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National Congress

Feb. 1938 to Jan. 1939

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Indian National Congress

Feb. 1938 to Jan. 1939

BEING THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS,
THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND THE
WORKING COMMITTEE DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN
FEB. 1938 TO JAN. 1939

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

*Resolutions Passed at the 51st Session of the Congress held at
VITHALNAGAR-HARIPURA, GUJRAT*

February 19, 20 and 21, 1938

1. CONDOLENCE

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Shri Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Shri Manilal Kothari and Shrimati Parvati Devi, Shri Jogendra Nath Barua, Shri Harendranath Munshi, Shri Buchi Sunder Rao, Shri Arya Dutt Jogdan, Shri Adi Narayan Chettiar, Shri Jaishankar Prasad, Shri Ram Das Gaur, Shri Kshirode Chandra Deb, Shri Gulzar Singh, Pt. Narayan Rao Khare, Shri Himanshu Bose, Smt. Sarmada Tyagi and Shri Heramba Chandra Maitra.

2. GUIDALLO OF ASSAM

This Congress demands the immediate release of Guidallo, the heroic Naga woman, who raised the banner of freedom in the distant forests of Assam in 1932 and who has now been suffering imprisonment for more than six years.

3. BRITISH GUIANA

This Congress sends its greetings to the Indians of British Guiana on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Indian settlers in this South American colony and sends them its good wishes for their advancement and progress.

4. INDIANS OVERSEAS

This Congress views with alarm the rapidly growing

deterioration in the status, position and rights enjoyed by the Indians in South and East Africa including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and also in the islands of Mauritius and Fiji.

This Congress condemns the new economic policy now being pursued by British Imperialism for intensifying its exploitation of the Colonies and Dependencies which is exemplified in the formation of the monopolist Clove-Growers' Association in Zanzibar and in such measure as the Tanganyika Native Produce Bill, East Africa Transport Projects, the reservations of the highlands in Kenya for the white population and the degrading treatment of Indians in Mauritius and Fiji.

This Congress whole-heartedly associates itself with the struggles of overseas Indians to maintain even their present position and status in the territories in which they have settled.

This Congress assures its fellow-countrymen overseas of its full sympathy and help and expresses its readiness to take all actions within its power to ameliorate their condition.

This Congress further wishes to assure the original inhabitants of South and East Africa that the demand of the Indian settlers is not conceived in any spirit of hostility towards them but is put forward to prevent the common exploitation of both the Africans and the Indian settlers by British Imperialism.

5. INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of cloves, and that the boycott of trade in cloves in Zanzibar by the Indian merchants has been complete and satisfactory. The Congress congratulates the Indians in Zanzibar and the clove-merchants in India on the manner in which they maintained this boycott.

The Congress however regrets that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar for internal and export trade

has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The Congress repeats its request to the Indian people to continue the disuse of cloves and presses upon the attention of the merchants the desirability of continuing the boycott of trade in cloves and trusts that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled in the near future to do justice to the Indian traders in Zanzibar by rescinding the objectionable decrees.

6. INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Congress is deeply concerned over the threatened estrangement of feelings between the people of Ceylon and the Indian population in the Island consequent on certain legislation in regard to local administration, and apprehensions as to discriminatory measures that may be further undertaken. The Congress urges on the Government of Ceylon and her public men not to adopt any policy directly or indirectly aimed at discrimination as against the Indians living and carrying on their avocations in Ceylon. In particular, the Congress notes with regret that laws have been recently framed so as to deny the Indian labourers, who have helped and are helping in the development of the resources of the Island, the franchise in the local administration, and to make the Indian residents apprehend further restrictions on their civil rights and to feel that they are to be relegated to an inferior political status. The Congress hopes that such measures will not be undertaken and that any legislation that has created such a feeling will be so modified as to make India feel that, in spite of being separate governments, Ceylon and India are one and inseparable so far as the people are concerned.

7. CHINA

The Congress has viewed with anxious concern the aggression of a brutal imperialism in China and the horrors and frightfulness that have accompanied it. In the opinion of the Congress this imperialist invasion is fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of world peace and of freedom in Asia. The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the people of China in their great ordeal and expresses its

admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity. It congratulates them on achieving national unity and co-ordination in the face of danger, and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom.

As mark of India's sympathy with the Chinese people, the Congress calls upon the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods.

8. PALESTINE

The Congress condemns the decision of Great Britain as a Mandatory Power to bring about the partition of Palestine in the teeth of the opposition of the Arabs and the appointment of a Commission to carry out this project.

The Congress records its emphatic protest against the continuation of the reign of terror which is still being maintained in Palestine to force this policy upon the unwilling Arabs.

The Congress express its full sympathy with the Arabs in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism.

The Congress holds that the proper method of solving the problem by which the Jews and the Arabs are faced in Palestine is by amicable settlement between themselves and appeals to the Jews not to seek the shelter of the British Mandatory and not to allow themselves to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism.

9. FOREIGN POLICY AND WAR DANGER

In view of the grave danger of wide-spread and devastating war which overshadows the world, the Congress desires to state afresh the policy of the Indian people in regard to foreign relations and war.

The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence

as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others, and to build up their strength on the basis of international cooperation and goodwill. Such cooperation must be founded on a world order and a free India will gladly associate itself with such an order, and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world cooperation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remained and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds sway. In order, therefore, to establish world peace on an enduring basis, imperialism and the exploitation of one people by another must end.

During the past few years there has been a rapid and deplorable deterioration in international relations, fascist aggression has increased and an unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of fascist powers. British foreign policy in spite of its evasions and indecisions, has consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must therefore, largely shoulder the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the world situation. That policy still seeks an arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift to imperialist world war.

India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress, therefore, entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war, this will be resisted.

10. EXCLUDED AREAS AND COMMISSIONERS' PROVINCES

A. This Congress reaffirms its opinion that the creation of excluded and partially excluded areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces, including British Baluchistan and Coorg under the provisions of the Government of India Act

of 1935 obstructs the growth of uniform democratic institutions in integral parts of India covering an area of over 207,900 square miles and inhabited by over 13 million people.

This Congress condemns this step as one of the attempts to divide the people of India into different groups for unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment repressing their liberties and obstructing their progress.

This Congress further reiterates the opinion that the separation of these excluded and partially excluded areas undoubtedly aims at leaving a larger control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas in the hands of the British Government.

This Congress declares that the same level of democratic and self-governing institutions should be applicable to all parts of India without any distinction.

B. This Congress supports the demand of the inhabitants of the Chief Commissioners' provinces of Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg that their provinces may be amalgamated with the United Provinces, and with Carnatak in the province of Bombay respectively.

C. This Congress condemns the reactionary and irresponsible administration of the province of Delhi attended with suppression of civil liberties and burdened with high taxes and extremely heavy land revenue and other similar measures adopted by the Delhi administration.

11. AJMER-MERWARA AND THE INDIAN STATES

The Congress has heard with great resentment of the separation of about 115 villages from Ajmer-Merwara province and now placed under a temporary administration preparatory to these villages being surrendered partly to Jodhpur and partly to Udaipur States.

The Congress condemns this action of the British Government taken in the teeth of the direct opposition of the people of this area.

12. FEDERATION

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a constitution for India, which can be accepted by the people, must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthen the nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government.

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation; but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election. The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses. Otherwise the Federation as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the States in internal and external conflicts.

The Congress therefore reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration. In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to cooperate with it. In case such a contingency arises, the All India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard.

13. KENYA

The Congress is of opinion that the administrative practice of excluding British Indians from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya Colony while a European of any nationality is free to do so constitutes a humiliating disability to the Indians settled in Kenya and is a deliberate offence to the Indian people.

This Congress further condemns the proposal to promulgate an Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the white Highlands which is calculated to perpetuate statutorily the erstwhile iniquitous practice which should have been abolished long ago in accordance with the declarations of the Government of India at the time of the issue of the White Paper of 1923. The pledge given by the Government of India to get the subject reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed.

14. MIDNAPORE CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS

The Congress strongly deprecates the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress Organisations in the district of Midnapore imposed by the Government of Bengal and is of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the Congress Committees are limbs of a terrorist organisation is entirely unjustified.

15. NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Congress has emphasized the importance of national education ever since 1906, and during the non-cooperation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organisation of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives have been anti-national and anti-social, its methods have been antiquated, and it has been confined to a small number of people

and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential therefore to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale. As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling state education, it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2. The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue.

3. Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

Accordingly the Congress is of opinion that an All India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established, and for this purpose requests and authorises Dr. Zakir Husain and Shri E. Aryanayakam to take immediate steps, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of basic national education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.

The said Board shall have power to frame its own Constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

16. MINORITY RIGHTS

The Congress welcomes the growth of anti-imperialist feeling among the Muslim and other minorities in India and the growing unity of all classes and communities in India in the struggle for India's independence which is essentially

one and indivisible and can only be carried on effectively on a united national basis. In particular the Congress welcomes the large numbers of members of the minority communities who have joined the Congress during the past year and given their mass support to the struggle for freedom and the ending of the exploitation of India's masses.

The Congress approves of and confirms the resolution of the Working Committee on Minority Rights passed in Calcutta in October 1937, and declares afresh that it regards it as its primary duty and fundamental policy to protect the religious, linguistic, cultural and other rights of the minorities in India so as to ensure for them in any scheme of government to which the Congress is a party, the widest scope for their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation.

17. INDIAN STATES

In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States, new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place, the Congress lays down afresh its policy in regard to the States.

The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which can not be separated. The *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplors the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States. But,

under existing circumstances, the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions, imposed by the rulers, or by British authority working through them, hamper its activities. The hope and assurance which its name and great prestige raise in the minds of the people of the States find no immediate fulfilment, and disillusion results. It is not in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indignity to the National Flag. The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom.

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organisational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy. Individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation, and thus unhindered by external considerations.

The Congress therefore directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the

Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.

The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.

18. MINISTERIAL RESIGNATIONS IN U. P. AND BEHAR

In accordance with the direction of the Faizpur Congress, the All India Congress Committee decided in March, 1937 the issue of acceptance of office in provinces and permitted Congressmen to form Ministries, provided certain assurances were given by or on behalf of the British Government. These assurances not being forthcoming, the Leaders of Congress Parties in the Provincial Assemblies declined at first to form Ministries. Thereafter there was a considerable argument for some months regarding these assurances and various declarations were made by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governors of the Provinces. In these declarations it was definitely stated, among other things, that there would be no interference with the day to day administration of provincial affairs by responsible Ministers.

The experience of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces has shown that at least in two provinces, the United Provinces and Behar, there has in fact been interference in the day to day administration of provincial affairs as shown hereafter. The Governors, when they invited Congress members to form Ministries knew that the Congress Manifesto had mentioned the release of political prisoners as one of the major items of the Congress policy. In pursuance thereof the Ministers began the release of political prisoners and they soon experienced delay, which was sometimes vexatious, before the Governors would endorse the orders of release. The way releases have been repeatedly delayed is evidence of the exemplary patience of Ministers. In the opinion of the Congress, release of prisoners is a matter coming essentially within the purview of day to day administra-

tion, which does not admit of protracted discussion with Governors. The function of the Governor is to guide and advise Ministers, and not to interfere with the free exercise of their judgment in the discharge of their day to day duty. It was only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an annual account to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people backing them, that the Committee had to instruct Ministers, who were themselves sure of their ground, to order release of the political prisoners in their charge and to resign if their orders were countermanded. The Congress approves of and endorses the action taken by the Ministers of the United Provinces and Behar and congratulates them on it.

In the opinion of the Congress, the interference of the Governor-General with the deliberate action of the respective Prime Ministers is not merely a violation of the assurance above referred to, but it is also a misapplication of Section 126(5) of the Government of India Act. There was no question of grave menace to peace and tranquillity involved. The Prime Ministers had besides in both cases satisfied themselves from assurances from the prisoners concerned and otherwise of their change of mentality and acceptance of the Congress policy of non-violence. Indeed it is the Governor-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily, in spite of the Congress effort to the contrary, become such a grave menace.

The Congress has, during the short period that Congressmen have held office, given sufficient evidence of their self-sacrifice, administrative capacity and constructive ability in the matter of enacting legislation for the amelioration of economic and social evils. The Congress gladly admits that a measure of co-operation was extended by the Governors to the Ministers. It has been the sincere effort on the part of the Congress to extract what is possible from the Act for the public good and to strengthen the people in the pursuit of their goal of complete independence and the ending of imperialistic exploitation of the masses of India.

The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis which may involve non-violent non-cooperation and direct action

consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence. The Congress is therefore at present reluctant to instruct Ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action, and invites His Excellency the Governor-General to reconsider his decision so that the Governors may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers in the matter of the release of the political prisoners.

The Congress regards the formation of irresponsible Ministries as a way of disguising the naked rule of the sword. The formation of such Ministries is calculated to rouse extreme bitterness, internal quarrels and further deepen the resentment against the British Government. When the Congress approved of acceptance of office, with great reluctance and considerable hesitation, it had no misgivings about its own estimate of the real nature of the Government of India Act. The latest action of the Governor-General justifies that estimate and not only exposes the utter inadequacy of the Act to bring real liberty to the people, but also shows the intention of the British Government to use and interpret it not for the expansion of liberty, but for its restriction. Whatever, therefore, may be the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realise that there can be no true freedom for the country so long as this Act is not ended and a new constitution, framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, takes its place. The aim of all Congressmen, whether in office or out of office, in legislatures or out of legislatures, can only be to reach that goal even though it may mean, as it often must mean, sacrifice of many a present advantage, however beneficial and worthy it might be for the time being.

On behalf of the U. P. Governor it has been stated that the demonstrations organised to welcome the Kakori prisoners and the speeches delivered by some of them had interfered with the policy of gradual release of political prisoners. The Congress has always discouraged unseemly demonstrations and other objectionable activities. The demonstrations and speeches referred to by the U. P. Governor were strongly disapproved by Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, had similarly taken immediate

notice of the indiscipline which was thus betrayed. Nor were they ignored by the Ministers. As a result of these corrective steps public opinion rapidly changed and even the persons concerned came to realise their mistake. And when six prisoners, one of whom was a prominent member of the Kakori group, were released subsequently, about two months after the release of the Kakori prisoners, no demonstrations were held in their honour nor any reception was accorded to them. Nearly four more months have since elapsed and any delay in releasing the remaining fifteen prisoners only on account of the demonstrations or the speeches connected with the prisoners who were released in August, is now utterly unjustified. The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the Ministers and they are entitled to perform their functions in such manner as they deem proper. It is their business to weigh all relevant factors in the light of prevailing circumstances, but their decisions once taken ought to be accepted and enforced. Any interference with them in the exercise of their powers in the normal day to day administration is bound to undermine and weaken their position. The Congress Ministers have more than once declared their determination to take adequate action in the matter of violent crime, and the risk run in releasing prisoners especially when they have abjured the path of violence, is altogether imaginary.

The Congress has given during the past few months ample evidence of its desire to take severe notice of indiscipline and breach of the code of non-violence that the Congress has laid down for itself. Nevertheless the Congress invites the attention of Congressmen to the fact that indiscipline in speech and action, calculated to promote or breed violence, retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal.

In pursuit of its programme of release of political prisoners, the Congress has not hesitated to sacrifice office and the opportunity of passing ameliorative measures. But the Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger-strikes for release. Hunger-strikes embarrass the Congress in pursuit of its policy of securing release of political prisoners. The Congress, therefore, urges those who

are still continuing their hunger-strike in the Punjab to give up their strike, and assures them that whether in provinces where Congressmen hold ministerial offices or in other provinces, Congressmen will continue their efforts to secure the release of detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means.

In view of the situation that has arisen in the country, the Congress authorises the Working Committee to take such action as it may consider necessary and to take the direction of the All-India Congress Committee in dealing with the crisis whenever necessity arises for it.

19. KISAN SABHAS

In view of certain difficulties that have arisen in regard to the Kisan Sabhas and other organisations in some parts of India, the Congress desires to clarify the position and state its attitude in regard to them. The Congress has already fully recognised the right of Kisans to organise themselves in peasant unions. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the Congress itself is in the main a Kisan organisation and as contacts with the masses have increased vast numbers of Kisans have joined it and influenced its policy. The Congress must, and has in fact, stood for these Kisan masses and championed their claims, and has worked for the independence of India which must be based on the freedom from exploitation of all our people. In order to achieve this independence and strengthen the Kisans and realise their demands, it is essential that the Congress be strengthened and that Kisans should be invited to join it in ever larger numbers and organise to carry on their struggle under its banner. It is thus the duty of every Congressman to work for the spread of the Congress organisation in every village in India and not to do anything which weakens this organisation in any way.

While fully recognising the right of the Kisans to organise Kisan Sabhas, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and will not countenance any of the activities of those Congressmen who as members of the Kisan

Sabhas help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy. The Congress, therefore, calls upon provincial Congress Committees to bear the above in mind and in pursuance of it take suitable action wherever called for.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Certain changes were introduced in the Constitution at the Open Session. These changes are incorporated in the new Constitution published after Haripura. The Congress also passed the following resolution appointing a constitution committee.

20. CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of—Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, Shri Bhulabhai J. Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, Shri S. A. Brelvi, Shri Kiran Sankar Roy, Shri Anandshivam Iyengar and Shri J. B. Kripalani as convener, to consider and frame rules, if necessary, concerning the following matters:—

- (a) The advisability or otherwise of indirect elections of delegates;
- (b) Genuine membership and proper elections;
- (c) Suitability of territorial representation on the A. I. C. C. and in provinces where it may be considered suitable, the method of such representation;
- (d) Suitability or otherwise of the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote in the elections to the membership of the A. I. C. C.;
- (e) Any Consequential changes that may be necessary as a result of fixing of constituencies in connection with Article VI(e).

The recommendations of this Committee will be given effect to on their being approved by the A. I. C. C.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Haripura, February 16, 1938

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held in the Subjects Committee Pandal at Haripura on February 16, 1938 at 2 p.m. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Presided.

1. MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Calcutta were confirmed. The audited accounts submitted by the General Secretary were passed.

2. GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

The General Secretary's Report was placed before the Committee. After a short discussion the Report was adopted.

3. DEPOSIT FROM CANDIDATES TO THE A. I. C. C.

The Committee passed the following resolution:—

Resolved that a deposit of Rs. 10 be taken from those members of the Provincial Congress Committees as stood candidates for A. I. C. C. membership. The deposit was to be paid back to the unsuccessful candidates.

Haripura, February 22, 1938

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held at Haripura on February 22, 1938 at 10 a.m. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

1. AUDITORS

The Committee passed the following resolution:—

Resolved that Messrs Dalal and Shah and Messrs Chotalal H. Shah and Co. of Bombay be appointed as honorary auditors of the Congress.

2. WORKING COMMITTEE

The President announced the names of the new Working Committee.

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, (*President*).
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
3. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.
4. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
5. Babu Rajendra Prasad.
6. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
7. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, (*Treasurer*).
8. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram.
9. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.
10. Shri Bhulabhai Desai.
11. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
12. Shri Sarat Chandra Bose.
13. Shri Hare Krishna Mehtab.
14. Shri J. B. Kripalani, (*General Secretary*).

The name of the remaining fifteenth member was to be announced later.

Delhi, September 24, 25 and 26, 1938

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Delhi on September 24, 25 and 26 in a special pandal erected for the purpose. 235 members representing all the provinces were present. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided at the first two sittings on September 24 and 25 on

account of the unavoidable absence of the Congress president owing to sudden illness. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose however presided at the third sitting on September 26.

The minutes of the last A. I. C. C. meetings held at Haripura on February 16, and 22 were confirmed.

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed with slight modifications.

1. THE C. P. MINISTERIAL CRISIS

The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the Central Provinces Ministerial crisis and fully endorse the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of H. E. the Governor of the C. P. in this unfortunate episode.

The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of opinion that the conduct of Dr. N. B. Khare since his resignation from the C. P. Ministry deserves the severest condemnation and recommends to the Working Committee to take disciplinary measure against Dr. Khare.

2. FEDERATION

As doubt has been expressed in certain quarters as to the attitude of the Congress on the question of Federation the A. I. C. C. considers it necessary to reiterate the following resolution passed at the Haripura Session of the Congress:

“The Congress has rejected the new constitution and declared that a constitution for India which can be accepted by the people, must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthen the nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to

imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government.

"The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation; but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election. The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible Government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses. Otherwise the Federation as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the states in internal and external conflicts.

"The Congress therefore reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration. In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it. In case such a contingency arises, the All-India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard."

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that developments have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution and warns the British Government against entertaining the hope that the Congress will ever submit to the imposition of Federation on the country against its declared will to the contrary.

The A. I. C. C. further declares that the continuance of the irresponsible Government at the Centre is becoming intolerable and further prolongation may precipitate a crisis which all desire to postpone if at all possible.

3. INDIAN STATES

The A. I. C. C. notes with sorrow and dismay the repression that has been going on in Travancore for some days. The

evidence that has come to the Congress Office, if it is to be believed, goes to show that the movement led by the State Congress in Travancore is strictly constitutional and for a constitutional purpose, viz., attainment of responsible Government under the aegis of H. H. the Maharaja. The repudiation published on behalf of the State is categorically contradicted by the spokesmen of the State Congress. In the circumstances the A. I. C. C. recommends to the Travancore Government for adoption of the following policy, viz., assurance on the one hand that the State Congress is free to carry on the movement for responsible Government in a constitutional manner, appointment of a Committee containing among others representatives of the State Congress to explore the possibility of granting responsible Government, and an inquiry conducted by a jurist outside the State, of unimpeachable impartiality, into the recent happenings including the charges made by the State of provocations justifying State measures including firing on unarmed people resulting in deaths and injuries, and an amnesty to the prisoners.

The A. I. C. C. regrets that the Hyderabad State has issued ordinances which appear to give to the State power altogether in excess of requirements.

The A. I. C. C. has also received complaints of severe repression in States like Dhankanal, Talcher, Kashmir and Sahawal.

In all these cases the people of the States have appealed to the Congress for advice, guidance and help.

The A. I. C. C. can but reiterate its policy of non-interference and, consistently with its resources, to help the people in every way open to the Congress. The policy of non-interference is an admission of the limitations of the Congress. The Congress policy has been one of friendliness to the States. In spite of the declarations of some Congressmen to the contrary, the corporate policy of the Congress, so long as it holds by truth and non-violence, must be one of continuous attempt to convert the Princes to the view that their true welfare consists in a voluntary surrender of power to the people so as to bring them in line with the people of so-called British India, consistently with the

existence of the constitutional heads of the respective States.

4. PALESTINE

Since the Haripura Congress condemned the decision of Great Britain as a Mandatory Power to bring about the partition of Palestine in the teeth of the opposition of the Arabs and the appointment of a Commission to carry out this project, the A. I. C. C. regrets to find that the same policy is still being pushed with vigour and relentlessness. The A. I. C. C. protests against the reign of terror that has now almost assumed the form of a war between the British and the Arabs of Palestine.

In the present world conditions the A. I. C. C. trusts that Britain would be well advised in revoking its present policy and leave the Jews and Arabs to amicably settle the issues between them and appeals to the Jews not to take shelter behind British Imperialism.

5. BURMA RIOTS

The A. I. C. C. expresses its deep sympathy with the Indian sufferers during the recent deplorable riots that broke out in Burma resulting in heavy loss of life and serious injuries and destruction and burning of property. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be a thorough and impartial inquiry into the causes of the riots and the amount of damage done to life and property. In the opinion of the A.I.C.C. the demolished places of worship should be restored and adequate compensation awarded to the sufferers unless they are found guilty of having participated in the riots. The A. I. C. C. is also of opinion that safety of life and property should be assured to the large Indian colony many of whom have settled in Burma for generations without let or hindrance.

The A. I. C. C. reminds the great people of Burma that there is a long tradition of friendship between the two countries and that the relations between the Burmans and Indian settlers have hitherto been cordial and happy. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Government and the people of Burma to see to it that nothing is done to disturb the happy relations subsisting between the two countries.

The A. I. C. C. advises the Indian settlers to rely more upon their ability, by strictly just dealings, to cultivate friendship with the Burmans than upon any aid that might be rendered by the mother country or the Government of India.

6. WAR DANGER

In the event of war breaking out in Europe, the A. I. C. C. delegates its powers to the Working Committee to deal with the situation as it arises from time to time in the light of the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and war danger.

7. REPRESSION IN BUGTI

The A. I. C. C. condemns the oppressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of the Bugti territory in Baluchistan have since long been suffering at the hands of the tribal head Mehrab Khan.

The Committee are of the view that the British authorities who have assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have failed to discharge that responsibility.

The Committee calls upon the authorities to take immediate measures to stop the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the Bugti tribesmen had to live and suffer all these years.

8. CIVIL LIBERTY

Inasmuch as people including Congressmen have been found in the name of civil liberty to advocate murder, arson, looting and class war by violent means and several newspapers are carrying on a campaign of falsehood and violence calculated to incite the readers to violence and to lead to communal conflicts the Congress warns the public that civil liberty does not cover acts of or incitement to violence or promulgation of palpable falsehoods. In spite therefore of the Congress policy on civil liberty remaining unchanged the Congress will consistently with its tradition support measures that may be undertaken by the Congress Governments for the defence of life and property.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Wardha, February 3-6, 1938

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

OBITUARY

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Shrimati Swarooprani Nehru, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Shri Sarat Chandra Chatterjee.

HUNGER STRIKE

1. The Working Committee have heard with profound grief of the death of Syt. Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Jail. The Committee conveys their heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family of Syt. Harendra Munshi.

2. In view of repeated hunger strikes that have occurred in recent months, the Working Committee feel it imperative to define their attitude on this question. The Committee definitely disapproves of the policy of resorting to hunger strikes on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain their release and believe that such a step, on the contrary, stands in the way. The Committee strongly endorses the appeal recently made by Mahatma Gandhi to the hunger strikers in the Dacca Jail and urge the hunger strikers in all jails in India to give up hunger strike.

3. The Committee desires to point out that the Congress Ministries and this Committee have had constantly before them the question of the release of detenus and political prisoners and the former have by now released a very large number and are taking active steps for the release of the remainder. So far as the provinces with non-Congress ministries are concerned, the Committee feels that this question has not been approached by them in the same spirit as by the

Congress Ministries and that the releases in those provinces have consequently been inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The Committee deplores the conditions in the Dacca Jail and other jails in Bengal and call upon the Government of Bengal to immediately remove the legitimate grievances of the political prisoners in that jail as well as in other jails in that province.

The Committee trusts that with the strenuous and unceasing efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the vigilance of public opinion, the question of release will be satisfactorily solved at an early date and hopes that all detenus and political prisoners will cooperate to this end by exercising patience and self-restraint and that the public will do likewise by maintaining an atmosphere of non-violence.

The Committee passed draft resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Haripura:

- (1) Congress Ministries
- (2) Zanzibar
- (3) Indians in Kenya
- (4) Indians in Ceylon.
- (5) Indian States
- (6) World War
- (7) China

Delegates and members of the A. I. C. C. from N.-W. F. P.:

The following resolution was passed:—

The Committee considered the letter of the General Secretary N.-W. F. P. Congress Committee dated 27th January. In view of the special circumstances mentioned therein the newly elected P. C. C. be provisionally recognised and delegates selected be considered as valid delegates for the Haripura Congress. But fresh elections should take place according to rules by 31st May.

PUNJAB ELECTIONS

The President placed before the Committee the question

of the election disputes that had arisen in the Punjab. He informed the Committee that he had deputed Shri Sri Prakasa to go to the Punjab and make preliminary enquiries into the matter and report to the Working Committee at Haripura.

ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURE IN BENGAL

The letter of Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the Parliamentary Party in Bengal, in this connection was placed before the Committee. The Committee accepted the suggestions made therein, that each member should pay a monthly sum of Rs. 75 to the general fund that was to remain with the A. I. C. C. office, for work in the province. The payment was to begin from January, 1938.

CONSTITUTION

The Committee discussed the changes to be introduced in the Constitution.

They approved of the idea of fixed constituencies for delegates' election. They also approved of the idea of a system of indirect elections for delegates. But for all such and other material changes in the Constitution the Committee suggested the appointment of a Constitution Committee by the Congress at Haripura.

Haripura, February 14-22, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Vithal Nagar, Haripura, 14-2-38 to 22-2-38. From 14th to 16th February, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided. Thereafter Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided. Besides the two presidents the members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Doulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Narendra Dev, Shankarrao Deo, Achyut Patwardhan and J. B. Kripalani.

MINUTES .

The minutes of the last meeting held at Wardha 3-6 February, 1938 were read and passed.

ACCOUNTS

The audited accounts for the period 16th November, 1936 to 30th September, 1937 were presented and passed.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

Draft resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee were passed:—

(1) Condolence, (2) Excluded Areas and Commissioners' Provinces and Delhi, (3) Indians Overseas, (4) British Guiana, (5) Ajmer Merwara and the Indian States, (6) Palestine, (7) Guidallo, (8) Minority Rights, (9) National Education, (10) Kisan Sabhas, (11) Ministerial Resignations in U. P. and Bihar, (12) Midnapur, (13) Constitution Committee.

(Note:—The draft resolution on Congress Ministries passed by the Working Committee at Wardha was replaced by the new draft on Ministerial Resignations in U. P. and Bihar).

INDIAN STATES

The States People Resolution passed at Wardha was reconsidered in the light of the talks the Committee had with a deputation of States people led by Dr. Pattabhi. The Committee was of the view that the only change that they could accept in the resolution passed at Wardha was that some provision be made for the recognition of the existing Congress Committees in the States. The following addition was therefore made.

In regard to Congress Committees which are functioning at present in any of the States, the Working Committee should consider the position of each of them and determine whether they should continue to function and, if so, under what conditions, in conformity with the general policy of this resolution, they should function.

KENYA

The Draft resolution prepared at Wardha for the Subjects Committee was altered and the following new draft was substituted:

"The Congress is of opinion that the administrative practice of excluding British Indians from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya Colony while a European of any nationality is free to do so constitutes a humiliating disability to the Indians settled in Kenya and is a deliberate offence to the Indian people.

"This Congress further condemns the proposal to promulgate an Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the White Highlands which is calculated to perpetuate statutorily the erstwhile iniquitous practice which should have been abolished long ago in accordance with the declarations of the Government of India at the time of the issue of the White Paper of 1923. The pledge given by the Government of India to get the subject reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed."

(*Note*:—The draft resolutions prepared and Constitutional changes suggested by the Working Committee at Wardha and Haripura were discussed by the Subjects Committee of the 51st Session of the Congress and with alterations accepted by the Subjects Committee were placed before the Open Session).

Haripura, February 22, 1938

The first meeting of the New Working Committee was held in Vithal Nagar, Haripura on 22-2-38 at 2 p.m. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided. The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Doultram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sarat Chandra Bose, Harckrishna Mehtab, and J. B. Kripalani.

PUNJAB

The Committee discussed the situation created by dissensions among Congressmen in the Punjab and passed the following two resolutions:—

1. The Working Committee gladly recognises the

growth of Congress influence and organisation in the Punjab during the past year, but it still feels that effective work is impeded by internal friction and dissension among Congressmen. The Committee is confident that the courage and capacity for sacrifice of the Punjabees, which have been so evident in the past can be organised to greater advantage and appeals to the people of the Punjab to work to this end. In order to help in this work the Committee request Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to visit the Punjab at an early date, to enquire into the situation there, and to make such suggestions, organisational or otherwise, as he may consider necessary. The Maulana will have full authority to deal with the situation and his decisions may be given effect to.

2. In view of various election complaints received from the Punjab Shri Sri Prakasa be requested to visit the Punjab and inquire into the principal complaints and make his recommendations thereon. In making the enquiry he should ask for the co-operation of a representative of the P. C. C. and a representative of the complainant. Shri Sri Prakasa's recommendations should be sent to the A. I. C. C. and the Punjab P. C. C. and to Maulana Azad and the action to be taken in regard to them should be under the direction of Maulana Azad.¹

N.-W. F. P.

The Committee also considered the question of Congress organisation in the N.-W. F. P. The following resolution was passed.

The Working Committee requests Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to visit the Frontier Province at an early date and to confer with the Congress workers there and to advise them about their future work and organisational activities. The Maulana will have authority to make such changes in the present organisation as he may consider necessary and desirable so as to make the organisation more efficient.

CERTIFIED KHADI

The Secretary A. I. S. A. sent a draft resolution on the encouragement of Khadi certified by his organisation which

carried out the rule about minimum wage to the spinners. The Committee discussed the draft and passed the following resolution:—

This Committee notes with satisfaction the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association for ensuring adequate wages to the spinners and other artisans engaged in the production of Khadi and the steps taken by it in that behalf and calls upon all Congressmen and the public in general to give full co-operation and assistance in making this policy a success by purchasing only that Khadi which is certified by the All India Spinners Association.

MYSORE PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The letter of the President, Mysore Parliamentary Board, regarding the bye-elections to the Mysore Assembly was considered. It was decided that the President of the Board be informed that the Board could function as usual for the bye-elections to be held on March 5, 1938. After that date the Congress resolution about Indian States was to be given effect to in Mysore as in other Indian States.

PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE

As the old Parliamentary Sub-Committee came to an end with the Congress Session the Working Committee passed the following resolution appointing the new Sub-Committee for the current session:—

Resolved that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee consisting of the same members as before namely, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Vallabhbai Patel and Rajendra Prasad be formed for the current session to keep in close and constant touch with the Congress Parties in all legislatures in the provinces, to advise them in all activities and to take necessary action in any case of emergency. The members of the committee are individually to perform the same functions as before.

Calcutta, April 1-6, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Cal-

cutta from April 1 to 6, 1938. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The members present were: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jarnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Doulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Sarat Chandra Bose, Hare Krishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani.

1. MINUTES

The minutes of the last two meetings held at Haripura during the Congress Session already circulated were confirmed.

2. TIME-TABLE

The Committee approved of the following time-table fixing the final date for the enrolment of primary members, and the dates for various elections in connection with the next session of the Congress:

1. Congress to meet—*Last week of February, 1939.*
2. Announcement of President's election—*Feb. 2, 1939.*
3. Meeting of delegates to elect the President and members of the A. I. C. C.—*January 29, 1939.*
4. Presidential nominations upto—*January 16, 1939.*
5. Election of delegates—*January 8, 1939.*
6. Last date of enrolment of primary members—*October 1, 1938.*

3. BEHARI-BENGALI CONTROVERSY

The Committee discussed the question in the light of facts kept before them by Shri Rajendra Prasad and passed the following resolution:

“Considered representation on behalf of the domiciled Bengali community in Behar and resolved that the matter be referred to Shri Rajendra Prasad and he be requested to deal with it.”

4. DRY FRUIT MERCHANTS' REPRESENTATION

Considered the representation of the dry fruit merchants from the North-West Frontier Province. The Com-

mittee appreciate the difficulties of the Frontier merchants and have full sympathy with them. The Committee are of the opinion that the difficulty can best be solved by friendly negotiations carried on with the Afghan Consul in India and if need be with the authorities in Kabul. The Committee request Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to interest himself in this matter and carry on the necessary negotiations.

5. RECENTLY RELEASED DETENUS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BENGAL

Resolved that the recently released detenus and political prisoners in Bengal be allowed when enrolled as primary members to contest seats on Congress Committees and in by-elections without being on the membership rolls for three months as provided for in the Constitution.

6. CONGRESS AFFAIRS IN THE PUNJAB

Resolved that as Moulana Abul Kalam Azad is unable to proceed to the Punjab in the near future for reasons of health, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram be requested to go there in his place and with the power the committee had given to Moulana Saheb by its resolution of February 22, 1938 passed at Haripura.

7. N.-W. F. P. ORGANISATION

In view of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad being unable to visit N.-W. F. Province owing to ill-health, the Working Committee request Shri Jairamdas Doulatram to go to that province to confer with the Congress workers there and to advise them about their future work and organisational activities. Shri Jairamdas will have authority to make such changes in the present organisation as he may consider necessary and desirable so as to make the organisation more efficient.

8. APPORTIONMENT OF EXPENDITURE BETWEEN C. P. AND BERAR

A Sub-committee consisting of Shris Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Doulatram and Bhulabhai Desai was appointed to

go into the matter, with Shris M. S. Aney and Ram Rao Deshmukh representing Berar and Shris Ravi Shanker Shukla and Dwarka Prasad Misra representing the C. P. The Subcommittee conferred with them. It was decided that a member of the Working Committee should be deputed to go to C. P. and look into the matter of allotment of revenues as between C. P. and Berar. Shri Vallabhbai was requested by the Working Committee to go to C. P. and bring about the necessary adjustment.

9. FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUB-COMMITTEE

In view of the critical international situation and the possibilities of crises which must involve India's interests, a Foreign Affairs Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretary and Jawaharlal Nehru be appointed. This Committee will keep in touch with the international situation and advise the Working Committee thereon, and will take such steps as it may deem necessary to make clear to the people of foreign countries the Congress viewpoint and policy in regard to international affairs, as contained in the Haripura Congress resolution on foreign policy and other resolutions.

10. FOREIGN COMPANIES IN INDIA

The Working Committee view with grave concern the rapid increase in the number of companies owned and managed by foreign nationals and describing themselves with designations such as "India Ltd." or similar words in the hope or with the object of being regarded as genuine Indian concerns. The establishment of these companies has the effect of robbing India of such advantage or benefit as is expected from the policy of discriminating protection which has been pursued by the Government of India for the development and growth of Indian industries.

The Congress has always opposed the new Constitution not only because it is a negation of political freedom but also because of the inclusion in the Constitution Act of provisions described as safeguards against discrimination. The Working Committee are of opinion that these provisions are not

in the interests of India but are intended and calculated to preserve to foreign nationals and particularly British capitalists the exploitation of the natural wealth and resources of this country. The Working Committee maintain that India has the right to discriminate, if that word must be used, against non-national interests, whenever and wherever the interests of India demand or require it.

The Working Committee have no objection to the use of foreign capital or to the employment of foreign talent when such are not available in India or when India needs them but on condition that such capital and such talent are under the control, direction and management of Indians and are used in the interests of India.

The Working Committee are further of opinion and declare that no concern can or shall be regarded as Swadeshi unless its control, direction and management are in Indian hands. The Working Committee would prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India. The Working Committee therefore hold that the development of India's resources should be achieved by building up industries under the control, direction and management of Indians which is essential for India's economic independence.

11. DISQUALIFICATION OF THE SUBJECTS OF INDIAN STATES

Considered the representation of the All India Marwari Federation. In the opinion of the Working Committee all the disqualifications in the way of Government service and franchise affecting State subjects in the provinces should be removed. The Congress Governments be requested to take such steps as may be necessary to have this done under Section 262 of the Government of India Act.

12. RELEASE OF TWO NON-POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE C. P.

The Working Committee have taken note of the crisis that has arisen in C. P. in connection with the exercise of

clemency by the Minister of justice in respect of a prisoner who was convicted for the offence of committing rape. The Working Committee have seen some of the C. P. Ministers in the matter. In the course of the proceedings of the meeting of the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party, the Minister concerned expressed his regret and offered his resignation. The Working Committee take note of the fact that the Ministers and the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party are satisfied with the apology the Minister has tendered in that, not realising the gravity of the case he was dealing with, he did not share with his colleagues the responsibility of his action. In the opinion of the Working Committee, in order to arrive at a just decision, the real question to be considered is whether the Minister committed a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice. If he did, then the resignation was the only proper course in the interest of justice, purity of administration and honour of womanhood. If on the other hand, there is no miscarriage of justice, there is no need for resignation nor possibly for apology. The Working Committee have not sufficient material before them for coming to a decision on merits, and they are reluctant to pass judgment straightway on a matter requiring special and close investigation.

In the course of the proceedings of the Working Committee another case of clemency in respect of a prisoner who had been guilty of insurance fraud was also brought to light. Before coming to a decision the Working Committee have thought it necessary to invite a reputed lawyer to examine both the cases, and advise the Working Committee as to whether, there has been a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice.

The Working Committee appeal to the public to await their final decision in the confidence that it will be given without fear or favour. The Working Committee appeal to the public and the press not to give the case communal character and assure women who are rightly agitated over the case that the Committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they.

13. ACTING GOVERNORSHIP IN ORISSA

The Working Committee have learnt with surprise that an official of the Orissa service subordinate to the Ministers has been appointed to act as Governor in the absence on leave of the present incumbent. Such an appointment is highly undesirable and is in contravention of the usual convention prevailing in other countries. It is difficult for Ministers to act as ministers to those who have been their subordinates and who might have fallen into disfavour with them. The Working Committee understand that the Orissa Ministers have lodged their protest against the appointment and expressed their strong disagreement with it. The Committee invite the Governor-General or the Secretary of State as the case may be, to revise the appointment. The Working Committee suggest the adoption of the recognised convention of appointing the Chief Justices as Acting Governors.

Bombay, May 15-19, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Bombay from 15th to 19th May, 1938. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided. The members present were: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Jairamdas Doulatram, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Hare Krishna Mahtab and J. B. Kripalani.

The Premiers of Madras, Bombay, U. P., C. P., N.-W. F., Utkal and Dr. Syed Mahmud from Bihar were present by special invitation.

1. MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting already circulated were confirmed.

2. ZANZIBAR CLOVE BOYCOTT

The Working Committee read the report of the Clove Boycott Committee and considered the agreement which has been arrived at by the Indian Community in Zanzibar and the Zanzibar Government in respect of the clove trade. This

agreement is subject to the confirmation of the Indian National Congress and the Colonial Office of the British Government. The Working Committee accept the recommendation of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar and confirm the said agreement. The Committee trust that the agreement will be acted upon by the Zanzibar Government in a way so as to give full satisfaction to the Indian community and so as not to raise any doubt or suspicion of discriminatory treatment.

In view of this settlement, the Clove Boycott Committee is hereby authorised to lift the boycott of cloves which has been in operation since September last as and when and under such conditions as it thinks proper.

On the ending of the boycott the Committee trust that the general public and particularly the retailers will patronise those firms that have loyally adhered to the boycott in preference to those who have not.

The Committee congratulate the Indian community in Zanzibar for the brave and successful stand it has made for the rights of Indians overseas.

The Committee further express their gratitude to the merchants, specially in Bombay, who by their loyal cooperation and support even at considerable sacrifice have contributed so greatly to the successful termination of this issue.

The Committee wish also to record its appreciation of the labours of the Clove Boycott Committee.

3. POLITICAL PARTIES USING THE NAME "CONGRESS"

The Committee discussed the question. It was their view that it was undesirable for parties and groups inside or outside the Congress to use the name of the Congress, without due permission. The matter was however left to be dealt with by the General Secretary as occasion arose.

4. AMBULANCE FOR CHINA

Resolved that a Committee consisting of the President, Dr. Jiveraj Mehta, Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose, Dr. R. M. Lohia and Shri G. P. Hatheensing (Convener), with power to

co-opt, be appointed to take necessary steps to send a motor ambulance unit with necessary doctors and nurses to the Chinese National Government and Dr. M. Atal be requested to be in charge of the unit.

5. THE NAME 'CONGRESS' FOR STATE ORGANISATIONS

Haripura Congress came to the decision that in order to encourage the development of the national struggle in the Indian States, independent organisations should be started or continued where they already exist and internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. The Working Committee welcome the formation of such independent organisations but have noted that some of these bear the name of the Congress. While strictly speaking there can be no monopoly in the use of the word 'Congress,' it is clear that in order to give effect to the letter and spirit of the Haripura Congress resolution, nothing should be done which produces any confusion in the public mind as to the constitutional relation between the Congress and the independent State organisations. The Committee feel that the use of the word 'Congress' in the name of the State organisations is bound to create such confusion.

The Committee also wish to draw attention to the fact that under the Haripura resolution Congress Committees continue to exist in the States. Thus there are at the same time Congress Committees and the independent organisations which might sometimes develop in membership and work. If the independent organisations bear the name 'Congress' then it is inevitable that confusion will arise. This will come in the way of Congress Committees functioning in the States.

For these and other reasons the Working Committee feel that it is undesirable to have the word 'Congress' in the name of the independent organisations and trust therefore that the use of this word in this connection will be avoided.

6. MYSORE HAPPENINGS

The Working Committee have read the popular and the official versions of the recent firing that took place near Viduraswatham (Mysore) on unarmed crowds. The Com-

mittee deeply deplore the fact that the State authorities felt called upon to resort to firing. But seeing that the Mysore Government have appointed a tribunal in order to inquire into the causes that led to the firing, the Working Committee refrain from expressing any opinion about the tragedy.

But the Working Committee think that His Highness the Maharaja should establish Responsible Government in his State so that the responsibility for Law and Order, including firing whenever it is deemed necessary will be shouldered by a government answerable to the people. The Working Committee send their condolences to the members of the bereaved families and express their sympathy with those who have suffered injuries.

The Working Committee approve of the settlement effected by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani as between the State and the Mysore State Congress. The Working Committee note with satisfaction that in furtherance of the settlement the Mysore Government have issued a communique and congratulate His Highness the Maharaja and his advisors on the prompt manner in which they are carrying out the settlement. The Working Committee hope that the settlement will be strictly carried out also by the Mysore State Congress.

On the question of the hoisting of the National Flag the Working Committee hope that care will be taken not to do anything that might imply any disrespect to the State Flag by the State Congress or to the National Flag by the State authorities. The final status of the National Flag will depend not upon the ability to exercise compulsion, but upon the correct conduct of Congressmen and the progressive record of service that the Congress establishes in the country. It should further be borne in mind that the National Flag is a symbol of non-violence and national unity to be brought about by means strictly truthful and non-violent. It should further be borne in mind that though there is a growing party among Congressmen who seek the total abolition of States as a relic of Middle Ages, the policy of the Congress as a whole has hitherto been and remains one of friendliness to the States in the hope that they will recognise the signs of the times and

establish responsible government within their borders and otherwise extend and guard the liberty of the people under their jurisdiction.

7. CLEMENCY CASES IN C. P.

The report of the findings of Sir Mammoth Nath Mukerji was placed before the Committee. It was decided that the report be sent to Mr. M. Y. Shareef the Minister of Law and Justice in C. P. and he be requested to take the necessary steps that follow logically from the findings of Sir Mukerji. Shri Shareef has since resigned his ministership.

8. DISCIPLINARY ACTION—SHRI SATYENDRA CHANDRA MITRA

The following decision was taken:—

Shri Satyendra Chandra Mitra was elected to the Bengal Council on the Congress ticket and after signing the Congress pledge according to which he was bound to carry out the Congress directions. He was called upon in common with other Congress legislators to pay the excess of his salary to a special earmarked fund for use in the province and in spite of repeated requests and reminders he has not paid this or any sum and has finally refused to do so, thereby violating his pledge. The Working Committee therefore decide that he should cease to be a primary member of the Congress and should be ineligible for such membership till the committee decide otherwise. Further that he should be ineligible to stand as a Congress candidate for any local body or legislature.

9. OPPRESSIVE MISRULE IN BUGTI

The attention of the Working Committee has been drawn to the oppressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of the Bugti area, lying between Sind and Baluchistan have since long been suffering at the hands of the present Nawab of Bugti and to the sense of grave insecurity of life and property which has been prevailing in that area. The Committee understand that the inquiry

instituted by the Agent to the Governor-General at Quetta in 1932 under Major Beetham amply confirmed the correctness of the complaints made by the people against the Nawab. In the opinion of the Committee it is essential, if the administration of the Bugti area is at all to improve, that the aforesaid report should be published by the Government. The Committee are strongly of the view that the authorities in India and England who have assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have signally failed to discharge that responsibility. The Committee condemn the continuance of the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the inhabitants of the Bugti area have had to live and suffer all these years, and expect that the authorities will take immediate measures to remedy the present state of things and place the administration of the area on a proper democratic basis.

Wardha, July 23-27, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha 23-27 July, 1938. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jammalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sarat Chandra Bose, Shankarrao Dev, Harekrishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani.

1. MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

2. THE ANDHRA, KERALA AND KARNATAK
DEPUTATIONS

The Andhra and Kerala Separation and the Karnataka Unification deputations waited on the Working Committee. The Committee heard them at great length and passed the following resolution:—

"Having heard the views of the deputations of the Andhra P. C. C., the Andhra Mahasabha, the Karnatak Unification Committee, the Karnatak P. C. C. and the Kerala P. C. C. on the question of the redistribution of provinces in India on a linguistic basis for administrative purposes, this Committee declares that the resolution of the Madras legislature on linguistic provinces and of the Bombay legislature on the separation of the Karnatak province were passed with the previous sanction of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the full approval of this committee. This Committee desires to assure the people of the area concerned that the solution of this question would be undertaken as a part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has the power so to do and calls upon the people of these areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf which may divert attention from the main issue now before the country."

3. PROVINCIAL QUOTA

The Committee considered the letter of the Sind P. C. C. for the reduction in the provincial quota. The opinion of the Committee was that no reduction was possible.

4. COMPLAINTS ABOUT LOCAL BODIES

Resolved that no complaints in connection with election and other affairs of the Municipal and other local bodies be addressed to or entertained by the Working Committee, until after such complaints have been placed before the final provincial authority and decided upon.

5. SETTLEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH DRY FRUIT TRADE

The Working Committee appreciate the action of the Afghan Government in abolishing the monopolistic arrangements made by them for controlling the export trade in dry fruit which were detrimental to the interests of Indian merchants in Afghanistan and India. The Committee welcome the restoration of status quo in this behalf which will

help to improve friendly feelings between the people of India and Afghanistan.

6. LATE SHRI RAJA RAU

The Working Committee express their sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Shri B. Raja Rau the former office secretary of the A. I. C. C. and convey their condolence to the family of the deceased.

Resolved that a gratuity of Rs. 1,000 be granted to the widow of Shri B. Raja Rau in recognition of his loyal services to the Congress Organisation.

Note: Shris Bhulabhai Desai and Sarat Chandra Bose were good enough to contribute half of this amount. The remaining half (Rs. 500) was to be paid from the A. I. C. C. funds.

7. EXPERT COMMITTEE

With reference to the resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on August 14-17, 1937, relating to the appointment of an Expert Committee to explore the possibilities of an All India Industrial Plan, it is resolved that as a preliminary step the President be authorised to convene a conference of the Ministers of Industries at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones.

8. BIHARI-BENGALI CONTROVERSY

Resolved that Shri Rajendra Prasad be authorized to go into the Bihari-Bengali controversy relating to the questions of (1) Domicile, (2) Public Services, (3) Education and (4) Trade and Commerce, and settle it finally.

Pending the settlement of this controversy, the Working Committee appeal to all concerned, particularly to the Press of Behar and Bengal to desist from any further agitation in this behalf and help in creating a proper atmosphere for the just and harmonious solution of the whole problem.

9. DEPUTATION OF VAIDS AND HOMEOPATHS

The deputation waited upon the Working Committee. The views of the Deputation were heard at some length and the following resolution was passed:

The Working Committee received a deputation of medical practitioners other than allopaths. The Committee are of opinion that innumerable persons in towns and villages of India are receiving the benefit of treatment under other systems like Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy and they should receive recognition and encouragement from Congress Governments. The Committee are further of opinion that while measures may be adopted to ensure efficiency of such practitioners, nothing should be done to penalise any particular system. As regards the objections to particular proposals in the Bill pending before the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the matter is referred to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

10. INDIAN STATES

(a) By the Haripura resolution the Congress Committees in the Indian States were placed under the direct control of the Working Committee. In this connection the following resolution was passed:

“Resolved that for the time being, the State Congress Committees do function as heretofore under the jurisdiction of their respective Provincial Congress Committees.”

(b) Congratulations to Mansa and other States.

The following resolution was passed:

“The Working Committee congratulate the people of Mansa, Wala, Ramdurg, Jamkhandi and Miraj on the success they have achieved in their brave and non-violent struggle for the vindication of their economic and political rights.”

(c) Sympathy for Nilgiri (Utkal).

The following resolution was passed:

“The Working Committee express their sympathy for the people of Nilgiri state in Orissa on the non-violent struggle they have been carrying on against the regulations banning

meetings, processions and the formation of associations within the State."

11. COORG

The Haripura resolution about Coorg has not been properly recorded in the Bulletin. It is recorded that Coorg be united "with Karnatak in the province of Bombay." It should be that Coorg be united "with Karnatak in the province of Madras." The Committee authorised the correction.

12. SIKAR

Having heard the account of the settlement of Jaipur Sikar dispute from Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, the Committee congratulate the people of Sikar on having listened to his counsel and shown the true spirit of bravery in having decided to give up the idea of armed resistance and adopt the method of non-violence resulting in the prevention of bloodshed which was imminent.

The Working Committee regret the needless loss of life that resulted during the recent firing in Sikar on the 4th July and express their condolences to the families of the deceased.

The Working Committee hope that in the future dealings with the people of Sikar the Jaipur authorities will act in a spirit of conciliation so as to restore friendly relations between the State and the Rao Raja and the people of Sikar.

13. PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL BODIES AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

On a reference made by Mahakoshal P. C. C. whether the Presidents of local bodies who were Congressmen were above party discipline, it was decided that the Presidents of such bodies if they were Congressmen were as much bound by the Congress discipline as any other Congressman.

14. THE C. P. MINISTERIAL CRISIS

The Committee as it met on the 23rd was informed of what had happened upto then by Shri Vallabhbhai Patel,

the Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. The compromise arrived at Pachmarhi had not been carried out obviously by the Premier. The Ministry was not therefore working smoothly. There were press reports that two Ministers had put their resignations in the hands of the Premier on July 15. Dr. Khare sent a report to Shri Vallabh-bhai Patel that he and some of his colleagues had not come to any agreement about some of the items of the Pachmarhi compromise. At the same time the Premier wrote that he would not take any precipitate action and leave the matter to Shri Vallabh-bhai for final decision and would keep him informed about further developments. He did not however mention anything about any resignations from his Cabinet. Shri Vallabh-bhai sent word to Dr. Khare not to precipitate matters as the whole question would be gone into and decided upon by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee meeting on the 23rd July. On the morning of the 21st however, Nagpur and the whole of India were surprised and shocked to learn that Dr. Khare along with two of his colleagues, Shris Gole and Deshmukh had resigned and their resignations had been accepted by the Governor. The remaining three Ministers, Shris Shukla, Misra and Mehta who had refused to resign were dismissed by the Governor. Not only this but during the course of the night of the 20th a new Ministry had been formed without the consent and permission of the Congress authorities.

What had happened was that on the noon of the 19th Dr. Khare had enquired of his colleagues if they would resign in the event of his resigning. The 3 Mahakoshal ministers informed him that they would not, without orders from the Congress higher authorities and that he himself should not precipitate matters, on the eve of the meetings of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee. Dr. Khare however sent his resignation and that of the two consenting ministers. Thereupon the Governor invited the three remaining ministers to put in their resignation. They asked for time to consult the Congress authorities. They put themselves in touch with Shri Rajendra Prasad who was at Wardha on the night of the 20th. Shri Rajendra Prasad advised them not to resign and sent letters to Dr. Khare, Gole and

Deshmukh advising them to withdraw their resignations or at least not insist upon their acceptance till the Working Committee had met. These letters had no effect. The Mahakoshal ministers informed the Governor that as instructed by the Congress authorities they were unable to resign. Thereupon the Governor accepted the resignations of the Premier and the 2 ministers who had resigned and terminated the office of the remaining 3 ministers. At 5 a.m. on the 21st he called Dr. Khare to form a new ministry. Dr. Khare gave the names of Shris Gole, Deshmukh, Agnibhoj and Pyarelal Singh as his new colleagues. All this drama was enacted during the course of one night.

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee that met at Wardha on the 22nd called Dr. Khare. The President was also present. The President and the Committee had some discussion with Dr. Khare who was now convinced that he had committed a grave error of judgment in resigning himself and calling upon his colleagues to do likewise without consulting either the Parliamentary Sub-Committee or the Working Committee. The only course therefore left for him was to undo the wrong that had been done. Dr. Khare with the advice of the President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee returned to Nagpur and placed the following letter of resignation in the hands of the Governor on the 23rd:

"Dear Sir Francis,

Since my resignation and formation of the new Cabinet I have had opportunities of consulting the Congress President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. As a result of this consultation I have come to realise that in submitting resignation and forming a new cabinet I have acted hastily and committed an error of judgment. I, therefore, hereby tender resignation on behalf of myself and my colleagues."

On the evening of 23rd Dr. Khare was again called to Wardha to meet the Working Committee. The Committee indicated to him that the natural consequence of his resignation as the Premier was that he should resign the leadership of the C. P. Parliamentary party. He accepted this position but informed the committee that after his resignation was accepted by the party, he would again put himself forward

as a candidate for the same position. The Committee indicated to him that after all that had happened it would not be proper for him to adopt such a course. In the event of his persisting the committee would be constrained to pronounce their judgment on the series of events culminating in his forming the new ministry. Dr. Khare however insisted upon what he called his right to contest the election for the leadership.

The Committee also advised Dr. Khare to call the meeting of the party on the 27th at Wardha. In this connection he issued the following notice calling a meeting of the C. P. Parliamentary party:

"A special meeting of the C. P. and Berar Congress Assembly Party will be held at Wardha on Wednesday the 27th July at 9 a.m. to consider:

1. The situation created by the resignation of the Premier and his two colleagues, the dismissal of the three Mahakoshal ministers, the reformation of the new Ministry and its subsequent resignation;
2. Resignation of the Leader;
3. The election of the Leader.

Under some misapprehension telegrams have been sent to some members of the party informing them that the above meeting will be held at Nagpur. They will please note that the above meeting will be held at Wardha and not at Nagpur."

On the 25th evening Dr. Khare along with the Congress President and some members of the Working Committee met Gandhiji at Shegaon. After some discussion it was proposed that Dr. Khare should make a statement and issue it to the Press. Dr. Khare accordingly prepared a statement. Some additions and alterations were suggested by Gandhiji. After considering these, Dr. Khare changed his mind and wanted time to consult his friends at Nagpur and decide whether he would issue the statement or not. He said that if by 3 p.m. on the 26th the Working Committee did not hear from him it must be considered that he was not prepared to issue any statement. At 3 p.m. on the 26th the Working

Committee were informed by a phone message from Nagpur that Dr. Khare was not prepared to issue the statement in question. The Working Committee thereupon passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

“After having heard the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and given anxious consideration to the circumstances that have happened since the agreement arrived at in Pachmarhi between the Ministers in the presence of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees concerned and after having had several interviews with Dr. Khare, the Working Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that by the series of acts committed by Dr. Khare culminating in his resignation of his charge and demanding the resignation of his colleagues of their charge, Dr. Khare was guilty of grave errors of judgment which have exposed the Congress in the C. P. to ridicule and brought down its prestige. He was also guilty of gross indiscipline in that he acted in spite of warning against any precipitate action. His resignation was the direct cause of the exercise, for the first time since office acceptance by the Congress, by a Governor of his special powers whereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed. The Working Committee note with satisfaction that these three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to the Congress by declining, without instructions from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, to tender their resignations which were demanded by the Governor. Dr. Khare was further guilty of indiscipline in accepting the invitation of the Governor to form a new ministry and contrary to the practice of which he was aware in actually forming a new ministry and taking the oath of allegiance, without reference to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee, specially when he knew that the meetings of these bodies were imminent. By all these acts of his, Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organisation. He should be so considered till, by his services as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging

the duties that may be undertaken by him.

"The Working Committee have also come to the reluctant conclusion that H. E. the Governor of the C. P. has shown by the ugly haste with which he turned night into day and forced the crisis that has overtaken the province that he was eager to weaken and discredit the Congress in so far as it lay in him to do so. The Working Committee hold that knowing, as he must have, what was going on among the members of the then cabinet and the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee he ought not to have, with unseemly haste, accepted the resignation of the three Ministers and demanded the resignation of the other three, dismissed them on their refusal to resign and immediately called upon Dr. Khare to form a new Ministry and sworn in the available members of the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of the Working Committee which was imminent."

The Working Committee passed another resolution prescribing the procedure to be followed in the party meeting called for the 27th at Wardha. The resolution said: "With reference to the meeting of the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party convened at the instance of the Working Committee, the Working Committee decided that in the special circumstances that have arisen, the President do preside over the meeting, communicate to it the resolution of the Working Committee passed on the 26th July, 1938 relating to the ministerial crisis in C. P. and conduct its proceedings. The Working Committee also decide that the meeting be held at the Navabharat Vidyalaya, Wardha."

The C. P. Parliamentary party met as directed at Wardha on the 27th at 9 a.m. President Subhas Chandra Bose presided. Those present were, the members of the C. P. Parliamentary Party, the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the General Secretary of the Congress and the Presidents of the 3 P. C. Cs—Mahakoshal, Nagpur and Berar. In the voting however only the members of the party participated.

The President began the proceedings by reading the resolution of the Working Committee. He then placed the

resignation of Dr. Khare from the leadership of the party before the meeting. This was accepted. He thereafter called upon the members to elect their new leader. One member proposed the name of Dr. Khare and asked for the ruling of the President if his name could be proposed. The president pointed out that the resolution of the Working Committee was before the meeting and if in the face of that Dr. Khare's name was proposed he would accept the proposal and allow voting thereon. On the President giving this ruling the name of Dr. Khare was withdrawn. The other names proposed were those of Shris Jajuji, Shukla, Gupta, Khandekar, Mehta and Deshmukh. As Jajuji's consent had not been taken his name was withdrawn. Shris Gupta, Khandekar and Mehta declined to stand. There thus remained only 2 candidates in the field, Shris Shukla and Deshmukh. Votes were taken. Shri Shukla got 47 and Shri Deshmukh 12 votes. 13 members remained neutral. The President declared Shri Shukla as the duly elected Leader of the C. P. Parliamentary party.

CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Committee approved of the draft of the letter to be sent by the president in answer to the letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah and the resolutions of the Muslim League.

Delhi, September 22 to October 2, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Delhi from September 22 to October 2, 1938.

The members present were: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Deo, Harekrishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani.

Owing to sudden illness, the President could not be present at the meetings of the Working Committee till the afternoon of the 26th. In his absence Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. From the afternoon of the 26th onwards Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The Premiers of the Congress provinces who had been

invited to attend were present at most of the meetings of the Working Committee upto the 26th September.

1. MINUTES

The Minutes of the last meeting held at Wardha, July 23-27, 1938, already circulated, were confirmed.

2. BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1938-39

Resolved that the following budget for the A. I. C. C. office for the year beginning from October 1, 1938 and ending with September 30, 1939, be sanctioned:

*Budget Estimates for the period from October 1, 1938 to Sep. 30, 1939 of the
A. I. C. C. Office, Allahabad*

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INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Heads of Receipt	Estimated receipts		Heads of Expenditure	Estimated Expenditure	
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.
1. Surplus from Congress Sessions	5000	0 0	1. Establishment	18000	0 0
2. Purse and General Fund Collections	6000	0 0	2. Postage and Teleg.	3300	0 0
3. Provincial contribution	6000	0 0	3. Stationery	1000	0 0
4. A. I. C. C. Membership subscription	3000	0 0	4. Printing (office and bulletins)	1000	0 0
5. Delegates fees	9000	0 0	5. Travelling expenses	5000	0 0
6. Interest:			6. Rents and Taxes (electricity)	425	0 0
1. Allahabad Office	50	0 0	7. Telephone charges	500	0 0
2. Treasurer's Office	4000	0 0	8. Furniture	800	0 0
7. Sale proceeds of old publications	2200	0 0	9. Library	1000	0 0
8. Congress Publications	500	0 0	10. Repairs to Swaraj-Bhawan	1000	0 0
			11. Miscellaneous	800	0 0
			12. Provident Fund contribution	350	0 0
			13. Membership fee for I. P. C.	2000	0 0
			14. Travelling expenses of delegates to I. P. C.	500	0 0
			15. Excess of receipts over payments	75	0 0
	35750	0 0		35750	0 0

3. WAFDIST INVITATION

The Committee requested the President to extend on behalf of the Congress an invitation to the Wafdist Party of Egypt to visit India specially at the time of the Annual Session of the Congress. The Committee also authorised the President to thank the Wafdist Party on behalf of the Congress for their kind invitation conveyed through their leader Nahas Pasha, to send a delegation to their Party Conference to be held at the end of November this year and to say that the Working Committee will try to send representatives to the Conference of the party.

4. LAST DATE OF ENROLMENT

In response to the urgent demand from several Provincial Congress Committees it is resolved that the last date of enrolment of the primary members be extended to October 31, 1938 and a suitable time-table be drawn up by the A. I. C. C. office for subsequent elections.

The following time-table was issued by the office:—

TIME-TABLE

1. Congress Session—*Last week of Feb. 1939.*
2. Announcement of President's election—*Feb. 3, 1939.*
3. Meeting of delegates to elect President and A. I. C. C. members—*January 29, 1939.*
4. Presidential nominations upto—*January 15, 1939.*
5. Election of delegates—*January 8, 1939.*
6. Last date of enrolment—*October 31, 1938.*

5. PROCEEDS OF THE MEMBERSHIP FEE

It was the opinion of the Committee that the net proceeds of the membership of any year should be held in reserve for use by the new Committees, Provincial, District, Tahsil, Town etc., that come into existence after the annual elections.

6. NAGPUR P. C. C. OFFICE

The Committee sanctioned the change of the head office of the Nagpur P. C. C. from Nagpur to Wardha.

7. PUNJAB DISPUTE

The two parties in the Punjab Congress organisation met the members of the Committee on the 23rd September at 5 p.m. The one party was represented by Dr. Gopichand and the other by Shris Raja Ram, Dunichand, and others. The Committee heard them at great length.

The Committee saw no reason to interfere with the award of Shri Jairamdas Doulatram and they upheld the interpretation of the award given by Shri J. B. Kripalani in his judgment communicated to the parties. By this the Working Council constituted by Shri Jairamdas Doulatram was to function as the executive authority of the Congress organisation in the Punjab in spite of the resignations of Dr. Satyapal and Shri Dunichand. Dr. Satyapal however could choose any two representatives of his party to be on the Working Council. The Office, for the day to day work of the P. P. C. C., was to be in charge of the Secretary of the Working Council, namely, Dr. Gopichand. At the time of the meetings of P. C. C. Shri Raja Ram was to have free access to all the papers and the files necessary for the conduct of business of these meetings.

This decision of the Working Committee was communicated to the parties.

Shri Dunichand however met the Committee again on the 28th September. He said that the Congress work in Punjab could not go on satisfactorily if only one party, as at present, worked the Congress machinery. It was pointed out to him that Dr. Satyapal had himself brought about this state of affairs by his resignation. It was their considered opinion that Shri Jairamdas Doulatram's remarks on the election petition against Dr. Satyapal were in no way derogatory to his character as the objections raised were of a technical character and the election was not set aside. Under these circumstances the Committee saw no reason why Dr. Satyapal

should not withdraw his resignation. Shri Dunichand said that he would inform Dr. Satyapal about the talk he had with the Committee and he hoped that he might succeed in inducing Dr. Satyapal to withdraw his resignation.

On the 29th the Committee was informed that Dr. Satyapal had withdrawn his resignation. Thereupon the General Secretary was authorised to issue the following statement on behalf of the Committee:—

“The deputation of the two parties in the Punjab Congress organisation waited upon the Working Committee. The Committee heard them at length. The Committee was of the view that Dr. Satyapal had resigned under a misapprehension and the remarks of Shri Jairamdas Doulatram on the election petition against him implied no reflection upon him as the objections raised against his election were of a technical character. The Committee suggested that the whole question could be settled if Dr. Satyapal withdrew his resignation. We are glad to know that Dr. Satyapal has accepted the suggestion of the Working Committee and withdrawn his resignation. We hope now that Dr. Satyapal having withdrawn his resignation the Working Council constituted under the award of Shri Jairamdas Doulatram will work as before.”

8. AUDIT OF ACCOUNTS

The Committee also decided that an auditor be sent from the A. I. C. C. office to audit the accounts of the Punjab P. C. C.

9. C. P. MINISTERIAL CRISIS

The following draft resolution to be placed before the A. I. C. C. was adopted:—

“The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the Central Provinces Ministerial crisis and fully endorse the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of H. E. the Governor of the C. P. in this unfortunate episode.

The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of opinion that the conduct of Dr. N. B. Khare since his resignation from the

C. P. ministry deserves the severest condemnation.”

In the A. I. C. C. the resolution was passed with the following amendment added:—“and recommends, to the Working Committee to take disciplinary measure against Dr. Khare.”

The Working Committee had therefore to take disciplinary action against Dr. Khare in terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution. The Committee at its sitting on September 28, 1938, however decided to give Dr. Khare a further opportunity to clear his position and sent him the following telegram:

“All India Congress Committee having endorsed Working Committee action against you, condemned your subsequent conduct and directed Working Committee to take disciplinary action. Committee prefers hearing you on or before first October if you so desire. Please wire.”

To this Dr. Khare replied:—

“Your wire. Having accused Working Committee I prefer independent impartial tribunal since Working Committee as contending party can't in fairness sit in judgment over me. Please reply.”

Working Committee's reply to this telegram was:—

“No appeal can lie against A. I. C. C. decision. Unless therefore you appear before Working Committee yourself or by proxy on 2nd October decision will be taken.”

Dr. Khare failed to appear or send his representative by the 2nd. The Working Committee was therefore constrained to pass the following resolution:—

“In pursuance of the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee to take disciplinary action against Dr. Khare, the Working Committee before taking any action gave him opportunity to explain his conduct, but he declined to avail himself of it. The Working Committee disqualifies Dr. Khare from being a Congress member for the next two years from today i.e. till 1st October, 1940. This necessarily involves his immediate resignation from all Congress organisations and also from the C. P. Legislative Assembly. Accordingly the Working Committee calls upon Dr. Khare to resign from the C. P. Legislative Assembly.”

10. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS
TO BE PLACED BEFORE THE A. I. C. C. WERE ADOPTED

(1) Federation, (2) Indian States, (3) Palestine, (4) Burma Riots, (5) Repression in Bugti, (6) Civil Liberty, (7) Interference with Administration.

NOTE: All these resolutions except the last (Interference with Administration) were passed by the A. I. C. C. with slight verbal changes. (*For text of resolutions see proceedings of the A. I. C. C.*)

WAR DANGER

The Working Committee adopted the following resolution to be placed before the A. I. C. C.:

"In the event of war breaking out in Europe, the A. I. C. C. delegates its powers to the Working Committee to deal with the situation as it arises from time to time in the light of the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and war danger."

The Working Committee took the following further decision:

"In view of problems arising out of war situation the Working Committee will continue to sit from day to day at Delhi."

11. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The following resolution of sympathy was passed:

"The Working Committee have been following with great anxiety the events as they have been developing in Europe. They view with great concern the unabashed attempt that is being made by Germany to deprive Czechoslovakia of its independence or reduce it to impotence. The Working Committee send their profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom. Being themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but not the less grim and exacting, against the greatest Imperialistic power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of the Czechoslovakian freedom. The Committee hope that the better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from the im-

pending catastrophe.”

In pursuance of this resolution the President sent the following message by cable to President Benes:

“Congress passed resolution expressing profound sympathy for your brave people in their struggle to preserve freedom. We hope better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from impending catastrophe. Pray accept personal regard and admiration.”

12. INTERFERENCE IN ADMINISTRATION

It has come to the notice of the Working Committee that Congress Committees interfere with the ordinary administration of the country's affairs seeking to influence officers and other members of the services. The Working Committee advises Congressmen not to interfere with the due course of administration. This however does not mean that there should not be the utmost mutual cooperation between Congressmen and the members of the services in matters of public concern.

NOTE: This resolution could not be discussed in the A. I. C. C. for want of time. It was therefore passed by the Working Committee as its own resolution.

13. CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE REPORT

The Report of the Constitution Sub-Committee was placed before the Committee and was adopted.

14. POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE

Read and considered the following resolution of the Tenancy Sub-Committee of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee:

“The Sub-Committee appointed by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held on the 11th July, '38 to consider the draft of the Tenancy Bill and to make recommendations to the Government on its behalf is perturbed by the report that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is anxious

to arrive at a settlement with the big zamindars of the Province over the question of agrarian legislation and has with this view agreed to receive their deputation.

The Committee while recognising the right of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to advise the Congress Party in all its activities is aware of the fact that as a rule the Parliamentary Sub-Committee has refrained from tendering advice in any matter unless it is specially sought for by the Congress Government or the Party itself. The Committee is emphatically of opinion that in the present case there is absolutely no reason why the rule of practice established by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee should be departed from.

It is obvious that all effective work in the legislatures must have the sanction of the people behind it and that the Congress is pledged to implement the agrarian programme of the Congress as enunciated in the election manifesto and the agrarian programme of the Provincial Congress Committee. The Congress Party in each province has been directed by the Working Committee to consult the Provincial Congress Committee and the U. P. Congress Party has in the rules framed by it laid it down as its primary duty to carry out the resolutions of the P. C. C.

The Parliamentary Party and the P. C. C. have set up Sub-Committees to consider the government proposals and make their recommendations to the Government and a machinery has also been devised to settle differences of opinion, if any, between these two bodies.

The Government proposals are quite modest and inadequate to give a sufficiently large measure of relief to the peasantry at a time when its economic burdens are becoming more and more intolerable. The big zamindars are forcibly dispossessing their tenants in order to deprive them of the new rights that might accrue to them under the new Act. They are organising themselves to create difficulties in the way of the Government and are using threats of violence in order to coerce the Government into submission. The Government has gone far to appease them and has done its utmost to meet them half way. The new proposals in consequence fall far short of the proposals enunciated in our Agra-

rian Programme and the recommendations of the P. C. C. Where immediate action was urgently called for, the agrarian legislation is being unduly delayed owing to the delaying tactics of the big zamindars and the Congress and peasant organisations have been making insistent demands for improving the proposals. The peasantry is getting restive and if the process is not speeded up and all talk of compromise with the big zamindars is not given up it is bound to lead to disastrous results.

The Committee is credibly informed that the Congress Government is not prepared to make any further concessions to the big zamindars and regards itself as quite competent to deal with the situation with the assistance of the Congress organisation of the province. It has not approached the Parliamentary Sub-Committee with any request nor has it ever sought its advice in this matter.

The Committee, therefore, trusts that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee will not depart from the rule of practice which it has laid down for its guidance and will, instead of holding out any hopes to the big zamindars or giving them any encouragement, simply refer them to the Congress Party in the province."

Resolved that in view of the fact that a doubt has been raised regarding the function of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee the Working Committee desires to make it clear that in accordance with the resolution appointing it, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is required to be in close and constant touch with the work of the Congress Parties in all the legislatures in the provinces, to advise them in all their activities and take necessary action in any case of emergency. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee is entitled to do so *suo motu* and not only on reference being made by Parliamentary Parties or Provincial Congress Committees. The Committee regrets that the Agrarian Sub-Committee of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee should have questioned the authority of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and passed a resolution to that effect. The U. P. resolution is particularly objectionable as there is absolutely no justification for the assumption on which it is based.

15. BANNU RAIDS

The following resolution was passed:—

“Resolved that Mr. Asaf Ali be deputed to go to the Frontier and enquire into the causes and circumstances of the recent Bannu raids and report to the Working Committee.”

DR. ASHRAF'S RESOLUTION ON HINDUSTANI

The Committee decided to support it with the deletion of the portion about the appointment of a Committee.

The resolution was however defeated in the A. I. C. C.

The Working Committee therefore passed the following resolution to dispel any doubts that might have arisen regarding the Congress attitude in this question:—

Hindustani

With reference to the non-official resolution regarding Hindustani moved by Dr. Ashraf at the recent meeting of the A. I. C. C. the Working Committee regrets that it fell through owing to the confusion of issues created by a variety of amendments. But the rejection of the resolution does not in any way affect the position of the Congress as defined in the following article of the Constitution:—

“Article XIX—

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

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

Hindustani according to the practice of the Congress is the language of the bulk of the people of the North and written either in Devanagari or Urdu script.

Indeed it has been the policy of the Congress more and

more to insist on the use of Hindustani at all the meetings and in the proceedings of Congress Committees. The Working Committee hopes that by the end of the year Congressmen will prepare themselves to speak and write in the national language so that it may become unnecessary thenceforth to make use of English at Congress meetings or in the offices of the Congress Committees so far as interprovincial communications are concerned, provided that the Chairman may whenever necessary permit the use of English.

16. CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MUSLIM LEAGUE
MR. JINNAH'S LETTER

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay
2nd August, 1938

Dear Mr. Bose,

I placed your letter dated the 25th of July, 1938 before the meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League.

The Executive Council gave its earnest attention and careful consideration to the arguments which were urged in your letter for persuading it not to claim the status it has done in its Resolution No. 1 already communicated to you. I am desired to state that in defining the status the Council was not actuated by any motive of securing an admission, but had merely stated an accepted fact.

The Council is fully convinced that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Mussulmans of India. This position was accepted when the Congress-League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow and ever since, till 1935 when Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad Conversation took place, it has not been questioned. The All India Muslim League, therefore, does not require any admission or recognition from the Congress and nor did the resolution of the Executive Council passed at Bombay. But in view of the fact that the position—in fact the very existence—of the League had been questioned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then President of the Congress, in one of his

statements wherein he asserted that there were only two parties in the country viz., the British Government and the Congress, it was considered necessary by the Executive Council to inform the Congress of the basis on which the negotiations between the two organisations could proceed.

Besides, the very fact that the Congress approached the Muslim League to enter into negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question it presupposed the authoritative and representative character of the League and as such its right to come to an agreement on behalf of the Mussulmans of India.

The Council are aware of the fact that there is a Congress coalition government in N.-W. F. P. and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organisation in other provinces. But the Council is of opinion that these Muslims in the Congress do not and cannot represent the Mussulmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant and that as members of the Congress they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community. Were it so, the whole claim of the Congress alleged in your letter regarding its national character would fall to the ground.

As regards "the other Muslim organisations" to which reference has been made in your letter, but whom you have not even named, the Council considers that it would have been more proper if no reference had been made to them. If they collectively or individually had been in a position to speak on behalf of the Mussulmans of India, the negotiations with the Muslim League for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question would not have been initiated by the President of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. However, so far as the Muslim League is concerned it is not aware that any Muslim political organisation has ever made a claim that it can speak or negotiate on behalf of the Muslims of India. It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that you should have referred to "other Muslim organisations" in this connection.

The Council is equally anxious to bring about a settlement of "the much vexed Hindu-Muslim question" and thus hasten the realization of the common goal, but it is painful

to find that subtle arguments are being introduced to cloud the issue and retard the progress of the negotiations.

In view of the facts stated above the Council still hopes that the representative character of the Muslim League will not be questioned and that the Congress will proceed to appoint a committee on that basis.

With reference to the second resolution the Council wishes to point out that it considered undesirable the inclusion of Mussulmans in the Committee that might be appointed by the Congress because it would meet to solve and settle the Hindu-Muslim question and so in the very nature of the issues involved they would not command the confidence of either the Hindu or the Mussulmans and their position indeed would be most embarrassing. The Council, therefore, request you to consider the question in the light of the above observations.

With reference to the third resolution it was the memorandum of the Congress referred to in your letter dated the 15th of May, 1938 in which mention of other minorities was made and the Muslim League expressed its willingness to consult them, if and when, it was necessary in consonance with its declared policy.

As regards your desire for the release of the correspondence, including this letter, for publication the Council has no objection to your doing so.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. M. A. JINNAH

The Working Committee authorised the President to send the following reply to Mr. Jinnah's letter of Aug. 2, 1938.

Camp-Delhi

2nd October, 1938

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 2nd August, 1938 has been placed before the Working Committee. After due deliberation it has resolved to reply as follows:—

Though there are inaccuracies in your letter no purpose

will be served by dwelling on them. The substance of your letter seems to be that the League does not expect the Congress either implicitly or explicitly to acknowledge its status as the authoritative Muslim organisation of India. If this view is accepted by the League, I am authorised to state that the Working Committee will confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the League to draw up the terms of settlement. The Working Committee will be represented by at least five of its members at the sittings of the Conference.

As the previous correspondence has already been released for publication, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the press.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The letter of 2nd October of the President was considered by the Executive of the Muslim League at its meeting at Karachi held on October 9, 1938. The Council authorised the President Mr. Jinnah to reply to the Congress President as follows:—

I am in receipt of your letter dated October 2, which was placed before the Executive Council of the League. I am authorised to state in reply that the Executive Council regret very much that the Working Committee of the Congress should have entirely misread my letter of August 2 which was quite clear and did not require any elucidation or further interpretation. The Muslim League is still ready to proceed with negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the basis defined in my letter referred to above and would appoint its representatives to meet a committee that may be appointed by the Congress on the footing indicated by us in our three resolutions of June 5, already communicated to you.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. M. A. JINNAH

December 11 to 16, 1938

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 11th to 16th December, 1938. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The members present were: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shreemati Sarojini Naidu, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh-bhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitarammayya, Sarat Chandra Bose, Shankarrao Deo, Hare-krishna Mahtab, J. B. Kripalani.

(1) SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET

Resolved that the following supplementary Budget for the year 1938-39 be sanctioned:—

	Rs.
(i) Travelling Expenses for the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee ..	1,200
(ii) Expenses for Treasurer's Office	600
(iii) Bannu Enquiry Expenses	457

Note: Messrs Bachchraj & Co. Ltd., of Bombay were doing the work of the Treasurer's office with the help of their staff for which they charged nothing from the A.I.C.C. Funds. They requested that a grant of Rs. 600 per year may be made for the expenses incurred by them in this connection.

(2) GRATUITY TO LATE SHRI ABDUL WAHEED'S WIDOW

Resolved that a monthly allowance of Rs. 20 be paid to the widow of Late Shri Waheed, Typist in the A. I. C. C. office, for a period of five years from November, 1938.

(3) NEXT CONGRESS SESSION—DATE

In accordance with the request of the Reception Committee of the next Congress to be held at Tripuri, (Mahakoshal) following dates were fixed for the meeting of the Subjects Committee and the Open Session:

- (i) Subjects Committee—7th, 8th, 9th March, 1939.
- (ii) Open Session—9th 10th, 11th March, 1939.

The following resolutions were passed:

(4) LATE MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

The Working Committee express their great sorrow at the sudden death of Maulana Shaukat Ali and place on record their deep appreciation of his invaluable sacrifices and services to the cause of India's freedom.

(5) INDIAN STATES

The Working Committee welcome the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and consider this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Committee support the demand for civil liberty and responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States and express their solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression. While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it, in co-operation with their people, the Committee regret that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular, the Committee deplore the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and the Committee assert the right of the Congress to protect the people against an unwarranted use of military or police forces, lent by the British authorities, for the suppression of the legitimate movement of the people for responsible government within the States.

The Committee desire to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress which defines Congress policy in regard to the States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of civil liberty and responsible government in the States, existing

circumstances impose certain limitations of this work, and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggles of the States. This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the good-will of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognise the spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people. Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But this was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people.

The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued. While, therefore, the Working Committee welcome the movements in the States for the attainment of responsible government, they advise the people, not belonging to the States concerned, against taking part in civil disobedience and the like. Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement, and may even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trust that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence.

(6) CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP

The Working Committee have received reports from various parts of the country to the effect that some of the membership registers contain names of fictitious persons or those who have not fulfilled the qualifications for membership. In certain instances, it is reported, that groups of people have been nominally made members, their subscriptions having been paid by someone else. The Committee are strongly of opinion that such fictitious membership must be

ended, and all names that are found, after due enquiry, not to fulfil the qualifications of membership must be removed from the rolls.

2. The Congress has prided itself in the past not only on its inspiring objective of freedom for India's millions but also on the purity of its methods and it is by adhering to these methods that it has achieved success in its high tasks and built up a reputation worthy of the great cause it served. While welcoming millions of our people to its membership rolls and deriving vitality and strength from the sympathy of scores of millions of others, the Congress has held that its effectiveness as a fighting organisation lay in the disciplined workers in its ranks and not merely in a large ineffectual membership.

3. The Working Committee therefore are of opinion that immediate and effective steps must be taken to inspect and revise all membership registers, with a view to make them conform with reality and the rules of the Congress. The Committee desire and request all Provincial Congress Committees to undertake this task at an early date and to complete it at the latest by the 31st of March, 1939 when a full report of the steps taken should be presented to the office of the A. I. C. C. In the course of this inquiry, as errors are discovered in the membership rolls, they should be immediately rectified and the names of fictitious or unqualified persons removed. The inquiry should not interfere with the course of the various elections during the next three months, except in so far as corrections are made from time to time in the membership rolls. The General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. will give every assistance to the P. C. Cs in this inquiry.

4. The Working Committee are further of opinion that certain rules of procedure and constitutional changes are necessary in order to prevent the enrolment of fictitious or unqualified members, to make Congress a stronger organisation of effective workers. These rules must ensure that existing qualifications, like the rule requiring habitual wearing of khadi, are strictly adhered to, and further qualifications are laid down for all office-bearers and members of elective committees in the province. Such further qualifications

should be as laid down in Clause 6 below, subject to the period of continuous membership being varied having regard to the nature and functions of the committee concerned, such as, district, taluqa, thana or mandal committees.

5. Every primary member will be entitled to vote at any Congress election only if he goes personally to the office of his primary committee, gets his name registered in a separate roll of voters, and obtains a voter's card. Provided that in the case of women, people who are ill, and those who may be absent from their primary area, registration may be effected by correspondence or through some other person.

6. The Working Committee recommends that Article V of the Congress Constitution be amended so that the following qualifications, in addition to the habitual wearing of khadi, be laid down for those seeking election as delegates to the Congress:

(i) Continuous membership of the Congress for the three years previous to the date for election; provided that it shall be open to the Provincial Executive or other competent body to reduce this period for any particular candidate, more especially in individual cases for women, political prisoners, minorities and backward classes.

(ii) The candidate must have performed a prescribed task for the Congress during the previous year, such task being either spinning personally by hand at least 5000 yards of yarn, or doing some other task prescribed previously by the Provincial Executive. All candidates must have a certificate stating that they have performed this task and fulfilled this qualification.

7. The Working Committee invite P. C. Cs to make further suggestions for the amendment of the constitution or the framing of rules in order to strengthen and purify the Congress organisation.

(7) CONGRESS AND COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS

Resolved that for the purposes of Article V (c) the following organisations are declared as communal organisations:—

(1) The Hindu Mahasabha.

(2) The Muslim League.

Article V (c) reads: "No person who is a member of any elected Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar Committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress."

(8) RATIO

Since the fixation of the ratio at 1s. 6d. to the rupee all trade interests in India and public bodies have protested that this measure was against the vital economic interests of India and insistently demanded its revision. The Government of India have hitherto resisted all these attempts and last issued a communique on the 6th of June, 1938 declaring that it did not intend making any change in the ratio for the time being and in support of that declaration sought to rely merely on the instability and uncertainty during the period of readjustment which according to them was likely to cause greater loss to Indian interests than any corresponding gain from a change to a lower ratio.

Since June last, the balance of trade has turned more and more against India. The Committee are of opinion that the rate of exchange of 1s. 6d. to the rupee has hit hard the agriculturists of this country by lowering the price of agricultural commodities and has given an undue and unfair advantage to imports into this country.

The Working Committee are satisfied that the rate of 1s. 6d. cannot any longer be maintained on the balance of trade. During the last seven years that rate has been maintained by the large exports of gold which have been very injurious to the country. Matters have now reached a stage when the rate can only be maintained by a policy of contraction of currency and credit and by further depletion of the gold and sterling resources of India and particularly of the paper currency reserve. Those sterling resources have already been used up to an alarming extent and there is a danger of further serious depletion taking place if efforts

continue to be made by the Government of India to maintain the present ratio. The Working Committee look upon such prospect with the utmost concern and anxiety.

In view of this situation, the Working Committee have come to the conclusion that the best interests of the country demand that efforts to maintain the present exchange level should henceforth cease and urge upon the Governor-General-in-Council the necessity of taking immediate steps to lower the rate to 1s. 4d. to the rupee.

PALESTINE

The Working Committee have passed resolutions from time to time dealing with the changing situation in Palestine and sympathising with the struggle of the Arabs to maintain their political and national integrity. Reports are continuously coming in from a variety of reliable sources of unnameable atrocities committed by the British Army and Police on the plea of maintaining law and order in this mandated Territory. The courage, determination and sacrifices made by the Arabs in this life and death struggle have evoked the admiration of the people of India who once more wish to convey to them their good wishes for complete success in the attainment of their objective.

The Working Committee wish to express their condemnation of the ruthless policy now being pursued by British Imperialism in Palestine which must lead to grave consequences, and reiterate their opinion that the issue of the future government of Palestine should be left to be decided on the principle of self-determination.

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Committee deplore that in Palestine the Jews have relied on British armed forces to advance their special claims and thus aligned themselves on the side of British Imperialism. The Committee trust that Arabs and Jews will endeavour to find a basis for direct co-operation with a view to establishing a free democratic State in Palestine with adequate protection of Jewish rights.

(9) INDEPENDENCE DAY

Resolved that the anniversary of Independence Day, January 26th, be celebrated all over the country and the form of pledge, as taken last year, be repeated at public meetings.

Pledge

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained."

(10) REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSLIMS IN CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The Working Committee issued the following instructions to the Provincial Congress Committees with regard to the representation of Muslims in Congress Committees:

The Working Committee having learnt that in some local committees Muslims are not sufficiently represented advises all committees to arrange for their adequate representation. This representation should be, if necessary, provided

for in the constitution, but meanwhile conventions should be established to give effect to it.

(11) CHANGES IN PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS

Vidarbha and Sindh

The Committee sanctioned the changes made by the P. C. Cs of Vidarbha and Sindh in their respective constitutions.

U. P.

The following resolution was passed: "The Working Committee approves of the amendments sent by U. P. P. C. C. in its Constitution, excepting the portion relating to qualifications and disqualifications of Congress delegates which require changes in the Constitution of the Congress before they can be given effect to."

Nagpur

The Committee approved of the amendments in the Constitution of the Nagpur P. C. C. except the clause which authorises the President of the P. C. C. to nominate three members to the P. C. C. The Committee was of the opinion that nomination to Committees was against the spirit of the Congress Constitution.

Burma

In view of the special position assigned to Burma in the Congress organization the Constitution submitted by the Burma P. C. C. framed on the old lines when Burma was a province of India was not sanctioned by the Committee. The Committee were of the opinion that a special Constitution be made for separated Burma in consonance with the peculiar position that it occupies in the Congress organization. In the meantime the Committee assigned to Burma 20 delegates and 3 members of the A. I. C. C. to be elected according to the rules of the Constitution, submitted by the Burma P. C. C.

(12) CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Committee considered Mr. Jinnah's letter dated 9th October, 1938 from Karachi. It was the opinion of the Committee that in view of the position taken up by the council of the Muslim League no useful purpose will be served by prolonging the correspondence with the League. The President was authorised to write to Mr. Jinnah closing the correspondence. The following letter was written by the President to Mr. Jinnah:

Camp-Wardha,
December 16, 1938

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee have considered your letter of October 10, 1938 and regret the decision contained therein. Since the Committee do not find it possible to agree with the Council of the Muslim League as to the basis of the negotiations and since the Council insist that an agreement as to the basis is a sine qua non of any negotiations between the Congress and the League, the Working Committee regret that they are not in a position to do anything further in the direction of starting negotiations with the League with a view to arriving at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question.

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter but I did not want to say anything till the Working Committee met and considered the matter.

Since the previous correspondence has been published already, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the press.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. S. C. BOSE

(13) FUND CREATED FROM EXCESS ALLOWANCE IN
NON-CONGRESS PROVINCES

It was decided that 25 per cent of the fund created from excess allowances of Congress members of the Legislatures in non-Congress provinces, be spent at the discretion of the President of the P. C. C. and the Leader of the Con-

gress party in the Legislature, for general Congress work in the province.

(14) SRI PATTABHI FOR CEYLON

There was a desire expressed by the Ceylonese Indians that some member of the Working Committee should visit Ceylon for the purpose of studying the condition of Indians there and establishing contacts. The committee requested Shri Pattabhi to visit Ceylon to study the situation there and establish the necessary contacts.

Bardoli (Gujrat), January 11-14, 1939

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli from 11 to 14 January, 1939. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Doulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Deo, Sarat Chandra Bose, Hare Krishna Mehtab, J. B. Kripalani. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj was also present for some time.

1. MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

2. HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION

The question was discussed at length and the General Secretary was authorised to issue the following statement to the press:—

“The Working Committee have always been anxious to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the communal question in consultation with and with the co-operation of all the parties concerned. It was with this object in view that the Congress President conferred with the President of the Muslim League, but the last communication received from the Muslim League on this subject left little hope of a mutual

understanding being established at present.

"The Congress has on many previous occasions declared its policy on the communal question, and in relation to the minorities. That policy holds and it covers the principal aspects of the problem, but the course of events and the development of the political situation raise new problems and new doubts which require elucidation. The Committee were therefore of the opinion that the Congress should, in order to pave the way to a fuller understanding, endeavour to remove doubts by further elucidating its policy on the communal questions that have arisen with a view to making a further declaration. The Working Committee have given earnest consideration to the matter.

"They have, however, come to the conclusion that for the present no useful purpose will be served by making such a declaration and this might even at this stage, result in delaying the very consummation, which they earnestly desire, namely a satisfactory settlement that is acceptable to all concerned. The Committee, therefore, do not make any further statement on this subject at present, but they will continue their efforts in accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and its many declarations to ensure justice to all communities, as well as to remove such doubts as may arise from time to time. In this task they seek and would welcome the co-operation of all concerned."

3. BENGALI-BIHARI CONTROVERSY

The Committee adopted the Report of Shri Rajendra Prasad and passed the following Resolution for the guidance of the Bihar and other Congress Governments:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee have considered the report of Babu Rajendra Prasad in regard to the Bengali-Bihari controversy and also various memoranda, including one from Mr. P. R. Das. The Committee wish to express their appreciation of the careful and exhaustive report prepared by Babu Rajendra Prasad and their general agreement with the conclusions arrived at by him. In view of the fact that

several of these conclusions are capable of general application, the Committee formulate them hereunder:

1. While the Committee are of opinion that the rich variety of Indian culture and diversity of life in the various parts of the country should be preserved and cherished, the idea of a common nationality and a common background of our cultural and historical inheritance must always be encouraged, so that India should become a free and strong nation built upon a unity of purpose and aim. Therefore the Committee wish to discourage all separatist tendencies and a narrow provincialism. Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that in regard to services and like matters the people of a province have a certain claim which cannot be overlooked.

2. In regard to services the Committee are of opinion that there should be no bar preventing the employment of any Indian, living in any part of the country, from seeking employment in any other part. But certain considerations must govern such employment, apart from the essential condition of merit and efficiency, which is of particular importance in the higher services and in the selection of specialists and experts. These considerations are:

(i) A fair representation of various communities in the province.

(ii) The encouragement, as far as possible, of backward classes and groups so that they might develop and play their full part in the national life.

(iii) A preferential treatment of the people of the province. It is desirable that this preferential treatment should be governed by certain rules and regulations framed by provincial governments in order to prevent individual officers from applying different standards. Further it is desirable that similar rules should be applicable in all provinces.

3. In regard to Bihar no distinction should be made between Biharis properly so called and the Bengali-speaking residents of the province born or domiciled there. The term *Bihari* should in fact include both these classes and in the matter of services, as well as other matters, an identical treatment should be given to both. It is permissible to give a

certain preference in services to these residents of the province over people from other provinces.

4. The practice of issuing certificates to domiciles should be abolished. Applicants for services should state that they are residents of or domiciled in the province. In all appropriate cases the Government will have the right to satisfy itself about the correctness of the statement before making an appointment.

5. Domicile should be proved by evidence that implies that the applicant has made the province his home. In deciding that he has done so, length of residence, possession of house or other property, and other relevant matters should be taken into consideration and the conclusions arrived at on the totality of the evidence available. However, birth in the province or ten years' continuous residence should be regarded as sufficient proof of domicile.

6. All persons holding appointments under Government should be treated alike and promotions must be based on seniority coupled with efficiency.

7. There should be no prohibition against any one carrying on trade or business in the province. It is desirable that firms and factories, carrying on business in a province, should develop local contacts by giving appointments, wherever possible, to residents of the province. But suggestions made by provincial Government to firms and factories in the matter of appointments may be misunderstood and therefore should be avoided.

8. When accommodation is limited in educational institutions, places may be reserved for different communities in the province, but the reservation should be in a fair proportion. Preference in such educational institutions may be given to people of the Province.

9. In Bihar in the areas where Bengali is the spoken language the medium of instruction in primary schools should be Bengali, but in such areas provision should also be made for instruction in Hindustani in the primary schools for those whose mother-tongue is Hindustani, if there is a reasonable number of students speaking Hindustani. Similarly in Hindustani-speaking areas, education in primary schools should

be given in Hindustani, but, if there is a reasonable number of Bengali-speaking students, they should be taught in Bengali. In secondary schools education should be given through the medium of the language of the province, but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language where there is a demand for it on the part of the residents of any district where this other language is spoken.

The Working Committee earnestly trust that the above conclusions will be accepted and acted upon by all the parties concerned in Bihar and the regrettable controversy in the province will cease.

These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial administrations in these matters herein dealt with.

4. RANPUR STATE TRAGEDY

Shri Harekrishna Mehtab who had been on the scene four hours after the tragedy related what he had seen and heard. The Committee passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee record their deep regret at the killing of Major Bazalgette by a crowd at Ranpur in Orissa and are of opinion that such acts of violence do great injury to the cause of freedom in the States. The Committee have welcomed the awakening among the people of the States and look forward to their deliverance, but they are convinced that resort to mob violence will delay that deliverance. The Committee therefore earnestly trust that the people of the States as well those in other parts of India will strictly adhere to peaceful methods in the struggle for freedom.

5. JAIPUR BAN ON SHRI JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Shri Jamnalalji placed before the Committee all the facts leading to the ban placed on his entry into Jaipur State and the declaration by the State authorities of the Prajamandal as an unlawful organisation. Jamnalalji informed the Committee that he intended to break the order passed against him and to offer Satyagraha.

The Committee passed the following resolution:

The Working Committee deploras the ban placed on the entry into the Jaipur State of Seth Jamanalaji by the Jaipur authorities whilst he was on his way to Jaipur, his native place for famine relief work and to attend the meeting of the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal of which he is the President. The Working Committee hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the authorities will withdraw the ban and prevent an agitation both in the Jaipur State and outside.

6. UNCERTIFIED KHADI

Complaints were received from several provinces by the A. I. C. C. office and the A. I. S. A. about Congressmen encouraging the production and sale of uncertified khadi by themselves purchasing such khadi, by opening production and sale centres for the same, by performing opening ceremonies of production and sale centres and generally by offering their co-operation and patronage. Some Congress Committees had gone so far as to issue certificates to private producers and dealers of uncertified khadi. The Committee were strongly of the view that such conduct on the part of Congressmen and Congress organisations was highly objectionable as it defeated the object of the A. I. S. A.'s new policy of giving a minimum living wage to the spinner. The Committee therefore passed the following resolution for the guidance of the Congressmen, Congress organisations and Congress governments:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee is of opinion that the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association and the efforts made by it to secure adequate wages to the spinners and other artisans engaged in Khadi work are of great importance as being conducive to the welfare of the rural population and likely to pave the way for a proper wage standard for them. The Committee, therefore, considers it to be the duty of all Congress organisations and Congressmen to offer wholehearted co-operation and support to the Association and its affiliated organisations in order to make this policy a success.

The Committee expresses its strong disapproval of the harmful activities of uncertified producers and dealers who have been exploiting the growing demand for Khadi by offering cheaper stuff produced with the help of low and inadequate wages and who have been misleading those Congress organisations and Congressmen as have not yet become aware of the difference between genuine Khadi produced by the A. I. S. A. and its affiliated organisations and the cheaper stuff offered by uncertified producers and dealers. The Committee, therefore, considers it necessary to lay down the following instructions for the guidance of Congress organisations, Congressmen and all those who are interested in the development of genuine Khadi:

(1) In the opinion of the Congress "Khadi" means only such khadi as is produced by its own organisation viz., the A. I. S. A. and the institutions certified by it and all Congress organisations and Congressmen should use and advise others to use only such Khadi.

(2) Congressmen should refrain from performing opening ceremonies of, or participating in the functions of or doing anything that would directly or indirectly give encouragement to such institutions, exhibitions or shops as sell or spread the use of uncertified Khadi.

(3) No Congress organisation or Congressman should have any dealings under the name of Khadi in any cloth other than Khadi that is produced by the A. I. S. A. or the organisations certified by it.

COMMUNISTS AND MEMBERSHIP TO CONGRESS ELECTIVE BODIES

Shri Sundarayya from Andhra filing his candidature for election as delegate had declared that he held communistic views. Not only this, but he declared that as a follower of Marx and Lenin he believed that in last resort violence will have to be used for the attainment of independence. He was therefore debarred from contesting election as a delegate. The Committee in this connection gave the following ruling:

"If a person who accepts Article I of the Congress Cons-

titution and in token thereof signs the membership form and otherwise fulfils such other conditions of membership, as may exist at the time, he is entitled to become a Congress member and has a right to stand as a candidate for an elective office provided further he fulfils such other requirements as are laid down for the purpose. It should be clearly understood however that every activity leading to promotion of violence is a violation of Article (1) of the Constitution and therefore renders a person indulging in such activity liable to disqualification."

In the light of this opinion of the Committee Shri Sundarayya's case was to be decided by the Andhra P. C. C.

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