture of previous year	189 4 9	538 7 9
8. Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	442 8 0
9. Amounts written off:—		
Advance to peon Subbayya Pillai	16 9 0	

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of receipts and disbursements, from 1st October, 1927 to
30th September, 1928 in the All India Congress Committee
Office, Allahabad (concl'd.)

DISBURSEMENTS (cont'd.)

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Advance to Mr. Hafiz Alam Junaidy for translation and printing of Congress resolutions in Urdu ..	8 2 0	24 11 0
10. Advances :—		
Syt. N. Raghavachari ..	20 0 0	
Peon Ahmed Husain ..	10 0 0	
Secretary, Congress Assembly Party	72 4 0	102 4 0
11. All Parties Conference account (to be recovered from the All Parties Conference Fund Account) ..	..	230 4 6
12. Closing balances :—		
(a) Cash in hand	171 2 6	
(b) Cash in Bank less uncashed cheques	677 9 3	
(c) With Bombay P. C. C. ..	52 10 6	
(d) With Mr. Mahalinga Sarma at Madras including advance of Rs. 4	13 6 6	
(e) Postage in hand	23 11 3	938 8 0
Total ..		13,359 15 7

Examined and found correct

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

General Secretary

R. K. TEWARI

Auditor

LIST OF REALISATIONS

*made by the All India Congress Committee from
1-12-'27 to 20-11-1928.*

	Rs. a. p.
All India Congress Committee membership subscription ..	1,575 0 0
Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras, being sale-proceeds of copies of Punjab Martial Law report and evidence supplied to them	850 0 0
Delegates fees at Madras Congress	3,246 0 0
Sale-proceeds of Congress publications	100 3 6
Price of copies of All Parties Committee's report (includes postage on V. Ps.) ..	5,383 9 6
Sale-proceeds of copies of Congress reports, realized by Messrs. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay ..	10 8 0
Total ..	11,165 5 0

LIST OF OUTSTANDINGS

*of the All India Congress Committee as on
20th November, 1928*

(1) MONEYS DUE FROM INDIVIDUALS

	Rs. a. p.	
Srimati Sarojini Naidu ..	20 2 0	Balance of advance given for Publicity and Propaganda work in foreign countries.

		Rs. a. p.			
Mr. V. R. Naik ..	..	5,288	2	0	} Balance of Hyderabad
Mr. Badrul Hasan	27,911	14	0		} Khaddar Loan advanced by the Trustees, Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay.
Mr. Sampurnanand ..	..	13	12	6	Balance of advance made for inquiry into the condition of returned emigrants.
Mr. K. M. Panikkar ..	..	249	1	11	Balance of Akali Prisoners' Families Relief Fund.
Mr. Manilal Avasthi ..	..	39	0	0	Price of Congress publications supplied to him.
Mr. T. Prakasam ..	..	500	2	0	Balance of loan advanced in December, 1926.
Mr. Marudavanam Pillai ..	..	96	2	0	Price of leaflets supplied during General Elections in 1926.

(2) MONEYS DUE FROM COMMITTEES

		Rs. a. p.			
Assam P. C. C. ..	..	489	8	0	Loan for printing of Assam Opium Enquiry Report. (368 copies of report are received on this account from Association Press, Calcutta).

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Kerala P. C. C. ..	1,500	0	0	Loan advanced in 1921 through Mr. C. Rajagopalachar.
" ..	564	10	2	Balance of Malabar Relief Fund.
Behar P. C. C. ..	17	8	0	Sale-proceeds of Congress publications sold by them in 1925.
Punjab P. C. C. ..	1,500	0	0	Temporary loan advanced in 1927.
Congress Party in the Assembly	72	4	0	Advance made in 1927.

	T. S. F. quota			Yarn quota		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Andhra P. C. C. ..	2,630	8	2	110	6	0
Assam P. C. C. ..	3	12	0	70	8	0
Behar P. C. C. ..	539	15	2	..		
Bengal P. C. C. ..	1,39,003	3	9	..		
Bombay P. C. C. ..	43,892	12	2	..		
Burma P. C. C. ..	462	5	6	..		
C. P. Hindustani P. C. C. ..	1,222	15	6	..		
C. P. Marathi P. C. C. ..	3,305	7	2	27	3	6
Karnatak P. C. C. ..	1,129	8	6	90	12	0
Punjab P. C. C. ..	8,412	9	5	..		
Ajmer P. C. C. ..	114	9	9	..		
Sind P. C. C. ..	19,672	15	10	..		
Tamil Nad P. C. C. ..	3,335	4	10	..		
Kerala P. C. C. ..	161	3	0	32	10	0
U. P. P. C. C. ..	1,311	7	5	194	8	6
Utkal P. C. C. ..	39	12	3	..		

Note.—The foregoing list shows the quotas due to All India Congress Committee at the end of 1925. No later statement is prepared as practically no collections have been made by P. C. Cs. since 1925.

(3) PUNJAB RELIEF FUNDS

	Rs.	as.	p.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ..	45,842	0	0
Syt. M. R. Jayakar ..	2,137	4	1
	<hr/>		
Total	47,979	4	1
	<hr/>		

Mr. Jayakar has been repeatedly reminded of this balance due from him but he has not so far remitted it.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya promised in 1925 to transfer the fixed deposit receipts for Rs 45,842 to the All India Congress Committee but the transfer has not been made yet.

The Balance of the Punjab Relief Funds with the Seva Samiti, Allahabad, and with Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Bombay, are not included in the foregoing statement.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

General Secretary

—

AII INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Propaganda and Publicity in Foreign Countries account from 1st October, 1927 to 30th September, 1928

RECEIPTS				DISBURSEMENTS				
			Rs.	a.	p.			
						Rs.	a.	p.
To balance	..	..	3,185	9	0	By amount sent to Pt. J. Nehru (£100 being contribution by A. I. C. C. to the League against Imperialism and the balance due as per his bill)	..	..
To interest	..	..	35	14	6		1,375	1 9
Repayment of advance by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu			100	0	0	Advance to A. I. C. C. account	..	100 1 0
Advance unaccounted for	..	..	20	2	0	Commission on cheque	..	4 6 0
						By help to Mr. Emberumal of Cape Town	..	100 0 0
						Advance with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	..	20 2 0
						By Balance	..	1,741 14 9
			3,341	9	6		3,341	9 6

(70)

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant

B. RAJA RAU
Under Secretary

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretary

R. K. TEWARI
Auditor

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

*Statements of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October
1927 to 30th September, 1928.*

RECEIPTS	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Cash and investments as on 1-10-27 ..		1,13,138 14 7
Tilak Swaraj Fund :—		
General	245 5 0	
Earmarked	10 0 0	
		255 5 0
Miscellaneous Receipts :—		
A. I. C. C. Membership fees ..	1,113 0 0	
Madras Congress Delegation fees ..	1,623 0 0	
Interest received	4,170 8 6	
Brokerage	60 2 0	
All party Conference Report ..	2,345 0 0	
Sale proceeds of Congress publications..	950 8 0	
		10,262 2 6
Advances recovered and adjusted :—		
Emigrants' Enquiry Committee ..		11 13 0
Grants paid—refunded and adjusted ..		
General Secretary Office expenses ..	1,690 12 8	
Election Publicity	250 1 9	
		1,940 14 5
Total ..		1,25,609 1 6

70 MEDOWS STREET, }
FORT, BOMBAY, }

Examined and found Correct
DALAL & SHAH,

*Incorporated Accountants (London),
Hon. Auditors A. I. C. C.*

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

*Statements of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1927
to 30th September, 1928*

DISBURSEMENTS	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grants made to:—		
Utkal Relief Fund	500 0 0	
Hindustani Seva Dal	1,000 0 0	
All Party Fund	1,000 0 0	
Fenner Brockway	1,333 5 4	
League Contribution	1,337 6 6	
Depressed Classes	54 8 0	
		5,225 3 10
Paid out of:—		
Help to Akali Fund	546 0 0	
Permanent Publicity Bureau	1,000 0 0	
		1,546 0 0
Interest on Old B. P. C. C. Fund distributed in equal shares among Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra and Karnatak P. C. Cs. ..		479 0 8
President's Expenses		753 9 0
All Party Conference Exp.		690 8 0
Expenses of Working Committee Members All Party report expenses		485 0 0
General Secretary's Office Transfer expenses		1,936 2 6
.. ..		802 9 0
Amount written off		16 9 0
Congress Report and Constitution printing..		636 5 7
Rent for pavilion Storing		324 13 6
Treasurer's Office expenses:—		
Sal. 1,000-0-0 Mis. 13-5-0 Printing & St. 42-4-0		
Exch. 3-12-0 Postage 16-7-0 Travelling 47-11-0		1,123 7 0
Advance to General Secretary		11,047 6 4
Legal Charges		25 0 0
Closing balance:—		1,00,517 7 1
In fixed deposits		
In Current accounts	80,853 0 0	
In hand	19,661 0 10	
	3 6 3	
Total Rs. ..		1,25,609 1 6

C. H. SHAH

Accountant, A. I. C. C.

REVASHANKAR JAGJIVAN

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

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

The Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September 1928

10

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	Rs. a. p.		
To Grants made	5,225 3 10	By Tilak Swaraj Fund General	245 5 0
.. Interest paid to provinces on old B. P. C. C. Fund	479 0 8	.. Miscellaneous Receipts	10,262 2 6
.. President's expenses	753 9 0	.. Grants refunded	1940 14 5
.. All Party Conference expenses	690 8 0	.. Excess of expenditure over income carried to Balance Sheet	11,650 7 3
.. Expenses of Working Committee Members	485 0 0		
.. All party report expenses	1,936 2 6		
.. General Secretary's Office transfer exp.	802 9 0		
.. Amount written off	16 9 0		
.. Congress Report and Constitution printing	636 5 7		
.. Rent for pavilion storing	324 13 6		
.. Legal charges	25 0 0		
.. Hon. Treasurer's Office expenses	1,123 7 0		
.. General Secretary's office expenses as per audited statement	11,600 9 1		
Total Rs. ..	24,098 13 2	Total Rs. ..	24,098 13 2

Examined and Found Correct

70 MEDOWS STREET
FORT, Bombay

} DALAL & SHAH
} *Incorporated Accountants (London).*
} *Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.*

C. H. SHAH
Accountant

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

(73)

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Balance Sheet as at 30th September 1928

FUNDS AND LIABILITIES				PROPERTY AND ASSETS			
GENERAL FUND:—				Cash and Investments:—			
As per last Balance Sheet	Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.	In fixed deposits with Banks	Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	80,910	7 0			80,853	0 0	
Less excess of expenditure over income this year	11,650	7 3	69,259 15 9	In current account with Banks	19,661	0 10	
				In hand	3	6 3	
							1,00,517 7 1
EARMARKED FUNDS:—				LOANS:—			
As per last Balance Sheet	19,300	9 1		Assam P.C.C. Opium ..	500	0 0	
Permanent Publicity Bureau	14,220	0 0		Kerala P.C.C.	1,500	0 0	
Old B.P.C.C. Fund ..	9,581	0 0		Punjab P.C.C.	1,500	0 0	
	43,101	9 1					3,500 0 0
Add received during the year:—				ADVANCES:—			
Political Sufferers' fund	10	0 0		Emigrants' Enquiry Committee	25	3 9	
	43,111	9 1		Political Sufferers' Sub-Committee	2,500	0 0	
Less paid during the year	1,546	0 0	41,565 9 1				2,525 3 9
				Congress Pavilion ..			4,000 0 0
				Dead Stock			282 14 0
							Total Rs. .. 1,10,825 8 10
	Total Rs. ..		1,10,825 8 10		Total Rs. ..		1,10,825 8 10

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

70 MEDOWS STREET

FORT, Bombay

DALAL, & SHAH

Incorporated Accountants (London)
Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.

C. H. SHAH

Accountant

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN

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

Earmarked Funds as on 30th September 1928 :—

				Rs	a.	p.
Khaddar Propaganda	..	..	..	..	1,001	0 0
Help to Akalis	..	..	..	..	199	6 1
Untouchability	..	..	..	..	10	0 0
Bengal National Workers	..	..	..	..	10	7 0
Swaraj Party Fund	..	..	..	..	14	12 0
South African Fund	..	..	..	..	200	0 0
Political Sufferers' Fund	..	..	..	..	3,838	0 0
Civil Resisters' Family Relief Fund	..	..	..	..	13,491	0 0
Parmanent Publicity Fund..	..	..	..	..	13,220	0 0
Old B. P. C. C. Fund	..	..	..	..	9,581	0 0
			Total	..	41,565	9 1

In fixed Deposits with Banks :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	9,581	0 0
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	30,000	0 0
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	20,764	0 0
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	20,508	0 0
			Total Rs.	..	80,853	0 0

In Current Accounts with Banks :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	1,066	1 3
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	906	4 2
Shilotri Bank Ltd., (doubtful) Bombay	..	..	..	..	9	11 4
Allahabad Bank Ltd., Bombay	..	..	..	..	2	11 1
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	1,053	15 9
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Bombay	16,622	5 3
			Total Rs.	..	19,661	0 10

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