

# The Indian National Congress 1934-36

*Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India  
Congress Committee and the Working Committee during  
the period between May, 1934 and April, 1936*

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This volume is the eighth in the series containing the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee covering the period between May 1934, when the Congress was reorganised after the suspension of the last civil disobedience movement, and April 1936. The last volume published covered the period of 1929. In 1930 there was the salt Satyagrah and the Congress was under ban and no volume could be published. After a brief prelude the civil disobedience movement started again in 1932. This came to a close with the suspension of the movement in May 1934. There has been no publication covering this period of four and a half years. Efforts are being made to collect all the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee covering this period. Meanwhile the volume is being sent out for the convenience of all those who participate and take interest in Congress activities.

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# ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETINGS

May 1934 to April 1936

## SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

*Patna, May 18 and 19, 1934*

### 1. CONDOLENCES

The All India Congress Committee places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing of the following persons who had been either office-bearers or members of the All India Congress Committee:

Sir Sankaran Nair, Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. Hasan Imam, ex-presidents; Messrs. Vithalbhai J. Patel and A. Rangaswami Iyengar, ex-general secretaries; Syts. J. M. Sengupta, Lalitmohan Das, A. K. Ghulam Jilani, Phulchand Shah, Lakshmidhar Sharma, Shyamlal Nehru, Syed Zahurul Hasan Hashmi, Gokul Krishna Ray and Vishwanath Rao Salpekar.

### 2. SUSPENSION OF CIVIL RESISTANCE

Having considered the statement\* dated April 7, 1934 of Mahatma Gandhi, this Committee accepts his recommendation in regard to the suspension of civil resistance.

### 3. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Inasmuch as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the Legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal, the All India Congress Committee hereby appoints Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. M. A. Ansari to form a Board with Dr. M. A. Ansari as President, called the Congress

\*For statement see appendix 1.

Parliamentary Board consisting of not more than twenty-five Congressmen.

The Board shall run and control elections of members to the Legislatures on behalf of the Congress and shall have power to raise, possess and administer funds for carrying out its duties.

The Board shall be subject to the control of the All India Congress Committee and shall have power to frame its constitution and make rules and regulations from time to time for the management of its affairs. The constitution and the rules and regulations shall be placed before the Working Committee for approval but shall be in force pending the approval or otherwise of the Working Committee.

The Board shall select only such Congressmen as candidates who will be pledged to carry out in the Legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time.

#### 4. NEXT CONGRESS SESSION

Resolved that the next ordinary Session of the Congress be held at Bombay in the first week of October, 1934.

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*Bombay, October 23, 1934*

The General Secretaries' report for April 1933 to September 1934 with a statement of accounts of the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund from 4-1-32 to 31-3-1934 was submitted.

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*Jubbulpore, April 24 and 25, 1935*

#### 1. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Committee elected the following members to the Congress Parliamentary Board:—

1. Shri Bhulabhai J. Desai
2. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
4. Shri C. Rajagopalachari
5. Shri K. F. Nariman
6. Dr. Khan Sahab
7. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
8. Shri S. Satyamurti
9. „ K. M. Munshi
10. „ Nabin Chandra Bardoloi
11. „ Surendra Mohan Moitra
12. „ Asaf Ali
13. „ Sri Krishna Sinha
14. „ Anugrah Narayan Sinha
15. „ Sri Prakasa
16. „ Govind Das
17. „ N. V. Gadgil
18. „ Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
19. Dr. Satyapal
20. Shri T. Prakasam
21. „ K. Nageswar Rao
22. „ Kiransankar Ray
23. „ Nilkantha Das
24. Dr. N. B. Khare
25. Shri S. K. Hosamani

## 2. ELECTION DISPUTES PANEL

The following members were elected to the Election Disputes Panel:—

1. Sardar Sardul Singh, Advocate
2. Capt. Lal Avadhesh Pratap Singh
3. Shri T. Vishwanatham
4. „ Mohanlal Saksena
5. „ C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar
6. „ N. V. Gadgil
7. „ Kamini Kumar Dutta
8. Lala Dunichand
9. Shri Satyanarayan Sinha
10. Prof. Abdul Bari
11. Shri Rangarao Diwakar
12. „ K. Bhashyam Iyengar

### 3. AUDITORS

Messrs. R. C. Mehta & Co. of Bombay were appointed auditors of the A. I. C. C. for the current year.

### 4. CONDOLENCE

The Committee places on record its sense of sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani in whom the country has lost a devoted and sincere patriot and indefatigable worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Committee conveys its sincere and heartfelt condolence to the members of the bereaved family. The resolution be communicated to Mrs. Sherwani and members of the family.

The Committee also adopted the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Delhi on the premature death of Syt. Abhyankar.

### 5. CONGRESS PARTY IN THE ASSEMBLY

The A. I. C. C. records its satisfaction at the work of the Congress Party in the Assembly in the face of many difficulties and congratulates the members on the excellent discipline observed by them.

NOTE—Members of the Assembly in the A. I. C. C. did not participate in the voting on this resolution.

### 6. BAN ON CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS

This Committee draws the attention of the country to the continuance of the ban on Congress organisations in the N. W. F. P. and all Congress Committees in Midnapur District in Bengal and on affiliated and allied bodies fully accepting the Congress creed and discipline like the Khudai Khidmatgars and Hindustani Seva Dal and other institutions in Bengal, Gujarat and elsewhere and the recent suppression of Labour and Youth League organisations in Bengal, the Bombay Presidencies, the Punjab and elsewhere on the plea of alleged tendencies without reference to any overt acts, and arrests of workers connected with such organisations. This Committee appeals to the people at large to realise that the

political salvation of the country is bound up with the strengthening of the Congress organisation and calls upon all sections to do everything to increase the strength of the Congress.

#### 7. ABUSE OF FOREIGNERS' ACT

The Committee notes the flagrant abuse of the Foreigners' Act, an ancient piece of legislation intended for a wholly different purpose, in pursuance of the same general policy of continued repression, whereby a large number of Congressmen who fully accept the Congress creed have been externed from British India and thus deprived not only of the opportunity of legitimate activity but also of residing and carrying on business which in many cases they had been doing for years.

#### 8. REPRESSION IN BENGAL

This Committee strongly condemns the continuous repression that has been going on in Bengal particularly in the detention and internment without trial and in secrecy and for indefinite periods of a large number of the youth torn from their natural surroundings depriving their families and dependants in many cases of the natural source of maintenance without making any other arrangement for their support.

This Committee is of opinion that it is high time for the Government of Bengal either to discharge the detenus or give them a fair trial through the ordinary law courts.

This Committee assures the people of Bengal in general and the detenus in particular of its full sympathy in their affliction.

The Committee asks the Bengal P. C. C. to prepare a list of detenus and internees with full particulars including their period of detention and internment and about the financial condition of the families and report it to the Working Committee.

This Committee further resolves that an All India Fund for the relief of the Detenus' families be started under the control of the Working Committee.

## 9. MOB VIOLENCE AT FERUZABAD

This Committee deeply deplores the horrible acts of mob violence perpetrated at Ferozabad culminating in the burning alive of the whole family of Doctor Jivaram including children and patients. This Committee hopes that leaders of all communities will realise the extent to which religious fanaticism when once roused can go and that they will see the advisability of abstaining from saying or doing anything that fans such frenzy. It appeals to all to take effective steps to make people realise the need for all communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims, living together in peace and friendship with mutual good understanding and respect.

## 10. INDIAN STATES

This Committee declares that the interests of the people of the Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India and assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom.

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*Madras, October 17 and 18, 1935*

### 1. OFFICES UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Considering the long interval of time that is bound to elapse before the next general provincial elections under the new constitution and the uncertainty of political conditions during this long period, this Committee is of opinion that it is not only premature but also inadvisable and impolitic to come to any decision on the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office at this stage and therefore affirms the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on the subject. At the same time the Committee desires to make it clear that it sees no objection to the question being discussed in the country.

### 2. INDIAN STATES

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. adopts the following declaration of Congress Policy on Indian States issued by the

Working Committee from Wardha, dated August 1, 1935.

[For the text of the declaration see pages 52 and 53].

### 3. BURMA

Resolution passed by the Working Committee on October 16, 1935 in this behalf was endorsed.

[For the text of the resolution see page 59].

### 4. ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA ABROAD

In view of the anti-Indian propoganda carried on abroad, it is resolved that the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. be authorised to take such action as is proper and feasible to undo the evil.

### 5. RULES OF PROCEDURE OF A. I. C. C.

The following Rules of Procedure for the conduct of its business were adopted by the Committee.

1. The A. I. C. C. may be summoned by the President or the Working General Secretary with the previous approval of the President to meet at any place within the country and as often as required by the Working Committee.

2. The notice of a meeting of the A. I. C. C. shall be issued at least fifteen days before the date of meeting except in case of emergency when a meeting may be summoned by a notice of seven days only.

NOTE—As far as possible the subjects to be discussed at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. shall be circulated among the members of the A. I. C. C. along with the notice convening the meeting.

3. The President and the Secretaries shall be sole judges of the occasion for summoning an emergent meeting.

4. The A. I. C. C. shall meet on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration provided due notice thereof has been

given to the members.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS, ETC.

5. In the order of business the draft resolution of the Working Committee shall have priority.

6. The order of the rest of the business of the meeting shall be settled by the President.

7. The Working Committee shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions other than those of the Working Committee of which due notice may have been given by members of the A. I. C. C.

8. The order of precedence of resolutions by private members shall be determined by lot.

9. Notice of resolutions by private members should reach the office at least seven days before the meeting.

10. It shall be in the discretion of the President to allot the time for speakers moving either substantive propositions or amendments or generally taking part in the debate.

#### RESIGNATION FROM A. I. C. C.

11. Resignation from the A. I. C. C. shall be placed before the President who will accept it and declare the place of the member on the A. I. C. C. vacant.

12. Any vacancy in the A. I. C. C. by death, resignation, removal of a member or otherwise will be filled up by the members of the Provincial Congress Committee by election from among themselves.

#### ELECTION DISPUTES

13. Objections to elections will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed in this behalf by the Provincial Congress Committees.

14. Appeals will lie to the Working Committee against decisions on objections to elections by Provincial Congress Committees, or against their refusal or failure to give decisions.

15. Any appeal preferred to the Working Committee

will ordinarily be decided by the Tribunal appointed in accordance with Article XI(b) of the constitution. It will be open to the Working Committee to decide such dispute if it considers it inconvenient or impracticable to convene a Tribunal in terms of Article XI(b).

16. The decision of the Election Disputes Tribunal or of the Working Committee, as the case may be, shall be final.

#### OTHER DISPUTES

17. Complaints against individual members of any Congress organisation or any Congress Committee will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committees.

18. No subject which can be ordinarily dealt with by a P. C. C. shall be referred to the A. I. C. C. except through the P. C. C. concerned.

19. Where a P. C. C. refuses to forward an appeal or representation to the A. I. C. C. the aggrieved person or Committee shall be entitled to approach the President for order directing the P. C. C. to forward the said appeal or other representation. The President may after considering the said representation pass such order as he may think fit. The P. C. C. will thereafter be bound to carry out the order of the President.

20. An appeal will lie to the Working Committee against any decision of a Provincial Congress Committee, or in the event of its failure or refusal to give such decision.

21. The Working Committee will either decide such disputes itself or will appoint any other person or persons to decide them. The decision of the Working Committee, or of the person or persons appointed by it, as the case may be, shall be final.

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*Lucknow, April 9, 1936*

1. The audited accounts of the period extending from April 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935 and from April 1, 1935 to December 31, 1935 circulated along with the General

Secretary's report were passed.

2. The General Secretary's report was placed before the meeting. Sri Sampurnanand objected to the adoption of the same as the members who had just received it had no time to go through it. The adoption of the report was therefore postponed to allow members time to read it.

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*Lucknow, April 13, 1936*

1. The General Secretary's report was adopted after a brief discussion. Some minor items were suggested for inculsion.

2. The treasurer's audited accounts placed before the Committee were passed.

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*Lucknow, April 15, 1936*

1. Messrs. Dalal and Shah and Messrs. Chhotalal and Agarwal of Bombay were appointed as honorary auditors for the next year.

2. Dr. Pattabhi was thanked for the earnest zeal with which he had done his work as the historian of the Congress.

3. Babu Rajendra Prasad made a statement about the Bengal election disputes. He was authorised by the Committee to continue to deal with the Bengal disputes.

4. The President made a statement reviewing the situation and pointing out his difficulties in the selection of the new Working Committee.

The President selected the following fourteen members for the Working Committee on April 16, 1936:—

*General Secretary:* Shri J. B. Kripalani

*Treasurer:* Shri Jamnalal Bajaj  
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad  
Shri Rajendra Prasad  
Shri Vallabhbhai J. Patel

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan  
Shri C. Rajagopalachari  
Shri Subhas Chandra Bose  
Shri Narendra Dev  
Shri Jairamdas Doulatram  
Shri S. D. Deo  
Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan  
Shri Bhulabhai Desai  
Shri Achyut Patwardhan.

Dr. Khan Sahib was to act as long as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was in prison.

Two of the persons above named, Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, were not at the time members of the All India Congress Committee. The A. I. C. C. had, however, been enlarged by the decision of the Lucknow Congress and the president hoped that these two members would soon become members of this enlarged A. I. C. C.

## WORKING COMMITTEE MEETINGS

May 1934 to April 1936

### SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

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Patna, May 18, 19 and 20, 1934

#### 1. CONDOLENCES

*Vide resolution 1 of A. I. C. C., Patna, May 18, 19, 1934, page 1.*

#### 2. SUSPENSION OF CIVIL RESISTANCE

*Vide resolution 2 of A. I. C. C., Patna, May 18 and 19, 1934, page 1.*

#### 3. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

*Vide resolution 3 of A. I. C. C., Patna, May 18 and 19, 1934, pages 1 and 2.*

NOTE—The resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee was the same except that for the words, "candidates as" occurring in the last para of the resolution as originally adopted by the Working Committee, the words, "Congressmen as candidates who" were substituted by the A. I. C. C.

#### 4. SYMPATHY FOR TEXTILE WORKERS

The Working Committee sympathises with the Textile workers who are on strike in Bombay, Nagpur, Sholapur, Delhi and other places in the sufferings and privations which they have undergone and are undergoing and hopes that the employers will take early steps to give satisfaction to and arrive at an equitable settlement with the workers.

## 5. DUTY OF CONGRESSMEN

The Working Committee invites the attention of all Congressmen to the resolution of the All India Congress Committee adopted at Patna on May 18, 1934 accepting Mahatma Gandhi's advice regarding suspension of civil resistance contained in his statement dated April 7, 1934, and calls upon all Congressmen loyally to abide by the said resolution.

## 6. CONGRESS REORGANIZATION

In modification of the instructions issued by the Acting president at Poona in July 1933, all Congressmen are hereby called upon to reorganize all Congress Committees for the purpose of carrying on normal Congress activities.

## 7. ENROLMENT AND ELECTIONS

(a) All Congress organizations are called upon to enrol members and complete the elections to the various Committees before August 31, 1934.

(b) The newly constituted Provincial Committees shall suggest to the Reception Committee to be formed at Bombay, names for the Presidentship of the ensuing Session of the Indian National Congress on or before September 15, 1934.

## 8. ACTING CHAIRMAN

Resolved that Seth Jammalal Bajaj shall act as Chairman of the Working Committee and exercise all the powers of the President till the ensuing Session of the Congress.

## 9. ORGANIZERS

Resolved that the work of reorganizing Congress Committees be entrusted to the following persons with full powers on behalf of the Working Committee, in the areas respectively shown against their names:—

- (a) *Bengal, Assam, Berar and Orissa*  
Syt. M. S. Aney

- (b) *Behar*  
Syt. Rajendra Prasad
- (c) *United Provinces*  
Syts. Govindballabh Pant, Mohanlal Saksena and Purshottamdas Tandon
- (d) *Delhi, Punjab and N. W. F.*  
Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar
- (e) *Rajputana*  
Dr. Syed Mahmud
- (f) *C. P. Hindustani*  
Seth Govind Das
- (g) *C. P. Marathi*  
Syt. M. V. Abhyanker
- (h) *Bombay*  
Syt. K. F. Nariman
- (i) *Gujerat*  
Dr. Chandulal M. Desai
- (j) *Karnatak and Maharashtra*  
Syt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande
- (k) *Sind*  
Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani
- (l) *Tamil Nad, Andhra and Kerala*  
Syt. C. Rajagopalachari

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Wardha, June 12 and 13, 1934

### 1. CONDOLENCE

The Working Committee tenders its deep sympathy to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his family on the loss of his elder brother, the late Babu Mahendra Prasad, whose exceptional domestic affection had made it possible for Babu Rajendra Prasad to devote himself solely to the national cause and who was himself a silent public worker and philanthropist of a high order.

## 2. CONGRESS REORGANIZATION

(a) The Committee expects all Provincial and Local Congress Committees to complete all elections including those to the A. I. C. C. by the end of August 1934. Provincial Congress Committees are requested to send fortnightly progress reports to the A. I. C. C. office at Allahabad.

(b) The Committee desires to make it clear that, as explained by the Acting Chairman already in his press statement of May 25, 1934, the Organizers were appointed by this Committee under resolution 9 dated May 20, 1934 not to supersede but to render such assistance to Provincial Committees as they may require from time to time.

## 3. (A) CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

In view of the removal of the ban on Congress organizations, the Working Committee advises responsible Congress workers to expedite the organization of Congress Committees within their respective jurisdictions and engage Congressmen in the various constructive activities, particularly

- (a) production of khaddar through self-spinning and spread thereof, within the area of production, and such further assistance to the All India Spinners' Association as is within their power
- (b) removal of untouchability
- (c) promotion of inter-communal unity
- (d) promotion of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and advocacy of prohibition
- (e) promotion of education on national lines
- (f) promotion and development of useful small industries
- (g) organization and reconstruction of village life in its economic, educational, social and hygienic aspects
- (b) spread of useful knowledge among the adult population in the villages
- (i) organization of industrial labour
- (j) and such other activities as may commend them-

selves to Congress workers and organizations, which are not inconsistent with the Congress objective or general policy and which will not involve any form of civil resistance.

#### (B) PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Working Committee also expects Congress Committees and workers to render all such assistance as is within their power to make the work of the Congress Parliamentary Board successful.

#### 4. STUDENTS

The Working Committee expects the student community to take their due share in the social, economic and educational part of the constructive programme of the Congress by devoting to it their spare hours, and particularly their vacations.

#### 5. CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP FORM

Resolved that in the Congress membership forms to be printed in future, the Karachi Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and Economic programme as finally shaped by the A. I. C. C. on August 6, 1931, be printed in the receipt form issued to the member enrolled.

#### 6. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Read circular letter No. 1, dated May 23, 1934, of the A. I. C. C. Office. In view of enquiries made upon this letter, resolved as follows:

While recognizing the right of Provincial Congress Committees to nominate any person of their choice for the Presidentship of the ensuing session of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee reminds the Provincial Congress Committees that Babu Rajendra Prasad was finally elected by a majority of Provincial Congress Committees for the intended session at Puri, but that session was never held. Therefore it seems but proper that he should be unanimously nominated by the Provincial Congress Committees for the ensuing session at Bombay.

## 7. BOMBAY STRIKE

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. K. F. Nariman placed Bombay P. C. C. resolution 6, dated June 10, 1934, relating to Bombay strike, before the Working Committee.

Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Nariman were informed that the Working Committee has no doubt that Congress leaders, either in the province or outside, will be prepared to arbitrate in case all the parties concerned agree to abide by such arbitration.

## 8. KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

The Acting Chairman was asked to draw the attention of the Government to the discrepancy in their communique withdrawing notifications against Congress organizations.

The Acting Chairman accordingly sent the following telegram to the Secretary, Home Department, Simla:

### *Telegram to Secretary Home Department*

The Working Committee, I. N. C., has asked me to draw the Government's attention to the discrepancy in the communique removing the ban on Congress organisations. The communique withdraws notifications declaring the various constituent parts of the Congress organisation unlawful. But it continues the notification against Red Shirt organizations as if they were not part of the Congress. I am to draw the attention of Government that if by Red Shirt organizations are meant Khudai Khidmatgars they are since August, 1931 part of the Congress, pledged to its creed and constitution and subject to its discipline. Their representatives have accepted A. I. C. C. resolution suspending civil resistance. My Committee will be obliged if you would kindly inform me whether in spite of their acceptance of Congress decision they remain unlawful organizations.

### HOME SECRETARY'S REPLY

The following reply was received by the Acting Chairman from the Home Department, Government of India:

'I have received your telegram of twelfth instant and in reply am desired to say that the Government of India

are aware that the N. W. F. Provincial Jirga, which was the name under which the red shirt organization previously known as Afghan Jirga or Khudai Khidmatgaran was working in its latest stages, was described as a part of the Congress organization. The record of its activities, however, is such that the Government do not intend to withdraw the notifications declaring it and its branches to be unlawful."

The General Secretary was asked to re-publish in this connection the following resolution of the Working Committee dated July 7, 1931 relating to Volunteer Corps, and the resolution of August 14, 1931 on Khudai Khidmatgars.

WORKING COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, JULY 7, 1931

No Volunteer Board or Corps not previously recognised by the Working Committee shall work in any Congress province in the name of or on behalf of the Congress.

WORKING COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, AUGUST 14, 1931

NORTH WEST FRONTIER P. C. C., THE AFGHAN JIRGA AND  
THE KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

The Committee having conferred with the representatives of the N. W. F. province resolved on the reconstitution of the Frontier P. C. C. and the incorporation of the Afghan Jirga in it. It was further resolved that Khudai Khidmatgars should become a part of the Congress Volunteer organisation. The following statement, embodying the decisions of the Working Committee was issued on behalf of the Committee:

Some misunderstandings having arisen in regard to Congress work in the North West Frontier Province and the relation between the Provincial Congress organisation and the Afghan Jirga and the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Working Committee met Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Aligul Khan, Hakim Abdul Jalil, Mr. Peer Baksh, Khan Amir Mohammad Khan and Shrimati Nikho Devi and discussed future work in the N. W. F. Province. As a result of these discussions misunderstandings were removed and the Frontier leaders agreed to work together in accordance with certain decisions arrived at. It was pointed out that the Afghan Jirga was working the

Congress programme and the Khudai Khidmatgars were acting as volunteers for giving effect to this programme. But as the Afghan Jirga had a separate constitution of its own it was no part of Congress organisation. Confusion had also arisen owing to the use of variety of flags by the Jirga.

It was agreed by the Frontier leaders that the present P. C. C. and the Afghan Jirga should coalesce and the new provincial organisation formed in accordance with the Congress constitution should represent the Congress in the Province. This newly elected Committee will be the Frontier P. C. C. In the language of the Province it may be described as the Frontier Province Jirga. Similarly the district and the local Congress Committees may be described as local Jirgas, the fact that they are Congress Committees being also clearly stated. The Khudai Khidmatgars, it was agreed, should become Congress volunteer organisations in accordance with the Working Committee's recent resolution. The name Khudai Khidmatgars may however be retained. The whole organisation should be conducted in accordance with the constitution, rules and programme of the Congress. The flag to be used henceforth will of course be the National Flag.

At the request of the Working Committee the Frontier leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has undertaken to shoulder the burden of leading the Congress movement in the Province.

*Bombay, June 17 and 18 (Contd. from Wardha)*

## 9. WHITE PAPER AND COMMUNAL AWARD

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress Policy on the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress Policy on these matters as follows:

The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a

constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian nation and therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts.

At the same time it is necessary to redeclare the policy of the Congress on the Communal question:

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties concerned and, conversely, to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds.

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

## 10. NEXT CONGRESS

It was suggested to the Working Committee that, in view of the prevailing monsoon, the last week of October would be preferable to the first week for holding the ensuing Congress Session in Bombay. The Committee resolved accordingly.

### 11. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD'S CONSTITUTION, ETC.

The Committee approved the constitution, rules and pledge adopted by the Board.

### 12. SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

Whilst the Working Committee welcomes the formation of groups representing different schools of thought, it is necessary, in view of loose talk about confiscation of private property and necessity of class war, to remind Congressmen that the Karachi resolution as finally settled by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay in August 1931, which lays down certain principles, neither contemplates confiscation of private property without just cause or compensation, nor advocacy of class war. The Working Committee is further of opinion that confiscation and class war are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence. At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent the exploitation of the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour.

### 13. CONGRATULATIONS

The Working Committee congratulates Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Syt. Madhavarao Aney upon their withdrawal of their resignations on being pressed by their colleagues, and tenders its thanks for their generous response.

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*Benares, July 27 to 30, 1934*

#### 1. SWADESHI

Doubts having arisen on the Congress policy in regard to Swadeshi, it has become necessary to reaffirm the Congress position on it in unequivocal terms.

Notwithstanding what was done during the civil resistance struggle, no competition is permissible on Congress platforms and in Congress exhibitions between mill-made cloth

and handspun and handwoven khadi. Congressmen are expected to use and encourage the use of only handspun and handwoven khadi to the exclusion of any other cloth.

In regard to articles other than cloth, the Working Committee adopts the following formula for the guidance of all Congress organisations:—

The Working Committee is of opinion that the activities of Congress organisations relating to Swadeshi shall be restricted to useful articles manufactured in India through cottage and other small industries which are in need of popular education for their support and which will accept the guidance of the Congress organisations in regulating prices and in the matter of the wages and welfare of labour under their control.

This formula must not be interpreted to mean any modification of the unbroken policy of the Congress to promote the Swadeshi spirit in the country and to encourage the personal use of only Swadeshi articles. The formula is a recognition of the fact that the large and organised industries which can or do command state aid are in no need of the services of Congress organisations or any Congress effort in their behalf.

## 2. OFFICE-BEARERS AND CONGRESS POLICY

The Working Committee is of opinion that all Congressmen, whether they believe in the Congress programme and policies or not, are expected, and office-bearers and members of the Executive are in honour bound, to carry them out, and that office-bearers and members of the Executive who carry on propaganda or act against the Congress programme and policies are, in accordance with the rules made by the A. I. C. C. dated May 24, 1929 under Art. XXXI of the Constitution, clearly guilty of breach of discipline and liable to disciplinary action.

## 3. ILLEGAL ELECTION METHODS

The Working Committee has noted with deep regret that practices have crept into Congress election methods

which are reprehensible and even calculated to invalidate elections. Such, for instance, is the habit of some parties making members by paying their fees with the only object of securing their votes, whereas the object of enrolling members is to keep them in touch with and to interest them in the Congress programme and to take from them such national service as they may be capable of doing. The practice has also grown up in some places of candidates buying for the occasion sufficient khaddar to clothe voters temporarily for the purpose of complying with Article VII(iv) *a* of the Constitution whereas it requires that the voters should be habitual wearers of khaddar. The Working Committee has no doubt that the practice is illegal and defeats the very end for which the khaddar clause was introduced. Election Boards and presiding authorities are to invalidate the votes of those who are manifestly not habitual wearers of khaddar.

#### 4. REGARDING RESOLUTION NO. 12 OF 18-6-34

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee on June 18, 1934:—

“Whilst the Working Committee welcomes the formation of groups representing different schools of thought, it is necessary, in view of loose talk about confiscation of private property and necessity of class war, to remind Congressmen that the Karachi resolution as finally settled by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay in August 1931, which lays down certain principles, neither contemplates confiscation of private property without just cause or compensation, nor advocacy of class war. The Working Committee is further of opinion that confiscation and class war are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence. At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent the exploitation of the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour.”

Complaints have been made to the Working Committee

that this resolution is a reflection upon the newly formed "Congress Socialist Party" and its programme. The Working Committee desires it to be known that the resolution was not intended to criticise any party or its programme but was intended to affect individuals engaged in the loose talk referred to in the resolution.

#### 5. SYT. M. S. ANEY'S RESIGNATION

The Working Committee having considered the resignation of Syt. M. S. Aney recognises the high minded motive that has prompted the resignation and regretfully accepts it. The Working Committee places on record its sense of the great assistance rendered by him to the Committee.

#### 6. DR. MOHAMMAD ALAM'S RESIGNATION

The resignation of Dr. Mohammad Alam dated July 24, 1934 was considered by the Working Committee and the Committee accepted the resignation.

#### 7. CONGRESS RE-ORGANIZATION IN BENGAL

The Working Committee trusts and hopes that all the political groups in Bengal will coalesce and work in harmony so as to enable the Bengal P. C. C. and the district and other sub-committees to function normally and without friction and so as to avoid questionable practices. The Working Committee suggests that the best method of ensuring purity and peace in the setting up of the Congress machinery is by agreement to secure uncontested elections in all the constituencies or as many as possible. If, unfortunately, the Congress machinery cannot be set up in Bengal without the assistance of the Working Committee, it authorises St. M. S. Aney to function, as before, as representative of the Working Committee and to exercise all its powers to enable him to adjust differences, regulate elections, give decisions on points arising in connection with elections and to do all other things that may be necessary to set up without delay the Congress organization in Bengal. The Working Committee hopes that Sjt. Aney will receive from Congressmen all the

help that he may need in the discharge of the responsibility entrusted to him.

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## 8. PURI RECEPTION COMMITTEE SURPLUS

Read letter of Utkal P. C. C. dated July 4, 1934. Resolved that the amount should be utilized for such public purpose or purposes as the Reception Committee or the donors may decide.

*Wardha, September 9 and 11, 1934*

### 1. CONGRESS GOAL AND THE MEANS OF ITS ATTAINMENT

Misgivings have risen in the minds of some Congressmen and others that the Congress goal of POORNA SWARAJ or Complete Independence is being imperceptibly watered down. The Working Committee desires, therefore, to state that no Congressman, much less any Congress organisation, can do so without being liable to the charge of indiscipline. Congressmen and Congress organisations have to shape their course so as to accelerate the pace towards the goal by keeping POORNA SWARAJ before their eyes as well as the means for its attainment which must be strictly non-violent and truthful. To this end, Congressmen are expected to give effect to the resolutions and instructions that may from time to time be issued by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee. POORNA SWARAJ includes unfettered national control, among other things, over the Army and other defence forces, external affairs, fiscal and commercial matters, financial and economic policy. A free India should have the freedom to make its choice between voluntary partnership with the British and complete separation. Whilst the Congress will not repudiate just obligations, it must adhere to the resolution to have an impartial scrutiny of the obligations to be undertaken by free India. The Congress has repeatedly declared from its inception that the British Empire, as it is constituted to-day, is designed predominantly, if not purely, to subserve British interests at the cost of India and that therefore whilst it will gladly cultivate friendship with the British, it must strain

every nerve to end the present unnatural and humiliating connection.

But the Congress has also equally repeatedly declared that this political freedom must remain unattainable without attaining moral or internal freedom by carrying out the comprehensive internal and constructive programme laid down from time to time by the Working Committee. The Congress is nothing if it does not progressively represent and serve the masses. Such service is impossible without following the constructive programme of the Congress with meticulous care and devotion.

## 2. CONGRESS AND COMING ELECTIONS

The Working Committee considers it desirable to impress on all the Provincial and other subordinate Congress organisations including their office-bearers and members of Executive Committees that it is their duty to help the Congress Parliamentary Board in its election activities and that it is not open to them to support any party or candidate opposed to the official policy of the Congress and it expects every Congressman, save on grounds of conscience, to support the Congress candidates in the forthcoming elections to the Assembly.

## 3. ZANZIBAR INDIANS

The Working Committee having learnt from Deenabandhu Andrews the deplorable condition of the Indian settlers of Zanzibar assures them of its sympathy and hopes for the averting of contemplated forcible expropriation of their just rights in a land in which they have settled with families for centuries and in which they have lived in perfect peace with the original inhabitants and, armless, have relied for their safety on just dealings with them and consequent faith in their goodwill.

This Committee reiterates its sense of gratitude towards Deenabandhu Andrews for his unremitting efforts on behalf of Indian settlers overseas, expresses its full confidence in his selfless mission and hopes that he will continue his labours in this direction.

#### 4. BASIS OF CALCULATING DELEGATES

Resolved that the basis of calculating the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees to the forthcoming session of the Congress at Bombay shall, as required by Article VIII of the Constitution, be the population of the respective Congress provinces according to the census of 1921.

#### 5. GRANT FOR WORK FOR INDIANS OVERSEAS

The Working Committee considered the application of Sjt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi for the renewal of the monthly grant of Rs. 25 for publicity work for Indians overseas and resolved that the application should be placed before the Committee after the next Congress.

### CONGRESS AND NATIONALIST PARTY

Sjt. M. S. Aney had sent to the President of the Working Committee a letter enclosing the resolution of the new party formed by him. Thereupon, as the Parliamentary Board was to meet at Wardha during the week, he invited the members of the Working Committee also to meet and consider the proposal contained in the resolution to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. so as to have the resolution of the Working Committee on the Communal Award reviewed by the A. I. C. C. The President invited Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney to attend the meeting and present their view-point in person. The Working Committee duly met and gave several hours to the consideration of the question of calling a meeting of the A. I. C. C. and finally came to the conclusion that inasmuch as the Working Committee had no doubt about the propriety of its action and in view of the fact that new elections for the A. I. C. C. are going on, the Working Committee could not take the responsibility of calling the meeting. It was mentioned at the meeting that if members of the A. I. C. C. had any grievance against the Working Committee in respect of its resolution, it was open to any 30 members of the A. I. C. C. to send a requisition

which would have compelled the Working Committee to convene such a meeting.

The Working Committee also discussed the question of releasing, on the grounds of conscience, candidates for election to the Assembly, from the obligation to conform to the Working Committee resolution on the Communal Award. The Working Committee came to the conclusion, in the absence of any such resolution on release by the Working Committee, that no exemption could be granted. Gandhiji had made a proposal to Panditji, in answer to a message sent by the latter through Sjt. Aney, that the way to avoid acrimony and conflict was to reach an agreement on the basis of examination of the prospects of success of rival candidates, the candidature of those who had less chance of success being withdrawn. But while on this no agreement could be reached, the Board decided not to contest seats where Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney stood as candidates. It was also decided not to enter into contest in Sindh and in the city of Calcutta.

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*Bombay, October 20 to 29, 1934*

1. The statement of accounts of the All India Congress Committee office for September, 1934 was placed before the Committee.

2. Re: Bill of Rs. 48 for hire of furniture for the Matunga camp in 1931 Mr. Nariman stated that he would look into the matter.

3. The statement of account of the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund from January 4, 1932 to March 31, 1934 was passed by the Working Committee for incorporation in the General Secretaries' report.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

4. The Committee accepts the principle of the amendments suggested by Gandhiji in the Appendix to his statement of October 15, 1934\* and, therefore, appoints a com-

\*For statement see appendix 2.

mittee consisting of the following members:—

1. Mahatma Gandhi;
2. Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai;
3. Sjt. K. M. Munshi;
4. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and;
5. Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram (Convener) with power to co-opt, to consider those amendments and to submit its report on the evening of October 21.

5. The following resolutions were recommended to the Subjects Committee for adoption (see Bombay Congress resolutions: Bombay: pages 69 to 72).

- I Endorsement,
- ¶ II Nation's Sacrifices and Faith in Civil Resistance,
- III Mrs. Jawaharlal Nehru's illness,
- ! IV All India Village Industries Association,
- V Exhibitions and Demonstrations,
- VI Khaddar Qualification,
- VII Congress Parliamentary Board,
- VIII Labour Qualification,
- \* IX Amendment to creed (Art. I).

6. The Committee adopted the report of the Committee appointed to revise the Constitution (see Constitution adopted by the Congress, printed separately).

¶ In this resolution, the words "complete substitute for" were changed by the Congress into "better means of achieving Swaraj than."

! The Subjects Committee made one or two minor alterations in this resolution.

\* Amendment: In Art. I substitute the words "truthful and non-violent means" in place of the words, "legitimate and peaceful means."

This amendment was not accepted by the Subjects Committee.

*Bombay, October 29, 1934*

### 1. DELEGATION OF POWERS TO THE PRESIDENT

Pending the next meeting of the Working Committee the President is hereby given all the powers of the Working Committee under the new constitution for the purpose of giving immediate effect to its provisions.

In view of the possibility of disputes arising in different provinces in the course of putting the new constitution into operation which may require immediate disposal the Working Committee further authorises the President, during the transitional period, to take such steps as he may consider proper to deal with disputes and where necessary decide them himself on behalf of the Working Committee.

### 2. DATE FOR SUBMISSION OF LISTS BY P. C. Cs.

The Committee fixed September 15, 1935 for the Provincial Congress Committees to send to the Working Committee the lists of members qualified to vote, as required by Art. VI(a).

### 3. AJMER ELECTIONS

Having heard both the parties and considered the report of the Sub-Committee appointed yesterday to look into the Ajmer Election dispute,

Resolved that in the opinion of this Committee the elections organised by Sjt. Arjunlal Sethi and P. Gauri Shanker Bhargava on October 18 were invalid as declared by the then President Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Further that in view of the fact that Sjt. Haribhau Upadhyaya and others whose elections of October 18 are now being disputed are considering Mahatma Gandhi's advice to tender their resignations, it is not necessary to go into the merits of the dispute.

In case such resignations are submitted by November 15, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar is given all powers of the Working Committee to conduct and supervise cooption of members to P. C. C. and elections of office-bearers and Exe-

cutive Committee of the Ajmer P. C. C. and members of A. I. C. C. with full powers to dispose of all disputes finally.

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## WORKING COMMITTEE

### FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE

Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, made an announcement on October 30, 1934, selecting the following members of A. I. C. C. as his colleagues on the Working Committee:

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
  2. Dr. M. A. Ansari,
  3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
  4. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
  5. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. . . . *Treasurer*
  6. Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar
  7. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
  8. Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar
  9. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
  10. Syt. Gangadharrao Deshpande
  11. Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram
  12. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
  13. Dr. Syed Mahmud
  14. J. B. Kripalani
- } *General Secretaries*

The President also announced that during the enforced absence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Syt. K. F. Nariman was to act as a member of the committee and Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram as one of the General Secretaries.

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*Patna December 5, 6, 7, 1934*

### 1. JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE REPORT

Whereas the Congress has after full and earnest consideration resolved that the scheme of future Government of India adumbrated in the White Paper be rejected and that

the only satisfactory alternative is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly;

And the said rejection and demand for a Constituent Assembly has been endorsed in a clear and unambiguous manner by the country, at the recent general election to the Legislative Assembly;

And whereas the proposals made in the Joint Parliamentary Committee report are in several respects even worse than those contained in the White Paper and have been condemned by almost every shade of opinion in India as reactionary and unacceptable;

And whereas the Joint Parliamentary Committee scheme designed as it is, to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of this country by an alien people under a costly mask is fraught with greater mischief and danger than even the present constitution;

This Committee is of opinion that the said scheme should be rejected, well knowing that the rejection must involve the necessity of struggling under the present constitution, humiliating and intolerable as it is, until it is replaced by one framed by a Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Congress resolution on the subject.

This Committee requests the members of the Assembly to reject the scheme of Government sought to be thrust upon India in the name of reform and appeals to the nation to support the Congress in every step that it may decide upon to secure the national objective of Purna Swaraj.

## 2. IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

While congratulating the country on the faith and confidence it has shown in the leadership of the Congress by the splendid response it has given in the recent Assembly elections, this Committee is of opinion that all Congress organizations and Congressmen should now concentrate their attention for the next three months on:—

- (i) enrolment of Congress members and organization of Congress Committees under the new constitution;
- (ii) collection of accurate and useful local data with

a view to assist the revival of village industries under the All India Village Industries Association;

- (iii) further education of the masses in the ideas contained in the Congress resolution on the fundamental rights and duties and the economic programme passed at Karachi and amplified by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay.

### 3. CONDOLENCE

- (i) This Committee records its heart-felt sorrow over the sad and sudden death of Syt. B. N. Sasmal. In him the nation in general and Bengal in particular have lost a true patriot and a great organiser. The Committee conveys its sincere condolence to the bereaved.
- (ii) This Committee conveys its sincere condolence to Syt. Sarat Chandra Bose and Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose and other members of the family over the passing away of Rai Bahadur Janakinath Bose.

### 4. RESTRICTIONS ON SYT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

This Committee deplores the action of the Government for the irritating and humiliating restrictions placed upon the liberty and movements of Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose at a time when he was afflicted with great personal loss and sorrow and when the state of his own delicate health should have dictated a more humane treatment.

### 5. COUNCIL MEMBERS AND KHADI

The Working Committee is of opinion that all the Congress members in the legislatures should be habitual wearers of khaddar in terms of Art. V(b) (i) of the Congress constitution and requested them strictly to adhere to this rule.

### 6. COMMUNAL AWARD

On a reference being made by some members of the Nationalist Party in Bengal for a reconsideration of the com-

munal formula of the Congress, in view of the adverse verdict of the Hindu electorate in Bengal expressed through the result of the recent Assembly elections, the Working Committee recorded the following opinion:

“The policy of the Congress in the matter of the Communal Award is already recorded in a resolution passed at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress. The fact that in some constituencies or in several constituencies in one province some Congressmen have chosen to differ from the Congress policy on this matter and have been elected, does not and cannot affect the Congress policy until the same is reconsidered and revised by the Congress, particularly when the said policy has been overwhelmingly endorsed in the country at large. Until then all Congressmen and Congress organizations are expected to abstain from working against the policy of the Congress as solemnly decided.”

#### 7. ASSIGNMENT OF DHALBHUM

On the question of the assignment of Dhalbhum, the committee decided that the present arrangement should not be disturbed. Dhalbhum, therefore, remains as before a part of the Congress province of Behar.

#### INDIAN STATES

The official Congress policy towards the Indian States was re-stated by the President in a press statement which ran as follows:—

“Questions have been raised regarding the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States. The Congress attitude was defined at the Calcutta session in 1928. No occasion has arisen since then to make any pronouncement on the Congress attitude. Therefore the Calcutta resolution must be taken as the Congress policy. The resolution runs as follows:

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

ther assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support to their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States.'

"My attention has also been drawn to a circular of the Travancore Government in which responsible leaders are supposed to have disapproved of Congressmen in Indian States forming Congress Committees. So far as I am aware, no responsible Congress leader has expressed such an opinion. On the contrary there would be surprise in Congress circles if Congress Committees and activities, especially of a constructive nature, were prohibited. The traditional attitude of the Congress has been one of friendliness towards Indian States and of non-interference with their administration, and it is but meet to expect reciprocity from the States."

## CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATIONS

### *Art. II*

The Minimum number required to form a Congress organisation in any locality is fixed to 5 members.

### *Art. IV (c)*

The existing assignment of the Indian States to the different provinces is confirmed by the Working Committee.

### *Art. V, Cl. b(i)*

#### HABITUAL KHADDAR WEARER

On a reference being made as to the definition of the term "habitual wearer wholly of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar" in Art. V Clause (b) (i), the Working Committee was of opinion that the definition given in the following terms by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel represented their view:—

1. "When a man wears clothes made of Khadi as a matter of habit, he is a habitual wearer. If, therefore, for any just cause he cannot use khadi on some occasions, he does not cease to be a habitual wearer.
2. But if a person appears at Congress functions in clothes not made of khadi, he will be presumed not to be a habitual wearer of khadi.

3. Habitual wear of clothes made of khadi means all clothes from top to toe made of handspun and hand-woven khadi.
4. When it is pointed out to the Chair or when the Chairman of a Congress meeting himself knows that a voter or candidate is not wearing khadi clothes at that meeting, he is bound to rule that the person is not a habitual wearer in spite of his protestations to the contrary."

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*Delhi, January 16, 17 and 18, 1935*

1. A statement of accounts of the A. I. C. C. office for December, 1934 was placed before the meeting and passed.

## 2. PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The Committee considered the letters of the Bombay and Burma P. C. Cs. requesting the reduction of their annual subscriptions. The Committee regretted inability to introduce change in the financial arrangement.

## 3. CONDOLENCE

This Committee places on record its heartfelt sorrow at the sudden and premature deaths of Syt. Abhyankar and Acharya Gidwani. The Committee records its appreciation for the great services they rendered and the sacrifices they made in the cause of the country. The Committee conveys its sincere sympathy and condolence to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

## 4. POORNA SWARAJ DAY

The public should not need the reminder that January 26 has been observed, since the Lahore Congress, as the *Poorna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) Day. As civil disobedience has been suspended by the Congress, the proceedings for the day should not be in breach of the ordinances or other laws or orders promulgated by local authority. Consistently with this precaution, silent processions should be

taken to previously announced meeting places and at the meetings the under noted resolution worded in Hindustani or the local languages should be read out by the Chairman and without any speeches passed by the audience standing. Where meetings are prohibited, every household should meet at the appointed time and pass the resolution and inform the nearest Congress Committee of having done so.

At every meeting or in every house the passing of the resolution should be preceded by the unfurling of the national flag.

The resolution shall be as under:

"We remind ourselves on this, the solemn national day, that Complete Independence is our birthright and we shall not rest till we have achieved it.

"To that end we shall strive to the utmost of our ability to observe Truth and non-violence in thought, word and deed, and shall consider no sacrifice or suffering too great to be undergone.

"As a token of the expression of the two essential qualities of Truth and non-violence, we shall seek to

- (i) adopt and promote heart unity among different communities and to establish complete equality of status among all, irrespective of caste or creed or race
- (ii) to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks or drugs
- (iii) to promote handspinning and other village industries and to adopt for personal use khaddar and other products of village industries to the exclusion of other products
- (iv) to abolish untouchability
- (v) to serve the starving millions in every way we can
- (vi) and to engage in all other national and constructive effort."

It is recommended that the national day be devoted, in so far as it is possible, to some special constructive effort and

a determination be made to develop greater dedication to the cause of *Poorna Swaraj*.

There should be no hartal observed.

### 5. JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

Official announcement has been made that the Silver Jubilee of His Britannic Majesty's reign is to be celebrated in India. It is necessary for the Working Committee to guide the public as to the attitude to be adopted on the occasion.

The Congress has and can have nothing but good wishes for the personal well-being of His Majesty, but the Congress cannot ignore the fact that the rule in India with which His Majesty is naturally identified has been a positive hindrance to the political, moral and material growth of the nation. It now threatens to culminate in a constitution which, if enforced, promises to exploit the nation, to drain her of what she still possesses of wealth and to harden her political subjection as has perhaps never been attempted before.

It is, therefore, impossible for the Working Committee to advise any participation in the forthcoming celebration.

At the same time, the Working Committee has no desire, by hostile demonstrations, to wound the susceptibilities of Englishmen and others who will want to take part in the celebrations. The Working Committee, therefore, advises the general public, including Congressmen who may be members of elected bodies, to be satisfied with mere abstention from the events that may be arranged for celebration.

The Working Committee trusts that the authorities and responsible Englishmen will recognise and appreciate the honest and inevitable attitude of the Working Committee and refrain from unnecessarily wounding national self-respect by compelling, directly or indirectly, participation in the forthcoming celebrations.

### 6. TEXTILE MILLS

As most of the Textile mill-owners have broken their pledges given to the Congress, the Working Committee is of opinion that it is no longer possible to continue the system

of certification by the Congress or associated bodies. The old certificates issued should therefore be considered as cancelled.

The Working Committee is further of opinion that it is the duty of all Congressmen and those who sympathise with the Congress to confine their attention and give their support exclusively to the promotion of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

## 7. DISCIPLINARY RULES

Under Article XII(*d*) (*iii*) of the amended constitution the Working Committee frames the following disciplinary rules:

1. The Working Committee shall have the power to take disciplinary action against

- (i) Any Committee of the Congress which deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitration or commissioner duly appointed and which it is its particular duty to obey.
- (ii) Any member of a Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee who deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed and which it is his particular duty to obey.
- (iii) Any member of the Congress who is proved to the satisfaction of the Working Committee to have been responsible for the embezzlement of Congress funds or to have broken a pledge given to the Congress or any subordinate committee or have been guilty of any fraudulent action in connection with enrolment or election to a Congress Committee or is guilty of acts involving serious moral turpitude and such as render his conti-

nuance as member undesirable in the interests of the Congress.

2. (i) In the case of a Committee of the Congress the disciplinary action may be the supersession of such a Committee; and such further action against offending individual members as may be necessary may also be ordered.
- (ii) In the case of a member of any Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee the disciplinary action may be his dismissal, and the fixation of a period during which he cannot be validly elected to any office or membership in any Committee of the Congress.
- (iii) In the case of a member of a primary Congress organisation the disciplinary action may be a disqualification for a stated period from standing for any election, including election to the legislatures or exercising any other right of a member, or expulsion from the Indian National Congress.
3. No disciplinary action shall be taken without an opportunity being given to the Committee or individual concerned to state its or his case and answer such charges as are made before the Working Committee.
4. When the Working Committee is not sitting, the President may take cognizance of all urgent cases requiring disciplinary action and shall act on behalf of the Working Committee. In all such cases the decision of the President must be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee who may confirm or revise the same.
5. The Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall also have the power to take disciplinary action against their subordinate Committees and members of any Congress Executive Committees and members of primary Committees within their province. In all such cases the same procedure as is followed by the Working Committee shall be adhered to. It shall be open to the Com-

mittee or member against whom disciplinary action is taken to appeal against it to the Working Committee, provided that pending the appeal the order appealed against is submitted to.

6. Any person against whom an expulsion order is passed may apply for revision to the A. I. C. C. Such application should be sent by registered post to the Working General Secretary's address not later than forty days after the date of the final order appealed against, provided that at any time a revision may be applied for and allowed by reason of altered circumstances.

#### 8. RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATIONS

Interpreting the implication of residential qualification in Art. III of the constitution, the Committee was of opinion that there was no inter-district restriction with regard to elections in the constitution. It would, however, be open to provinces to make their own rule in respect of a candidate from outside the province proposing to stand for an election in the province.

#### 9. A. I. C. C. MEMBERS FOR U. P.

On a reference being made by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee for increasing its quota of A. I. C. C. members, the Committee after discussing the question decided that it had no authority to change the allocation of members as they were fixed by the constitution.

#### 10. BURMA

The Committee discussed the problem of Burma under the scheme of reforms in the J. P. C. Report and decided that the Burma Provincial Congress Committee would for the time being function as before.

With regard to the position of Indians in Burma under the new scheme the Committee was of opinion that as the whole scheme was unacceptable and therefore no amendments could be suggested by the Congress, there was no bar to

Burma Indians criticising parts of the scheme which vitally affected their position and status.

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*Jubbulpore, April 23, 24 and 25, 1935*

1. The statement of A. I. C. C. office accounts from January to March, 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed. The Committee sanctioned the excess expenditure of Rs. 124-7-6 under the head "Miscellaneous."

## 2. BUDGET

The following estimate of expenditure of the A. I. C. C. office till the end of December, 1935 was adopted by the Committee.

	Rs.
1. Establishment .. .. .	7000
2. Postage and Telegrams .. .. .	900
3. Stationery and Printing .. .. .	2900
4. Travelling expenses .. .. .	1800
5. Rents and taxes .. .. .	640
6. Furniture .. .. .	1000
7. Library .. .. .	1000
8. Miscellaneous .. .. .	900
9. Repairs of Swaraj Bhawan .. .. .	300
10. Electric Installation .. .. .	250
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16,690</b>

## 3. REMISSION GRANTED TO FRONTIER P. C. C.

In view of the continuance of Government ban on Congress organisations in the North-West Frontier, the Committee granted the province the remission of provincial subscription for this year.

## 4. PROVINCIAL SUBSCRIPTION

The Working Committee notes that many provinces have not paid the first instalment of their provincial quota while

some have not paid anything at all. The Committee resolves under Art. XVIII, (n) that all Provincial Congress Committees should pay up their full annual quota by the 31st of July, and in case of default members from the defaulting provinces will not be permitted to participate in any meeting of the A. I. C. C. thereafter.

### 5. PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS

The Provincial constitutions adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees of Assam, Karnatak, Kerala, Sindh, Tamil Nad, C. P. Marathi and Burma as sanctioned.

The constitutions of Ajmer, Bombay, Andhra, Bihar, Utkal, Punjab, U. P., Berar, Gujarat and Maharashtra are sanctioned subject to abeyance in respect of clauses involving doubts and conflicts. The President is authorised to deal with such clauses and sanction them after their rectification. The President is further authorised to sanction the constitutions from Mahakoshal, Delhi, Bengal and N. W. F. P. after consideration and such enquiry as he considers necessary.

### 6. MAXIMUM NUMBER OF DELEGATES

The maximum number of delegates returnable by the provinces under Art. VI, f, ii, will be as follows:

1. Ajmer	..	..	..	..	44
2. Andhra	..	..	..	..	144
3. Assam	..	..	..	..	25
4. Behar	..	..	..	..	185
5. Bengal and Surma Valley	..	..	..	..	324
6. Berar	..	..	..	..	20
7. Bombay city	..	..	..	..	21
8. Burma	..	..	..	..	88
9. Nagpur	..	..	..	..	17
10. Delhi	..	..	..	..	22
11. Gujarat	..	..	..	..	62
12. Karnatak	..	..	..	..	104
13. Kerala	..	..	..	..	53
14. Mahakoshal	..	..	..	..	83
15. Maharashtra	..	..	..	..	98
16. N. W. F. Province	..	..	..	..	21
17. Punjab	..	..	..	..	131

18. Sindh	..	..	..	..	22
19. Tamil Nad	..	..	..	..	141
20. United Provinces	..	..	..	..	300
21. Utkal	..	..	..	..	95
					2000

#### 7. EXTENSION OF DATE FOR ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS

The Committee ratified the extension of the last date of enrolment of Congress members to June 13.

#### 8. CHANGE OF PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS

With regard to change of provincial headquarters the Committee held that no such alteration could be recognised unless the previous sanction of the Working Committee had been obtained by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

The Committee directed that provincial committees requiring alteration of their headquarters should be asked to place their application before the Committee for sanction.

#### 9. RULES OF PROCEDURE OF A. I. C. C.

Rules of procedure were recommended by the Committee for circulation and for being placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C.

NOTE—For the final form in which they were passed by the A. I. C. C. See pages 7 to 9,

#### 10. NAGPUR P. C. C.

The Committee approved of the adoption of the name of Nagpur P. C. C. by the Central Provinces (Marathi) P. C. C.

#### 11. KHADDAR CLAUSE

With reference to the enquiries made the Working Committee instructs the Provincial Congress Committees to treat a person as habitual wearer of khaddar who has shown himself as having worn khaddar for a period of six months prior

to his election to office or as a member of a Congress Committee.

## 12. PROVIDENT FUND FOR OFFICE STAFF

The Committee approved of a scheme for the establishment of a Provident Fund for members of the A. I. C. C. office staff and directed the Secretary to frame rules to govern the said fund and circulate them to members of the Working Committee.

## 13. MAHAKOSHAL DISPUTES

The Committee passed the following resolution:—

Mr. K. F. Nariman is appointed arbitrator with final authority to deal with the disputes of the Jubbulpore Town Congress Committee and the Khandwa District Congress Committee.

Mr. Nariman is also requested by the Committee to investigate the complaints regarding the proposed constitution of the Mahakoshal P. C. C. and the validity of the meeting held for passing the said constitution and to report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal.

## 14. GUNTUR CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is authorised by the Committee to investigate the Guntur Congress Committee dispute and is requested to send up a report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal.

## 15. REPRESENTATION OF N. W. F. AND MIDNAPUR

In view of the continuance of ban on Congress organisations in the North-West Frontier Province and Midnapur district in Bengal, the President was authorised by the Committee to nominate members to represent the Frontier in the A. I. C. C., and the Congress, and the district of Midnapur in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and the Congress, such nominated members having the same right as duly elected members.

## 16. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A. I. C. C.

The Committee in slightly altered forms, recommended items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 given in the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. Jubbulpore for adoption by that body.

See pages 2 to 6.

## VACANCIES IN THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The president appointed Sri S. M. Moitra and Sri Purshottamdas Tandon as members of the Working Committee of the Congress in place of Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

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*Wardha, July 29 to August 1, 1935*

### 1. BANK ACCOUNT OF A. I. C. C.

Resolved that the account of A. I. C. C. at Allahabad be opened with the Punjab National Bank in the name of the Indian National Congress and that this account be operated upon by the President Babu Rajendra Prasad and the working General Secretary, Acharya, J. B. Kripalani, jointly and severally.

### 2. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

The statement of office accounts from April, 1935 to June, 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed.

### 3. ACCOUNTS OF 1932-34

The Committee also passed the audited accounts of the A. I. C. C. from January 1, 1932 to March 31, 1934.

### 4. CLAIM OF THE GUJARAT P. C. C.

Having considered the circumstances and the correspondence with different parties and conversations between the President and the parties concerned, resolved that Rs. 6,000 advanced by the Gujarat P. C. C. as loan to the A. I. C. C. be repaid.

### 5. DUES FROM TAMIL NAD P. C. C.

Having considered the correspondence regarding dues from Tamil Nad P. C. C. amounting to Rs. 3,325-4-10, resolved that in view of the fact that the Tamil Nad P. C. C. may feel handicapped, if called upon to pay the entire amount in one lump sum, the Working Committee will be prepared to consider payment in annual instalments of Rs. 300, the first instalment to be paid latest in December, 1935.

### 6. PROVINCIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

Considered the telegrams received from Bombay, Utkal, and other P. C. Cs. regarding extension of date for payment of provincial subscriptions,—

Resolved that the date be extended to August 15, 1935, and the Committees in default be asked to make payments by that date failing which they will be liable to be disqualified from representation in the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. in accordance with the resolution passed at the Jubbul-pore meeting of the Working Committee.

### 7. DETENUS' FAMILIES RELIEF FUND

Resolved that Syt. Surendra Mohan Moitra be authorised to make enquiries and recommendations in consultation with any other person or persons he considers necessary regarding aid to be given to families of detenus in Bengal. The General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. is authorised to make payments in accordance with such recommendations from the fund collected for the purpose.

### 8. CHANGE OF HEADQUARTERS

Read the application of the Berar P. C. C. for the change of its headquarters from Amraoti to Akola.

Resolved that the proposed change be sanctioned.

### 9. CENTRAL CALCUTTA CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

Considered the representation of the Bengal P. C. C.

regarding Central Calcutta Congress Committee.

Resolved that in view of the fact that Syt. M. S. Aney was given comprehensive powers by the Working Committee at its sitting held on July 28 and 29, 1934 to take whatever action was necessary for setting up without delay the Congress organisation in Bengal, and further in view of the fact that the Central Calcutta Congress Committee set up under his decision has been functioning since September, 1934, the Working Committee sees no reason to disturb the existing arrangements.

The Working Committee further resolves that the action taken by the Re-organisation Sub-Committee of the Bengal P. C. C. calling upon the Central Calcutta Congress Committee to deposit all application forms, receipts and membership fees is set aside and the Committee set up under Syt. Aney's award shall continue to function till a fresh election takes place under the constitution.

The Working Committee regrets to note that the Re-organisation Sub-Committee should have taken upon itself the responsibility of practically setting aside the decision of Syt. Aney and taking *ad interim* action.

#### 10. LATER PROCEEDINGS

The Working Committee heard Syt. Narendra Nath Sen on Central Calcutta Congress Committee dispute at great length but saw no reason to revise its previous decision on the subject.

#### 11. ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS IN BENGAL

With regard to the complaint of Shri S. N. Roy regarding enrolment of members in Bengal, the Committee records the agreement arrived at between Shri S. N. Roy and Syt. Surendra Mohan Moitra on behalf of the B. P. C. C. that the quota of membership fees should be remitted to the districts concerned along with the list of members within a fortnight.

#### 12. CONSTITUTION OF MAHAKOSHAL P. C. C.

Read Syt. K. F. Nariman's report about the validity of the meeting of the Mahakoshal P. C. C. for the adoption of

the provincial constitution. This Committee agrees with his finding that the meeting in which the constitution was passed was not a valid meeting and calls upon the President of the Mahakoshal Congress Committee to convene a regular meeting for considering and adopting the provincial constitution and submit the same to the Working Committee after it has been duly passed by the P. C. C.

### 13. JUBBULPORE TOWN CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

Considered the report of Syt. K. F. Nariman on the Jubbulpore T. C. C. dispute.

Agreeing with the findings of Syt. K. F. Nariman, resolved that the objections to the election of the Jubbulpore Town Congress Committee are invalid, and therefore the election stands, and the present Committee shall continue to function.

### 14. KHANDWA DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

Considered the report of Syt. K. F. Nariman on the Khandwa District Congress Committee election dispute,—

Resolved that agreeing with his findings the election of the Khandwa D. C. C. is upheld and the existing D. C. C. of Khandwa shall continue to function.

### 15. GUNTUR CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

Read the report of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya together with the terms of settlement signed by Syt. Konda Venkataswamy and Syt. N. V. L. Narasimha Rau and a letter from Syt. S. Sivaswamy withdrawing the complaint,—

Resolved that these be recorded.

### 16. CONGRESS ORGANISATION IN MADRAS CITY

Heard the representatives of Tamil Nad and Andhra P. C. Cs. on the controversy over Congress organisation in Madras city,—

Resolved that the question be referred to the Committees

concerned to enable them to arrive at an amicable settlement.

### 17. BERAR P. C. C.

Considered the resolution of the Berar Provincial Congress Conference forwarded by the Berar P. C. C. recommending the formation of a Joint Committee of the three Provincial Congress Committee of Berar, Nagpur and Mahakoshal for the purpose of running council elections,—

Resolved that the same be sent to the Congress Parliamentary Board for consideration.

### 18. PEASANTS SUB-COMMITTEE

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Syt. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon with Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon as convener be appointed to keep in touch with the problems affecting the peasantry of the country and from time to time to report to and advise the Working Committee thereon.

### 19. LABOUR SUB-COMMITTEE

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram, Syt. K. F. Nariman and Syt. Shankerlal Banker be appointed with Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram as convener to keep in touch with problems affecting industrial labour and from time to time to report to and advise the Working Committee thereon.

NOTE—Shri Shankerlal G. Banker having intimated his inability to be a member of the Committee due to his pre-occupations, Acharya J. B. Kripalani has been appointed by the President to act in his place. The Labour Sub-Committee at its meeting held in Bombay on August 6, 1935 appointed Shri J. B. Kripalani as its convener.

### 20. QUETTA EARTHQUAKE

The Working Committee records its sense of deep sorrow at the loss sustained in men and money by thousands of people during the recent earthquake in Quetta and other parts of Baluchistan and tenders its condolences and sympathy to the bereaved and the sufferers.

The Working Committee endorses the action taken by the President in forming a Central Relief Committee for collecting funds and administering relief. The Committee thanks all those who rendered valuable aid through personal care to thousands of the injured and distressed under very difficult circumstances and acknowledges the response of the public to appeals for funds.

The Working Committee while recognizing the efforts made by the authorities at Quetta to meet the situation with the resources at their disposal, is of opinion based on the published statements of eye-witnesses official and non-official that many persons under the debris could have been rescued if the digging operations had been undertaken on an adequate scale and not stopped after two days and if the offered help from the public had not been rejected.

The Working Committee is of opinion that the Government should appoint a commission composed of officials and non-officials to enquire into the allegations made by the public and, in some respects, supported by published statements of officials; *viz.*,

1. that the statement made on behalf of the government when assistance was offered, that they had ample resources to deal with the situation in Quetta does not appear to be borne out by facts;
2. that they unjustifiably turned away such proffered assistance;
3. that they ought to have recruited available assistance from neighbouring areas to cope properly with the emergency;
4. that whilst every European resident of the affected area was accounted for no adequate attempt was made in respect of the Indian residents and there was similar discrimination between Indians and Europeans in the matter of rescue, relief and salvage.\*

## 21. CONGRESS JUBILEE

Resolved that the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress be

\*See also separate notes on the Quetta Earthquake.

observed in a fitting manner on the day the Congress met for the first time in 1885 and for this purpose the Working Committee appoints the following persons to constitute a sub-committee for drawing up the programme for the occasion:—

Syt. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Syt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram, and Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

## 22. HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS

The Committee thanks Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya for the offer of the manuscripts of the History of the Congress written by him and requests the President to go through it and authorises him to finally decide about its publication as a memorial volume of the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress.

## 23. OFFICES UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Having read the resolution of several Congress Committees relating to the acceptance or non-acceptance of office under the new constitution, this Committee is of opinion that any decision on the question would be premature at this stage and should be left over for the next session of the Congress. It declares that any expression of opinion on the question by individual Congressmen does not represent the view of the Congress.

## 24. INDIAN STATES

Although the policy of the Congress regarding the States in India has been defined in its resolutions, a persistent effort is being made by or on behalf of the people of the States to get a fuller declaration of the Congress policy. The Working Committee therefore issues the following statement concerning the policy of the Congress with regard to the Princes and the people of the States.

The Indian National Congress recognises that the people in the Indian States have an inherent right to Swaraj no less than the people of British India. It has accordingly declared itself in favour of establishment of representative responsible government in the States and has in that behalf

not only appealed to the Princes to establish such responsible government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech, association and the Press to their people, but has also pledged to the States people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government. By that declaration and by that pledge the Congress stands. The Congress feels that even in their own interests the Princes will be well advised to establish at the earliest possible moment full responsible government within their States carrying a guarantee of full rights of citizenship to their people.

It should be understood however that the responsibility and the burden of carrying on that struggle within the States must necessarily fall on the States people themselves. The Congress can exercise moral and friendly influence upon the States and this it is bound to do wherever possible. The Congress has no other power under existing circumstances although the people of India whether under the British, the Princes or any other power are geographically and historically one and indivisible. In the heat of controversy the limitation of the Congress is often forgotten. Indeed any other policy will defeat the common purpose.

With regard to the impending constitutional changes it has been suggested that the Congress should insist upon certain amendments of that portion of the Government of India Bill which deals with the relation of the Indian States to the Indian Federation. The Congress has more than once categorically rejected the entire scheme of constitutional reforms on the broad ground of its not being an expression of the will of the people of India and has insisted on a constitution to be framed by a Constituent Assembly. It may not now ask for an amendment of the scheme in any particular part. To do so would amount to a reversal of the Congress policy.

At the same time it is hardly necessary to assure the people of the States that the Congress will never be guilty of sacrificing their interests in order to buy the support of the Princes. From its inception the Congress has stood unequivocally for the rights of the masses of India as against any

vested rights in conflict with their true interests.

## 25. PROVIDENT FUND RULES FOR A. I. C. C. STAFF

With a view to having a provident fund for the employees in the office of the All India Congress Committee, the Working Committee adopts the following rules:—

1. Every full time employee shall contribute one anna in the rupee of his salary to a provident fund of which an account will be opened in some bank. The deduction of this amount shall be made at the time the monthly salary bill is prepared.
2. The A. I. C. C. shall make contribution to the deposit account of each employee month by month at the rate of one anna in the rupee on the salary.
3. Persons employed temporarily shall not come under the operation of this scheme.
4. Each employee shall state in writing to whom he desires that the amount be paid in case of his death.
5. The deposits and contributions with interest thereon at the credit of any employee may be withdrawn on his ceasing to be an employee of the A. I. C. C. subject to provisions in Rules 9, 10, 11 and 12 hereunder.
6. A temporary advance, not ordinarily exceeding three months' pay, may be allowed to an employee from the sum at his credit at the discretion of the Working General Secretary, provided the sum so proposed to be advanced shall be equal to or less than half the amount paid by the employee so far towards his share of the Fund, the rate of interest being 5%.

The following may be considered as examples of legitimate occasions for such advances:—

- (a) illness of employee or any member of his family,
  - (b) marriages and funerals,
  - (c) any special educational requirement of employee's children.
7. Advances will be recovered at the discretion of the

General Secretary in instalments by monthly deductions from the salary.

8. In the event of an employee owing a sum of money to the A. I. C. C. the General Secretary will have the right to deduct this sum of money from the provident fund of the employee.
9. An employee leaving before the completion of his five years of service shall be entitled only to his share of contribution to the provident fund and interest thereon.
10. If the services of an employee are terminated for no fault of his, he shall be entitled to the whole amount of his provident fund, and the clause relating to five years service shall not apply in his case.
11. If the services of an employee are dispensed with for negligence or inefficiency, he shall be entitled to receive only his own contribution to the fund with interest thereon.
12. In case of dismissal owing to dishonesty or fraud, he shall not be entitled to receive any portion of the provident fund.
13. The clause relating to five years service shall not apply in the case of employees who may have completed their five years of service in the A. I. C. C. before the date of operation of the present scheme.
14. The decision of the Working Committee of the Congress regarding negligence, inefficiency, dishonesty or fraud involving dismissal and in all matters of doubt and difference arising out of these rules shall be final.
15. The Working Committee shall have power to alter, vary or amend the rules relating to the Provident Fund in their absolute discretion.

#### 26. LEAVE RULES FOR A. I. C. C. STAFF

1. Every member of the staff will get one month's privilege leave with full pay for every completed eleven months of service.
2. If a member does not avail of this leave, the same

can accumulate for two years. All such leave beyond two months will lapse.

3. Members of the staff will also get 10 days casual leave, which may not be combined with the privilege or sick leave.
4. Holidays falling at either end of the leave period will not be included in the leave but when they fall in the middle of the leave, they will be so included.
5. Members will also get fifteen days' sick leave on half-pay in the year.
6. If the privilege leave is availed of for reasons of health, the fifteen days of sick leave on half-pay may be combined with it.
7. Any leave beyond this shall be without allowance unless under special circumstance to be decided upon in each individual case by the Working Committee on the recommendation of the General Secretary.
8. The leave mentioned in these rules will not include Sundays or other general holidays except when they fall within the period of a leave. A list of general holidays will be made by the General Secretary at the beginning of every year and will be hung up in the office for the information of the staff.
9. Members can only avail themselves of leave subject to the requirements of the office, and will not be entitled to demand it as of right.
10. All leave mentioned here shall be unless otherwise provided for granted by the Working General Secretary.

## 27. PURSE COLLECTIONS IN MAHARASHTRA

In view of the work in Maharashtra the President consented to forego half the quota of 25% due to the A. I. C. C. office out of the Presidents' Purse collections made in Maharashtra.

## LABOUR SUB-COMMITTEE

### PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Shri Shankerlal G. Banker having expressed inability to accept membership of the Labour Sub-Committee the President appointed Prof. J. B. Kripalani to be its member pending approval by the Working Committee at its next meeting.

*Monday, October 15 and 16, 1935*

#### 1. "HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS" AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Committee sanctioned Rs. 6,000 for the printing and publication of the English edition of the "History of the Congress" by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Rs. 1,000 for the printing and publication of brochures in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Congress.

#### 2. QUOTA OF SUBSCRIPTION OF BENGAL P. C. C.

The Working Committee deplors the attitude of the executive of the Bengal P. C. C. on the payment of the provincial subscription and regrets that no choice has been left to it but to enforce the constitution and debar the members of the A. I. C. C. from Bengal from attending the next or any subsequent meetings of the A. I. C. C. in terms of the resolution of the Committee passed at Jubbulpore on April 25 and 26, 1935.

#### 3. QUOTA OF SUBSCRIPTION OF UTKAL P. C. C.

Considered the representation received from the Utkal P. C. C.,—

The Working Committee regrets that it is unable to grant the Utkal P. C. C. any exemption from payment of the balance of its provincial subscription. But in view of the special circumstances mentioned it is prepared to extend the time and allow its members to attend the A. I. C. C. if the balance of the quota is paid before or during the meeting.

#### 4. QUOTA OF DELEGATES FROM BENGAL

Resolved that the President be authorised to fix the quota of delegates from Bengal after taking such steps as he thinks fit in view of the complaints received by him regarding the list of primary members from the Province.

#### 5. CENTRAL CALCUTTA CONGRESS COMMITTEE DISPUTE

The Working Committee at its meeting held at Wardha from July 29 to August 1, 1935, passed the following two Resolutions Nos. 9 and 10 on the Central Calcutta Congress Committee dispute:—

##### RESOLUTION 9—CENTRAL CALCUTTA C. C. DISPUTE

“Considered the representation of the Bengal P. C. C. regarding Central Calcutta Congress Committee,—

Resolved that in view of the fact that Syt. M. S. Aney was given comprehensive powers by the Working Committee at its sitting held on July 28 and 29, 1934, to take whatever action was necessary for setting up without delay the Congress organisation in Bengal, and further in view of the fact that the Central Calcutta Congress Committee set up under his decision has been functioning since September 1934, the Working Committee sees no reason to disturb the existing arrangements.

The Working Committee further resolved that the action taken by the Re-organisation Sub-Committee of the Bengal P. C. C. calling upon the Central Calcutta Congress Committee to deposit all application forms, receipts and membership fees is set aside and the Committee set up under Syt. Aney's award shall continue to function till a fresh election takes place under the constitution.

The Working Committee regrets to note that the Re-organisation Sub-Committee should have taken upon itself the responsibility of practically setting aside the decision of Syt. Aney and taking *ad interim* action.

##### RESOLUTION 10—LATER PROCEEDINGS

“The Working Committee heard Syt. Narendra Nath Sen on Central Calcutta Congress Committee dispute at great length but saw no reason to revise its previous decision on the subject.”

The Working Committee regrets that the Executive

Committee of the Bengal P. C. C. instead of giving effect to the said resolutions passed the following resolutions on September 28 and 29, 1935 and August 6, 1935.

"That in view of the representations made by Syt. Narendra Nath Sen of Central Calcutta Congress Committee and Syt. Bhupendra Nath Basu and others of the South Calcutta Congress Committee, this executive council directs the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. not to hand over the papers and money to the said D. C. C."

"Regarding the Working Committee's remark expressed in the last paragraph of its decision on Central Calcutta D. C. C. the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. is of opinion that the findings of the Re-organisation Sub-Committee were not contrary to Syt. Aney's decision and the Sub-Committee was quite justified in passing the *ad interim* order pending the decision of the Working Committee. This Council regrets that the Working Committee failed to realise the true import of the *ad interim* order of the Sub-Committee."

The Working Committee is therefore of opinion that the Executive Committee of the Bengal P. C. C. has in so doing deliberately disregarded and disobeyed the orders of this Committee and therefore calls upon it to show cause by November 15, why disciplinary action should not be taken against it under Article 12 of the constitution and the rules framed thereunder.

## 6. BURMA

The Working Committee assures the Burma members of the A. I. C. C. that notwithstanding the constitutional separation of India and Burma the Indian National Congress will continue to watch with sympathetic interests the political situation in Burma, and in view of the impending separation it appeals to the Indians settled in Burma and the Burmans that they will continue to bear towards each other the same goodwill and friendly relations as have hitherto subsisted.

## 7. CONSTITUTIONAL SUB-COMMITTEE

Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Syt. Jairamdas Daulatram

and Acharya J. B. Kripalani be appointed to examine the new constitution of the Congress in the light of experience gained in its working and to report to the Committee thereon.

## 8. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONGRESS

The Committee adopted the following programme for celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Congress.

### A. OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

1. Prabhatpheri to commence before dawn.
2. Flag-hoisting and salutation 8-30 A.M. (S. T.)
3. Procession—Afternoon ending in public meeting in the evening.
4. Public meeting—Evening:
  - (a) Bandemataram.
  - (b) Opening song.
  - (c) President's message.
  - (d) Speeches about Congress *i.e.*, its history, programme, achievements etc., uptill now.
5. The day to be devoted to works of national service illustrating the constructive work of the Congress.
6. Sale of small national flags.
7. Illumination at night (Note:—There should be no fireworks of any kind whatsoever).

### B. SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO ITEMS ONE OR MORE OF WHICH MAY BE TAKEN UP ACCORDING TO THE FACILITIES OF THE LOCALITY OR INCLINATION OF THE ORGANISERS:—

#### 1. SPORTS

- (a) Wrestling.
- (b) Indian games.
- (c) Tournaments.

#### 2. MELA

- (a) Khadi Exhibition and demonstrations.
- (b) Village Industries Exhibition and demonstration.

- (c) Exhibition of other Swadeshi articles in terms of the Bombay Congress resolution.
- (d) Kavisammelan or Mushaira—subjects to be of national interest and importance.
- (e) Music.

#### C. CONGRESS PROPAGANDA THROUGH SUITABLE LITERATURE:—

History of the Congress and other literature bearing upon national problems.

### 9. RECONSTITUTION OF DELHI

Read the letter from the Delhi P. C. C. suggesting re-constitution of the Congress province of Delhi,—

“Resolved that the matter be referred to the Punjab, and U. P. P. C. Cs. for their opinion.”

### 10. SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ANDHRA AND KARNATAK P. C. Cs.

The Committee recorded the following settlement between the Secretaries of the Andhra and Karnatak P. C. Cs. regarding the district of Bellary.

“(i) The Talukas of Adoni, Alur and Rayadrug shall be as before under the jurisdiction of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

(ii) The question relating to the boundary disputes shall be deferred for the present.

(iii) For purposes of elections to the Legislatures and Local Bodies from the Bellary District there shall be a Parliamentary Board consisting of five members, two on behalf of the Andhra area and three for the Karnatak area to be appointed by the respective Provincial Congress Committees and it will function in accordance with the policy and programme of the Congress.

(iv) The Organiser of the Andhra area in the Bellary District may continue to hold his office in Bellary Town till the Bellary-Andhra District Congress Committee is formed.”

## 11. QUOTA OF DELEGATES FOR THE NEXT CONGRESS

Province	Rural members	Urban members	Total	Rural delegates	Urban delegates	Total
1. Ajmer ..	..	282	282	..	10	10
2. Andhra ..	30738	14365	45103	61	20	81
3. Assam ..	2388	232	2620	..	..	10
4. Bihar ..	69798	9007	78805	140	18	158
5. Bengal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Berar ..	4928	2130	7058	10	3	13
7. Bombay ..	..	17262	17262	..	21	21
8. Burma ..	..	..	669	..	..	10
9. Nagpur ..	4476	3662	8138	9	3	12
10. Delhi ..	5097	3540	8637	10	3	13
11. Gujarat ..	17362	6703	24065	35	12	47
12. Karnatak ..	13756	7293	21049	28	9	37
13. Kerala ..	..	..	4062	..	..	10
14. Mahakoshal	17168	8876	26044	34	11	45
15. Maharashtra	16577	11681	28258	33	11	44
16. N. W. F. ..	..	..	..	..	..	10
17. Punjab ..	5899	6719	12618	12	4	16
18. Sindh ..	115	3909	4024	..	..	10
19. Tamilnad ..	34806	20198	55004	70	23	93
20. U. P. ..	39000	23703	62703	78	26	104
21. Utkal ..	5829	1000	6829	12	2	14

## 12. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A. I. C. C.

The Committee recommended to A. I. C. C. resolutions 1 and 2 given in proceedings of A. I. C. C. of Madras as also the rules of Procedure of A. I. C. C. The latter were adopted with some alterations (See pages 6 to 9).

*Bombay, January 1 and 2, 1936*

1. Under the powers conferred upon the Working Committee under the Article XII(e) (i) the following rule was framed;

"Any person enrolled as a member under Article III

shall be entitled to exercise his vote at an election and shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of any Congress Committee without having been continuously on a Congress register for six months prior to the date of election, provided that the President of the P. C. C. concerned certifies that he has been prevented from becoming a member by reason of imprisonment, internment, externment or forced absence from India, provided further that he is certified by the President of the P. C. C. concerned that he has been prevented from performing the manual labour prescribed under Article V by reason of imprisonment, externment, internment or forced absence from India, or by reason of illness, infirmity, or any other physical incapacity."

## 2. INDEPENDENCE DAY

Resolved that the procedure adopted in previous years be followed and the President be authorised to issue a statement to be read on the occasion of the Independence Day.

## 3. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Resolved that the President be authorised to receive the report regarding the election of the President for the next session of the Congress by delegates of various provinces and to announce the result under Art. IX(f) (i).

4. Resolved that the decision of the President re: validity of enrolment of members in Jubbulpore, Katni and Baghelkhand under the Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee be confirmed.

## 5. BENGAL DISPUTE

Whereas lists of primary members for Bengal submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as required by the Constitution are challenged as irregular in material particulars and objections have been taken to the enrolment of members and the validity of the lists on various grounds;

Whereas on account of differences between the President of the B. P. C. C. and its Executive Council a majority of the members of the Council have resigned;

And whereas the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has by a resolution dated November 16, 1935, tried to compose local differences by referring certain matters to Syt. Sarat Chander Bose;

And whereas in the events that have happened there would not be a duly elected provincial congress committee functioning in the province of Bengal as from January 7, 1936;

And whereas the Working Committee is desirous to help Bengal to compose its differences in accordance with general Congress opinion in the province, and consistently with the constitution, it is hereby resolved as follows;

I. The President is hereby authorised to nominate after consultation with Syt. Sarat Chander Bose,

(A) A Provisional Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to carry on the work of the Congress in Bengal under Art. VIII(c) until a Provincial Congress Committee is duly elected as herein-after stated.

(B) The Executive Committee and office-bearers of such Provincial Congress Committee.

(C) An agency to scrutinise the lists submitted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee with all necessary and final powers to prepare the list in accordance with the constitution and duly certify the same by a date to be named by the President.

II. After the said lists are submitted, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee do hold the elections of delegates according to the provisions of Art. VI with such necessary modifications as may be prescribed by the President.

III. The Delegates elected as aforesaid to constitute the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in the place of the Provincial Congress Committee nominated hereunder.

IV. The President is hereby authorised to issue such instructions as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect.

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*Delhi, March 21—24, 1936; Allahabad, April 6, 7, 1936*  
*Lucknow, April 8—14, 1936*

### 1. A. I. C. C. ELECTION IN BOMBAY

In the opinion of the committee no substantial irregularity is disclosed in the elections of members to the All India Congress Committee from Bombay. The election therefore stands.

### 2. ELECTION OF DELEGATES IN UTKAL AND MAHAKOSHAL

Resolved that the President be authorised to condone the irregularity caused by non-payment of delegates' fees and the non-issue of certificates on payment of the prescribed fee for all the delegates present and participating in the meeting of January 20, 1936.

### 3. BENGAL ELECTION DISPUTE

Considered the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee dated March 15, 1936, and the *ad interim* report of Messrs. Surendra Mohan Moitra and Birendra Nath Majumdar, scrutinisers, and also heard Dr. Suresh Banerjee, Sjts. Biren Majumdar and Dhires Chakravorty.

The Committee is of opinion that it is not possible to substitute the nomination of delegates for their election by primary members and it is necessary, in the opinion of this Committee, that election of delegates should be held by primary members.

The Committee, accordingly, directs that the election of delegates should be held in those districts in which there is no dispute, and in the districts in respect of which the scrutinisers have been able to submit the final list of mem-

bers as per statement given below, and the committee allots the number of delegates mentioned against each district or in the districts where more than one delegate is elected, the whole district should be treated as one multiple constituency. As regards the remaining districts, the scrutinisers are requested to expedite their scrutiny and the President is authorised to allot a number of delegates to them as soon as the scrutinisers' reports are received. The Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will announce in the press names of the Returning Officers and polling station for each district by March 28. The nomination of candidates should reach the Returning Officer by 7 p.m. of March 31, 1936, and the scrutiny of the nominations will take place on April 1. The polling of votes shall take place on April 4 next and the results shall be declared on April 6 at the latest.

A meeting of delegates will be held at 10 a.m. at the Bengal Delegates' camp at Motinagar, Lucknow, on April 9, to elect one-twelfth of their number as members of the All India Congress Committee from Bengal.

The number of delegates to be elected from the districts is as follows:—

Bankura 3, Sylhet 5, Dacca 2, Nadia 2, Pabna 3, Dinajpur 6, Chittagong 1, Jessore 3, Kuhina 3, Hooghly 2, Birbhum 1, Barisal 1, Jalpaiguri 2, Burdawan 2, Murshidabad 2, North Calcutta 4, South Calcutta 2, Central Calcutta 2, Burra Bazar 2, 24-Parganas 2, Noakhali 3, Faridpur 1, and Midnapur 7.

Babu Rajendra Prasad also issued the following statement:—

"In view of the power given to me by the Working Committee to nominate delegates and members of the All India Congress Committee to represent the district of Midnapur where the Congress organisation is still under a ban, I nominate the following gentlemen, viz., Sjt. Subhas Bose, Sjt. Mohim Chandra Das, Kumar D. L. Khan, Sjt. Pramath Nath Banerjee of Contai, Sjt. Ramsundar Singh, Sjt. Manmatha Nath Das and Sjt. Lalit Mohan Sinha.

"It will be noticed that in the above list I have included

the first-named two gentlemen who are not residents of Midnapur. I included Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose for obvious reasons and I nominated Sjt. Mohim Chandra Das of Chittagong, where Congress work has become difficult if not impossible and I think it desirable that this district should not go unrepresented. Another gentleman of Chittagong should be elected as a delegate by the members of Dacca in combination with those of Chittagong to enable that district to get adequate representation.

"I record my appreciation of the work of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the scrutinisers and hope the rest of the work will be completed in time for the next Congress.

"I hope this decision will give satisfaction to congressmen and Congresswomen in Bengal and I trust the election will be conducted with fairness and completed in time."

#### 4. FRESH ELECTION DISPUTES

Resolved that the President be authorised to decide any election dispute that might arise before the next session of the Congress at Lucknow.

#### 5. HEADQUARTERS OF ANDHRA P. C. C.

As temporary measure the Andhra P. C. C. is allowed to keep Madras as its headquarters.

#### 6. ENROLMENT OF NEW PRIMARY MEMBERS

The permission given by the President in February last for enrolment of Congress members from then onwards for the year beginning with April 1936, before the assembling of the next Congress at Lucknow in April 1936, was approved.

#### 7. REPAIRS TO SWARAJ BHAWAN

Resolved that a sum of Rs. 750 be sanctioned for the next year for the repairs of Swaraj Bhawan.

8. The Committee drafted resolutions on the following subjects to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the

## Lucknow Congress:—

(1) Condolence; (2) Greeting to Prisoners etc., (3) Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's arrest; (4) Suppression of Civil Liberties; (5) Foreign Department; (6) Romain Rolland's invitation to the World Peace Congress; (7) War danger; (8) Government of India Act; (9) Sympathy for Abyssinia; (10) Indians Abroad; (11) Congress and Mass Contacts; (12) Agrarian Programme; (13) Indian States; (14) Amendments to the Constitution.

NOTE—For resolutions in their final forms as they were passed at the open Session of the Congress, see Lucknow Congress Resolutions pages 73 to 80.

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS-48TH SESSION  
ABDUL GHAFFAR NAGAR, BOMBAY

OCTOBER 26—28, 1934

*Sjt. Rajendra Prasad presided over the Session and Sjt. K. F. Nariman was Chairman of the Reception Committee.*

RESOLUTIONS

1. ENDORSEMENT RESOLUTION

This Congress endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee at their meetings held in May 1934 and thereafter, especially the resolutions regarding the Parliamentary Board and its policy and programme, the constructive programme, the status of Indian settlers overseas, condolence resolution and the resolution on Swadeshi.

2. NATION'S SACRIFICES AND FAITH IN CIVIL  
RESISTANCE

This Congress congratulates the nation on the heroic sacrifices made and the sufferings undergone by thousands of civil resisters—men and women, young and old, drawn from cities as well as the villages in the different provinces—and places on record its conviction that without non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance there would never have been the phenomenal mass awakening that has taken place throughout the country. Whilst recognising the desirability and necessity of the suspension of the civil resistance campaign except with reference to Gandhiji, the Congress reiterates its undying faith in non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance as a better means of achieving swaraj than methods of violence which, as experience has abundantly shown, result in terrorism both by the oppressed and the

oppressors.

### 3. MRS. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S ILLNESS

This Congress shares the anxiety of the Nehru family over the illness of Mrs. Jawaharlal Nehru, and hopes that the change to the hills will result in her restoration to health.

### 4. THE ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

Whereas organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village re-organisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand-spinning and whereas this work, like the re-organisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Shri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, an association called the ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION as part of the activities of the Congress. The said association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

### 5. EXHIBITIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Inasmuch as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual sessions of the Congress and as these make it impossible for smaller places to invite

the Congress, the Reception Committees shall henceforth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations. But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association which bodies shall organise these functions so as to combine instruction with entertainment of the general public especially of the villagers, with the sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life.

#### 6. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The following resolution was passed by the Congress Parliamentary Board on September 11 last at Wardha:—

“Resolved that inasmuch as this Board was constituted as an emergency measure, it is desirable that its life should be limited to one year and that thereafter it should be placed on an elective basis for the period and on the terms as may appear desirable. This should be forwarded to the Working Committee as a recommendation of the Board.”

This Congress accepts the said recommendation and resolves that the existing Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved on May 1, 1935 and a new Board of 25 should be elected by the A. I. C. C. on or before the aforesaid date.

The elected Board shall have the power to co-opt not more than five members.

There shall be a fresh election of the Parliamentary Board at every annual session of the Congress with the same power of co-option.

The elected Board shall possess the same powers as are possessed by the existing Board.

#### 7. REVISED CONSTITUTION

The Congress adopts the following constitution: (See Constitution printed separately).

### 8. KHADDAR QUALIFICATION

No member shall be eligible for election to any office or to any Congress Committee unless he is a habitual wearer wholly of handspun and handwoven Khaddar.

### 9. LABOUR QUALIFICATION

No person shall be eligible to be a candidate for election to membership of any Congress Committee, unless he or she has performed some manual labour continuously for six months immediately before the date of nomination for election on behalf of or for the Congress equal in value to 500 yards per month of well spun yarn of over ten counts, and in time to eight hours per month. The form of acceptable labour alternative to spinning shall be prescribed from time to time by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Congress Committees and the All India Village Industries Association.

### 10. GANDHIJI'S RETIREMENT

This Congress reiterates its confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and is emphatically of opinion that he should reconsider his decision to retire from the Congress. But inasmuch as all efforts to persuade him in that behalf have failed, this Congress, while reluctantly accepting his decision, places on record its deep sense of gratitude for the unique services rendered by him to the Nation and notes with satisfaction his assurance that his advice and guidance will be available to the Congress whenever necessary.

### 11. NEXT SESSION

Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in the U. P.

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the Session and Sjt. Sri Prakash was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

### 1. CONDOLENCE

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

### 2. GREETING TO PRISONERS ETC.

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

### 3. SHRI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ARREST

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

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

#### 4. SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

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

ture of British administration in India to-day, been so great as it is now. While recognising that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the Constitution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

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

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

#### 5. FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

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

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

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

## 7. WAR DANGER

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

## 8. SYMPATHY FOR ABYSSINIA

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

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

## 9. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

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

The Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic state, declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future can be accepted. In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible. The Congress therefore reiterates and stresses the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.

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

The A. I. C. C. shall place before the country prior to

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

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

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

## 10. INDIANS ABROAD

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

## 11. CONGRESS AND MASS CONTACTS

The Congress is of opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organisation, so that they may take greater share in the shaping

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

## 12. AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

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

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

1. Freedom of organisation of agricultural labourers

and peasants.

2. Safeguarding of the interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between the State and themselves.

3. Just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue.

4. Emancipation of the peasants from feudal and semi feudal levies.

5. Substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands.

6. A just allotment of the State expenditure for the social, economic and cultural amenities of villages.

7. Protection against harassing restrictions on the utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs.

8. Freedom from oppression and harassment at the hands of Government officials and landlords.

9. Fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment.

### 13. INDIAN STATES

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

### 14. AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

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

### 15. NEXT CONGRESS

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

## APPENDIX 1

### GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

(Dated Patna, April 7, 1934)

This statement was drafted by me on my day of silence at Saharsa, that is, Easter Monday, 22nd instant. I passed it on to Rajendra Babu and then it was circulated among the friends who were present. The original draft has undergone considerable revision. It is also abridged. But in essence it remains as it was on Monday. I regret that I have not been able to show it to all friends and colleagues with whom I would have been delighted to share it. But as I had no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of my decision and as I knew that the civil resistance of some friends was imminent, I was not prepared to take the risk of delaying publication by waiting for the opinion of friends. The decision and every word of the statement are in answer to intense introspection, searching of the heart and waiting upon God. The decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual. It is a humble admission of my own limitations and a due sense of the tremendous responsibility that I have carried on my shoulders all these long years.

This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram who had just come out of prison and whom, at Rajendra Babu's instance, I had sent to Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task and preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend, whom I love more than ever, it brought home to me my own imperfection. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at

once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.

During the informal conference week at Poona in July last I had stated that, while many individual civil resisters would be welcome, even one was sufficient to keep alive the message of Satyagraha. Now after much searching of the heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one and that myself and no other should, for the time being, bear the responsibility of civil resistance, if it is to succeed as a means of achieving Purna Swaraj.

I feel that the masses have not received the full message of Satyagraha owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the masses throughout the Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. The workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and the fervour of vast masses whom they had never reached.

Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used for what appear to be mundane ends and through men and women who do not understand its spirituality, provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them directing their use. I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him.

The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence. I give this opinion as the author and initiator of

Satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interests of India's fight for freedom.

I am deadly in earnest about this greatest of weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is claimed for Satyagraha that it is a complete substitute for violence or war. It is designed, therefore, to reach the hearts both of the so-called "terrorists" and the rulers who seek to root out the "terrorists" by emasculating the whole nation. But the indifferent civil resistance of many, grand as it has been in its results, has not touched the hearts either of the "terrorists" or the rulers as a class. Unadulterated Satyagraha must touch the hearts of both. To test the truth of the proposition, Satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time. The trial has never been made. It must be made now.

Let me caution the reader against mistaking Satyagraha for mere civil resistance. It covers much more than civil resistance. It means relentless search for Truth and the Power that such a search gives to the searcher can only be pursued by strictly non-violent means.

What are the civil resisters thus freed to do? If they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes, they must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty. They must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of Khaddar through personal hand-spinning and hand-weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every walk of life, the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person, the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and generally by cultivating personal purity. These are services which provide maintenance on a poor man's scale. Those for whom the poor man's scale is not feasible should find place in small unorganised industries of national importance which give better wages. Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary

obedience to law and authority.

It is hardly necessary to say that in issuing this statement I am in no way usurping the function of the Congress. Mine is mere advice to those who look to me for guidance in matters of Satyagraha.

## APPENDIX 2

### GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

*Wardhaganj, September 17.*

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement to the Press:—

“The rumour that I had contemplated severing all physical connection with the Congress was true. However, for the considerations urged by my friends who had come to Wardha during the meetings of the Working Committee and Parliamentary Board last week, I agreed with them that it might be safer for me to leave the Congress, if at all, after the forthcoming session. There was an intermediate course, suggested by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, of remaining in the Congress without participating in active administration of the organisation, but both Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad strongly disapproved of that course. Sirdar Vallabhbhai had agreed with me that the time had arrived for me to retire from the Congress, but many others would not endorse that view. After due consideration of all the pros and cons, I have adopted the safe and prudent course of postponing the final step at least till after the meeting of the Congress session in October. One attractive idea behind the insistence on postponement was that it would enable me to test the accuracy of my impression that a very large body of Congress intelligentsia were tired of my method and views, and programme based upon them, that I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that, instead of remaining the most democratic and representative organisation, it was dominated by my personality, that in it there was no free play of reason.

“If I am to test the truth or otherwise of my impression, naturally, I must put before the public the reasons on which my impression is based, and my own proposals based thereon.

Congressmen might vote on them and thus clearly register their opinion.

"I must try to do this as briefly as I can. It has appeared to me that there is a growing and vital difference of outlook between many Congressmen and myself. I seem to be going in a direction just the opposite of what many of the most intellectual Congressmen would gladly and enthusiastically take if they were not hampered by their unexampled loyalty to me. No leader can expect greater loyalty and devotion than I have received from intellectually-minded Congressmen, even when they have protested and signified their disapproval of the policies I have laid before the Congress. For me any more to draw upon this loyalty and devotion is to put undue strain upon them. Their loyalty cannot blind my eyes to what appear to me to be fundamental differences between the Congress intelligentsia and me.

"Let me state them. I put the spinning-wheel and khadi in the forefront. Hand-spinning by Congress intelligentsia has all but disappeared. The general body of them have no faith in it and yet, if I could carry their reason with me, I would substitute the four-anna franchise by personal, daily hand-spinning. The khadi clause of the Congress Constitution has been almost a dead letter from the beginning and Congressmen have not been wanting who have reminded me that I am responsible for the hypocrisy and evasion about the working of the khadi clause. I ought to have realized that it was not passed out of deep conviction, but largely out of personal loyalty to me. I must own that there is considerable force in the argument. Nevertheless my conviction is growing that if India is to win Complete Independence in terms of the toiling millions and through unadulterated non-violence, the spinning-wheel and khadi have to be as natural to the educated few as to the partially unemployed and semi-starved millions who, for not using their hands for the purpose for which nature has endowed man with them, have become almost like beasts of burden. The spinning-wheel is thus an emblem of human dignity and equality in the truest sense of the term. It is the handmaid of agriculture. It is the Nation's second lung. We are perishing because we are using only one lung, yet only a few Congressmen

have a living faith in the India-wide potency of the wheel. The removal of the khadi clause in the Constitution would mean removal of the living link between the Congress and millions whom it has from its inception sought to represent, and yet if it remains, it has to be rigidly enforced. But it cannot be, if a substantial majority of Congressmen have no living faith in it.

"Take again the Parliamentary Board. Though the author of Non-co-operation, I am convinced that in the present circumstances of the country and in the absence of any general scheme of civil resistance, a Parliamentary Party within the Congress is a necessary part of any programme that may be framed by the Congress, but there are sharp differences of opinion among us on that point. The force with which I urged the programme at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Patna, I know, oppressed many of our best colleagues, but they hesitated to act according to their own conviction. Upto a point, suppression of one's views in favour of those of another, considered superior in wisdom or experience, is virtuous and desirable for healthy growth of organisation; it becomes a terrible oppression when one is called upon to repeat the performance from day to day. Though I have never wished any such untoward result, I cannot conceal from me or the public the tragic fact that such has been my own experience. Many have despaired of resisting me. This is a humiliating revelation to a born democrat,—I make that claim of complete identification with the poorest of mankind, an intense longing to live no better than they and a corresponding conscious effort to approach that level to the best one's ability can entitle one to make it.

"I have welcomed the formation of the Socialist group. Many of them are respected and self-sacrificing co-workers. With all this, I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorized pamphlets. But I would not, by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert, suppress the spread of ideas propounded in their literature. I may not interfere with the free expression of those ideas, however distasteful some of them may be to me. If they gain ascendancy in the Congress, as they well may, I cannot remain in the Congress. For, to be in active opposi-

tion should be unthinkable. Though identified with many organizations during a long period of public service, I have never accepted that position.

"Then there is the policy advocated by some in regard to the States which is wholly in difference from what I have advised. I have given many an anxious hour to the question but I have not been able to alter my view.

"Even on untouchability, my method of approach is perhaps different from that of many, if not of most Congressmen. For me, it is a deeply religious and moral issue. Many think that it was a profound error for me to have disturbed the course of the civil resistance struggle by taking up the question in the manner, and at the time, I did. I feel that I would have been untrue to myself if I had taken any other course.

"Last of all, take non-violence. After 14 years of trial, it still remains a policy with the majority of Congressmen, whereas it is a fundamental creed with me. That congressmen do not still regard non-violence as a creed is no fault of theirs. It is undoubtedly my faulty presentation and, still more, the faulty execution that are responsible for this failure. I have no consciousness of faulty presentation or execution, but it is the only possible inference from the fact that it has not yet become an integral part of the lives of Congressmen.

"And if there is uncertainty about non-violence, there must be still more about civil resistance. In spite of my 27 years of study and practice of the doctrine, I cannot claim to know all about it. The field of research is necessarily limited, as occasions for civil resistance in a man's life must not be frequent. It can only come after voluntary obedience to authority, whether of parents, teachers or other elders, religious or secular. There need be no wonder that, as the only expert, however imperfect, among us, I should have come to the conclusion that it should, for some time to come, be limited only to me. This was necessary in order to minimise the errors and mischief proceeding from them, as also to explore its hidden possibilities, but again for no fault of the Congressmen. It has been increasingly difficult for me to carry the reason of fellow Congressmen with me in all the resolutions recently passed on the subject, whilst they have

generously voted for them.

“Even the memory of the sense of oppression which they experienced at the time of voting, without an intelligent belief in these resolutions, oppresses me just as much as they were oppressed. They and I must be free from this oppression if we are at all to grow in pursuit of what we believe to be the common goal. Hence it is necessary for all concerned to act freely and boldly according to their convictions.

“I have, in my Patna statement recommending suspension of civil resistance, drawn attention to the failure of civil resistance to achieve two obvious results. If we had the full non-violent spirit in us, it should have been self-evident and should not have escaped the notice of the Government. Their Ordinances were certainly not warranted by any of the misdeeds done by or imputed to us. They were undoubtedly intended to break our spirit anyhow. But it would be wrong if we contended that civil desisters were above reproach. If we are non-violent through and through, our non-violence would have been self-evident. Nor were we able to show to the terrorists that we had greater faith in our non-violence than they in their violence. On the contrary, many of us made them feel that we had the same spirit of violence in our breasts that they had. Only, we did not believe in deeds of violence. The terrorists rightly argued that if the spirit of violence was common to both, the policy of doing or not doing violence was a matter of opinion. I need not repeat what I have said before, that the country has made great strides towards non-violence indeed and that many have exhibited great courage and self-sacrifice. All I want to say is that ours has not been unadulterated non-violence in thought, word and deed. It is now my paramount duty to devise ways and means of showing demonstrably to the Government and the terrorists the efficacy of non-violence as a means of achieving the right thing, including freedom in every sense of the term.

“For this experiment to which my life is dedicated, I need complete detachment and absolute freedom of action. Satyagraha, of which civil resistance is but a part, is to me the universal law of life. Satya, in truth, is my God. I can

only search Him through non-violence and in no other way. And the freedom of my country, as of the world, is surely included in the search for Truth. I cannot suspend this search for anything in this world or another. I have entered the political life in pursuit of this search, and if it cannot carry the reason as well as the heart of educated Congressmen when I say that this search necessarily includes Complete Independence and many other things which may be part of Truth, it is plain I should work single-handed, in the implicit faith that what I fail to make clear to my countrymen to-day shall be clear to them some day of itself; or, if God wills it, through some apt word He may put in my mouth or some apt work which He may prompt me to do in matters of such tremendous importance. A mechanical vote or a grudging assent is wholly inadequate, if not injurious to the cause itself.

"I have referred to the common goal but I have begun to doubt if all Congressmen understand the same thing by the expression 'Complete Independence.' I want for India Complete Independence in the full English sense of that English expression. For me Purna Swaraj has an infinitely larger meaning than 'Complete Independence' but even Purna Swaraj is not self-explained. No one word or compound expression will give us a meaning which all can understand. Hence, on several occasions I have given several definitions of Swaraj. I hold that they are all hopelessly incomplete even when put together, but I do not wish to labour on it.

"My mention of the difficulty if not the impossibility of giving a complete definition leads me to another serious point of difference between many Congressmen and myself. I have always said, since 1903, that means and end are convertible terms and that, therefore, where the means are various and even contradictory the end must be different and even contradictory. We have always control over the means and never on the end. But we may not bother about its content if we all employ identical means with identical connotation for them. It will be admitted that many Congressmen do not admit this (to me) obvious truth. They believe that the end justifies the means, whatever they may be.

"It is the sum-total of these differences which has steri-

lised the existing Congress programme, because members who have their lip-assent to it without believing in it, have naturally failed to reduce it to practice and yet I have no other programme save the Congress programme now before the country, that is, untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, total prohibition, hand-spinning with khadi cent per cent Swadeshi, in the sense of the revival of Village Industries and general re-organisation of the seven lakhs of villages, ought to give all satisfaction that one's love of one's country may demand. Personally I would like to bury myself in an Indian village, preferably in a Frontier village. If the Khudai Khidmatgars are truly non-violent, they will contribute the largest share to the promotion of the non-violent spirit and of Hindu-Muslim unity. For, if they are non-violent in thought, word and deed, and are lovers of Hindu-Muslim unity, surely through them we should see the accomplishment of the two things we need most in this land. The Afghan menace which we dread so much should then be a thing of the past. I am, therefore, yearning to test the truth for myself of the claim that they have imbibed the spirit of non-violence and are believers, in the heart, of unity of Hindus, Mussalmans and others. I should like also personally to deliver the message of the spinning-wheel to them in this and various such other ways. I would love to serve the Congress in my own humble manner, whether I am in or outside it.

"I have reserved to the last reference to the growing corruption in our ranks. I have already said enough about it in public. In spite of all I have said, the Congress still remains in my estimation the most powerful and the most representative organisation in the country. It has a history of uninterrupted noble service and self-sacrifice, and from its inception it has weathered storms as no other institution has done. It has commanded a measure of self-sacrifice of which any country would be proud. It holds to-day the largest number of devoted men and women of unimpeachable character. If I must leave this organisation, I shall not do so without a wrench and I should do it only when I am convinced that being outside I would serve it, *i.e.*, the country, better than by being in it.

"I propose to test the feeling of the Congress on all the

points I have touched by placing before the Subjects Committee certain resolutions giving effect to the views enunciated above. The first amendment I would propose is to replace the words 'legitimate and peaceful' by 'truthful and non-violent.' I should not have done so but for the furore of opposition which was raised against the utterly innocent use by me of the two adjectives in the place of 'legitimate and peaceful.' If Congressmen really believe in the necessity of truthfulness and non-violence for the attainment of our goal, they should have no hesitation about accepting the unequivocal adjectives.

"The second amendment would be to replace the four anna franchise by the delivery by every member to a Congress depot of 2,000 rounds (one round equal to four feet) per month of well-twisted even yarn of not less than 15 counts spun by himself or herself. The arguments for and against need not be repeated here. If we are to be a truly democratic body representing even the lowest paid labour, we cannot do it better than by devising a simple labour franchise. Hand-spinning is by common consent the lowest paid labour and yet the most dignified. It is the nearest approach to adult franchise within the means of almost every one who is willing to labour for the sake of the country for half an hour daily. Is it too much to expect the intelligentsia and the propertied classes to recognise the dignity of labour, irrespective of the material benefit it brings? Is not labour, like learning, its own reward? If we are true servants of the masses, we would take pride in spinning for their sakes. I recall what the late Maulana Mohammad Ali used to repeat from many a platform. As the sword was the symbol of brute force and might, he would say, the wheel or the *takli* was the symbol of non-violence, service and humility. When the wheel was accepted as part of the national flag it was surely implied that the spinning-wheel would hum in every household. If Congressmen do not believe in the message of the wheel, we must remove it from the national flag, and khaddar from the Constitution. It is intolerable that there should be unashamed fraud in the observance of the khaddar clause.

"The third amendment I should propose would be that no one shall be entitled to vote at any Congress election whose

name has not been on the Congress register continuously for six months without default, and who has not been a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar for that period. A great difficulty has been experienced in the working of the khaddar clause. It can be easily avoided by giving powers, subject to appeal to the President of the Congress and to the chairmen of respective committees, to decide the question whether a particular voter is or is not a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar within the meaning of the Constitution. No one is to be considered such a wearer who, at the time of voting, is not manifestly wholly clad in khaddar. But no rule, however carefully and strictly worded, can produce satisfactory results if a large number do not voluntarily carry it out.

“Experience has shown that the Congress is an unwieldy organisation, even with 6,000 delegates. In practice, the full number has never attended the Congress, and when the Congress register nowhere contains a truly representative list, the delegation can hardly be claimed to be a reality. I would, therefore, have an amendment reducing the number to not more than 1,000 delegates nor more than one delegate per every thousand voters. To have the full number of delegates would mean one million voters, not an over-ambitious hope in a country having a population of 315 millions. The Congress would, by this amendment, gain in substance what it may lose in the show of numbers. The spectacular part of the session would be kept intact by making ample provision for visitors, but Reception Committees will be spared the wholly unnecessary anxiety of having to provide accommodation for an unwieldy number of delegates. Let us recognise the fact that the Congress enjoys a prestige, democratic in character and influence, not by the number of delegates and visitors it has drawn to its annual functions but by the ever-increasing amount of service it has rendered. Western democracy is on its trial. If it has already proved a failure, may it be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of its buttress. Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be the inevitable products of democracy, as they undoubtedly are to-day. Nor is bulk a true test of democracy. True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to repre-

sent. I hold that democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.

"I have mentioned here only the principal amendments I should propose in the Constitution. There would be other resolutions bringing out clearly the points I have touched upon in the foregoing paras. I do not need to burden this statement with them.

"My fear is that even the amendments I have named will hardly commend themselves to the large number of Congressmen who will attend the Congress. Nevertheless, if I am to guide the policy of the Congress, I hold them and the resolutions in keeping with the spirit of this statement to be essential for the earliest attainment of our goal. No voluntary organisation can succeed in its purpose without its resolutions and policies being carried out whole-heartedly by its members, and no leader can give a good account of himself if his lead is not faithfully, ungrudgingly and intelligently followed; and this is truest of a leader who has no resource at his disposal but what truth and non-violence can supply. It follows, therefore, that there is no room for compromise in the essentials of the programme I have endeavoured to adumbrate in these paras. Let the Congressmen, therefore, examine it dispassionately and on its merits. They must eliminate me from their consideration and give effect to the dictates of their reason."

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