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Tripuri - 1939

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REPORT
OF THE
52nd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
TRIPURI (Dt. JUBBULPORE,) MAHAKOSHAL.
1939.

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Singh Gupta, General Secretary, Reception Committee, 52nd Indian National
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SECTION I

राष्ट्रपति



Shri Subhas Chandra Bose.
President

MAHAKOSHAL INVITATION AT HARIPURA.

On behalf of the Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee Thakur Chhedilal President of the M. P. C. C. invited the fifty second Session of the Indian National Congress to Mahakoshal. The Congress Province of Mahakoshal comprises the Hindi Speaking Districts of the Central Provinces. Though two Sessions of the Congress were held at Nagpur in the years 1891 and 1920, and one at Amraoti in the year 1897 and though the Session at Nagpur, held in the year 1920, made itself momentous by the adoption of Mahatma Gandhi's programme and change in the Congress-creed marking a New Era, the Hindi Districts of the Central Provinces, which were carved into a new Congress Province in 1920, did not so far have the good fortune of having this national assembly held amongst their midst, except that in 1934 a meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Jubbulpore, the Capital of Mahakoshal. It was, therefore, natural that all national workers in Mahakoshal welcomed the idea and were eager to make the Session as great a success as possible inspite of the fact that Mahakoshal is an extremely poor Province and cannot boast of having its captains of industry and its multi-millioners as

Gujrat has, nor has it the honour of having any stalwart Congress leader like the Sardar of Bardoli.

Provisional Reception Committee and Co-ordination Committee.

No time was lost in making arrangements of the ensuing session and fulfilling its duty which the Mahakoshal had cheerfully undertaken. The Provisional Committee was formed on 12-6-38 at Katni with Thakur Chhedilal as President and Messrs. K. R. Khandaker and Badrinath Dubey as General Secretaries. Certain sub-committees were also formed more important being funds collection, tender, volunteer and propaganda sub-committees. In order to co-ordinate the activities of the different sub-committees a Co ordination sub-committee was also formed under the Presidentship of Thakur Chhedilal and it is this Committee which had to decide many of the most important problems which faced the Reception Committee and did very effective work. The funds collection Sub-Committee consisted of Seth Govinddass, Thakur Chhedilal and Seth Sheodas Daga. Seth Govinddass the respected Mahakoshal leader, toured throughout the Province at great personal inconvenience and succeeded in collecting a large amount.

Venue and the site of the Congress.

The first question which arose was to fix the venue of the Congress and it appeared that it was

not very easy to fix it as the different quarters of Mahakoshal vied with each other in having the Session in their part of the Province. It was found that Chhatisgarh was as eager as Jubbulpore and in the Jubbulpore District itself there was a competition between Katni Tahsil and the Jubbulpore Tahsil. A site Sub-Committee was, therefore, formed to decide the question from all points of view and ultimately it was decided to have the Session in the Jubbulpore Tahsil.

At first Lamhetaghat was chosen to be the site for the Congress, but later on it had to be changed and Tripuri or Tever was the final selection. The site of Lamhetaghat was changed mainly because of water and transport difficulties.

Tripuri : Historical Survey.

Tripuri or Tever has a very ancient history and glorious past behind it. It was the capital city of the Kalachuris who were a branch of Haihya Kshtriyas and who belonged to the famous Lunar Race. The Kalachuris rose into prominence towards the middle of the 3rd century, A. D. and used their own era which is called Kalachuri or Chedi era and which began from 240 A. D. It seems that from 900 A. D. for three centuries Tripuri was the Capital of the Kalachuris. The first great Kalachuri king was Koakalla I who married the Chandel Princess Nattadevi, sister of Harsha. He had eighteen sons, one of whom named Mugdh-Tunga became the ruler.

of Tripuri. Thus Mugdh-Tunga was the first king of Tripuri and his younger brothers acted as Provincial Governors. Mugdhtunga extended the Kalachuri power all round and towards the East as far as the shores of the seas. The next important King of this dynasty was Gangeyadeva under whom the Kalachuris rose into a first rate Imperial power. Karnadeva another great King of the same dynasty built a beautiful town called Karnavati, the present Karanbel close to Tever. The close of the reign of Karnadeva marked the decline of the Kalachuris. For nearly 300 years, i. e. from 900 A. D. to 1200 A. D. the Kalachuris dominated the political history of this country, Mahakoshal being the centre of their power and Tripuri the seat of their Empire. The Kalachuris had conquered Bengal and Orissa in the East, Karnatic in the South and Gujrat in the West and in the North they had gone right upto the frontiers of Nepal. They were divided into two important branches, the main branch had its capital at Tripuri and the other branch at Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district. It was on the ruins of the Kalachuris of Tripuri that the Gond Kingdom of Garha Mandla arose in the XIII century A. D. It was founded by one Jadurai who was in the service of Kalachuri Kings. He entered into an alliance with one Surbhi Pathak, who was a dismissed officer of the Kalachuris and both conspired to overcome their former chief and they succeeded in their attempts. One of the most famous kings of this

dynasty was Madan Shah who built Madan Mahal which stands between two gigantic rocks and is on the way to Tripuri. Sangram Shah was another famous king of the Gond Dynasty, who extended his sway over the valley of Narbudda and the parts of the Satpura plateau and built the fortress of Chauragarh at Narsinghpur and the Sangram Sagar Lake near Garha on the way to Tripuri. He also constructed a temple called the Baijnath dedicated to god Bhairava, but it is Rani Durgavati who was undoubtedly the most illustrious of all the sovereigns of Garha Mandla and who is still remembered in this part of the country with heartfelt-respect and admiration. She governed her Kingdom for fifteen years with great success and even the hostile author of the Aini-Akbari had to admit that her rule was just and her people prosperous. The attention of the Emperor Akbar was drawn to this peaceful Kingdom in the centre of India by the tales of wealth of this Queen and the prosperity of her Kingdom and one of the first expeditions of Akabar's reign was directed against Rani Durgavati. Sir W. H. Sleeman has given a vivid account of the battle which took place between the forces of Asafkhan, the Viceroy of Akbar at Kara Manikpur and the forces of this Queen and it is one of the most thrilling episodes in all History.

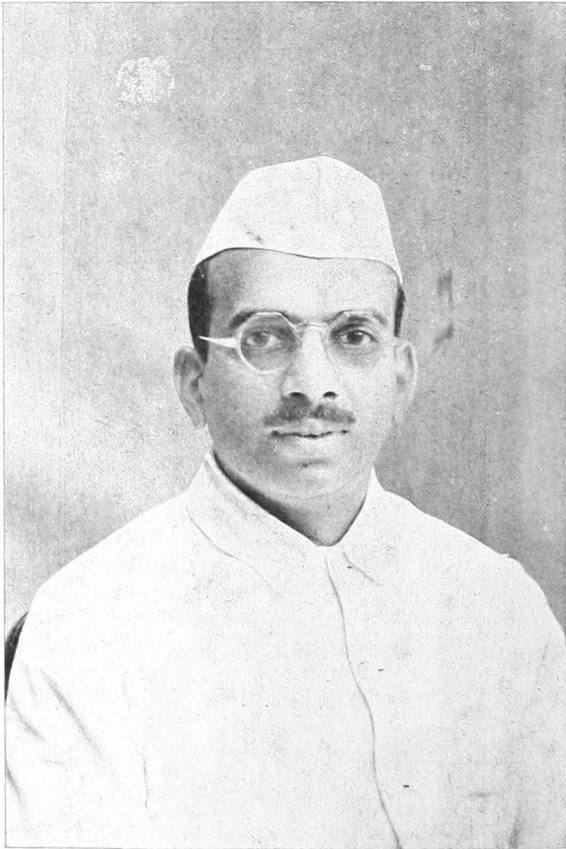
The great Queen fought very bravely and not withstanding the agony she had suffered from the wounds she received in the skirmish, she

refused to retire. Her's is a shining example of heroism and burning patriotism for all those who are fighting for liberty. This Queen laid down her life for the freedom of her country and the liberties of her people and that makes her one of the brightest jewels in the whole of Indian History. Her successors were not as brave as she was and the Marathas acquired this part of the country in the 18th century. In the early 19th century the same exchanged hands and came under the sway of the British and then a separate division was formed under the title, Saugor and Nerbudda Territories and put under the Administration of an Agent to the Governor General. Later on they were put under the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces which are now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It was in 1861 that the Saugor and the Nerbudda Territories comprising Saugor, Jubbulpore and Betul Districts were placed under the administration of the Chief-Commissior and a separate Province called the Central Provinces was constituted. In the meantime parts of Chattisgarh were annexed to British dominion in 1854 by the doctrine of lapse initiated by lord Dalhousie and made a part of the Central Provinces.

Reception Committee : The Office-Bearers and different Sub-Committees.

On 11. 11. 39 Seth Govinddass was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

सेठ गोविन्ददास
स्वागताध्यक्ष



Seth Govind Dass
Chairman Reception Committee.

Soon after he formed his cabinet by nominating the vice-Presidents, Secretaries, the Treasurer and other members of the Executive Committee. Chairmen of different sub-committees were also elected who were expected to co-opt other persons and to form sub-committees to look after and carry on the work under their charge.

A consolidated list of the office bearers and members of Executive committee, as well as the Chairmen of different Sub-Committees is given below for ready reference :—

The Chairman and Office Bearers of the Reception Committee.

- Chairman*... .. Seth Govinddass M. L. A.
(Central) Jubbulpore.
- Vice Chairman*... 1. Pt. Makhanlal Chaturvedi,
Khandwa.
2. Seth Sheodas Daga. M. L. A.
(Central) Raipur.
3. Maulvi Chiraguddin, Saugor.
4. Pt. Badrinath Dube,
Jubbulpore.
- General Secretary* The Hon'ble Ghanshyam Singh
Gupta, Drug. (Speaker C. P.
Assembly)
- Secretaries* ... 1. Pt. Shambhudayal Mishra,
M. L. A. (Central) Hoshangabad.
2. Mahant Laxminarayandas,
M. L. A. Raipur.

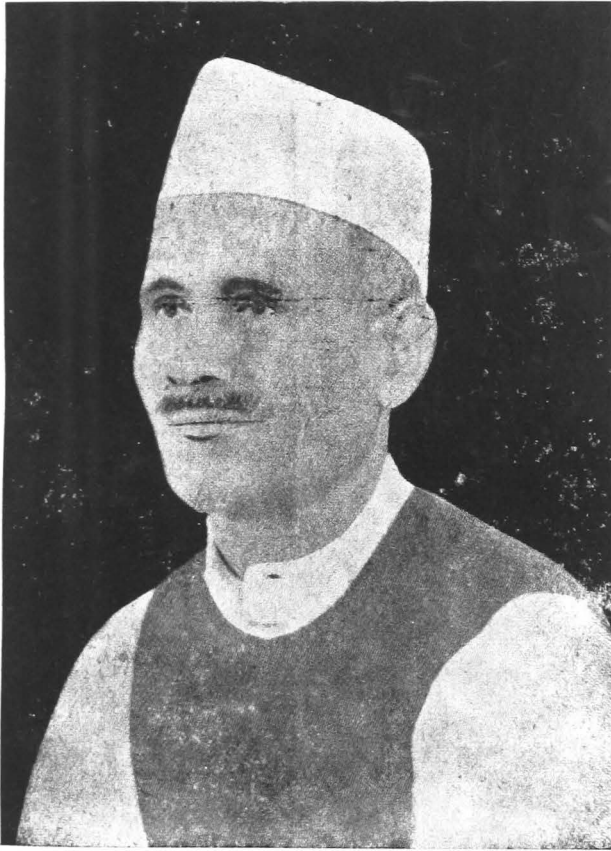
3. Shri Raghunath Singh
Kiledar, M. A. Narsinghpur.
4. Pt. Kunjilal Dube, Advocate
Jubbulpore.

Treasurer Seth Suganchand Rathi,
Jubbulpore.

- Members*
1. Pt. Prem Shanker Dhagat,
M. L. A. Damoh.
 2. Pt. Prabha Shanker Dhundi-
raj Jatar, M. L. A. Seoni.
 3. Pt. Girja Shanker Agnihotri,
Mandla.
 4. Shri Beohar Rajendra Singh,
M. L. A. Jubbulpore.
 5. Seth Deepchand Gothi,
M. L. A. Betul.
 6. Mrs. Subhadra Kumari Chow-
han, M. L. A. Jubbulpore.
 7. Captain Avadhesh Pratap
Singh, Rewa.
 8. Maulvi Abdul Raufkhan,
Raipur.
 9. Shri Anokhelal Arjhare,
Khandwa.
 10. Seth Badrinarayan, M. L. A.
Balaghat.
Shri P. R. Dongaonkar, Drug.
P. A. to General Secretary.

For facility of work and to expedite it and for

माननीय घनश्यामसिंह गुप्त
प्रधान-मंत्री



Hon. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta
General Secretary

securing better supervision the Secretaries were put in charge of groups of Departments as follows :—

Pt. Shambhu Dayal Mishra.

1. Sanitation Sub-Committee
2. Accommodation " "
3. Exhibition " "
4. General Purposes "
5. Kisan Camp " "
6. Advertisement " "
7. Pandal " "

Mahant Laxminarain Das.

1. Propaganda Sub-Committee.
2. Watch and Ward " "
3. Volunteers " "
4. Medical Relief " "
5. Reception " "
6. Procession " "
7. Board " "
8. Entertainment " "
9. Ladies Accommodation
10. Music " "

Shri Raghunath Singh Kiledar.

1. Construction Sub-Committee.
2. Light " "
3. Water Works " "
4. Material Purchase "
5. Store " "

6. Decoration „ „
7. Transport „ „

Pt. Kunji Lal Dube.

1. Collection Sub-Committee.
2. Finance „ „
3. Bazar „ „
4. General Office „ „
5. Audit „ „
6. Printing „ „
7. Ticket „ „
8. Enquiry „ „
9. Leaders' Camp „ „

Pt. K. L. Dube in addition to the work put in his charge looked after and carried on the duties of the General Secretary during the latter's absence.

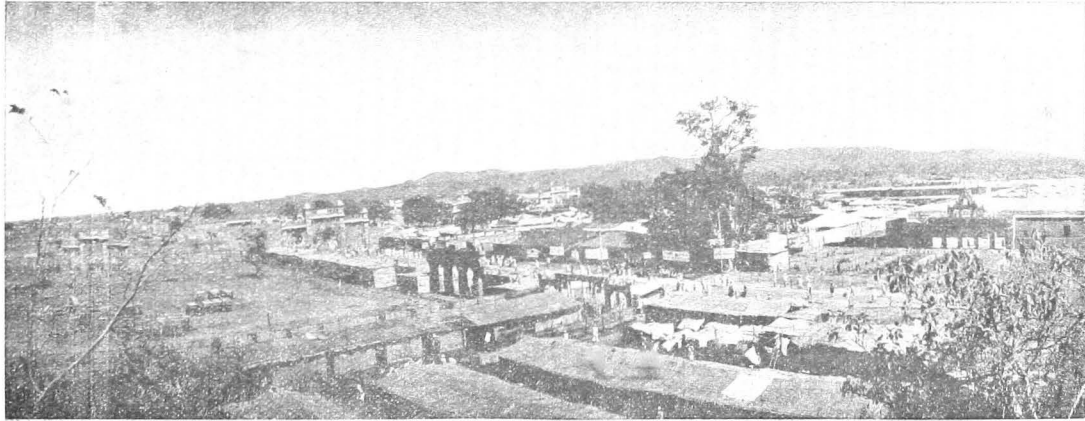
Presidents of the Various Sub-Committees.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|---|
| Reception Committee | ... | Seth Govinddas,
M. L. A. (Central). |
| 1. Reception Sub-Commt. | ... | Sardar Amar Singh,
M. L. A., Bilaspur. |
| 2. Collection | ... | Seth Sheodas Daga,
M. L. A. (Central)
Raipur. |
| 3. Delegates Camp | ... | R. S. Hukumchand,
Jubbulpore. |
| 4. Volunteers | ... | Mahant Laxminarain
Das, M. L. A. Raipur. |

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 5. Pandal | ... Seth Narsinghdas
Agrawal, Jubbulpore. |
| 6. Accommodation | ... Sardar Bhagwantsingh,
Jubbulpore. |
| 7. Exhibition | ... Shri Bhagwant Rao
Mandloi, M. L. A.
Khandwa. |
| 8. Medical Relief | ... Dr. R. C. Rai,
Bilaspur. |
| 9. Printing | ... Shri Yadunandan
Prasad Shrivastava,
Bilaspur. |
| 10. Stores | ... Shri Shyamlal Agrawal,
Jubbulpore. |
| 11. Procession | ... Kuwar Bhuwan
Bhaskar Singh
Bilaspur. |
| 12. Board | ... Shri Jaskaran Daga
Raipur, |
| 13. Entertainment | ... Pt. Govind Prasad
Khamparia, Katni |
| 14. Lighting | ... Shri B. P. Trivedi,
Damoh. |
| 15. Decoration | ... Shri Kashiram Tiwari
Pleader, Bilaspur. |
| 16. Water Works | ... Shri Krishna Deo
Bhatt, B. A.,
Jubbulpore. |
| 17. Ticket | ... Shri Chaturbhuj Bhai
Jasani M. L. A. Gondia |

18. General Purposes Shri Murlidhar Mishra
Pleader, Bilaspur.
19. Finance ... Seth Sukan Chand
Rathi, Jubbulpore.
20. Bazar ... Shri Sarvadutt Bajpai
Pleader, Bilaspur.
21. Store Purchase ... Shri Kashiprasad
Pande, M. L. A. Sihora
22. Transport ... Shri Chintaman Rao
Otalwar, Pleader,
Bilaspur.
23. Leaders' Camp ... Shri Kunjbiharilal
Agnihotri, Advocate,
Bilaspur.
24. Enquiry ... Shri Mathuraprasad
Dube, Pleader, Bilaspur
25. Ladies Accommodation.. Shrimati Ratna Kumari
Devi, Jubbulpore.
26. Office ... Shri Narmadaprasad
Mishra M. L. A.
Jubbulpore.
27. Kisan Reception ... Shri Arjun Singh
M. L. A. Hoshangabad
28. Music ... Shri Puchkaud Prasad
Bilaspur.
29. Watch and Ward ... Shri Kishanlal
Chaturvedi, Bilaspur.
30. Sanitation ... Dr. Sheodulare
Mishra, Bilaspur.

विष्णुदत्तनगर



Bird's-Eye View of Vishnudutta Nagar.

31. Advertisement ... Shri Vasudeo Rao Sub-
bedar M. L. A. Saugor.
32. Audit ... Seth Motilal Bhura,
Jubbulpore.
33. Propaganda ... Pt. Ambikacharan
Shukla, Pleader,
Raipur.

Construction Sub-Committee and Vishnudutt Nagar.

The Nagar Construction Sub-Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of R. S. Hukumchand, a retired Government Engineer who had invaluable guidance and help of Shri Ramdas Gulatee whose services were lent by the Wardha Ashram. Shri Gulateeji had the experience of the two rural Sessions of the Congress at Faizpur and Haripura and he planned the laying out of the Congress Nagar. The first question to be considered was to give the Nagar a suitable name and it was decided to name it Vishnudutt Nagar to honour the memory of Pandit Vishnudutt Shukla who died at Nagpur in January 1921; just after the Session of the Congress held there in 1920. Pandit Shukla was the pioneer worker in political field in Mahakoshal and was the undoubted leader of the New Province. He was fast rising into prominence as an All-India Leader, when he was suddenly taken away from the field of his activities by the cruel hand of death.

The first brunt of the activities of the Reception

Committee naturally fell on the Nagar Construction Committee. It has been referred to before that at first the site selected was at Lamheta Ghat on the bank of the Nurbudda at a distance of over 9 miles from the city of Jubbulpore. Preliminary arrangements were made to start work at this site. It however, soon became evident that the metalled road between the Sagara Village and Lambetaghat, a distance of about four miles, could not be constructed in such a short period and the result was that an otherwise excellent site had to be abandoned and was changed to Tilwaraghat situated on the banks of the Nerbudda about eight miles from Jubbulpore and on either side of the pucca road from Jubbulpore to Nagpur.

Necessary steps were taken with the help of the Revenue authorities to take temporary possession of the land needed for the purpose. Shri Gulateji started the work of surveying the site but just at this time R. S. Hukumchand was requested to lend his services free for the construction of the Nagar which request he gladly accepted. The work of surveying the site, of jungle clearance, of receiving and collecting materials from Jubbulpore was then started in right earnest by the end of October '38. The work of Jungle cutting, grubbing roots, levelling up hollows and cutting field-embankment took considerable time as also the survey operations on account of the very broken nature of the site. The survey was practically completed and plan prepared by the end of

December. The work of constructing huts for workers, however, could not be started earlier than the middle of December.

By this time large quantity of hutting and other materials had arrived at the site and planning up the Nagar for all practical purposes had been completed by Shri Gulatiji. Rates for building standard sized huts (100x20) were determined by building a couple of workers' huts departmentally. On these rates piece work contractors were employed for the construction of other huts except that the structures in the exhibition area were constructed departmentally according to the wishes of gentlemen incharge of the Exhibition.

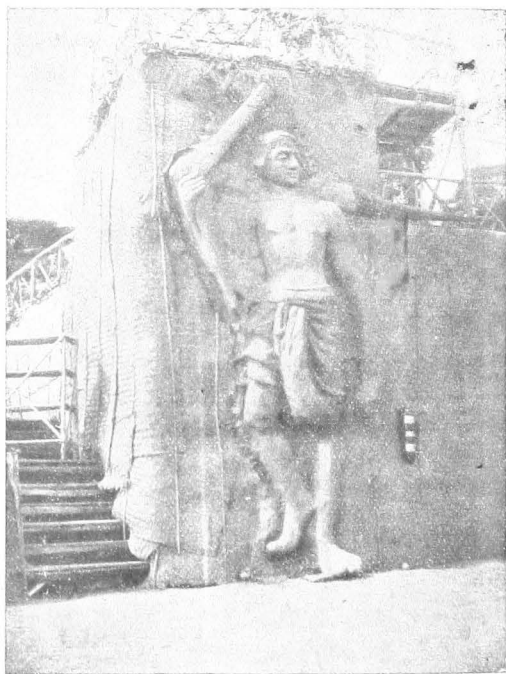
Reception Committee offices were shifted to the site on the 20th December 1938. A brief description will give an idea of the magnitude of the work of construction carried out in the Nagar. The greatest breadth of the Nagar from North to South was over five furlongs, comprising 250 acres. Except a small cultivated area towards the north of the Nagar where Jhanda Chowk, and the Open Session amphitheatre were located, the rest of the area not only consisted of uneven and heavily broken grounds consisting of spurs and ravines but it was full of jungle, thorny shrubs and trees of various types. Clearing up of this jungle, grubbing roots of trees, filling hollows and generally dressing up the site to make the same to fit to receive struc-

tures of the Nagar was quite a huge task. Even the cultivated area was not easy to handle. The fields were sub-divided into small plots by means of embankments which had to be removed and the whole area had to be levelled up and rolled. Besides these difficulties there were large and small pits on either side of the roads. Some of these pits had to be derained off as, practically speaking they were ponds with muddy water and required filling and rolling up to make the site fit for parking of heavy lorries and for similar other purposes.

As the area comprising the Exhibition, the delegates' hotels, the delegates-camps on the East of the Jubbulpore-Nagpur road was surrounded by deep ravines with almost vertical sites, bally and bamboo fencing as a measure of safety against accidents had to be provided along a length of almost two miles of ravines.

The planning of the Nagar reflected not only the experience and skill of Shree Ram Das Gulatee but also the great pains taken by him in completing the picture of the Nagar with multifarious requirements satisfying to the minutest details. Necessary approach roads were provided to give easy ecess to all the places in the Nagar. To complete all this work a large number of labourers and skilled artisans were employed during the course of about four months. At one time the number of labourers rose to the high figure of 1200 which also included,

कलचुरी राज्य के कलाकौशल का एक
प्राचीन दृश्य



Kalachuri Art.

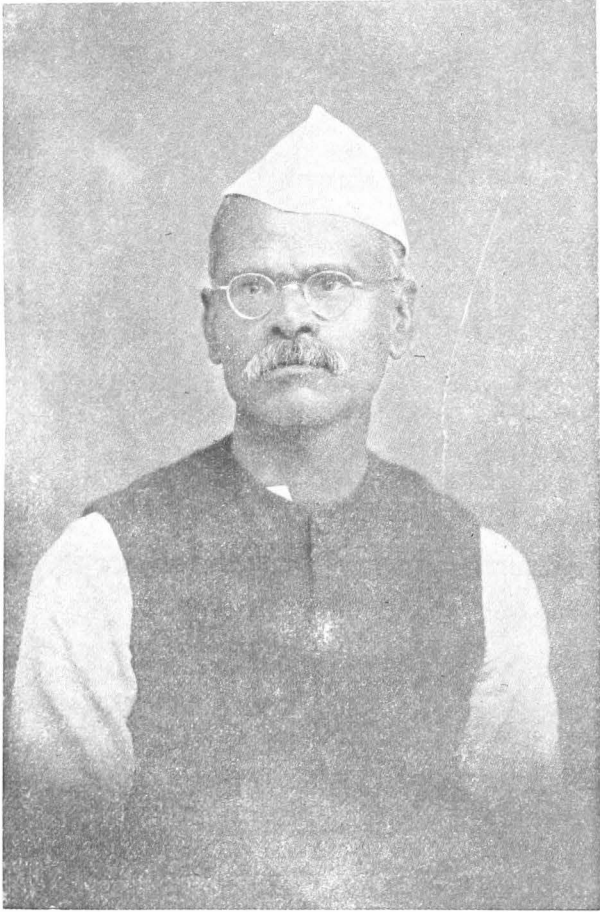
hundred artisans. The total expenditure on labour amounted to Rs. 24,550/7/9. All this benefitted the villagers round about and this figure did not include the labour charges which were disbursed by the Public Works Department and by the Local Bodies such as the Municipal Committee Jubbulpore and the District Council, which engaged their own labourers in repairing and metalling the approach roads. In all total Rs. 59,617-11-9 was spent on the construction of the Nagar.

The decoration of the Congress Nagar was carried out by Mr. N. N. Sil who in a meeting of the Provisional Reception Committee held at Madan Mahal on 8-10-38 made a suggestion that the decorations of the Congress Nagar should display, as far as possible, the style of architecture which developed round about Tripuri between the 9th and the 13th century A. D. The suggestion was very much appreciated and the Committee resolved that the decoration work of the Congress Nagar should be done according to the advice of Mr. Sil. Accordingly Mr. Sil, closely studied the report of the archaeological survey of Tripuri made by Mr. R. D. Bannerji and also other relevant literature on the subject and designed the decoration of the Nagar. The towers on the gates were according to the style of architecture prevalent in ancient Tripuri. The carving effects were shown by means of paper moulds made very successfully. Local clay Modellars and Shriyut G. G. Patel the famous artist from Bombay were

called for doing the huge amount of work within a short time. The decorators had to fight a strenuous battle against Nature. Two of the big gates crashed under heavy storms and rain only twelve days before the Session. The workers started again undaunted and finished the work before the Session. But owing to this set back the Reception Committee had to incur additional expenses in completing the works in time. The novel method of decoration was of great help in this connection. The paper moulds were lying in the godown and a week before the Session they were fixed on the Tattas and the appearance of the Nagar was changed altogether. The encouragement and sympathy shown by Thakur Chhedilalji contributed a good deal to the success of the decoration work. The Nagpur Improvement Trust Engineer, Mr. V. C. Mehta and his draftsmen rendered valuable help by making detailed plans of the designs and ferrow copies of the same. Shri Kashi Ram Tiwari also helped Mr. Sil. The walls of the Subject Committee Pandal were decorated with rural paintings showing Indian village life. A huge statue of a Kisan 20' in height was fixed on the Rostrum. The dias on the main Pandal was carved out from the Ram Nagar Hill.

A colour similar to the rock on the background was designed to suit this statue also and it looked as if the statue was carved out from the rocks. The huge Kisan with a Scythe on his shoulder could be seen from a very long distance.

पं० शम्भूदयाल मिश्र
मंत्री



Pt. Shambhoo Dayal Mishra
Secretary

With the right bank of the river Nerbudda at the background, Vishnu Dutt Nagar nestled in slight depression over an area of about two hundred and fifty acres. The rural atmosphere was predominant in the Nagar's structure though it had not failed to receive the necessary urban touch. Almost all amenities of a town, what a modern man needs these days, were found in the Nagar. Roads, electric light, regular water works, bazars, hotels, postal, telegraphic and telephonic arrangements, stores, hospitals, parks, fire extinguishers, press and bank were all there. There, Town and Country were blended together in picturesque harmony which revealed the best attributes of both.

Moreover, as already referred to reminiscences of a forgotten Empire abounded in the decorations depicting art and architecture of the Kalchurian period when Chedi Kings held away over practically the whole of India. The entrance to the Nagar was through a magnificent site known as Madhava-gate, on two pillars of which on either side of the road were set up two life size statues of male and female volunteers saluting the National flag. Leaving this behind, one was confronted with five massive gates designed after the art of the Kalchurian period, a crescent shape with four other similar gates dotted at various points. To the right on the road near Madhava Gate was a large open ground for parking cars and lorries and directly opposite to it was a spacious Jhanda Chowk with a

75' flag staff. The Exhibition grounds were situated about 200 yards further up in the same direction.

At a meeting of the Reception Committee held on 13-2-39 it was decided to name the gates in the Nagar after the departed patriots of the province namely Sjts. Madhav Rao Sapre, Nathooram Modi, Balmukund Tripathi, Damodar Rao Shrikhande, V. G. Salpekar, Brijmohanlal Varma, Gulzarsingh, Gayadutt, Narain Rao Megha and Krishna Deo Bhatt, the last named having met his tragic end very recently. A fuller reference to the gruesome tragedy of his death will be found under the head of Water Supply which was in his charge.

These departed souls lived and died in Mahakoshal. In their times they did what they could do in the service of the Province and the country and it was only meet and proper that grateful people should remember them.

The roads in the Nagar were styled after Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari, and Hakim Ajmal Khan, leaders of All-India Fame who need no introduction from us but who sacrificed their all for the country they loved and the Reception Committee felt sanctified to associate these honoured names with the Nagar which was now rising up in their midst like a dreamland.

Next to the parking ground there was the main Congress pandal, 600 x 600 and opposite to it on

महन्त लक्ष्मीनारायणदास
मंत्री



Mahant Laxmi Narain Dass
Secretary

the other side of the road was the Exhibition ground. In the main pandal there were three gates and sufficient accommodation was provided for over a lac of people. The seats on the dias were reserved for the Working Committee members, A. I. C. C. members and distinguished guests, Reception Committee members, and Visitors holding tickets for Rs. 100/- and above. As one passed the second gate over the road adjoining the main pandal and the Exhibition there was a bazar with a few stalls to the right and next to them there was Post and Telegraph Office. Adjoining to it were the offices of news agencies as also the railway-bureau and the booking offices. Opposite to the Post and Telegraph Office on the left side of the road was situated the Subjects Committee pandal. Beautiful flower pots and flower trees were laid out in front of the pandal. During the Session the Subjects Committee pandal was full to suffocation. Entrance tickets were fixed at Rs. 10/- to visitors and Rs. 5/- to delegates and workers. The A. I. C. C. Office was situated near the Subjects Committee pandal in a separate shed of 100×20. Between the two, was the refreshment room for A. I. C. C. members. A little further to it was the Reception Committee office, a sort of general Secretariat of the Reception Committee with the offices of the Chairman, the General Secretary, the Joint Secretaries and different Sub-Committees. To the left of the main road in front of the Reception Committee office a

temporary road was constructed leading to the Working Committee camp. On one side of this road opposite to the Subjects Committee Pandal, there was the Swastika Printing Press and the Imperial Bank and behind the Subjects Committee there was a cross road leading to the back of the Exhibition which was mainly used by the leaders.

Further on to the left of the Working Committee Camp there was the Delegates' Camp. In this camp accommodation was provided for about 2500 Delegates. One remarkable and novel feature of this Session of the Congress was the Martyrs' arena representing the tombs of different national workers which fell or sacrificed their lives in the cause of their country from time to time including Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpatrai, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Shrimati Kamla Nehru, Deshbandhu C. R. Dass, Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi and others of lesser fame and of Provincial and local importance. Due homage was also paid to the cherished memory of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Yatindra Nath Das, Chandra Shekher Azad, Ashfaqulla and other young martyrs who are generally styled as revolutionaries and who cheerfully faced death for the sake of their country though we may not always agree with their political ideology. This arena was situated near the ladies camp on the cross road and was very impressive. The idea underlying was very much appreciated by every one visiting the Vishnudutt Nagar and its credit goes entirely to Shri Ambikacharan Shukla, President of the Propa-

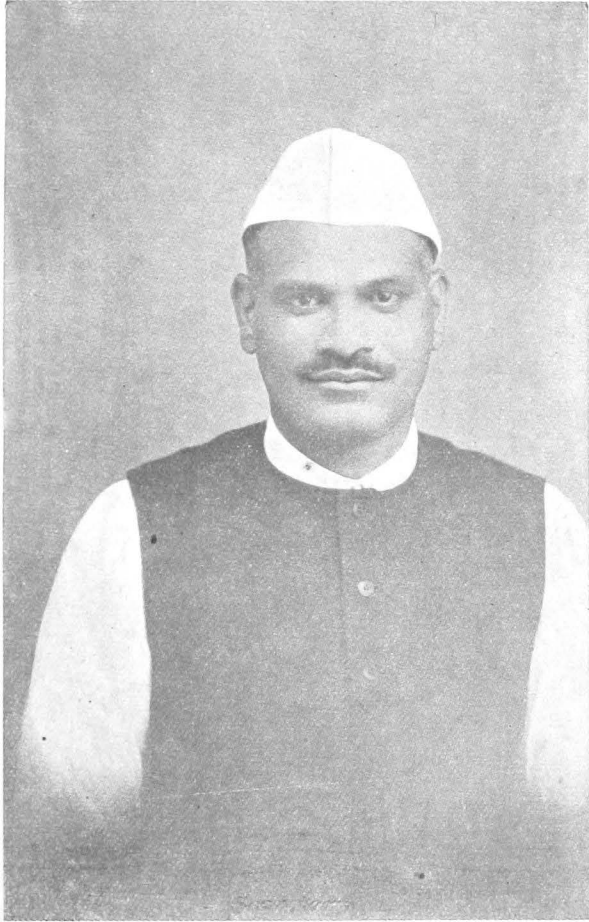
ganda Sub-Committee. On the right side of the road was situated Lady-volunteers' camp where more than 300 ladies resided.

By the side of the Ladies' camp there were camps erected for the President-elect and his guests. Opposite to these, on the left side of the road was hospital with accommodation for indoor patients. Dr. R. C. Rai of Bilaspur assisted by Dr. Dubey and Dr. Sen of Jnbbulpore was incharge of this hospital. Ayurvedic treatment was also available under the Bhartiya Ayurvedic Shikshan Samity of Anraoti and Homeopathic Co., also rendered much help in this direction. They conducted a first aid camp which was situated at the entrance to the Vishnudutt Nagar by the side of the Jhanda Chowk and the General Hospital was erected on the road in front of the visitors camp at the foot of a hillock. The President and the Working Committee Camp were fixed on a hillock just below which the holy Nerbudda was flowing silently and majestically. The Kuti of Mahatma Gandhi was situated in a very beautiful and picturesque surroundings and had become a point of pilgrimage for visitors even before the Congress Session had begun. Every one from far and near visiting the Nagar was eager to have the darshan of Mahatma Gandhi and of his sacred Kuti. But disappointment was in store for them as on the threshold of the Congress, in consequence of the Rajkot tangle, Mahatma Gandhi decided to observe fast unto death. This created

an alarming and gloomy situation and there was visible depression in Congress camp and great concern about the health of the Mahatma. It is wellknown that just at this time Provincial Congress Ministers informed the Viceroy in no uncertain terms that they would all resign if the Paramount Power did not satisfactorily look into the matter and anything tragic happened to the Mahatma. At the back of the Working Committee camp a circuitous route was provided for the general public to get a view of the leaders who accommodated there. Again starting from the Reception Committee offices to the right side of the main road there was a road leading to the bed of the Nerbudda and near the junction of these roads were situated general stores, stalls and hotels on both sides of the roads. Further down there were residential quarters for visitors and family blocks measuring 13'x32' provided accommodation for 6 persons. There were two rooms, one verandah and one bath room. In the Delegates' camp each hut measured 16'x20' and provided accommodation for 6 persons. Lodging fee per head was Rs. 5/-. Delegates were provided with cots, water pots and light and in the visitors' camp each hut measured 16'x20' with accommodation for 8 persons.

There were huts for peasants in abundance and fit to accommodate 10,000 kisans. The Nagar presented a delightful picture in the moon light

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Pt. Kunji Lal Dube
Secretary

and the moon was at its brightest during the A. I. C. C. and Plenary Session when electrically lit and from a distance it looked enchanting.

The Reception Committee offers its grateful thanks to Shri Ramdass Gulatee who planned such a picturesque and beautiful Nagar and carried out the construction of the Nagar and the different arrangements thereof which evoked the admiration of all. Shriyut Hukumchandji, President of the Construction Sub-Committee also deserves the thanks of the Reception Committee. They were ably assisted by Mr. K. C. Dey overseer.

Water Supply.

After the selection of site and the construction of the Nagar the two most important and knotty problems which the Reception Committee had to face were those of water supply and of lighting. They caused not a little anxiety to the Committee and in the early stages of the work of the Reception Committee, there were apprehensions on account of both, but ultimately both the arrangements proved entirely satisfactory.

Originally it was decided that borings be taken at three different places in the area of the proposed Nagar and this was done and water was also found about six feet below ground level. The borings were carried down to a depth of forty feet. The idea was to construct three wells each about ten feet below the ground with a bore hole about 30 feet

below the bottom of the wells and to pump water from these bore holes to different areas in the Nagar. This idea was however, opposed by Hukumchandji on the ground that artesian conditions being non-existent, the arrangement would entirely fail under heavy pumping. Shri Gulatiji having agreed with this view the idea of constructing wells at the side of the bore holes was dropped. It was then proposed that two wells be sunk in the sandy bed of the Nerbudda River and water from these be pumped into two tanks proposed to be located on the right bank of the river. At this place necessary arrangements for chlorination and distribution of water of the Nagar were made by means of direct electric pumping.

Consequently sites for two wells were fixed in the sandy bed of the Nerbudda river and work of building stweing of the wells was taken in hand at once. The work of digging storage tank of about 60,000 gallons capacity on the right bank of the river was also commenced satisfactorily. These works were taken in hand about the 3rd week of December.

In the meantime arrangements were made to obtain necessary number of pipes and pumping plants. A sufficiently large quantity of pipes and machinery was obtained from the Public Works Department on hire. Similarly pipes and other appliances were taken on loan from the Municipal

Committee of Nagpur and Jubbulpore. Certain private gentlemen, such as Shree Hans Kumarji of Khandwa lent their pumps for the purpose.

The wells were sunk to depth of about 8 feet below the bed of the river Nerbudda. At this stage the well got stuck on soft rocks strata towards the right bank side and further sinking was also stopped. The yield of these wells was tested and it was found to be adequate for the probable requirements.

At this stage where most of the pipes and pumping plants had arrived it was considered advisable to test the pumps supplied by the Public Works Department because some doubts were entertained about their efficiency. These pumps which were of the centrifugal variety did not come up to the expectation under the test. This was partly due to the worn out nature of most of the pumps and partly to the fact that almost all these centrifugal pumps were 'low lift' pumps intended for dewatering the bridge foundations. This placed the Reception Committee in a very awkward position and it was through the help of Messrs. Batliboi & Co, of Bombay, who offered to instal required number of electrically driven pumps that the Reception Committee felt assured of the success of their water supply scheme. The Batliboi & Company also offered to instal a suitable sized centrifugal pump with an oil engine to be used in case of failure of electric current.

In view of the above circumstances the Reception Committee finally decided to carry out water supply scheme as described below :—

(a) To sink two more wells right in the midst of the river in order to have the supply of water available from the two wells already built. This was considered desirable in view of the approaching hot weather, where the current of the river was expected to get much reduced affecting the yield of the wells already constructed.

(b) To accept the offer of Messrs. Batliboi & Company of Bombay for installing necessary number of electrically drawn pumps, along with a spare centrifugal pump driven by an oil engine and to give the plant by their own staff.

(c) To purchase such cast iron and G. I. Pipes which were needed but could not be obtained on loan either from P. W. D. or Municipality. It was decided to obtain all cast iron pipes and specials from the Indian Iron & Steel Company and the galvanized iron pipes and specials from Messrs. P. S. Parekh & Company of Bombay.

(d) To build suitable sized masonry storage tanks near each hotel to serve as an auxiliary water supply in case of some unforeseen breakdown of regular supply.

(e) To entrust the work of laying pipes and connections to Messrs. Rajaram Kodu Ram Contractors of Nagpur.

All these proposals were put into operation in the month of January 1939. A total length of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of cast iron mains of various sizes from 3" to 9" were laid. For distribution of supply G. I. pipes of sizes ranging between $3/8$ " diameter to 4" diameter and approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length were laid. There were about 450 taps provided throughout the area.

All the above items were coupled and the water works started functioning well before the Session began. There were water stands at different places in the Nagar and these were found to be quite ample and satisfactory. Though the supply was not metered but the rate of supply was about 60,000 gallons per hour.

Any description of the water supply scheme would be inadequate unless we painfully record the tragic death of Sj. Krishna Deo Bhutt, the Manager R. G. Mills, of Jubbulpore, who was elected President of the water works sub-committee and who put himself heart and soul into the work of organising the work of water supply, but who was brutally murdered in the middle of January at night in the Allahabad Itarsi passenger train while coming back from Calcutta where he had gone on Congress work.

Shree Hukumchandji all along rendered technical assistance that was necessary and also generally supervised the operations.

After the shocking murder of Shree K. D. Bhutt services of Mr. V. C. Mehta Engineer Improvement

Trust Nagpur were obtained on loan from the Water Works Department. Mr. V. C. Mehta assisted by Mr. J. K. Mehta continued to manage the whole work upto the last date in quite a satisfactory manner.

The Reception Committee takes this opportunity to acknowledge with thanks, the timely assistance given by Messrs. Batliboi & Company in supplying suitable plant and in running the same till the last. The Committee also places on record its appreciation of the valuable help rendered by Mr. V. C. Mehta.

Lighting.

As already remarked the problem of lighting the Nagar was not an easy question. The final settlement of the question whether the Vishnudutt Nagar should be illuminated with electric lights or lamps and petromax and hand lanterns proved rather vexatious. Whereas the Reception Committee were not prepared to spend more than 20,000/- on electric lighting, the probable expenditure involved, in case original terms of the Jubbulpore Electric Supply Company for supplying of power and erection of temporary transmission line upto the Nagar were accepted, would have amounted to something like, Rs. 40,000/-. As the Jubbulpore Electric Supply Company was not in a mood to allow any concession to the Congress and as no other suitable alternative scheme for electric lighting could be devised till the end of December

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Mr. R. S. Kiledar
Secretary

1938, it was very nearly decided to resort to the use of Kitesen Lights and Petromax and hand-lanterns. It was just at this time that Messrs. Callendars' Cable and Construction Company of Bombay came to the rescue of the Reception Committee and arrangements were made for illuminating the Nagar with electric light.

The Jubbulpore Electric Supply Company supplied only power at their Gorakhpur Sub-Station.

Messrs. Callendars' Cable and Construction Company of Bombay undertook the erection of the transmission line from Gorakhpur to the Nagar (a distance of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and dismantling the same. All this was to be done for a sum of Rs. 7,700/- which amount was to cover the railway freight, both ways, for transport of necessary materials and insurance for breakages and any other out of pocket expenses. No charge was to be made for the materials brought for the purpose.

They also supplied bare copper wire ($119\frac{1}{2}$ cwts) for low tension line including cost of insulators.

Messrs. S. Bose and Sons of Jubbulpore undertook the work of internal wiring inclusive of 3500 light-connections and 50 flood lights and proper upkeep of the whole internal installation.

These arrangements were immediately put into operation and Messrs. C. C. Company executed their part of the scheme in a prompt and thoroughly businesslike manner. Messrs. S. Bose & Sons did

all the work of internal installation comprising of almost 12000 feet of low tension line including wiring proper upkeep of the same, during the period and of the Session. The current was actually supplied from 26-2-39.

The total actual expenditure on all the above arrangements amounted to Rs. 20,439-8-9. This includes the expenditure on lighting, previous to the working of the Electric Installation.

The arrangements for Lighting were entrusted to Shri B. P. Trivedi, the President of the Lighting Sub-Committee.

Most of the credit for successful operations must go to Messrs. C. C. Company and their Engineer Mr. Sabakshah, but for whose timely and valuable help it would not have been possible for the Reception Committee to arrange for Electric Lighting.

The work of Messrs. S. Bose & Sons Jubbulpore was entirely satisfactory and no complaints whatsoever were found against them, for which they deserve the hearty thanks of the Committee.

Before finishing this section about the Construction of the Nagar we must offer our hearty thanks to Sj. Raghunath Singh Kiledar, one of the Secretaries who throughout evinced keen interest in the work of the construction and water works and all necessary arrangements in that connection and worked zealously to ensure success.

SECTION. II

SANITATION.

Having detailed in the previous section the preliminary arrangements of the Session, the construction of the Vishnu Dutt Nagar, its decoration, the arrangements of water supply and lighting there in, we may now turn our attention to the other activities of the Reception Committee in this section.

The Reception Committee had appointed a Sanitation Sub-Committee to look after the sanitary condition and problems of the Vishnu Dutt Nagar under the Presidency of Doctor Sheodulare Mishra of Bilaspur. He was very actively assisted by his son Shri Murlidhar Mishra, B. A. LL. B., the President of General Purposes Sub-Committee who was directly in charge of supervision of the whole sanitary work and arrangements of the Nagar.

The Reception Committee had decided from the very beginning to get the whole work done by the agency of volunteers and not to require the services of scavengers so that all might learn the dignity of labour from the great example of Mahatma Gandhi who, as is well known, is a master of mankind in all spheres of life. It was, therefore, resolved to enlist about 400 volunteers for the purpose. It was also decided by the Committee that the volunteers so enlisted will have to undergo some elementary and theoretical training at the Nagar before

they would be asked to do field operations. But owing to difficulties beyond the control of the Reception Committee the number of the enrolment could go only up to 280. The Committee had therefore, to requisition the help of Harijan brothers. As they were not available at Jubbulpore the Committee asked for help in this direction from the Presidents of Bilaspur, Damoh and Gondia Municipal Committee. The Sub-Committee could also enlist the support of Shri Motilal Bhura Vice-President of the Jubbulpore Municipality and the active co-operation of Capt. D. G. Karandiker, the Health Officer of the said Committee.

The Water Works Sub-Committee, due to its efficient management and watch had minimised the work of this Sub-Committee and the presence of hills and dales also lessened the severity and seriousness of the drainage problem. The main problems, therefore, which this Sub Committee had to face were those of temporary trenching, road cleaning and the removal of daily refuse including that of hotels and kitchens. All of these had to be carried out by hand operations and no carts or machines could be used for transportation.

The whole Congress Nagar was divided into four areas for sanitation purposes. The first area included Leaders' camp, Delegates' camp, Visitors' camp and Lady Volunteers' camp. This was supervised by Mr. Sheoshanker Pandey, Sanitary Inspec-

tor, Bilaspur Municipality. The second area included the office area of the Reception Committee, the Central Volunteers' camp, main bazar, kitchens and the area of the Water Works plant etc. This was looked after by Mr. R. I. Godse, Sanitary Inspector of the Nagpur Municipality. The third area included the Pandal of the open Session, Jhanda Chowk, Bazar and the Subjects Committee Pandal etc. This was looked after by Mr. G. L. Verma another Sanitary Inspector who had offered his free services to the Sub-Committee. The fourth area included the vast area of Visitors' camp and Kisan huts, family blocks etc. This was looked after by Mr. C. S. Dixit, Sanitary Inspector of Jubbulpore Municipality who also used to prepare emulsion used as disinfectants. Mr. S. K. Banerji another Sanitary Inspector also placed his free services under the Sub-Committee and worked efficiently wherever directed. The mentor of keeping the vast area of the Nerbudda River fell on Appa Sahib Patwardhan and Shree 'Pundalic' whose services were specially requisitioned for the purposes by the Committee.

The Volunteers' corps consisted of educated and semi-educated men drawn from rich and poor alike. They were not at all accustomed for such sort of work but they were a mad-lot, mad to serve the Congress the only National Organisation fighting for the independence of their great country, their mother-land. They had the will and tenacity to keep it on coupled

with the idea of service and sincerity. They discharged themselves most efficiently and magnificently. Their efficient work drew the appreciation of persons like Shree Rajendra Babu who was kind enough to pay a visit to the Sanitation Volunteers' camp and address them a few appreciative words also. The work of the Volunteers was also appreciated by Coln. Hukmat Rai, Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, C. P. and Berar and Coln. Hennessy, Civil Surgeon of Jubbulpore.

A regular Sanitation Office was maintained under the Committee by Mr. Y. Sheshrao Sanitary clerk of Bilaspur Municipal Committee. Shri Murlidhar Mishra also acted as Sanitation Adjutant and thus maintained link between the regular Volunteers' corps and the Sanitation corps. He was assisted by Mr. B. N. Pandey as an assistant to the adjutant, also incharge of the kitchen volunteers.

The Reception Committee is indebted to the following Firms for the free supply of the materials for the use of this Sub-Committee and generally for the Congress Nagar :—

- I. Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Calcutta.
- II. Alembic Chemical Works Baroda.
- III. Tata Oils and Mills Co., Ltd., Bombay.
- VI. National Soap Manufacturing Company of Calcutta.
- V. Messrs. C. B. Bajan & Co, Katni.
- IV. The Mills Stores of Bombay.

The Committee is also grateful to the Municipal Committees of Nagpur, Bilaspur, Gondia, Damoh and Jubbulpore for the hands supplied. The Sanitation Sub-Committee was also responsible for the cleanliness of the market and street urinals. The latrines were provided with good trenches. Persons using the latrines were instructed to cover the refuse.

Dr. Sheo Dulare Mishra and his worthy son and assistant Shri Murlidhar Mishra carried on the work with a devotion which evoked the admiration of all and the Reception Committee gratefully remembers the services rendered by them in this connection.

Kitchen & National Diet.

This year the Reception Committee did not follow the usual practice of making kitchen arrangements for delegates and visitors but instead made arrangements only for workers. This department termed as Board Sub-Committee was incharge of Shriyut Jaskaran Daga who was the President of the Sub-Committee. Thus, arrangements were made departmentally for 3000 volunteers and 1000 workers. For delegates and visitors contract system was used. Different menu was provided for people of different provinces as the question of a National Diet yet remains unsolved. A wish was expressed in the report of the Haripura Congress that if a committee of expert dietecticians is appointed by the A. I. C. C. it will be a boon to the invitores of the Congress Session. We endorse this view but would

go further and say that it will really be a great boon to the Nation to evolve a common National Diet which may be within the means of ordinary citizens and may also promote National well being from the point of view of health. It is also bound to lessen the difficulties of organizers at such National gathering and may also prove conducive in promoting social relations with people of different provinces and communities.

Arrangements had to be made for Hindustani, Bengali, Punjabi, Madrasi, Maharastrian and Gujrati Hotels. Meals were provided from 9-30 A. M. to 1. P. M. in the morning and from 7 to 11 P. M. in the evening. The rates fixed were As. -/6/- per meal or As. -/11/- for both the meals. For Kisans the rates were As. -/5/- for both the meals and As. -/3/- for a single meal in the morning. Inspectors were appointed who looked after the quality of food that was supplied to Visitors and Delegates. Milk was sold at the rate of 5 seers a rupee to whole-sale purchasers and 4 seers a rupee to retail purchasers and was inspected by the Inspectors appointed by the food Sub-Committee.

The Reception Committee feels grateful to Shriyut Jaskaran Daga and his band of enthusiastic workers from Raipur who did everything in their power to provide better food at cheap rates and earned the gratitude of all concerned. The contract system worked well and it is gratifying to note that every

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Thakur Chhedil Lal, G. O. C.

body who visited the Congress Nagar felt satisfied with the arrangements.

Volunteers' Sub-Committee and Volunteers' Corps.

Under the control of Volunteers' Sub-Committee a Volunteer corps was organized. The number of Volunteers was 3000 including about 300 lady volunteers. The General Officer Commanding was Shri Thakur Chhedilalji who was also the President of Mahakoshal Provincial Congress Committee. The services of three Training Officers were required from Hanuman Vyayam Pracharak Mandal of Amraoti which lent the services of Vaidya Harihar Rao Deshpande as Chief Organizer and Training Officer and Messrs. Salphale and Gijre as his assistants. The Volunteers were trained in platoon-drill, company-drill and battalian-drill. They were also trained in traffic control, guard duties, patrolling, signalling and first aid. Intellectual training was also given to them and lectures were delivered by eminent political leaders of the Province. The idea of the Reception Committee in organizing these volunteers was not confined to the needs of the Congress Session alone but the aim was to organize young men from districts all round on a permanent basis to initiate the scheme of National Militia for the Congress. The Congress Volunteers were given duties of various types and at various places on the railway station, at motor stands, in the bazar, on the roads and at the latrines

and it should be thankfully acknowledged that they creditably acquitted themselves. They had to work under difficult circumstances and in a strenuous manner but they cheerfully and promptly carried out the instructions of their superiors. This is a pleasing aspect of the question. We have only to record with heartfelt grief, the sudden and accidental death of volunteer Mahesh Prasad Nigam who was drowned in the Nerbudda while bathing. This incident took place before the Congress Session had actually begun inspite of instructions to volunteers to be careful. But it appears that the Goddess of liberty is not satisfied without a human sacrifice and if the volunteer boy Natwarlal of Gujrat Vidya Peeth was drowned in the Tapti, on the occasion of the 51st National Congress, Mahesh Prasad Nigam made himself a sacrifice to this Goddess at Tripuri. The deceased was a young man of 20 years and very promising. A solemn and impressive service was held on the bank of the river Nerbudda where the deceased met his tragic end and floral wreathes with Tri-colourFlags were offered by Seth Govinddas, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Thakur Chhedilal the G. O. C. The Premier, Hon'ble Pt. R. S. Shukla and the Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Mishra also attended the funeral. All the business was suspended for a day in the Congress Nagar as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased volunteer. More strict precautions were taken afterwards and marks showing danger lines were put in

the river and guards were kept with instructions to see and warn people to avoid the repetition of the tragedy.

The recruitment of volunteers was arranged by the Town Recruiting Committees which were formed for the purpose. The Chief Organizer Shri Harihar Waman Deshpande was a paid worker. Mr. Deshpande is an experienced and prominent worker of Hanuman Vyayam Shala, Amraoti and Shri Salphale and Shri Gijre worked as his paid Assistants. They are expert in military drill. All of them toured throughout the Province and did recruiting and drill work and through their efforts one hundred gentlemen offered themselves for being trained as officers. From 24-12-38 to 2-1-39, strenuous and exacting training was given to them. The ages covered were between 18 to 35. The requisite physical qualifications invited were, height 5'-6", minimum weight 125 lb. and chest 33". The intellectual attainments and physical capacity of the Officers was closely scrutinized. Some exception had to be made in practice but it did not in any way detract from the usefulness of the Officers concerned.

The training camp had ideal natural surroundings and the training course was conducted to develop the spirit of physical endurance and intellectual perception. Lessons in tolerance, courtesy and humility were inculcated and it was impressed on the would-be Officers that they should continue to prac-

tise them even under trying circumstances. And, it must be owned with pleasure that the Officers acquitted themselves admirably well in their arduous task. In an open atmosphere and in this particular season of the year the climate of Tripuri was sufficiently trying, though it was, at the same time bracing. The candidates under training had to get up early in the morning at 5-30 as soon as there was bugle-signal. Allthrough this period drill, duty and discipline was incessantly practised. The programme of the day began with the Flag salutation followed by quarter of an hour double march drill. This was found to be very useful. Drill was practised from 7 to 11 A. M. and from 11 to 1 there was relaxation for taking bath and for mid-day meals. As for the drill training they were of different types such as platoon drill, company drill, arms drill patrol and guards duty and traffic control. From 1 to 2-30 there were lectures and talks on different subjects and from 3 to 6 P. M. again there was drill and sports. From 6 P. M. to 8 P. M. was utilized for evening meals and from 8 to 9-30 again lectures and discourses were arranged. Petrol duties during the night were also given by turns.

Very exacting and exciting piece of competition test was arranged among the Officers and it was decided it should take the form of climbing up the Ramnagar Hills which form the back-ground of the Vishnudutt Nagar and to hoist the National Flag

on the highest top. Shri Govind Rao Laghate of Betul came out first and this had very encouraging effect on others. But Shri Manik Rao Chourey very nearly met with a fatal accident as, while on the high summit, he slipped and fell down in ten feet ditch below. Thank God that he miraculously survived. These Officers thereafter went to their respective districts and carried on the work of recruitment as well as training in the area in their charge. From 23rd Feb. 39 however, the influx of Volunteers began to pour in Tripuri. Their number was as follows:—

Regular (males)—	1856
Volunteers attached to Sanitation Sub-Committee—	400
Volunteers attached to kitchen—	400
Lady Volunteers—	300
Volunteers left at the disposal of Officers for reserve duties—	300
	Total 3256

The Volunteers were divided into 30 platoons. A commander was put over four platoons and four companies were put under a Battalian command and the General Officer Commanding commanded them all. Shri Thakur Chhedilal was our G. O. C. and was the soul of the whole organisation and its mainspring. We offer him our heartiest thanks. Dr. Kokerdeker, Director of Physical Instruction C. P. Shri Sardar Amarsingh, Shri Ramdhar Dubey and Dr. Baghel

were appointed as A. G. O. C. The Reception Committee cannot too sufficiently thank Dr. Baghel for the work done by him as his hand was seen everywhere. The Military Bands belonging to Hanuman Vyayam Shala and the Sadar Bazar of Jubbulpore were made available to the Reception Committee for which the owners thereof deserve thanks. We have already referred to the drowning tragedy of Volunteer Mahesh Prasad Nigam. At the time of his funeral the whole corps of volunteers paid their last homage to their erstwhile comrade with heavy heart and which moved all present. Among the lady volunteers mention must be made of Shrimati Manorama Bai Naolekar, Shrimati Ratan Kumari Devi, the talented and public spirited daughter of Seth Govinddas, Shrimati Bulbul Mitra, Shrimati Manjrekar and Shrimati Agnihotri. To train lady volunteers, services from Nagpur were requisitioned of Miss Abhyanker, Shrimati Yamna Bai Sahane and Miss Pronoti Basak. The work and sacrifice of these ladies, who performed arduous duties under difficult circumstances away, from their homes for so many days, is acknowledged with pleasure and gratitude by the Reception Committee. It is a pleasing feature of our National work these days and full of promise for future. Volunteers attached to Sanitation department and Kitchen worked under the respective head of these Sub-Committees and their services were placed at their disposal but the equipment and

administrative supervision was incharge of Dr. Baghel the Secretary of the Volunteers' Committee.

It is not possible to name all the institutions which helped the Reception Committee in supplying volunteers who mostly came from Educational Institutions. Hitkarni Sabha, the well known Educational Society of Mahakoshal and located at Jubbulpore lent the honrary services of about a dozen of their teachers for over two weeks, and of one of their teachers Mr. Balaji Mishra for about three months. The Reception Committee thanks the Sabha for giving this timely help and would very much wish others to follow this example. Students of different local Institutions enrolled as volunteers and particular mention must be made of the Christian High School students and especially of Christian students, who perhaps for the first time in the history of the Congress, came and joined the Session in such a large number. It is gratifying to note that a move is already on foot to have a corps on a permanent basis as a sort of standing National Militia in the Province.

Shriyut Mahant Laxminarayan Das, one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, was also the President of the Volunteer Sub-Committee and it was mainly due to his efforts that the Volunteer Corps was so efficiently equipped and he deserves our heartiest thanks for the keen and active interest which he throughout showed in his work. In

conclusion it must be said that the whole corps drew inspiration for working so enthusiastically and disinterestedly from the noble example set by our popular G. O. C. Shri Thakur Chhedilal.

Pandit Jawaharlalji addressed the Volunteers on the last day of the Congress Session and paid eloquent tributes to their efficiency and good work.

Transport and Communication Arrangements and Official Help.

Transport were incharge of Shri C. M. Otalwar, B. A. LL. B., President of the Transport Sub-Committee. The functions of this Committee were to arrange for conveyance of the goods and articles from the Railway Station to the camp either by Motor or by Cars and to communicate with Railway Companies and lorry owners for securing all facilities to the intending Visitors to the Tripuri. Conveyance of passengers by motor lorries had to be arranged by this Committee and requisite number of motor lorries were licensed for the purpose. G. I. P. Railway authorities are to be thanked for full co-operation, help and for making arrangements for booking of passengers under the supervision of Mr. Vyas at Vishnudutt Nagar which arrangement proved very satisfactory. The attitude of B. N. R. in this connection is to be regretted. In spite of the repeated requests of the General Secretary and Thakur Chhedilal the Company was not so helpful as one would have wished.

The traffic problem was much eased owing to the help and hearty co-operation of the Police Department and inspite of huge congregation not a single accident took place. Mr. Parry D. I. G. Mr. Osburne, Rai Sahib Baijnath Kaul, Mr. Burner, Mr. Kunwarsen and their subordinates including Sub-Inspectors and constables, were ready under all circumstances to help us in our activities. The behaviour of the force was worth appreciating.

The Postal arrangements were under the supervision of Mr. M. N. Basu, the Superintendent of Post Offices and Mr. Nathuram Postmaster Jubbulpore. Mr. K. Naraynan Iyer Deputy Postmaster General was in charge of the Post and Telegraph arrangements. A record volume of press telegrams amounting to about 3500 were booked during the three days from March 10th to 12th. The total number of words transmitted during these three days was about 4 lacs. The maximum number of words transmitted in one day was one and a half lac on march 12th. The total number of words transmitted from March 3rd to 13th was one million and the number of messages for these days was about 8 thousands.

There were seven lines working provided Baudot circuits—three channels to Bombay, three to Calcutta, two to Allahabad and Lucknow, one to Karachi and another to Lahore and New Delhi. The load was too heavy even for these. The despatch of

messages was regulated and got through expeditiously under the supervision of Mr. J. W. Curtis. The telephone exchange had twenty five connections. About 150 trunk calls were handled every day and the total number of trunk calls was about 15 hundred. The Divisional Engineer, Mr. Jagdishprasad and his assistants spared no pains to meet the requirements of the press and the public to their complete satisfaction. We have also to acknowledge the help of Mr. Wandelker in this connection.

Shri Otalwar is richly entitled to our appreciation for the efficient manner in which he discharged his duty and we must also make a mention of Shri M. V. Naolekar and Shri G. L. Agrawal Secretaries of the Sub-Committee who worked hard and zealously to ensure success.

Reception Sub-Committee.

This committee was in charge of Sardar Amarsingh Saigal, M. L. A. The duty of the sub-committee was to be in touch with the programme of the arrival of the leaders and other distinguished visitors and to arrange for their suitable reception at the station. The Reception Committee trusts that due honour was given to all the visitors and for which Sardar Amarsingh and his co-workers, especially Mr. Marothi a local law student, deserve all thanks.

Collection Sub-Committee.

This Committee worked under the Presidentship

of Shri Seth Sheodas Daga who ably aided by Pandit Kunjilal Dubey made collections from different places and different persons from day to day. A list of donors will be found in an appendix at the end of this report. Shri Seth Govinddas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who was a host in himself did not spare any pains in collecting funds. His assistance to the Collection Sub-Committee was most valuable. The Reception Committee most heartily thanks Shriyut Dagaji and Shri Dubeyji who put in an arduous work in this direction. Other members of the committee were Seth Ramkumar, Seth Suganchand Rathi and Seth Motilal Bhura and they all did their best, and the Reception Committee takes this opportunity of thanking them all for their labours. The firm of Messrs. Mohanlal Hargovinddas, Bidi merchants of Jubbulpore, gave a munificent donation. The Municipal Committee and the District Council of Jubbulpore also deserve special mention for their munificent donations for which they cannot be thanked too much.

Pandal.

Shri Narsinghdas Agarwal was in charge of Pandal Sub-Committee whose function was to look into the arrangements, designs and accommodation for seats in the open Session.

Accommodation Sub-Committee.

The function of this sub-committee was to arrange for suitable accommodation for leaders, dis-

tinguished guests, delegates, merchants and other visitors. It was in the charge of Sardar Bhagwant Singh of Jubbulpore. This committee was expected to equip all camps and provide all necessary facilities. He was ably assisted by Shri Hari Har Vyas his Secretary.

Medical Relief Sub-Committee.

As has already been referred to previously Dr. R. C. Rai, M. B. B. S., B. T. M. was in charge of the medical department. The function of this sub-committee was to arrange for full medical equipment of the camp. The hospital was situated near the Delegates' camp, the Park and the front of the distinguished Visitors' camp. It had arrangements for indoor patients and free services of many doctors were available. Besides Dr. R. C. Rai, Dr. Sen also deserves special mention. It is with regret that we have to note the death of two volunteers, Shriyut P. V. Sangoli of Belgaon and Hirji Chaturbhuj of Chalisgaon. Both of them were attached to the Sanitation sub-committee and succumbed in the hospital in the city after the Congress Session.

Printing Sub-Committee.

Shri Yadunandan Prasad Shrivastava of Bilaspur was in charge of Printing works. For many days before the Congress Session, Shrivastavaji was at Tripuri doing whatever printing was possible. He had the services of the Swastika Press, Jubbulpore at his disposal to help him in his work.

Stores purchase and Stores Sub-Committee.

Shri Kashiprasad Pande M. L. A. of Sihora was in charge of stores purchase. Throughout the period that preparations for the Session were going on he had to purchase materials and stores according to the requisition of the different departments and he carried on his difficult task from day to day with great patience and tact. Pt. Suraj Prasad Sharma ably rendered all help to Shri Pandejji and deserves special mention in this connection.

Exhibition.

An Exhibition Sub-Committee was formed under Shri Bhagwant Rao Mandloi M.L.A. of Khandwa to make arrangements for the exhibition under the instructions of the All India Spinners' Association and All India Industries Association. There is a resolution of the Congress which lays down that these functions should be so arranged, "So as to combine instructions with entertainments 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." This committee was directed to procure all historical and other artistic material available in this Province for exhibition purposes and its chief object was to see that all handicrafts, industries, artistic designs and agricultural produce of the Province was placed before the country.

Khadi —

The Khadi section was, as usual, restricted to hand-spun and hand-woven cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics which were certified by the All India Spinners' Association. This section comprised the following:—

- (1) Demonstration of processes of manufacture.
- (2) Statistics court.
- (3) Implements court.
- (4) Special Exhibit court.
- (5) Khadi Bazar.

Village Industries —

The village Industries section consisted of Cottage Industries providing employment for rural population and it also included different arts and handi-crafts in which artisans residing in town and village are engaged. This section was divided into village industry and rural and urban handi-crafts and comprised the following village industries:—

(a) Dairy, paddy husking and grinding of cereals and oil crushing, preparation of malt, preparation of jaggery-cane, date and palm preparation of sugar, preservation of fruits, pickle, spices and condiments, tanning and leather articles, disposal of carcasses, reed, cane and willow work etc.

(b) Rural and Urban Handicrafts:—

Gold work, silver work, copper and brass wares, ebony and wood carving and stone wares, ivory and horn work, sandal wood instruments, ornamental inlaying on wood and metals, pottery, soap, paper and stationery, ink etc.

Both the above were arranged in the exhibition in the following courts:—

(1) Exhibition court (2) Implements and Demonstration court (3) Village Industries Bazar.

Apart from arts and industries there are important problems pertaining to village life, like food and health, sanitation and hygiene education, culture and it was the intention of the Reception Committee to make suitable arrangements to provide useful instructions on these subjects also. A Special court was set apart for Vidya Mandir based on Wardha scheme of Education. For the entertainments of the Visitors special grounds were provided for, where musical and other performances and Kavisammelan were arranged. The Village Industry Association cordially invited all those interested in the development of cottage industries and handicrafts of the country and for the betterment of the life of the rural population in general to help in making the Exhibition a success by their active cooperation and valuable suggestions.

It was hoped that Mahatma Gandhi would open the Exhibition but this hope was not destined to be

realised, owing to the fast which Mahatmaji had to undertake owing to Rajkot affairs.

It was therefore arranged that instead Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru be requested. On the evening of 6th of March Seth Govinddas took Pt. Nehru round the different stalls of the exhibition where he spent nearly an hour and appeared to be impressed with the exhibits particularly of the artistic taste evinced by the manufacturers and the remarkable variety of things displayed. Seth Govinddas and Shri Shankerlal Banker, General Secretary of the All India Village Industry Association welcomed Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in short speeches. Pt. Nehru addressing in the Jhanda Chowk outside the Exhibition ground before the large audience remarked that he was sure that all of them had in their mind's eye Mahatma Gandhi who was to have been there. The Khadi Exhibition which had been taken over, he said, by the A. I. C. C. and the All India Village Industry Association signifies what Mahatma Gandhi stands for. His fast in Rajkot, Shri Nehruji remarked, overshadowed everything in our country. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said that there had been a 'great orientation during the last four years in the running of these exhibitions and he envisaged a coming revolution in the near future. He wanted it to be understood that these exhibitions were not places of amusements but they were meant to illustrate how village products could be made to have their place in the life of the Nation and village economy and village

Industries could be revived. As long as, he said, we did not think in terms of improving the lot of the villagers so long we would not be thinking in terms of Indian Freedom. He further remarked that Mahatma Gandhi had spread the gospel of Khadi and it had come to be considered as the symbol of the Nation. The Congress, he observed had during the last 52 years overcome many difficulties and he was confident that it would overcome many difficulties in future. Beohar Rajendra Singh M. L. A. took great interest in the Exhibition work.

The All India Hindustani Talimi Sangh organised the demonstration of Basic Education and showed through illustrations and charts the progress made in different parts of the country namely at Wardha, Allahabad, Delhi, Kashmir and Patna, since the Wardha scheme has been set in operation.

The activities of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh can be divided under the following heads.

- (1) Experiments in Basic Education and development of the technique of teaching through basic crafts and mainly through spinning.
- (2) Preparation of suitable Educational Literature.
- (3) Propaganda.
- (4) Taking necessary steps for the acceptance of the programme of Basic National Education in the different Provinces of India.

It is well known that the first centre to put the scheme of Basic Education into practice was started at Wardha by the C. P. Govt. and the Vidya Mandir Training School was opened by Mahatma Gandhi in April 1938.

Later on the Jamia Milia Islamia started a Training centre at Delhi under the auspices of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. Another institution was started at Masulipatam as Andhra Jateeya Kala Shala and also at Patna, Allahabad and in the Kashmir State.

The question of training of qualified teachers is the first need for the success of the Basic Education and due importance is therefore, naturally given to this aspect of the National Educational work.

The practising School for children, conducted at the Vidya Mandir Training School at Wardha has been very encouraging both as regards efficiency in the basic craft selected and the general development and adjustment of children. So final opinion can, however, be given but the experiment is being watched with keen interest by all educationists.

The Vidya Mandir scheme initiated by Hon. Pt. Ravi Shanker Shukla, Premier and supported by the C. P. Government was demonstrated in the Exhibition by a model Vidya Mandir building furnished with Library and Museum and with profusely illustrated charts. Two stalls were constructed with clay models demonstrating rural uplift work and

duties of the Vidya Mandir teachers in respect of the removal of evils and maladies of rural life. As for the other activities of the Hindustan Talimi Sangh referred to above we may have a passing review. The report of Zakir Husain Committee with the detailed syllabus on the Basic National Education is of course the most important publication of the Sangh, which has now its Headquarters at Shegaon. The syllabus Committee had the invaluable help of Shri E. W. Aryanaykam. Some amount of propaganda and experimental demonstration is always necessary for a new scheme like this and the syllabus published by the Committee is now being adopted in different Provinces with suitable modifications according to local differences. After the syllabus the next need was for handbooks for the guidance of teachers of Basic Education. The Publication Committee of the Sangh has done much in this direction.

Industries Court.

Another attractive feature of immense educative and economic importance was the village industries court where demonstrations of spinning and weaving process, Gud making, oil pressing, hand-pounding of paddy, paper making, soap making, exhibits of tannery and various handi-crafts were shown. Economy of labour to provide leisure and enjoyment seemed to be the main object of various improved implements of daily use for rural industries that have

been specially devised. The remarkable example of such improved implements was Magan Charkha which was prominently displayed in the court. It was fitted with two spindles which had to be worked with hand and foot and which was capable of producing yarns to the value of one anna per hour to the spinner.

Agriculture.

While increasing attention is now being paid to village industries in these annual exhibitions, agriculture must naturally remain an industry of supreme importance to our rural population. The agricultural Department of C. P. had consented to participate in the Exhibition and they arranged demonstration of the following sections.

1. Manures—Specimens and methods.
2. Specimens of seeds.
3. Agricultural implements.
4. Dairies and pests.
5. Rural life and problem.

To give an idea of the cultivator's life and problems a special statistics and charts court was provided. In this court useful and interesting information regarding the condition of agriculture and cultivators was given.

Other Activities.

Apart from education, industries and agriculture there are other important national problems speci-

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Mammoth Procession.

ally pertaining to rural life, such as health, sanitation, hygiene, food and medical relief etc. about which useful and interesting information could be found in the Exhibition grounds. It must be acknowledged with thanks that Congress Governments of different Provinces supplied statistical information about the national activities by means of charts which were highly appreciated by all those who minutely observed the Exhibition.

Procession.

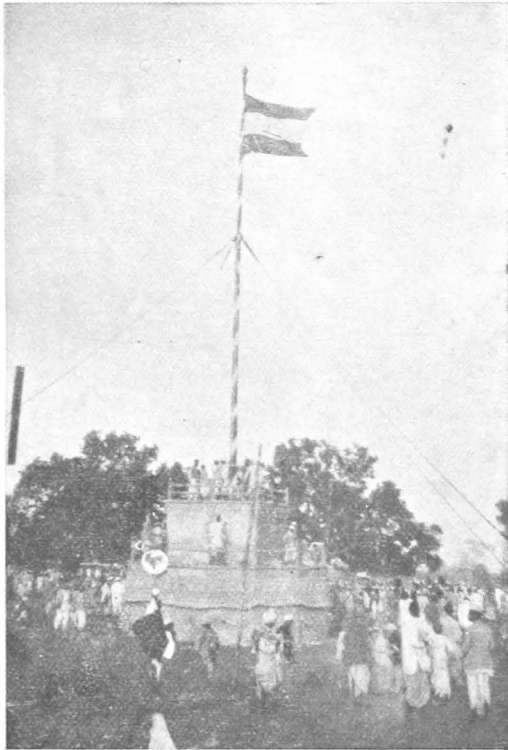
The unique feature of this year's procession was that photos of Congress Presidents were carried on the Elephants which added to the glorious splendour of the procession. Huge concourse of humanity which gathered on the way, though disappointed at not finding Shri Subhas Chandra Bose on the Presidential Chariot, reverentially bowed to his portrait as well as to those of the past Presidents. This incident of elephants' procession recalls to mind the Gauhati Congress held in the year 1926 where arrangements were made for elephants' procession and where these animals are found in great abundance, but which procession had to be given up because just on the eve of the Congress, Swami Shridhanand was done to cruel death by the hand of an assassin. One feels a sort of mystic reflection on such occasions that there is some dogged fatality about elephants which comes in our way and disturbs our plans.

Kuwar Bhuwan Bhasker Singh, younger brother of Thakur Chhedilal was in charge of Procession sub-committee. It had to organize for all ceremonial processions including those of volunteers for display. The most important of these processions was of course the procession which was arranged in honour of the President-elect Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. Kuwar Bhuwan Bhasker Singh worked very hard to ensure success of the procession. His Highness the Maharaja of Sirguja lent his 25 elephants at his own cost for the Procession. The Reception Committee feels grateful to him for this generous act. It will not be too much to say that had it not been for this generous co-operation on the part of the Maharaja Sahib the Reception Committee would have been put to large expenses in arranging the Presidential procession of 52 elephants. H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa also allowed the services of his elephants. These tuskers were brought from different places and different States and Zamindars and they showed their regard for the Great National Assembly by lending these animals themselves forgoing their services for the time being, and they deserve our grateful thanks. Baghelkhand D. C. C. also rendered great help in this connection.

Unfurling of the National Flag.

Addressing a lac of men and women at Jhanda Chowk while unfurling the National Flag immediately after the Presidential procession, Pt. Nehru, at the

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Central Flag Staff.

outset regretted the absence of Shriyut Shubhas Chandra Bose on account of his ill-health. He said that although the National Flag was a piece of cloth yet millions in every country had gladly laid down their lives for it. This was because the National Flag represented National Honour and National Liberty and gave a sense of security to its Nationals.

In India, Pt. Nehru continued, the National Flag had been devised after a good deal of thought and represented every one who lived in this country. They had another flag in India, namely, that of the British Government. That Flag was not theirs and although they were prepared to respect it in Great Britain, in India they must regard it as a sign of their bondage. Proceeding Pt. Nehru referred to communal and other flags and said that they might be good or bad in their own places but they could not represent the whole of India. The Congress Flag on the other hand stood for liberty of masses and Swaraj and not for a few individuals, as the Congress and its flag, he said, stood to eliminate poverty and misery under which millions in India toiled to-day.

Board Sub-Committee.

The functions of the Board sub-Committee were to arrange properly food for Volunteers and workers and to look into all the requirements of the Leaders and distinguished Visitors in this matter. Its function was also to see that Delegates and Visitors got food

of their choice at moderate and reasonable rates. The Committee was to supervise the arrangements of other caterers as well and to look to rates and food articles and provision used in their shops and hotels. As already noted above, Shri Jaskaran Daga of Raipur was in charge of the Sub-Committee who carried out his work with satisfaction. Shri Krishna Kumar Verma M. A. LL. B. was the Secretary of this Committee and put in energetic and enthusiastic work throughout.

Shri Seth Ram Kumar of the firm of Seth Ramchand Joharmal of Jubbulpore greatly relieved this Sub-Committee and the Reception Committee by taking upon himself the responsibility of looking to the comfort of the President-elect, leaders and distinguished guests and made excellent arrangements for meals and refreshments all by himself, at his own cost and without putting the Committee to any expenses. Money appeared to be of no consideration to him and he spared no pains in making the distinguished guests comfortable and regarded it as a high honour that he was put in charge of this pleasant work. He discharged his self-imposed obligation to the entire satisfaction of all and the Reception Committee feels grateful to him for all he did.

Entertainment Sub-Committee and Gond Dance.

Shri Govind Prasad Khamparia was in charge of

entertainment. The main object of this committee was to provide suitable entertainment for Delegates and Visitors in accordance with the Congress ideas. All the functions such as Gond dance etc. were arranged in the Exhibition Pandal and were greatly appreciated.

Of all the entertainments held, the Gond dance deserves special mention because of its primitive nature. The Gonds of the Central Provinces belong to an aboriginal tribe which presents interesting and varied problems to an anthropologist. Notwithstanding the onslaughts of civilization these children of the soil have wonderfully well preserved most of their ancient customs, folklore and their dances which deserve close study by scholars. These Gonds provided entertainments to thousands of visitors to the Congress Exhibition wherein picturesque costumes they performed their folk dances. Sticking bunches of peacock feathers to their head-gear Gond boys whirled to the beat of drums in an ecstatic dance and reflected the joy of their inner soul in defiance of all the worldly miseries which is their usual lot.

Ticket Sub-Committee.

The duties of this Committee were to arrange and to supply tickets for sale for various departments and functions of the Congress. It got tickets printed for the members of the Reception Committee, Delegates and Visitors to the Subjects Committee

Pandal and the open Session pandal. It had also to arrange for various licenses and permits necessary in the Congress Nagar. It had to keep regular accounts of number of tickets printed, their issue and the sale proceeds of the tickets. Shri Chaturbhuj Bhai Jasani M. L. A. was in charge of this work. The efficient functioning of various ticket offices and maintenance of regular accounts under such stress of work, speaks volumes in favour of Sriyut Jasani. The Reception Committee feels grateful to him for his devoted and well merited work.

General Purposes Sub-Committee.

Shri Murlidhar Mishra was the President of this Committee. He had to do this work in addition to the work which he did in the Sanitation Sub-Committee as an assistant of his father Dr. Sheo-Dularey Mishra.

Finance Sub-Committee.

Seth Sujan Chand Rathi, agent of the firm of Rai Bahadur Bansilal Abirchand Bankers, was in charge of all the funds of the Reception Committee and of all money that came to the Reception Committee through donations or sale of tickets or from other sources.

Later on account was opened with the Imperial Bank of India at Jubbulpore. The Bank opened its Branch at Vishnudutt Nagar from 3-3-39 upto 13-3-39 whereupon the Reception Committee was very

much relieved of the anxiety for safety of money. Much useful service was done by this temporary Branch to visitors and delegates who attended the Session.

Enquiry Sub-Committee.

This was in charge of Shri Mathuraprasad Dubey B. A. LL. B. of Bilaspur. He was ably assisted by Prof. D. S. Muley, Prof. M. P. Shukla and Shri Chandulal Tiwari in the publication of Congress Guide and giving up-to-date information to the Visitors regarding programme etc. The Reception Committee feels pleasure in acknowledging their services.

Propaganda Sub-Committee.

Shri Ambika Charan Shukla of Raipur was the President of this Sub-Committee and in this work he received valuable help from Shri Hukumchand Narad, a well-known correspondent of Jubbulpore who was Secretary of this Committee. Shri Narad worked very hard and kept the country well informed of the progress of the work of Vishnudutt Nagar and the various activities of the Reception Committee from time to time.

Audit Sub-Committee.

Shri Motilal Bhura, Vice President of the Jubbulpore Municipal Committee was appointed President of this Sub-Committee. His suggestions were very valuable to keep accounts on proper lines.

Reception Committee has to make special mention of Messrs. Chbotalal H. Shah & Co Registered Accountants of Bombay, who took great trouble to audit Reception Committee accounts free of charge. Their Assistant Shri V. R. Joshi, also deserves thanks of the Reception Committee, as he went through the accounts very minutely to the entire satisfaction of his chief.

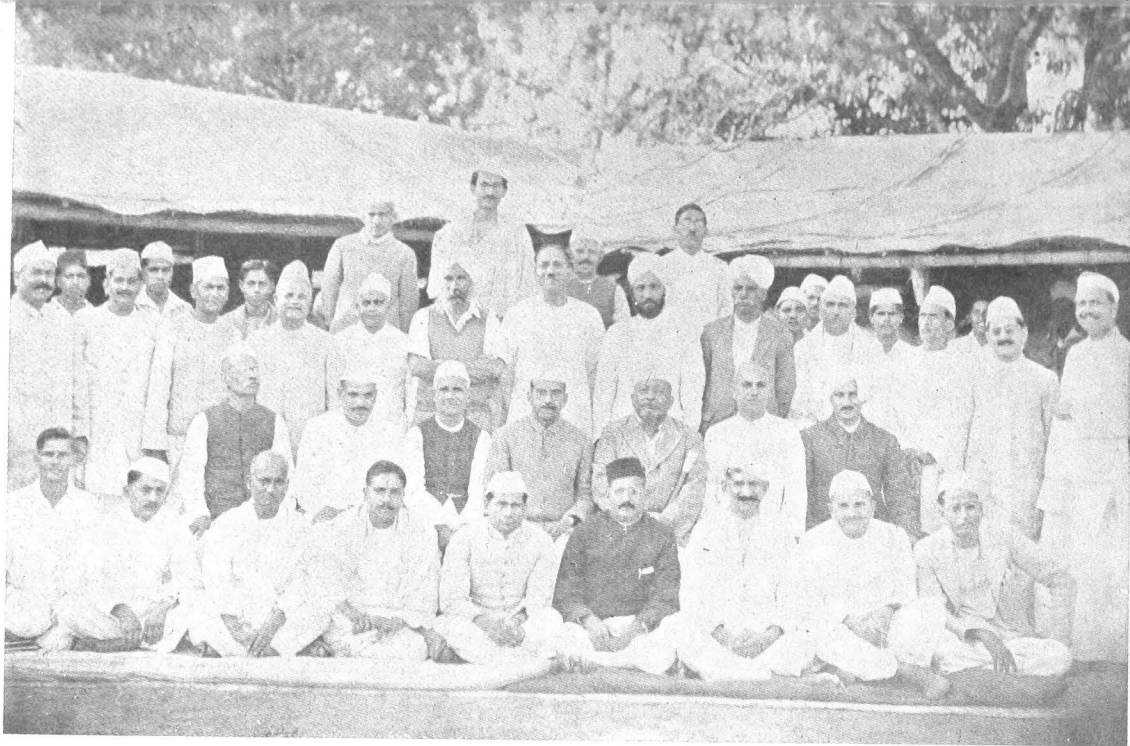
Leaders' Camp Sub-Committee.

Shri Kunjbehari Lal Agnihotri Advocate of Bilaspur was the President of this Committee. He had to look after all the arrangements of lodging and boarding of the Leaders and distinguished guests. He had assistants under him some of whom were Professors and Teachers. All of them worked efficiently and zealously. Shri Agnihotriji deserves hearty thanks for the pains he took in ably performing the work put in his charge.

Office Sub-Committee.

This Sub-Committee was formed under the Presidency of Shri Narmada Prasad Mishra M. L. A. Main function of this Committee was to keep the Central Office of the Reception Committee upto date.

Shri P. R. Dongaonker of Drug worked as Personal Assistant to the General Secretary and had to look after all the work of the Central office of the Reception Committee. It is due to his efficiency and hard work that the office could run on sound lines.



Members of the Executive Committee and Presidents of different Sub-Committees

Sitting Left :—G. P. Khamparia, M. D. Mishra, Y. P. Shrivastava, C. M. OtaIwar, A. L. Arjhare,
G. S. Agnihotri, Seth Suganchand Rathi, R. C. Golchha M. P. Dube.

On Chair :—S. D. Mishra, K. L. Dube, G. S. Gupta, Seth Govind Das, B. N. Dube,
Mahant L. N. Das, R. S. Kiledar.

Standing :—Dipchand Gothi, M. L. Bhura, P. R. Dongaonker, N. P. Mishra, K. B. L.
Agnihotri, Sardar B. Singh, Dr R. G. Rai, Dr. S. D. Mishra, Sardar A. Singh
R. S. Hukumchand, K. L. Chaturwedi, N. D. Agrawal, R. S. Beohar, H. C. Narad.

Top :—S. D. Bajpai, A. C. Shukla, K. R. Tiwari.

Accounts section was put in charge of Pt. Govind Prasad Khamparia and he worked as Office Superintendent. Every voucher passed through him and he efficiently managed the work inspite of his ill health. For days together he had to work throughout the day and late upto night to cope with his heavy duties. The Reception Committee most heartily thanks Shri Dongaonkerji and Shri Khampariaji for their meritorious services.

Kisan Camp Sub-Committee.

Lala Arjun Singh M. L. A. of Hoshangabad was in charge of the Kisan Camps. Main function of this Sub-Committee was to look after the lodging and boarding of the Kisan visitors. Separate huts were erected for the Kisans at the bank of the Nerbudda River. Lalaji managed his work well.

Shri Shambhudayal Mishra M. L. A. (Central) one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee greatly helped Lalaji in this connection We must thank Shri Shambhu Dayal Mishra for the zeal with which he supervised the departments put in his charge.

Advertisement Sub-Committee.

Shri V. V. Subhedar M. L. A. Saugor, was elected President of this Sub-Committee. The function of this Committee was to invite Merchants and Firms of India to display their Advertisements within the area of the Nagar and proper places were allo-

tted to them on reasonable remunerations. The Committee achieved its goal in this direction for which Shri Subhedar deserves thanks.

Music Sub-Committee.

Shri Pachkaud Prasad of Bilaspur was the President of this Sub-Committee. He arranged for Vandematram Song and other musical entertainments for the Visitors.

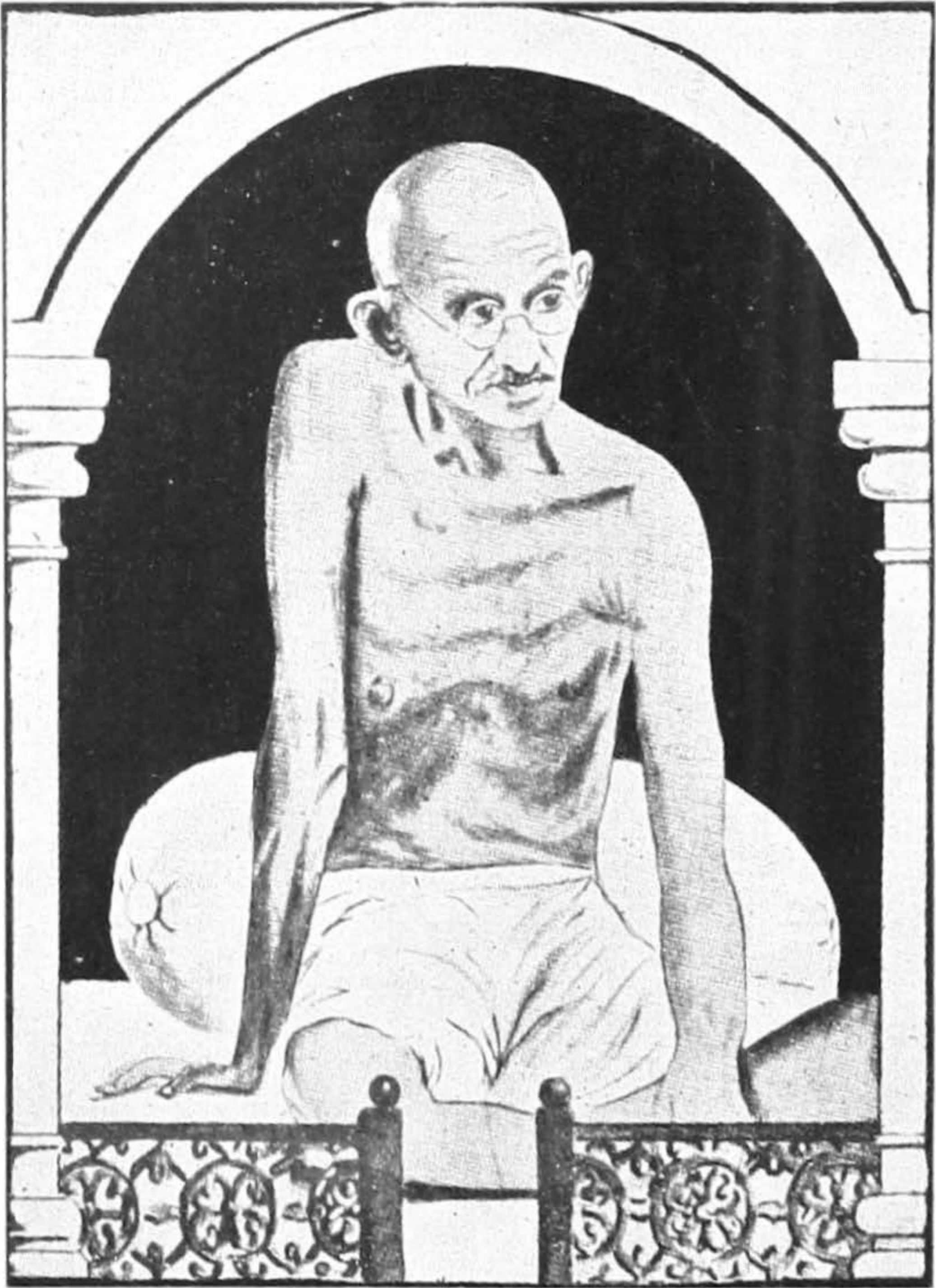
Watch & Ward Sub-Committee. and Other Work.

Shri Kishanlal Chaturvedi of Bilaspur was elected President of this Sub-Committee. He worked with zeal and managed things properly.

In fact the gentlemen incharge of different Sub-Committees were anxious to perform their duties and contributed their best to the successful termination of the Session.

Shri K. R. Khandeker and Shri Badrinath Dubey General Secretaries of the Provisional Reception Committee had laboured very hard during the preliminary arrangements of the Session before the formation of the Reception Committee. Shri Laxmi Shanker Bhatt, the then office Secretary of the M. P. C. C. had to keep the accounts and manage the office, till the Reception Committee office was opened separately. All of them deserve our heartiest thanks.

गांधी जी



Gandhiji.

Winding.

The winding up work was entrusted to Pt. Kunjilal Dubey, Shri Raghunath Singh Kiledar, Shri Hukumchand and Shri Motilal Bhura. This took nearly four months and Pt. Kunjilal Dubey was put to hard work in this connection.

Mahatma Gandhi's Fast.

Never had the Indian National Congress met under such trying and anxious circumstances as it did on this occasion. On the eve of the Congress, on the 3rd of March, amidst soul stirring scene Mahatma Gandhi began his fast at Rajkot at 12 noon. This news caused much anxiety and consternation throughout the country and feeling of gloom was clearly visible among the workers of the Reception Committee at Tripuri. The news created considerable sensation among the congress circles and Seth Govinddas convened a special meeting of workers to consider the situation and he put himself in immediate communication with Gandhiji. Earlier he received a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi, "Fast begun, little hope of early end, coming to Tripuri seems impossible, sorry. Gandhi". In reply to this the Chairman and the General Secretary of the Reception Committee sent the following telegram to Mahatmaji, "Your telegram. We are most concerned about your health which is the Nation's treasure. Our most humble prayer to God Almighty is to make it possible for you to come and bless

us any day in the Congress Session." This hope, however, was not to be realised. But the depth of feeling which Mahatmaji's fast aroused in the country can easily be gauged by the fact that beginning from the Ministry of Bombay all the Congress Ministries threatened to resign unless the Paramount Power intervened and saved the situation. Our own Ministers of C. P. and Berar sent a lengthy telegram to the Viceroy intimating to his Excellency in no unmistakable terms that they could not any longer co-operate with the British Government in the task of administration unless the British Government and the Crown Representative took immediate steps to set the matter right. On the 7th March, before the Congress Session actually began, happily Mahatma Gandhi's fast ended. But in spite of very eager desire on the part of the Reception Committee to welcome Mahatmaji, doctors advised him not to leave Rajkot before the 13th March and hence the people gathered at Tripuri could not have his darshan.

Shriyut Bose's illness.

Another great regret which shall always remain was the serious illness of Shriyut Subhash Chandra Bose, the President elect. In spite of and notwithstanding the advice of his doctors to the contrary Shriyut Bose started from Calcutta to come to Tripuri with high temperature. His 70 years old mother accompanied him as also Dr. Sunil

Bose his younger brother and Miss Illa Bose his niece who also acted as his nurse. On the 5th of March the President arrived at the Jubbulpore Station by Bombay Mail, where he was received by Seth Govinddas, Pt. Kunjilal Dubey, Thakur Chhedilal and other members of the Reception Committee. The Volunteers lined up on the platform upto his compartment to check the rushing crowd and Shriyut Bose was quietly conducted in a stretcher to the Ambulance car through a special gate. In spite of his illness and temperature Shriyut Bose presided over the deliberations of the Subjects Committee on 8-3-39 and again on 9-3-39 but the strain was too much for his weak health and he got 105° temperature on 9-3-39 and subsequent days, which prevented him from attending the Open Session though he very much desired to do this. This caused a deep disappointment to the Delegates and Visitors who attended the open Session.

A. I. C. C. & Subjects Committee.

The All India Congress Committee and the Subjects Committee commenced sitting from the 7th March 39. and continued to do so right upto 12th March 39. Owing to the resignation of almost all the members of the old Working Committee excepting the two Bose brothers, situation of peculiar difficulty had arisen which has now become a historical fact. There were therefore, practically no official resolutions before the Subjects Committee.

On the 7th March Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad took the Chair in the absence of Shriyut Subhash Chandra Bose. The Maulana explained to the house that it was usual for the A. I. C. C. to meet and to adopt the General Secretary's report and pass the accounts at the end of the year. The report could not be considered by the Working Committee, he said, as the last meeting of the Working Committee could not be held owing to the President's illness. But it was sent to him and according to his order it was printed. He requested Acharya J. B. Kirpalani to formally place the report before the house. At this stage Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru announced amidst thunderous cheers the news received from Rajkot that Mahatma Gandhi had broken his fast two hours ago and read a telegram received from Rajkot. Soon after the Chairman taking the sense of the house adjourned it till 4 P. M. on the next day when the General Secretary's report was to be taken up. The next day Shriyut Bose attended the A. I. C. C. meeting. He was carried to the dias on a stretcher by volunteers and took his seat on an easy chair. After adoption of the General Secretary's report the President announced that a resolution had been tabled by about 160 members which Pandit G. B. Pant wanted to move. The resolution sought to express confidence in the Working Committee which had functioned the previous year, deplored that any aspersions should have been cast on any of its members, affirmed faith in the leadership of Mahatma

Gandhi and requested the President to nominate members to the Working Committee for the ensuing year according to Mahatmaji's wishes. The resolution in verbatim will be found in the proceedings of the open Session. Taking the sense of the House S. J. Bose adjourned the House for half an hour. On a point of order being raised that the resolution should not be allowed to be moved discussion followed for more than an hour and the President ruled that Pandit Pant's motion could not be discussed in the All India Congress Committee but should come before the Subjects Committee. When the A. I. C. C. met after tea as the Subjects Committee, the President announced that he would give preference to the resolution of Pandit Pant over others as it was of extraordinary importance. Pandit Pant made a brilliant parliamentary speech and amidst repeated cheers all over the House he emphasised the need of the reaffirmation of faith in Gandhiji's leadership and it appeared to him, he said, that there was no alternative to Mahatmaji's superb leadership and also to that of the members of the Working Committee who had resigned. The rest of the resolutions were discussed on the other days and their account will be found in details in the body of this report along with the proceedings of the open Session. The controversy about Pandit Pant's resolution continued for the next two days.

Suggestions.

Before completing the report of the Session the undersigned would like to make certain suggestions which occurred to him while supervising the work of the Tripuri Session on behalf of the Reception Committee.

In the interest of efficient work it is desirable that certain number of officials are permanently retained, by the A. I. C. C. Office so that they may be deputed to help the Reception Committee at different places where the Session of the Congress is held annually. To this extent the work of managing the annual session of the Congress should be centralized.

The services of these men should be available to the respective Reception Committees and they should be encouraged to have them for the facility of work in their charge. Officials which the undersigned would like to suggest would be as follows—

- (i) Congress Engineer.
- (ii) The Head Accountant.
- (iii) The Head Clerk of the Office.

Offices number 2 and 3 may be combined in one person.

- (iv) The head man in charge of store purchase and,
- (v) Head store keeper.

These two posts may also be combined in one person. It is hoped that this would make for efficient work and go to make it more economical.

At the same time this would lessen the difficulty of the different Reception Committees in carrying out the principles enunciated by A. I. C. C. with regard to the rural Sessions of the Congress.

Another noteworthy point which struck the undersigned was that several persons on the strength of their past services to the Congress come uninvited and offer themselves in the service of the Reception Committee. Sometimes they bring recommendatory letters from influential persons and it causes not a little embarrassment to those incharge to provide these people with work, the utility of which is generally of a doubtful nature. One would very much wish to keep such people away but it becomes increasingly difficult to do so specially when the Session approaches near and the number of these uninvited guests goes on increasing day by day. Something ought to be done to remedy this.

The Hon'ble Ministers and Government help.

The Reception Committee cannot too adequately thank the Hon'ble Pt. Ravi Shunker Shukla Premier, the Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Mishra and the other Hon'ble Ministers for the help which their Government rendered through the agency of the Police, the Revenue authorities, through P. W. D. and otherwise. But for this the task of the Reception Committee already hard would have become harder still and more stupendous. The Hon'ble Pt. R. S. Shukla and the Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Mishra continued to stay

at Tripuri for a number of days and were later on joined by the Hon'ble Pt. D. K. Mehta, the Hon'ble Sjt. C. J. Bharucha and the Hon'ble Mr. S. V. Gokhle, The Reception Committee has no wish to be formal with them in offering thanks as after all this work was as much dear to their heart as to any of the office bearers of the Reception Committee and indeed they did it as their own.

Acknowledgements.

The Reception Committee takes this opportunity of thanking the District Council of Jubbulpore and the Municipal Committee, Jubbulpore. The former constructed certain approach roads and arranged to place steam launches in the Nerbudda River at Marble Rocks for the entertainment of Visitors and the latter donated a sum of Rs. 15000/- to the Reception Committee.

As already mentioned previously Seth Mohanlal Hargovind Das gave a very handsome donation to the Reception Committee for which their firm and their Head Munim Shri Mulshanker Bhai are to be heartily thanked.

We have while dealing in the different branches of the Reception Committee tried to remember with thanks our numerous workers who were connected with the Tripuri Session of the Congress. We are giving below a consolidated list of some of the Institutions and persons whose names may otherwise have not appeared so far.

1. Associated Cement Co. Ltd. Kymore.
Cement 250 tons.
2. Tata Iron and Steel Works, Tatanagar.
Pick axes, spades and Iron Bars.
3. Madras Pencil Factory. Pencils.
4. F. N. Guptoo, Calcutta. Pencils.
5. Tamco Soap Factory of Bombay. Soap.
6. Dayalbag Agra. Soap.
7. Godrej & Boyce Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
Bombay. 6 Safes, 6 Steel cupboards and cash
boxes.
8. Metal Manufacturing Co., Calcutta.
Brass Material for pipes.
9. Shalimar Tar Products (India) Ltd., Calcutta.
Tar.
10. Bengal Potteries Ltd., Calcutta. Bed Pans,
Urine sets.
11. Perfect Pottery Co. Ltd., Jubbulpore. Earthen
Pipes.
12. Indian tea Expantion Board- Tea.
13. Mr. P. N. Roy.
14. K. Tea Co., Jalpaiguri.
15. M. Tea Estate, Dhekiaguli.
16. Gopalpur Tea Estate Nujnai.
17. Mr. Bhupendranath Bargodra.
18. Mr. K. K. Gupta Lataguri.
19. Mr. N. K. Ghosh Jalpaiguri.
20. The Alibri Tea Estate.
21. Magulkata Tea Estate.
22. Behar Sugar Works. Sugor.

23. Ganga Glass Works.
24. C. B. Bajan & Co. Katni. Lime.
25. P. F. Glass Works, Talegaon. Bottles.
26. N. B. Tea Co., Ltd. Tea.
27. Alembic Phenoil Co., Ltd. Phenoil.
28. National Soap Works.
29. The South Bihar Sugar mills. Bihta.
30. Bengal Institute Co., Medicine.
31. Calcutta Chemical Co., Medicine.
32. Naini Glass Works. Bottles.
33. Lister and Trading Co.
34. The Indian Electric Co. Ltd. Calcutta supplied electric Fans.
35. Homeopathic Co. Calcutta. Medicine.
36. Jawahar Chemical Co., Agra. Medicine.
37. M. C. Jubbulpore. Pipes G. I. and C. I.
38. M. C. Nagpur. C. I. Pipes.
39. P. W. D. Jubbulpore. Pipes C. I., Boiler Pumps.
40. Indian Hume pipe Co. Bombay. Boiler pump and pipe.
41. Shri Hans Kumar, Khandwa. Boiler.
42. Mr. T. C. Dunne Katni. Boiler.
43. Mr. H. P. Pathak Katni, Boilers etc.
44. The Mill, Stores Bombay. K. Oil.

It is however, impossible for the Reception Committee to name all the persons and institutions that contributed their mite to the success of the Congress Session in various ways. One thing is however, clear that all of them vied with one another

to make the Session a triumphant success and the sincere devotion to the cause which they loved was their only reward. We have tried to recount the names of as many workers as we could but we know many more remain unmentioned and the silent service which these unknown warriors put in the cause of the freedom of their motherland enhances the honour due to them a hundredfold.

The General Secretary however, wishes to add specifically his offer of thanks to all his colleagues, Office Bearers, members of the Executive and Chairmen of different Sub-Committees for the work they did and whose names have been duly mentioned in different places. But he does not know how to thank Pt. Kunjilal Dubey Advocate of Jubbulpore who took upon himself the heavy burdan of looking into all the minutest details and who for months at a great personal sacrifice gave his ungrudging services to make the Session a complete success and the joy for the same must be his as also the credit which is so richly due to him. The undersigned also wishes to record his sense of appreciation of the services of Shri P. R. Dongaonkar and Shri Govind Prasad Khamparia who throughout did a very strenuous work and maintained the office satisfactorily.

Mr. R. C. Sanghi's Services and Conclusion.

Having said all it is now submitted that none is more conscious than we are of the many shortcomings which were left in our arrangements despite

our best efforts, but we do hope that our guests did realise our limitations and our meagre resources and appreciated our difficulties in a kindly spirit forgiving us for our many failings in the generosity of their hearts. Before concluding, however, we must record with pleasure our grateful thanks to Shri Ram Chandra Sanghi M. A. LL. B, a well known Educationist and Public Worker of our Province, who at much personal sacrifice rendered valuable and timely help in drafting this report and in seeing it through the Press.

Dated, Jubbulpore } **Ghanshyam Singh Gupta**
the 25th Dec. 39. } *General Secretary.*
Reception Committee
The 52nd Indian National Congress,
Tripuri.

SECTION III
Proceedings of the Open Session.

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OPEN SESSION OF THE TRIPURI CONGRESS,

10-3-39.

The 52nd plenary session of the Indian National Congress opened at 6-30 P. M. on March 10, 1939 in the vast amphitheatre at Vishnu Dutt Nagar. About two lakhs of people including delegates, visitors and members of the Reception Committee were present. Hundreds of people were perched on a rocky hill rising sharply behind the amphitheatre to watch the proceedings and thousands of men and women had gathered all round to have a glimpse of this National Assembly.

2. After an exciting time in the closed Subjects Committee Pandal it must have been a welcome relief to the leaders, to A. I. C. C. members, and others to breathe the open air of the Congress amphitheatre. All those who were present there on this occasion, however, had a visible feeling of regret as they missed the hallowed personality of Mahatma Gandhi who could not come to Tripuri owing to the Rajkot tangle as also Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose who could not attend the open Session owing to his serious illness. Earlier it was hoped that Rashtrapati's condition would be well enough to enable him to attend the open session but unfortunately this could not be the case and Subhas Babu's doctors advised him against attending the Session,

3. The gathering cheered warmly as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, escorted the members of the Egyptian Delegation to the dias where were seated the members of the old Working Committee and other leaders. On either side of the dias were seated the Reception Committee Members and distinguished visitors on platform carved out of the base of the rocky hill.

4. The proceedings commenced with the singing of Vande Mataram. Seth Govind Das Chairman of the Reception Committee then rose and in welcoming the delegates read the following address :—

Shrijut President and Delegates,

After the splendid welcome by plentiful Gujerat, you will probably find the reception in the midst of the hills and forests of Mahakoshal rather poor. However, we are confident that you will not judge the depth and cordiality of our feelings towards you by the simplicity of our reception. Our faith in the National Institution, which you all represent, is as firm as the mountains, and our forests with their myriad tongues are shouting of liberty for achieving which we have all assembled here. Thousands of years ago when Shri Ramchandra Visited our province a daughter of our forest tribes welcomed him by offering wild plums. And so, like Ramchandra, do accept our humble offerings as the plums of Shavari and forgive us for numerous

shortcomings in our arrangements that you may come across.

This town of ours made of wood and bamboo is a gift of our forests. We have named it Vishnudutt Nagar. The late Pandit Vishnu Dutt Shukla, was the first leader of our province Mahakoshal. The invitation for the Congress Session of 1920 was extended on behalf of the entire Central Provinces. When the question of selecting the venue arose, the late Shuklaji did his best to have the session of the Congress at Jubbulpore, but it was eventually held at Nagpur. It was at Nagpur while attending that very congress session that Panditji breathed his last. Mahakoshal could not forget its first leader nor his long cherished ambition. It is in commemoration of his memory that we have named the town as Vishnu Dutt Nagar.

It was during the Nagpur Congress in 1920 that the Congress Provinces were constituted on a linguistic basis. A separate province was formed out of the Hindustani speaking districts and named Hindustani C. P. Its ancient name 'Mahakoshal' was revived during the Satyagraha movement of 1930, and subsequently it was approved by the Congress. In its loyalty to the Congress Mahakoshal claims a foremost place. Its political history of the last 18 years can well justify this claim. The people of this province gave a ready response to the Non-Cooperation and the Civil Disobedience movements,

The flag Satyagraha which ultimately succeeded in Nagpur was started at Jubbulpore. The Forest Satyagraha was started at the instance of our province. Even in the parliamentary sphere it has no mean achievement to its credit. During 1923 elections the Swaraj Party secured majority only in Bengal and C. P. The Bengal majority broke down after some time, but in our province no ministry could be formed for full three years. In the elections of 1926 while the other districts of C. P. and Berar were carried away by the wave of Responsivism, Mahakoshal still kept the Congress flag flying high. The lavish praises bestowed upon Mahakoshal by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru after the elections will for ever remain a matter of pride to us. If one analyses the election results of 1937 and takes the figures of Mahakoshal separately from those of other parts of C. P. and Berar one will find that Mahakoshal leads all other provinces. There is only one reason for our success. The people of this province have never given even a moment's thought to any organisation other than the Congress. Whenever an election fight ensued, it was always directly between the Congressmen on one side and the apologists of the British rule on the other. The Hindu Sabha, the Responsivist Party, the Ambedker Party, etc. never found a congenial soil in Mahakoshal. The Muslim League came in existence in our province only last year. We always rejoice to remember that on the eve of

the Simon Commission's visit to India the landholders of Mahakoshal convened a meeting and passed a unanimous resolution to boycott the unwanted Commission. All provinces of India have vied with one another in offering sacrifices for the freedom of the country. All that we claim is that whatever our shortcomings in other directions the province of Mahakoshal, to which you have allowed the privilege of welcoming you to-day, has not been found wanting in its devotion to the Congress.

After the example of the Chairman of the Hari-pura Congress Reception Committee, I had decided to wind up my speech here. The situation which has developed in the country during the past few weeks as also the international situation, however, compel me to add a few words. The world is passing through a crisis. Small or big wars have been already going on in Europe and Asia, and any day a world war might break out. Even if India so desires, she cannot keep wholly aloof. In order to decide our attitude towards any such war we shall have to gauge the position of England and France on one side, of Germany and Italy on the other, and of America and Japan on the third. After the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy it is only the Arabian Sea that separates us from the new Italian Empire. Again, both Italy and Germany having obtained footholds in Spain, the Mediterranean route is no longer as open to England as it had been in the past. Whenever a war breaks out, our

armies are speedily sent out to Europe. In case of an invasion from outside, India will have no means of defence left to her. We are now threatened with foreign invasions not only from the West but also from the East. The rising power of Japan is as much a menace to us now as some Western nations had been in the past. Japan kept aloof during the last war, but this time her attitude seems to have changed. A section of the American Press has gone even to the extent of asserting that Czechoslovakia was sacrificed at Munich solely on account of the fear of Japan. It is rumoured that secret reports from British Spies stationed in the far East stated that as soon as England would declare war against Germany over the Czechoslovakian issue, Japan would invade Australia and India, and that it was on receipt of these reports that Mr. Chamberlain hurriedly made up his mind to see Hitler and sacrifice Czechoslovakia. The Mediterranean Sea have almost become an "Italian Lake". The only hope of protecting British possessions in the Far East lies in America's siding in any future war with England. At present all the efforts of England are directed towards inducing America to join the war. England desires that America should commit herself to the labour of protecting British Empire in the East. History records so far no such example of altruistic alliance in the world of politics. Small wonder that at the present moment public opinion in

America is against any sacrifice on the part of America in men and money for the protection of British possessions in the East.

Under the circumstances, it is doubtful how far British will be able to defend India. She will have to defend herself; and she cannot do so until she has complete control over her army and her foreign policy. Thus it is obvious that the problem of India's self-defence cannot be separated from the bigger question of her independence.

It is said that Germany, Japan and Italy are determined upon a war because they need land for their surplus population. Considering from this point of view, India's needs are even greater. Her population is growing rapidly, but the doors of other countries are being banged against her people. A large number of Indians have settled in foreign lands for about a century and with the sweat of their brow have made these countries fit for human habitation. Even in these lands our countrymen are not allowed to live in peace and on terms of equality. The question of clove trade in Zanzibar was solved only yesterday. In Kenya the highlands can be acquired by the whites of any nationality but the coloured, the fact that they may not be British Subjects is immaterial. However, our countrymen, who have lived there for many years and who are also supposed to be British Subjects have no rights to purchase those lands. England can

even tolerate the talk of returning Tanganyika to Germany, but declares herself powerless to protect the interests of her own subjects in South and East Africa. Only last year the British Government entered into a trade agreement of India with South Africa against the commercial interests of the country and without the consent of the Central Legislature. The Minister for Interior in the Union of South Africa only the other day hinted at legislation for segregating. Indians residing in Natal and Transval even Ceylon, Fizi and Malaya and British Guiana continuously give pinpricks to our people settled there. Last year I saw with my own eyes, the pitiable condition of our people in Africa. It is there that we fully realise the fact of our political bondage. Had we been independent, we would not have tolerated this condition even for a single day. I could understand only after visiting Africa why after fighting for the rights of Indians overseas for so many years Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the conclusion that the question of Indian settlers is dependent for its solution upon the question of Indian independence.

Thus, turn wherever we may, we find ourselves faced with difficulties. At this juncture what we need most is solid patriotism, political sagacity and sound leadership. What a pity that at this very critical hour in our history signs of internal strife should manifest themselves. We have begun to think of changing horses in the mid stream.

The Indian National Congress was founded for carrying on the struggle for freedom, and from time to time we have not hesitated to be guided by dictators. Even during the periods intervening between various movements we could not fully follow democratic principles. Even England, known as the birth-place of democracy, substitutes a coalition ministry on the basis of dictatorship in times of war. Our Congress Organization can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi party of Germany and the Communist party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; yet almost all Italians, Germans and Russians have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by the leadership of Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi. Its aims and objects and the means of attaining them, i.e. truth and non-violence, have been laid down by him. The various struggles for independence initiated during the past twenty years were started, carried on and terminated in accordance with his dictates. True, the Mahatma has no specific place assigned to him in the

written constitution of the Congress, but who will deny that a practice has grown up to elect as the Congress President the person upon whom Mahatma Gandhi's choice falls and for the President to nominate on his Working Committee mostly those approved by him. In brief, he has been all in all in the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared the other day in Europe that Gandhiji is even greater than the Congress. The President of this year was right when he said recently that it would be a tragedy if he got the confidence of others but failed to win the confidence of the greatest man of India.

To-day we have assembled here under peculiar circumstances. Mahatmaji has declared the election of this year's President as his own defeat. It is also stated that the new programme is to resort to direct action once again, if necessary, after giving six months' ultimatum to the British Government. I plead ignorance of secrets, but as far as I am aware Mahatma Gandhi or any one of his colleagues has never expressed himself in favour of accepting the Federal part of the Government of India Act. If this position is conceded, and I have no reason to suspect otherwise, I make bold to say that the issue before us is quite simple. A Struggle against Federation is a foregone conclusion. What remains for decision is the time and the manner of initiating the campaign. I hope that the fight will be a non-violent one. Mahatma Gandhi is the Acharya of

non-violence and knows best the technique of non-violent struggle. It is, therefore, naturally expected that it should be left to the good old teacher to decide when and how the next fight should be started. As a matter of fact, the struggle is already in progress. The Federation is designed to comprise Indian States and the British provinces. The majority of the British provinces are under the control of the Congress to-day. If I have correctly followed the views of the President, I think his desire is to extend the Congress regime also over the remaining provinces. Gandhiji has already started the struggle in Indian States with the result that Shrimati Kastur Ba Gandhi, Shrimati Maniben Patel and Deshbhakta Seth Jammalal Bajaj have been snatched away from us. The country will be gainer if, as I have stated above, the Congress secures control over the remaining provinces and throws its full weight in the struggle to win the fight in Indian States. I have not the least doubt that Mahatmaji will himself give a new turn to the struggle at the opportune moment, and what the President wants to-day will surely happen to-morrow. I admire the enthusiasm of those who are impatient to give a fight. In politics enthusiasm alone, however, does not bring success; confidence in the accredited leader and discipline are essential. The strength gained by the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during the past twenty years is unprecedented in our political history. Like a

tried General several times he asked us to march forward, and there is no reason why we should deviate from the path so far followed by us. The great poet Kalidas has said:—

कार्पस्य केवला नीतिः शौर्यं श्वापदं चेष्टितम् ।

Diplomacy devoid of valour is cowardice, and valour without diplomacy is brutish. In my humble opinion Mahatmaji combines in himself the qualities of both valour and discretion. Recently while speaking on the agitation in Rajkot and Jaipur Nehruji described Gandhiji's voice as "Soft but iron." It reminded me of Bhavabhuti, the great Sanskrit poet, who said of Ramchandra:—

वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ।

that is harder than diamond but softer than flower. In these words of Nehruji and Bhavabhuti we have the true picture of Mahatmaji. The enemies of our freedom recognise the iron hidden in the flower, but unfortunately sometimes we ourselves seem to mistake it for weakness.

Just at the moment both the national and international situations are critical, and I pray to the Almighty to grant every son and daughter of India present at Tripuri wisdom and strength to reach a correct decision.

Once again I extend a hearty welcome to you, brothers and sisters, on behalf of the entire province

of Mahakoshal, and crave your indulgence for the shortcomings in our arrangements and lapses in my address.

After his address was completed Seth Govind Das announced that owing to his illness the President was unable to attend the Opening Session of the Congress and that in absence of the President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the Senior most ex-President of the Congress present then would take the chair. Maulana Azad then took the chair and he explained to the audience the serious state of Rashtrapati's health and the doctors report.

Thereafter Acharya Narendra Deo read the address of S. Bose in Hindi and S. Saratchandra Bose read Rastrapati's address in English.

SPEECH OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.

Comrade Chairman, Sister and

Brother delegates,

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me by reelecting me to the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress and also for the warm and cordial welcome you have given me here at Tripuri. It is true that at my request you have had to dispense with some of the pomp that is usual on such occasions—but I feel that that enforced step has not taken away one iota of the warmth and cordiality of your reception and I hope that nobody will regret the curtailment of it on this occasion.

Friends, before I proceed any further I shall voice your feeling by expressing our joy at the success of Mahatma Gandhi's mission to Rajkot and the termination of his fast in consequence thereof. The whole country now feels happy and tremendously relieved.

Friends, this year promises to be an abnormal or extraordinary one in many ways. The Presidential election this time was not of the humdrum type. The election was followed by sensational developments culminating in the resignation of twelve out of fifteen members of the Working Committee, headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Moulana A. K. Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Another distinguished and eminent member of the Working Committee Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, though he did not formally resign, issued a statement which led everybody to believe that he had also resigned. On the eve of the Tripuri Congress, events at Rajkot forced Mahatma Gandhi to undertake a vow of fast unto death. And then the President arrived at Tripuri a sick man. It will, therefore, be in the fitness of things if the Presidential address this year can claim to be a departure from precedent in the matter of its length.

Friends, you are aware that the Wafdist Delegation from Egypt have arrived in our midst as guests of the Indian National Congress. You will join me in according a most hearty welcome to all

of them. We are extremely happy that they found it possible to accept our invitation and make the voyage to India. We are only sorry that political exigencies in Egypt did not permit the President of the Wafd, Mustpha El Nahas Pasha, to personally lead this Delegation. Having had the privilege of the Wafd Party, my joy today is all the greater. Once again, I offer them on behalf of our countrymen a most hearty and cordial welcome.

Since we met at Haripura in February, 1938, several significant events have taken in the international sphere. The most important of these is the Munich Pact of September, 1938, which implied an abject surrender to Nazi Germany on the part of the Western Powers, France and Great Britain. As a result of this, France ceased to be the dominant power in Europe and the hegemony passed into the hands of Germany, without a shot being fired. In more recent times, the gradual collapse of the Republican Government in Spain seems to have added to the strength and prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The so-called democratic powers, France and Great Britain, have joined Italy and Germany in conspiring to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics, for the time being. But how long will that be possible! There is no doubt that as a result of recent international developments, in Europe as well as in Asia, British and French Imperialism have received a considerable set back in the matter of strength and prestige.

Coming to home politics, in view of my ill health, I shall content myself with referring to only a few important problems. In the first place, I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past, namely, that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum. The time is long past when we could have adopted a passive attitude and waited for the Federal scheme to be imposed on us. The problem no longer is as to when the Federal Scheme will be forced down our throats. The problem is as to what we should do if the Federal Scheme is conveniently shelved for a few years till peace is stabilized in Europe. There is no doubt that once there is stable peace in Europe, whether through a Four-Power Pact or through some other means, Great Britain will adopt a strong Empire policy. The fact that she is now showing some signs of trying to conciliate the Arabs as against the Jews in Palestine is because she is feeling herself weak in the international sphere. In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit within which a reply is to be expected. If no reply is received within this period or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanctions as we possess in order to enforce our national demand. The sanctions

that we possess to day are mass civil disobedience or Satyagraha. And the British Government today are not in a position to face a major conflict like an All-India Satyagraha for a long period.

It grieves me to find that there are people in Congress who are so pessimistic as to think that the time is not ripe for a major assault on British Imperialism. But looking at the situation in a thoroughly realistic manner, I do not see the slightest ground for pessimism. With Congress in power in eight provinces, the strength and prestige of our national organisation have gone up. The mass movement has made considerable headway throughout British India. And last but not the least, there is an unprecedented awakening in the Indian States. What more opportune moment could we find in our national history for a final advance in the direction of Swaraj, particularly when the international situation is favourable to us? Speaking as a cold-blooded realist, I may say that all the facts of the present day situation are so much to our advantage that one should entertain the highest degree of optimism. If only we sink our differences, pool all our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we can make our attack on British Imperialism irresistible. Shall we have the political foresight to make the most of our present favourable position or shall we miss this opportunity, which is rare opportunity in the life-time of a nation?

I have already referred to the awakening in the Indian States. I am definitely of the view that we should revise our attitude towards the States as defined by the Haripura Congress resolution. That resolution, as you are aware, put a ban on certain forms of activity in the State being conducted in the name of the Congress. Under that resolution; neither parliamentary work nor struggle against the State should be carried on in the name of the Congress. But Since Haripura much has happened. Today we find that the Paramount Power is in league with the State authorities in most places. In such circumstances, should we of the Congress not draw closer to the people of the States? I have no doubt in my own mind as to what our duty is today!

Besides lifting the above ban, the work of guiding the popular movements in the State for Civil Liberty and Responsible Government should be conducted by the Working Committee on a comprehensive and systematic basis. The work so far done has been of a piecemeal nature and there has hardly been any system or plan behind it. But the time has come when the Working Committee should assume this responsibility and discharge it in a comprehensive and systematic way and, if necessary, appoint a special sub-committee for the purpose. The fullest use should be made of the guidance and co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi and

of the co-operation of the All India States' Peoples Conference.

I have referred earlier to the advisability of our making a final advance in the direction of Swaraj. That will need adequate preparation. In the first place, we shall have to take steps to ruthlessly remove whatever corruption or weakness has entered our ranks largely due to the lure of power. Next, we shall have to work in close co-operation with all anti-Imperialist organisations in the country particularly the Kisan movement and the Trade Union movement. All the radical elements in the country must work in close harmony and co operation and the efforts of all anti-Imperialist organisations must converge in the direction of a final assault on British Imperialism.

Friends, today the atmosphere within the Congress is clouded and dissensions have appeared. Many of our friends are consequently feeling depressed and dispirited. The cloud that you see today is a passing one. I have faith in the patriotism of my countrymen and I am sure that before long we shall be able to tide over the present difficulties and restore unity within our ranks. A somewhat similar situation had arisen at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and thereafter, when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory started the Swaraj Party. May the spirit of my late Guru, of revered Motilalji and

of other great sons of India inspire us in the present crisis and may Mahatma Gandhi who is still with us to guide and assist our nation, help the Congress out of the present tangle is my earnest prayer.

Vandematram.

Mr. D. Narsingh, Acting General Secretary of the Congress then read a number of messages received from various institutions and persons from all parts of the world wishing success to the Congress. These included messages, from the Communist Party in China, the Indian National Committee in Japan, the Indian Association in Zanzibar, from Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, Dr. Atal, Leader of the Indian Medical Unit in China, Malacca Indians and from Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. Pandit Malviyaji emphasised the need of unity in the Congress ranks and also the need for fighting communalism. Some of these messages will be found in extenso at the end of this report.

On being called upon by the Chairman Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru next extended a hearty welcome to the Egyptian delegation that had come to India to convey their greetings to the people of India and the Congress.

Pt. Nehru, who spoke in Hindi, addressed a few words in English also.

Said Pt. Nehru .—

We have received many messages from different parts of the world conveying greetings, not only of our own countrymen, but greetings of other people struggling for freedom. We have a friendly message from China where some of our colleagues have been sent to give succour to the people there. But we have something else which is more than a mere message. We have in our midst a delegation from the Wafd Party of Egypt, who have come here to convey their greetings and sense of solidarity with the Indian National struggle for freedom.

Therefore on your behalf I wish to convey to them our sense of extreme appreciation and our hearty welcome at their visit here, representing as they do not only the great Wafd Party but the people of Egypt, who although enjoying a certain measure of freedom have nonetheless still to struggle and brave difficulties to gain independence. As with us their opponent is British Imperialism. Therefore inevitably we look to each other, we try to learn from each other, and I hope we shall be able to march together in many ways. We have of course different problems to face and each country must work according to its own genius. But we can still see a great many things common in our struggles, as all great struggles generally become more and more inter-related and we cannot

isolate them. What happens in one part of the world has its effects on other parts of the world. What happened during the last six months in Europe has undoubtedly affected us in India. The people of Egypt are engaged in the struggle for freedom in their own way. But the Egyptian struggle is a part of our own struggle, as they are fighting the same enemy as ourselves. Therefore it is a peculiar pleasure to us to have them in our midst tonight, but our only regret is that their great leader, Nahas Pasha is not here. A few months back I had the privilege to visit Egypt, to be in Cairo and of meeting many of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement and at that time Nahas Pasha expressed his eagerness to come here. He was coming but for the critical situation that has developed he could not leave Egypt. I hope he will still find time to visit our country some time. He is worthy representative of the Party and the nation, and I once again welcome the delegation most cordially (Cheers).

Mahmoud Bey, the leader of the Egyptian delegation in his message to the Congress said.

It is my honour and privilege to express our deepest thanks on behalf of myself and my colleagues for your kind invitation to attend the fifty-second session of your congress and our gratitude for the welcome and enthusiastic reception we received from the very moment we set foot on the

land of your great country from the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, members of the Government of Bombay and the people of Bombay. We wish to express our heartfelt thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, who in spite of his weak health and numerous occupations sent us a kind message of welcome. We wish him speed and complete recovery.

We thank Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose for his cordial welcome. We thank Pt. Nehru for his gracious speech of welcome and recall that he and Nahas Pasha were initiators of this happy idea of exchanging missions between Egypt and India. We thank the President of the Congress Committee of Bombay. We thank the Hon'ble Mr. K M. Munshi, Home Minister of Government of Bombay for their hospitality. It was the ardent desire of our leader and President of the Wafdist Party, Mohammad Nahas Pasha to attend this session of your National Congress, and it is equally shared by all members of the delegation. Important political circumstances and constitutional issues unfortunately prevented our leader from attending the Congress in person. With immense pleasure, I and my colleagues are in your midst and the noble mission of attending your Congress will only be equalled by the great honour of bringing to the people of India on behalf of the people of Egypt most cordial and fraternal greetings and best wishes for this glorious country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the visit we pay you in

response to your kind invitation evokes in our hearts deepest feelings and brings back to our minds numerous characteristics common to our two countries and the different aspects that link us together. Is it not a fact that religions and philosophies sprang from the East and combine us together? The East has been the birth place of the religions which preach cooperation and peace, religions that set the ideals for a powerful life among all people and seek the welfare and happiness of all. It was therefore no wonder that feelings and reactions of people in both the countries were similar and there was no wonder that there was resemblance in leadership and movements and methods of struggle between the two countries. It was in the year 1918 that our relentless leader Zughlul Pasha shook imperialism in Egypt and at about the same time, the far-sighted leadership of Mahatma Gandhi began to break the chains of imperialism in India. These leaders and their colleagues with great patience and persistence in their patriotic struggle have fought for the past so many years. Zughlul Pasha fell in the battle-field, an old and sick man who had stood hardships. Indeed, he was our brave Commander.

Nahas Pasha, our present leader, carried the banner of Zughlul. Detention, exile persecution and threats have never deterred him from his object and he finally succeeded. His far-sighted leadership has led Egypt from victory to victory, winning for her the treaty of independence and alliance signed

in August, 1936, and the treaty of the Abolition of Capitulation and Foreign Co-operation signed in Montreal in May, 1938.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the decisive element in the success of Egypt was unity. No people fighting for their liberty can afford to be disunited. We were a nation of Muslims and Christians, but Zughlul forged us into a nation of Egyptians. It is our unity and leadership that secured for us independence and liberty. Ladies and Gentlemen, the present visit, I hope will inaugurate a new era in the relations of Egypt and India and as Mahatma Gandhi has said in his telegram that the visit will afford an insoluble bond between India and Egypt. Nothing will be more welcome to the Egyptian nation and to our leader Nahas Pasha than to receive a delegation of the Congress which will meet in April next. I hope that this exchange of visit will inaugurate a new era in the relations between the nations of the East. Before concluding I would like to express our great admiration at the sight of such huge multitudes of people coming from all parts of your immense country, representing hundreds of millions of different religions and culture working hand in hand for the great cause of India and hope that just like in Egypt, where Arabs and Christians merged together and fought against imperialism, in India also the people will merge together and fight for independence.

M. ulana Azad adjourned the session at this stage at 8-30 P. M till 5 30 P. M, on the following day.

OPEN SESSION 11-3-39.

The open session of the Congress met for the second day on March 11, 1939 at 6-45 p. m. Moulana Abulkalam Azad took the chair in the absence of Rastrapathi Subhaschandra Bose. The proceedings started with the singing of Vande Mataram.

सभापति—हज़रात, हम लोगों की यह बदकिरमती है कि हम अपना काम ठोक चक और ठीक तरीके से नहीं करपाते। आप को मालूम है कि बदकिरमती से सदर साहब अलील हैं, बवजूद इसके वह यहाँ आये और यहाँ आने पर उन्होंने पूरी कोशिश की कि जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो वह जलसे की कार्यवाही चलावें। मगर इसका असर बुरा पड़ा और आज उनकी तखियत ज़्यादा खराब हो गई है। शाम को उनका बुखार करीब १०५° के पहुँचा था। इसलिए यहाँ आने में देरी होगई और इस देरी की वजह से जो भाई और बहनों को तकलीफ का सामना करना पड़ा है उसके लिए मुआफ़ी चाहता हूँ। कल रातको जलसा ख़तम करना है चाहे जिस तरह भी हो। इसलिए काम को इस तरह करना है जिसमें यह जल्दी से जल्दी ख़तम हो और सुभासबाबू पर भी ज़्यादा असर न पड़े। आज जो डाक्टरों ने हालत देख कर रिपोर्ट दी है उसे पं० जवाहरलाल पढ़ेंगे।

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru read the bulletins issued by Col. Mukund and Col. Hennessy and Dr. Gilder, who had examined the President in the afternoon,

The report of Col. Mukund and Col. Hennessy was as follows: We have examined Sj. Subhaschandra Bose again this morning. His temperature has risen to 104 degrees and there are distinct signs of the right lungs being affected. We have advised Sj. Bose being removed from the Nagar to the Victoria Hospital.

Dr. Gilder, who examined the President at 4-30 P. M. reported :

"I have examined Sj. Subhaschandra Bose at 4-30 P. M His temperature is 105 degrees, pulse rate 134 (pulse of poor volume and tension), and his respiration rate of 40. He is very weak and prostrate and unfit for any work, mental and physical. The whole of the right lungs is involved in the bronchial pneumoniae process. I would recommend his removal to a hospital or nursing home".

Maulana Azad—श्री अने साहब की तरफ से मुझे एक तरमीम की नोटिस मिली है। मैं अने साहब को अपनी तरमीम पेश करने के लिए इजाज़त देता हूँ।

Mr. M. S. Aney: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Brother and Sister Delegates :

The resolution which I want to move for your consideration is this : "In view of the very alarming state of health of the President the consideration of the resolution on the clarification of misunderstanding arising out of the Presidential election should be

referred for disposal to the A. I. C. C. at some future date."

In view of the condition of the President's health, I am sure, you will carry it unanimously.

Pt. G. B. Pant speaking in Hindusthani announced that he was ready to abide by the resolution of Mr. Aney if it was carried and pleaded for its acceptance by the house,

Shouts of 'No, No' followed from some members.

Moulana Azad after putting Mr. Aney's resolution to the House for voting by show of hands declared it carried.

At this stage there was a great demonstration by those members who were against the resolution of Mr. Aney and wanted a division and demanded the counting of votes. The Chairman declared that if members were insistent the division would be allowed on the following morning in the Subjects Committee pandal. But the shouting of "Inqlab Zindabad" and the demonstration continued, the demonstrators rushing forward towards the rostrum and occupying the empty space in front of the rostrum. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to address the House and explain them that the Chairman would allow division but the demonstrators continued shouting.

Sj. Saratchandra Bose intervening said: "Friends, I beg of you to resume your seats and not to be

excited. will you kindly go back to your respective blocks. ?”

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru : “It is no good getting excited. What I was saying is this :....”

Pt. Nehru then began addressing in Hindustani and again shouting was resumed and it continued over an hour.

Sj. Saratchandra Bose intervened again and appealed to the demonstrators by saying : “ I do not understand why you are not allowing pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to address you. I suppose some of you at any rate have heard that Mr. Aney moved his resolution for referring Pt. Pant’s resolution to the A. I. C. C. for disposal at some future date. Mr. Aney wishes to take leave of the House to withdraw his resolution. Unless you permit him to speak he cannot ask leave of the house. Will you kindly keep quiet and take your seats and allow Mr. Aney to proceed. Will you kindly go back to your respective blocks ?”

The delegates who had come near the rostrum and were making demonstration at this stage went back to their enclosures (at about 8-30 P. M.) and order was restored.

Pt. Nehru next addressed the House in Hindustani and then made the following speech in English.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru : I am afraid I have tired the patience of the House for a long time, first by

standing here for over an hour and then speaking at some length in Hindustani. But still I want to add a few words in English as some of the Comrades and delegates might not understand what I said in Hindustani. I stood here for a long time, because for some reason or other, which I have not been able to fathom, some of the visitors and delegates would not hear me. I do not know why, because I came to explain something which the President wanted me to explain. Just as his mouthpiece I wanted also to speak a few words on the procedure of division. On the division which was wanted on Mr. Aney's resolution Moulana Abulkalam Azad after show of hands declared Mr. Aney's resolution was carried. There was some opposition to this declaration and there was a great deal of excitement and shouting. When the division was claimed although the President was clear in his mind, yet he decided to give that division, and he asked me to say that if you desire certainly there will be division so that there should not be any doubt as to the voting and as to how many are on this side or on that side. I also wanted to tell you that. That is all that I was asked to convey to you. But for some reason I had probably offended you, or you felt that I had offended you. It is a matter of grief to me that anybody should feel that I have offended any delegate. Now, therefore, this is the position.

May I add a few words? May I speak to you about some particular aspects of what has happened?

We have heard for a long time about certain indiscipline in the Congress, certain corruption in the Congress. You know Mahatmaji has been writing about it in the Harijan. In fact in the Subjects Committee there was a talk about it to-day and we passed a resolution. It is obvious the Congress can function properly and efficiently only if it is well disciplined. We talk and we think in terms of the great struggle before us, the great struggle and crisis developing in India and Europe. Some of us think in terms of a very early struggle, some perhaps in terms of a struggle at a later date. But all of them think in terms of the great struggle. We feel we have grown stronger and our great organisation has grown stronger than ever, and so we do not look with any apprehension on the coming struggle, whatever it is, and some of us are over enthusiastic and want to have the struggle as soon as possible. But whether this struggle comes soon or late, everything depends how you and I and all of us, who are tied together by the Congress, function. Outside the Congress there are difficulties enough. Only a few days ago we had exhibitions of disunity and disturbance, mostly in my province. There they are, you cannot forget them. In fact they are the only things that stand between us and complete independence. You and I of course have to consider them and meet that menace. Meanwhile are we to start within the ranks of our own organisation this kind of mutual conflict? I shudder to think

what will be the result.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote some articles a few days ago. If you read them at all you will notice a certain agony of soul in them. You will notice the pain in them, almost the words quiver with pain. You may agree or disagree with what Gandhiji had written, but Gandhiji writes from his heart. Why, because today he is filled with the idea of the coming struggle in India. He is full of it, he is preparing for it. He wants the congress and the country to be ready for it, and when he sees that instead of preparing in reality we indulge in tall talks and indiscipline spreads and when he sees that his instrument is getting rusty, that it is getting less good and less useful, his heart breaks within it. Why does he talk about corruption and indiscipline, because time is coming when you and I will be put to the test. And although it was a grievous sight to see some of the comrades, who should all march together shoulder to shoulder and prepare for the struggle, to be in opposition to each other, although it was a painful sight, in my heart I almost welcomed it, because it was the outburst of certain suppressed feelings. Many of us present here have devoted a large portion of life to the service of the great Organisation and we have considered it a high privilege to stand shoulder to shoulder to each other. During all these years this is the first time that I have seen such a sight in the Congress. During more than a quarter of a century—

and I am sure, there are many others whose services to the country and the Congress are much longer than mine and they have served more than what I have done—I do not know how many of you remember such a scene. During the last twentysix years that I have attended the Congress year after year, I have not seen a like of it before. So I would beg of you to understand the full implications of what is happening. It does not matter if it is a big or a small matter. After all few people got excited. We all get excited. I get excited much too often. I am sorry for it afterwards. I go and ask for forgiveness. But we have to take a lesson from it and not allow weakening of the organisation. If we have learnt it is well, otherwise all our talk, all our struggle for the past so many years, will be vain talks. I am grateful to you for your courtesy in hearing me for such a long time.

Mr. M. S. Aney : I am before you to ask your permission to withdraw the resolution which I moved a short time ago. In doing that I only want to make a little statement.

On account of having heard of the alarming news of the health of the President I felt that something should be done to put a stop to the discussion of the resolution, in which the President was indirectly concerned. We thought we ought not to discuss this thing when his health was causing anxiety. Out of consideration of propriety I wanted

to make an effort. In doing so I did not consult any of my Bengal friends. I felt something should be done and I made a certain suggestion and there was a clear tendency on the part of the ex-members of the Working Committee to consider carefully the propriety of the suggestion I made and after a good deal of consideration they agreed to put the suggestion which I put before you. My main object was to relieve you all of the discussion on this resolution and at the same time to give satisfaction to our Bengal friends and all those who are interested in the health of the President. I have made that endeavour. But I now find it does not commend to many friends. That being the case it is necessary, I think it proper, that this resolution should be withdrawn. But as matters have progressed to such extent that there was voting and the President of the meeting also declared the result of it, the only constitutional course left open to me to undo the thing is to approach the very Congress which can do or undo what it does. It is the right of the delegates. Therefore, in order to allow me to enable me to withdraw the resolution, I have come before you to ask your leave. I believe you will see the necessity of accepting the suggestion I am making. I am asking for grant of leave for withdrawal.

Pandit G. B. Pant : I may just make a statement to explain my position with regard to the motion

that has now been made by Mr. Aney. When he suggested that the original proposition should be referred to the A. I. C. C. I readily agreed, as I was under the impression that there was consensus of opinion in this respect and that the delegates belonging to Bengal were also in favour of it. I had absolutely no desire to avoid your decision on the main proposition. I was, however, prepared to act to that course as I thought in the circumstances it was appropriate on my part that I should do so. I do not even ask for majority of votes. I do not ask for majority for withdrawal. If Bengal members want it I would abide by that view. As there seems to be a strong feeling in certain circles that the resolution should be discussed, I think it fair in the circumstances that Mr. Aney should be allowed to withdraw his motion.

At this stage Mr. Aney's motion for withdrawal of his resolution for reference of Pt. Pant's resolution to the A. I. C. C. was put to the house and leave for withdrawal was granted.

Next Moulana Azad moved from the chair three resolutions, namely, the resolution on condolence, the resolution on greetings to the Egyptian delegation and the resolution on greeting to China, which were adopted.

**TEXT OF THE THREE RESOLUTIONS MOVED
FROM THE CHAIR.**

1. Condolence: This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Begam Ansari and Shris K. Raman Menon, G. S. Khaparde, B. Raja Rau, Nathuji Jagtap, Thakur Guljar Singh, Raja Ram Shukla, Deviprasad Shukla, K. H. Bhatt, Dhundi Raj Mahadeo Naik, Abdul Wahid, Balwantrai P. Thakore, Maheshprasad Nigam, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, Upendranath Mukerji, Jwala Singh, K. Nageswar Rau, Rajab Ali Patel, Ghaltu Venkat, Chaturanan Das, Banchchanidhi Mahanty, Girija Bhusan Dutt, Shrinath Das and Pratap Singh.

2. Welcome to Egyptian Delegation: The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the fraternal delegation from the Wafd Party of Egypt and considers this visit as symbolising the solidarity of the movements for freedom in Egypt and India. The Congress sends its greetings to the people of Egypt and its earnest wishes for their complete success in achieving full freedom. It trusts that the association of the peoples of Egypt and India will ever grow closer and more fruitful in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

3. China: The Congress sends its greetings to the people of China and its deepest sympathy in their trial and privations in their struggle against a

ruthless and inhuman imperialism. It congratulates them on their heroic resistance.

The Congress expresses its approval of the sending of a medical mission on its behalf to the people of China, and trusts this mission will continue to receive full support so that it may carry on its work of succour effectively and be a worthy symbol of India's solidarity with China.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain next moved the following Resolution on National Demand and spoke in Hindustani in support of it.

“The Congress has for more than half a century striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past twenty years it has engaged itself on behalf of the masses of the country in struggle against British Imperialism, and through the suffering and disciplined sacrifice of the people, it has carried the nation a long way to the independence that is its objective. With the growing strength of the people, it has adapted itself to a changing and developing situation, and while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic state in the country. Rejecting the Government of India Act and with the full determination to end it, it decided to take advantage of the measure of provincial autonomy that the Act provided, restricted and circums-

cribed as it was, in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the Federal part of the Act the Congress declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a constituent Assembly, elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitutions or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people.

The Congress is of opinion that in view of the situation in India, the organised strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of consciousness of the masses, the new awakening among the people of the states, as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the principle of self-determination must now be applied to the fullest extent to India so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic state by means of a Constituent Assembly. Not only the inherent right, the inherent right and dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press insistently on the masses, cannot find solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress, unless

her people have full opportunities of self development and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted; the proposed Federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. This congress is therefore firmly of opinion that this whole Government of India Act must give place to a constitution of a free India made by the people themselves.

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of her great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crisis that loom ahead and prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle, this Congress calls upon all parts of the congress organisation, the congress Provincial Governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity and seeking to eliminate disruptive forces and conditions which lead to communal conflicts and national disunity, by coordinating the activities of the provincial governments with the work outside the legislatures, and strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will."

श्रीजयप्रकाश नारायण—जनाबे सदर और साधियो—आपके सामने यह प्रस्ताव रखना चाहता हूँ—

मैं आपको साफ तौर से यह बता देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने रखनेवाला न था, पं० जवाहरलाल इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने रखने वाले थे। लेकिन अब चूंकि बोझा आगया है मैं बड़े संक्षेप में यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने रखूंगा। त्रिपुरी में कांग्रेस की तरफ से जितने प्रस्ताव रखे गये हैं उनमें से यह प्रस्ताव सबसे ज़्यादा महत्व रखनेवाला है। कुछ महीने से देश में इस बात की चर्चा फिर से हो रही है और जहाँतहाँ तरह तरह की लड़ाइयाँ जनता की तरफ से की जा रही हैं, देशी राज्यों में और उनके बाहर हिन्दुस्तान के कई हिस्सों और देश के बाहर भी दुनिया के दूसरे मुलकों में भी बहुत बड़ा संकट फैल रहा है। एक किस्मका तहलका मच रहा है, लड़ाइयाँ हो रही हैं और क्रान्ति मची हुई है। कांग्रेस ने लाहौर में यह दृढ़ निश्चय किया था कि उसका लक्ष्य स्वराज्य हासिल करना है, पूर्ण स्वराज्य हासिल करना है। हम अभी तक उस लक्ष्य से दूर ही हैं, पर बाहर की परिस्थिति और देश के अन्दर की परिस्थिति को देखकर हमें यह निश्चय हो गया है कि अब बहुत जल्दी ऐसा मौका आरहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में भी बहुत जल्द जंग छिड़नेवाली है। सन् १९३०-३१ की लड़ाई से हम लोग बहुत आगे पहुँचे हैं पर अपने लक्ष्य से अब भी बहुत दूर हैं। उस लड़ाई के बाद ही अंग्रेजी सल्तनत ने यह गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया ऐक्ट की शकल का षडयंत्र रचा है जो आगे बढ़ने में रुकावट डाल रहा है। कांग्रेस ने इस षडयंत्र की देखभाल की तो उसे मालूम हुआ कि इसमें भी कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं जो उसे आगे उसके मंजिले मकसूद पर लेजाने वाली हैं। इसी सबब से कांग्रेस ने यह निश्चय किया कि जो यह Provincial Autonomy है उसमें कांग्रेस की तरफ से मंत्रिमंडल बने। उनका मतलब यह था कि मंत्रिमंडल बनाकर कांग्रेस मुल्क को और ज़्यादा तय्यार कर सके आज़ादी की तरफ लेजाने के लिए। लेकिन इस Provincial Autonomy में बहुत ज़्यादा गुंजायश न थी और जो कुछ गुंजायश थी भी वह जैसा कि इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है

खतम हो चुकी है। इधर तो कांग्रेस इस नतीजे पर पहुँची है और उसे विश्वास है कि गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इन्डिया एक्ट का जो Federation का हिस्सा है उससे हमारे हाथों में कोई ताकत नहीं आती और उधर अंग्रेजी सल्तनत उसे हमारे उपर लादने के लिए तुली हुई है। वाइसराय साहब और सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट साहब यह बराबर दोहरा रहे हैं कि यह हम पर लादा जायगा। अब जब Provincial Autonomy की गुंजायश खतम हो चुकी है और यह Federation जबरदस्ती लादा जाने वाला है तो लड़ाई के सिवा और जल्द लड़ाई के सिवा दूसरा चाराही नहीं है और हम सब लोगों को उसके लिए फौरन तय्यार हो जाना चाहिए।

इस प्रस्ताव में देशी राज्यों की जनता का भी जिक्र है। इनकी जागृति को देख कर हम सबों को यह विश्वास हो गया है कि अंग्रेजी हुकूमत से आनेवाली अगली लड़ाई में यह हमारी जनता कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर हमारा साथ देगी। महात्मा गांधी अब इसके बीच में पड़े हैं और इसलिए वहाँ की जनता को भी इसके लिए अब जल्दी से जल्दी तय्यार हो जाना चाहिए—उसके साथही साथ हमारे जिम्मेदार नेताओं को, प्रांतीय कमेटियों को और दूसरी कमेटियों को भी इस बात के लिए तय्यार हो जाना चाहिए कि इस आंदोलन में देशी राज्य के आंदोलन में और खुलकर सहायता दें। सरदार पटेल इस लड़ाई में सहायता दे रहे हैं और कांग्रेस के दूसरे नेता भी इसमें शामिल हैं। इसलिए प्रजा मंडलों का फर्ज़ सा हो गया है कि वह अगली लड़ाई के लिए पूर्ण रूप से तय्यार हो जायें।

इसके साथही साथ हमें मज़दूरों के आंदोलन को, किसानों के आंदोलन को पूरी मदद और सहूलियत पहुँचानी चाहिए और उनके अंदर एक बड़ी जबरदस्त जान डालना चाहिए जिससे यह मज़दूर, यह किसान अपने को संगठित कर सकें और पूरी तौर से लड़ाई के लिए तय्यार हो जायें। अब मौका आ गया है कि यह संस्थाएं कांग्रेस की छत्रछाया में, कांग्रेस के झंडे के नीचे स्वराज्य की ओर बढ़ें चाहे वह मज़दूर हों, चाहे किसान हों, चाहे शहर वाले हों, बाबू लोग हों, जमींदार हों चाहे जो

कोई भी हों। ये सारी शक्तियाँ इकत्रित करना चाहिए। मगर आप को इस बात का भी ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि जैसे जैसे कांग्रेस की ताकत बढ़ेगी इस संस्था के अंदर तरह तरह के लोग अपना उल्लू सीधा करने के लिये, अपना मतलब निकाजने के लिए आयेंगे। यह हमारे प्रतिनिधि बनकर, जनता के प्रतिनिधि बनकर बड़े बड़े महत्वपूर्ण मसलों को हल करने के लिए आयेंगे। इनही प्रतिनिधियों के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान के भाग्य का निर्णय रहेगा। इसलिए इनके चुनाव में बड़ी सावधानी की जरूरत है। इस वक्त कांग्रेस में यह सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी आगई और हमें इस कमजोरी को जिस प्रकार होगा दूर करना ही पड़ेगा। आज का जो प्रदर्शन हुआ है वह इसीका नतीजा था।

इन थोड़े से सज्जनों को यह भी ख्याल न हुआ कि Egypt से जो Wafdist party की तरफ से प्रतिनिधि आये हैं, जो हमारे देश के लिए आज़ादी का पैगाम लाए हैं, वह अपने देश में जाकर हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में क्या जिक्र करेंगे कि कांग्रेस के इजलास में इस इस तरह का प्रदर्शन हुआ था। मेरा तो सिर शर्म से झुका जाता है और मैं इस प्रदर्शन के लिए पं० जवाहरलालजी से, मौलाना आज़ाद से अपनी तरफ से और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से माफी मांगता हूँ।

हमें अभी साम्प्रदायिक मसले को हल करना है। देशी रियासतों के मसले को हल करना है, किसान और मज़दूर को संगठित करना है। देश से गरीबी को दूर करना है। इससे देश की सारी शक्ति को इकत्रित करना है। यह कोई छोटे मोटे मसले नहीं है पर अगर हमारे यहाँ हमारी संस्था ऐसे सज्जनों से भर जायगी तो इसका क्या नतीजा होगा। हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई एक तमाशा ही रह जायगी और इसलिए इस कांग्रेस संस्था को ऐसे लोगों से दूर ही रखना पड़ेगा और तभी ही हम अपने मकसद की तरफ बढ़ सकेंगे।

मैं यह प्रस्ताव आप लोगों के सामने रखता हूँ जिससे कि आप लोग आज़ादी से आज़ादी की लड़ाई के लिए, पूर्ण स्वराज्य प्राप्त करने के लिए इक संकल्प कर लें और साबित कदमों से आगे बढ़ें।

श्रीअध्याचार्य नरेन्द्र देव—मैं इस प्रस्ताव पर कोई बड़ा मापण न
 दूँगा। यह प्रस्ताव बड़े महत्व का है और इसलिए अपना विचार बहुत
 धाँधे में आपके सामने पेश करूँगा। श्री जगद्गुरुजी के सामने इस
 प्रस्ताव पर कई एक तरंगों में आया और उन्होंने जिस ठीक समझा उसे
 मंजूर करके इसमें शामिल कर लिया। अभी तक जो फरदेशन
 की बात चलाई गयी है और कहा गया है कि उसको रोकने के लिए हमें
 क्या क्या करना चाहिए, पर फरदेशन का विरोध करना ही हमारा
 विशेष उद्देश्य नहीं है वह तो सिर्फ आजादी की लड़ाई का एक पहलू
 है। हमारा ध्येय तो पूर्ण-स्वराज्य की प्राप्ति करना है। हम इस
 फरदेशन की हतजायी में कैसे बाँट सकते हैं। हमें तो पूर्ण स्वराज्य
 की तरफ अपना आध्यात्मिक कर्म उठाना है। और बहुत जल्द उठाना है।
 इस प्रस्ताव की पास कर आप इस बात का दृढ़ संकल्प करें। मगर आप
 टुट्टे दिल और दिमाग से सोचें कि क्या पूर्ण स्वराज्य लेने के यही दंग है
 जो अभी अभी आप लोगों ने प्रदर्शन किया है। ऐसे प्रदर्शनों से हमारे देश
 का वातावरण बहुत खराब हो गया है, इसी तरह के लोगों के कारण
 हमारी साम्यवादीयक एकता बिखरने लगी है। ऐसे वातावरण
 में स्वराज्य की बात नहीं चल सकती। अगर हम लोगों को छोटी छोटी
 सी बातों पर आत्मनिग्रहण नहीं है अगर हम इन छोटी छोटी बातों को भी
 हल नहीं कर सकते तो कैसे उम्मीद की जा सकती है कि हम दर्ता के
 साथ अपने मकसद पर पहुँच सकेंगे—इसलिए सबसे पहले यह फलान
 है कि कांग्रेस से ऐसे लोगों को अलग रखा जाय जिससे हम कंधे से कंधा
 मिलकर एक साथ जाँटिया साम्राज्यशाही का मुकाबला कर सकें और
 पूर्ण स्वराज्य की ओर अग्रसर हो सकें। आखिर हमें जनता के सामने
 जाना है तो क्या हम यही विचार उनके सामने लेकर जायेंगे कि जियुं
 मैं हमने ऐसा प्रदर्शन किया है और यह प्रदर्शन जिसके प्रतिनिधियों के
 सामने किया है। मैं आप से बड़े अदब के साथ अग्रज करना चाहता
 है कि आप चाहे जितने बड़े प्रचार क्यों न पास करें मगर यदि आप

in Hindi.

Acharya Narendra Deo Supported the resolution

में नियंत्रित रूप से काम करने की शक्ति नहीं है तो इन सब प्रस्तावों को पास करना बेकार होगा ।

इसलिए इस त्रिपुरी के इस प्रस्ताव को मैं बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण समझता हूँ क्योंकि इसके द्वारा हमने निश्चय किया, दृढ़ संकल्प किया है कि हम स्वराज्य की तरफ आखिरी कदम बढ़ायेंगे । हम चाहते हैं कि हममें वह शक्ति उत्पन्न हो जिससे हम सब मिलकर—एकसाथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर—आगे बढ़ें और इस तरह आगे बढ़ें कि दुनिया की कोई भी शक्ति हमें आगे बढ़ने में न रोक सके । इससे हम जो स्वराज्य प्राप्त करेंगे उसके यह माने होंगे कि हम अपना मंत्री चुन सकें, हमारे हाथ में सारे राज्य की बागडोर हो और यह हक हो कि दुनिया के बड़े बड़े राज्यों के साथ बराबरी का दावा कर सकें । तभी देश की गरीबी आदि भी दूर हो सकती है और तभी देश के सारे लोग, मजदूर, किसान, हिन्दू, मुसलमान और सब लोग बराबरी के साथ मिलकर रह सकते हैं और अपने को आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान के रहनेवाले कह सकते हैं ।

Si. Saratchandra Bose opposing the resolution said: I regret that whatever I have to say on this resolution I have to say in English, because I have not the requisite knowledge to speak in Hindustani:

It was my desire to send formal notice of my amendment to this resolution, the amendment which was moved on my behalf by my friend, Pt. Lakshmi-kanta Maitra in the Subjects Committee this afternoon. Due to a mistaken notion that this resolution will not be reached tonight and also due to my preoccupation with Rastrapati's illness, I was not able to send formal notice of my amendment. But I think it is necessary, even though the rules do not permit me, to present my amendment before you. I consider

it necessary to tell you quite plainly the reasons which prompt me to oppose this resolution.

This resolution is one which merely contains words, words, words—in-effective words, soul-less words, words which do not lay down any plan of action, words which do not give any lead to our people. The first four paragraphs of this resolution merely repeat what we have been saying session after session during the last few years, what we have been saying at every meeting of the Working Committee during the last two years, what we have been saying at every session of the A. I. C. C. I had expected that the framers of this resolution had realised that the time had come to give a definite lead to the people, but my expectations were rudely disappointed when I saw a copy of the resolution as passed by the Subjects Committee on the motion of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

To illustrate what I mean, may I read to you the last paragraph of the resolution. The last paragraph runs thus: “ With a view to speedy realisation of the congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crisis that loom ahead and prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle— parenthetically I observe, high sounding words indeed—this congress calls upon all parts of the congress organisation, the congress provincial governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity and seeking to eliminate disruptive forces and conditions which lead to

communal conflicts and national disunity, by coordinating the activities of the provincial governments with the work outside the legislatures, the strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will." May I repeat, these are high sounding words, full of sounds. I should also say words full of certain amount of fury too, but meaning nothing at all. If I may analyse this paragraph for a moment. The congress calls upon all parts of the congress organisation, the congress provincial governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity. The congress has been asking people for years to promote unity. May I ask the framers of the resolution if complete unity is not achieved during the coming ten years, are they going to put forward the struggle against federation? I would like to have a straight answer. Supposing only partial communal unity is achieved, are we going to launch a fight? I should like to have a straight answer to this question. I should have thought that the framers of this resolution, who have undergone sacrifices on innumerable occasions and for a length of period, I should have thought that they would realise that the struggle for independence, wherever it has been fought, in whatever age it has been fought, in whatever climate it has been fought, has always been fought by the minority. Are we going to postpone our struggle until all the different communities in our land have achieved unity among themselves?

If that is what the resolution means that until we have been able to attain complete unity, our struggle is not to be launched, I think it would be more honest to say : let us abandon the struggle. Let us not delude us any more, let us not deceive our people any more.

Friends, I would like to use in the course of my speech certain words, which I used in the amendment of which I gave notice in the Subjects Committee and which was moved on my behalf by Pt. Maitra. Self determination for people is now a universally accepted principle in the modern world. During the last few decades this principle has been applied in part or whole to all countries of the world, but India has been excluded from the sphere of its operation. In 1919 and also in years subsequent thereto I believe on the principle of self-determination the map of Europe and Asia had been remade and new cultures demarcated. But India with a hoary civilization, with a distinctive culture and tradition and fundamental unity, though pre-eminently fit for, the application of this principle was denied to her. The people of India have been denied it for too long a time and they must now demand their birth-right. The Government of India Act 1935, which was enacted by British Parliament is a negation of the principle of self-determination. It not only does not provide for transference of power to the Indian people, but it is designed and calculated to strengthen the hold of

British Imperialism on India. As such it was rejected by the Indian National Congress as early as April 1936 at its Lucknow session. Since then various developments have taken place. The provincial part of the constitution was inaugurated in April 1937, and efforts are being made on the side of the British Government to impose the Federal part on the Indian people. Most of you know that the British Government has already declared that it intends to impose the Federal part of the constitution in 1941. It is a delusion to say or to think that the federal scheme as envisaged by the Government of India Act is dead and gone. So far as the British Imperialists and their intentions are concerned, the scheme is very much alive. They have declared again and again that they intend to impose it against our will. I am reminded of the days when some of our eminent leaders like Pt. Nehru went to England and Britishers talked to them—I remember one British Imperialist—I was astounded at the remark, had the impertinence to say that Pt. Nehru did not represent even one percent of the people of India—they thought that although we passed the resolution rejecting the Government of India Act as early as 1936, we have not moved. The congress has no doubt repeatedly declared in clear and unequivocal terms its attitude of uncompromising hostility to federation. May I ask the framers of the resolution, what useful purpose it will serve by making that declaration again without

laying down a plan of action. We have reached a stage in our history when it is not enough merely to declare our rejection of the Government of India Act, when it is not enough merely to declare our determination to combat the federal scheme if and when it is introduced by British Government. I say it is time that we demand in the most emphatic and unmistakable terms a constitution of our own making, it is time that we call upon the British Government to declare in no uncertain terms whether they are prepared to concede in its entirety the principle of self-determination, and in order to enable the British Government to give a categorical reply to our demand we should fix our time limit, and I think the time limit should be fixed in such a way that the matter might be considered at the next session of the Congress, having regard to the reply of the British Government. For that purpose it is sufficient to fix a maximum time limit of six months. If the demand is agreed to, as I have no doubt it will be agreed to, having regard to the international situation at the present day, having regard to the fact that Congress governments are in force in eight provinces, having regard to the fact that the states people are moving and moving definitely towards the achievement of civil liberty and responsible government, if that demand is agreed to, the result is obvious. A treaty will have to be drawn between the British Government and the representatives of the Congress and the people. If

that demand is not agreed to or the reply of the British Government be found to be unsatisfactory and inadequate or no reply is received within that period then it will be in my humble submission the duty of the Congress to take such steps or resort to such sanction in order to make India's demand irresistible. Of course it will be always open to the Congress to have a special session much earlier than the period of six months, which I have mentioned, in order to consider whether the Congress should take steps even before the expiry of that period, if the intention of the British Government becomes manifest at a much earlier date or unforeseen developments warrant such a policy.

We have heard a lot about the Constituent Assembly. It is no use repeating it again and again. The Congress has in its resolutions during the last two or three years declared more than once that the congress demand is that the constitution for India should be framed by a constituent assembly based on adult franchise. The resolution which has been moved by Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan says nothing more. It merely repeats what the Congress has declared more than once. Now the question is what is to be done during this period of six months. My humble suggestion to you is that during these six months all congress organisations in the country should take necessary steps in the parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary sphere for preparing the Indian people for all possible likely develop-

ments. The resolution which has been placed before you contains the words 'the congress calls upon all parts of the congress organisation to work to this end by coordinating the activities of the provincial Governments with work outside the legislature.' We all know that the work with which Provincial Governments are now engaged is mostly constructive work—good work no doubt, but constructive work only. By that I mean no work which is designed to combat and wreck the Government of India Act. It is true that at the time the Congress declared in favour of office acceptance, one of the main purposes behind the declaration was that it will give us more strength to combat and wreck the constitution. It is time now that the congress governments are in power in eight provinces to prepare for the deadlock. Constructive programme has been worked for about two years. Let that work proceed. I am not one of those who hold the opinion that constructive work should be stopped. If the Congress Governments really mind to make the fight against federation effective, they should prepare themselves and their people for creating deadlocks in the near future. That deadlock it is possible for them to create, that deadlock it is possible for their people to create, and if that deadlock is created in eight provinces, most of them major provinces, I have no doubt that the situation will be such that the British Government will have to concede to our demand. It is no use coming forward with a pious resolution

asking the people to promote unity. That has to be done in every day life. There is no need for introducing that in the resolution relating to struggle against federation. Promoting of unity is one of the major things the congress has to do. Eliminating of disruptive forces is one of the major things the congress has to do. That is no work specially meant for launching fight against federation. That is necessary for all round activities of the congress. That work cannot be suspended for a moment. But I ask the framers of the resolution to tell us in plain and simple language what they mean by saying that in the meantime what we have to do in order to promote unity and eliminate disruptive forces. I ask again supposing complete unity is not achieved within the next ten years, do they mean to say that the struggle against federation has to be postponed for ten years? Supposing partial unity is achieved, is the struggle against federation to be postponed? Some people said to me in the course of the discussion of this subject as to whether the time had not come for presenting an ultimatum to the British Government. Some people said to me that the time had not come. We were weak. My answer to them is if we are weak today, may I ask my friends to say, if we are weak today when shall we be strong. If we are weak today with eight congress governments, I ask, when do my friends expect us to be strong. If we are weak today, do you expect us to be strong when the shackles of federation bind us

down and they are imposed on us? (Cheers). I say we are not weak. If you say we are weak, then it takes out all the force of the Congress resolution in favour of office acceptance. What did we tell the people at the time when the congress on the advice of the Working Committee accepted the resolution in favour of office acceptance? It was said that by means of office acceptance we shall be strong in no time, and much stronger we are today to fight federation which is threatened to be imposed on us. Federation is going to be imposed in 1941 and here we are in March 1939. Do you not believe that the time has come for the Congress governments in eight provinces and for the people in other provinces, who have unfortunately no congress government, may I ask you, if time has not come for the congress governments to act and act swiftly, to strike and to strike effectively? If this is not the time, I say, the time will never come. Time will not come for us to lead a straight fight, a strong fight, a direct fight, against federation after federation has been imposed on us. Fight we must if we want to kill federation which is sought to be imposed in 1941. That fight must begin now without a moment's delay, and in that fight we must have the cooperation of the eight congress governments, whom we have installed in eight provinces, we must have the cooperation of the people of the provinces, major or minor. We have got to place before our people a definite and well defined plan of action. We have

got to prepare the country by telling that we of the congress propose to give an ultimatum to the British Government that our demand is to be granted within six months, or a year, because the next session of the congress does not meet until about a year. If we do not tell our people that we desire to present an ultimatum to the British Government, we can never prepare the people for the fight. Preparation for fight will really begin, will seriously begin, people will take us seriously only when they believe that we mean what we say and we are not content with merely declaring rejection of the federal scheme, but we are doing all that lies in our power to implement our resolution, both by constructive work, and if necessary, by destructive work.

Coming to the last part of the resolution. It does not give, as I have said, any lead to the people. It is one of those resolutions which we have passed time and again. This resolution will not impress upon the people that we are really serious, that we are earnest, that we are up and doing in taking up the fight. May I ask how much longer are we going to wait? May I ask the different congress governments in the different Provinces, are they not prepared to create dealocks? If they say no, may I ask what they are doing to create dealocks? Do they think the British administration can go on if there is serious deadlock? Do they not feel that if they, who have power in eight provinces to create dealocks, if they move in that

direction their actions will be emulated by the people of India ? It is for them, who are fortunately placed, who are placed in the position of advantage, to take lead in this matter. We of the other provinces will certainly march abreast with them. Speaking for my own province, though unfortunately we have no congress ministry, I can say that the congress minded section of the people, both Hindus and Muslims, are ready for the attack, and I say in all seriousness and humility that the congress minded section of the people, which is not an inconsiderable section, are ready for the fight. Declare the fight, give the ultimatum and if you find that the technically, called non-congress provinces are lagging behind, then you can throw the whole balme on them and not till then. I make bold to say that all the provinces, which are technically called non-congress provinces, will march abreast with the congress provinces in the major assault against federation.

Again I repeat that it will not do if you merely say : co-ordinate activities of the provincial governments with the work outside the legislature. This resolution does not say what are the sorts of activities of the provincial governments which are to be co-ordinated with work outside the legislatures. It doesnot even mention what are the activities of of the provincial governments what is the nature of the work with which those activities are to be co-ordinated. Is it any use to put before the

congress and the people words which have no definite meaning at all? If you are to really prepare the people for the coming fight, you have to give a lead to the people; to the provincial governments, you have to indicate to them what are the activities to which they should resort, you have to tell the people what is the work outside the legislature which they must take up immediately in order to prepare for the fight against federation. It will not do to say only idle words. You have to place before the people a definite plan of action and give a definite lead to the people as to what they have got to do in order to prepare themselves for the coming struggle. May I ask you to consider the position? Are you not simply adopting a policy of drift, If you accept the policy of the resolution?

It is true in April 1936 time had not come for launching on direct action against federation. Has not time come now in the year of grace 1939? If you want to stop the imposition of federation, you have got to tell the British Government on the one hand and the people on the other that we have decided to launch this attack within the prescribed period. It is then and only then that you can prepare the country for the coming fight. It is only then that you can come to grips with British Imperialism. But if you go on postponing the fight from 1936 to 1937, from 1937 to 1938, from 1938 to 1939, from 1939 to 1940, from 1940 to 1941,

you will find in the year 1941 that your dream of combating and wrecking federation, which you dreamt in 1936 will have proved to be an idle dream, that you have not done any work during these three long years in order to prepare the people for the coming struggle. You will find that not that the people have betrayed you, but that you have betrayed the people by your indecision.

Mr. A. M. Zaman next spoke on the resolution in Hindustani.

मैं, जो आपके सामने अंग्रेजी में प्रस्ताव पढ़ा गया उसके ख्याल से इत्फाक करता हूँ और उसको ताईद करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। साथ ही साथ आप लोगों को बताना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के नवजवान आपके फैसला का आसरा देख रहे हैं और हुकम मिलते ही वे लड़ने को तय्यार हैं। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेन्ट इस वक्त यूरोप में बुरी तरह से फंसी हुई है और इसलिए फेडरेशन को लाने में डरती है क्योंकि वह जानती है कि यहाँ भी उसे एक लड़ाई मोल लेना होगी। ऐसी हालत में मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको अपनी लड़ाई फौरन शुरू करना चाहिए और फेडरेशन के आने के वक्त तक इन्तजार न करना चाहिए।

Mr. Bharadwaj—also followed in Hindustani. सभापतिजी—आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव श्री जय प्रकाश ने और आचार्य नरेंद्रदेव ने रक्खा है उस पर मैं अपनी राय पेश करना चाहता हूँ। आपने लाहोर में प्रस्ताव पास कर असहयोग आंदोलन शुरू किया था और आज जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने है उसके जरिये से कांग्रेस अपने कदम और आगे बढ़ रही है। इससे मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जितनी चालें हैं Federation को लादने की और हमें गुलाम बनाने की वह पूरी न हो सकेंगी। आज त्रिपुरी में हम लोग इस बात को स्वीकार कर रहे हैं हम लोग बहुत जल्दी देशव्यापी लड़ाई में सम्मिलित होंगे जिसकी योजना यहाँ बनाई जा रही है। आज यहाँ पर यह निश्चय किया जाता

है कि साम्राज्यशाही के खिलाफ, Federation के खिलाफ जंग शुरू कर दिया जायगा। और उसके लिए हम आवाज़ उठाकर बतला देना चाहते हैं—तुरंत तय्यार होजाना चाहिए, संगठित होजाना चाहिए। इसके लिए सब से ज़रूरी बात यह है कांग्रेस में एकता हो, कांग्रेस के साथ सम्मिलित संयुक्तशक्ति हो; उसमें सब लोगों का सहयोग हो, उसमें महात्मा गांधी हों, उसमें सरदार पटेल हों, सुभासबाबू हों और सब लोग हों—हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों तभी हमें इस लड़ाई में कामयाबी हासिल हो सकती है। Ultimatum देने या न देने से कोई फरक न पड़ेगा। खास बात हमारी तय्यारी है और इसके लिए हमें तय्यार होना चाहिए।

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in Hindustani in support of the resolution refuting the arguments of S. J. Saratchandra Bose.

श्री पं० जवाहरलाल —

सभापतिजी, बहनों और भाइयों—यह प्रस्ताव शुरू में मेरे नाम लिखा गया था और मैंने ही आज Subject Committee में पेश किया था लेकिन जब इसका वक्त आया तो मैंने सोचा अभी आपके काफी वक्त लिया है फिर बारबार आपके सामने खड़ा होना अच्छा नहीं मालूम होता मैंने भाई जयप्रकाश से इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने पेश करने को कहा। लेकिन जब इस पर कई तकरीरें सुनी तो मौलाना अबुल कलाम आज़ाद साहब के हुक्म से एक बात कहने के लिए आया हूँ। Subject Committee में इस resolution पर बहुत सी तरमीमें आई थी, कुछ मान ली गई लेकिन जिन पर वोट हुआ और नामंजूर हुई वह बड़ी कसरत राय से नामंजूर हुई। इसके बाद जहाँ तक मुझे याद है यह प्रस्ताव इत्तफाक राय से Unanimously pass हुआ। इसके बाद मैंने समझा था अब इस रिजोल्यूशन में कोई बहस की ज़रूरत नहीं है लेकिन मुझे बड़ा ताज़ुब हुआ जब मैंने श्री सरत बाबू की तकरीर सुनी। मुझे यह ख्याल भी न था कि कोई इस resolution की मुखाबलफत कर सकता है। यह जाहिरा सी बात है कि कुछ अलफाज़ ठीक किये जा सकें या विचार दुरुस्त किया जा सके और मैंने इसे Subject Committee में भी

तसलीम किया था लेकिन कोई इसकी मुखालफत भी करेगा यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई थी ।

सरत बाबू ने कहा-जैसा उन्हें कहने का हक है—कि इस प्रस्ताव में अलफाज हैं, शब्द है और है ही क्या है—words, words & words. मगर मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर उनकी तरमीम में ही क्या है—words, words & words. यह भाषा जो सरत बाबू ने इस्तेमाल की है वह आज से २० वर्ष पहिले की भाषा है जिसमें सिवा शब्दों और व्याख्यानों की सुंदरता के कुछ नहीं रहता था । कांग्रेस की ताकत इस वक्त बहुत बढ़ गई है और इसलिए उसकी भाषा भी उसी तरीके से संजीदा लेकिन मजबूत हो गई है ।

दूसरे यह ख्याल कि ६ महिने का Ultimatum देने या धमकी देने से अंग्रेजों पर ज़बरदस्त असर पड़ेगा और वह डर जायेंगे तो यह गलत बात है । ऐसा समझना अपने और जनता को धोका देना होगा । दूसरी बात यह है कि ऐसा करने से दुश्मन को तय्यार होने का मौका मिल जायगा । अगर हम दुश्मन से यह कहें कि हम इस मैदान में आज सबरे ४॥ बजे लड़ेंगे तो मेरा ख्याल है कि यह कोई अक्लमंदी की बात न होगी । फिर ६ महीने तक क्या करेंगे, क्या बैठे रहेंगे । हमें तो हरवक्त लड़ाई के लिए तय्यार रहना चाहिए क्योंकि न जाने हमें किस वक्त और कहाँ लड़ना पड़े ।

इसी तरह से ८ कांग्रेसी हुकूमतों की बात है । उनके लिए पहले से कह देना कि वह उस वक्त क्या करें ठीक नहीं हैं । यह तो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के खिलाफ लड़ने के लिए कोई खास बात नहीं हुई । आज ८ सूबों की हुकूमत हमारे काबू में है, उनके मिनिस्टर्स हमने बनाए हैं और हम जैसा उनसे कहेंगे करेंगे । पर आखिर इनको मिनिस्टर किसने बनाया, इनको हुकूमत की गद्दी पर किसने बिठाया । यह हमारी ताकत है, आम जनता की ताकत है, कांग्रेस की ताकत है जिसने इन लोगों को वहाँ मिनिस्टर बनाकर बैठाया है । अगर आज हम अपनी ताकत को वहाँ से हटा लें तो अंग्रेजी हुकूमत उन्हें आज हटा देगी ।

आखिर असली ताकत है क्या। एक ताकत तो तोप और हवाई जहाज़ की ताकत है और दूसरी ताकत है जनता की संगठित शक्ति जो उसका मुकाबला करती है। इन दोनों तरह की ताकतों में हमारी ताकत जनता की संगठित शक्ति है। इस वक्त हमारी क्या ताकत है इसको अंग्रेजी हुकूमत अच्छी तौर से जानती है और हम उनकी ताकत को जानते हैं। इसलिए Ultimatum देने से या और किस्म की धमकी देने से या अपनी बात को सख्त अलफाज़ का जामा पहिना कर कहने से कोई नतीजा न होगा। असल में हमको अपनी ताकत को, अपनी दुशवारियों को—न बढ़ाकर और न घटाकर आपके सामने, अपने सामने न रखना आप को और अपने को धोखा देना होगा। और इस प्रस्ताव में अपनी ताकत और दुशवारियों का भी सही एलान किया गया है।

देखिये कोई भी आज़ाद मुल्क जब दूसरे मुल्क से कुछ कहता है तो चाहे लड़ाई की ही बात क्यों न हो मगर संजीदा अलफाज़ों में कहता है। इसलिए हमें यह बातों को छोड़कर बुनयादी बातों को देखना चाहिए और मुझे उम्मेद है कि इस प्रस्ताव में वह सारी बुनयादी बातें आगई हैं। इसलिए आप लोग इस प्रस्ताव का बिल इत्तफाक राय मंज़ूर करें यही हमारा कहना है।

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain replied to the debate in Hindustani and made references to the attempts at compromise resolution to which S. J. Bose was a party, said he:—

सभापतिजी तथा साथियो—पं० जवाहरलाल के भाषण के बाद ज़रूरत नहीं थी कि मैं कुछ कहूँ लेकिन २-१ ऐसी बातें थीं जो पंडितजी को नहीं मालूम थीं और इसलिए मैं कुछ कहने को खड़ा हुआ हूँ— मुझे ताज़ुब हुआ जब यह प्रस्ताव आपके सामने रख कर बैठा तो एका एक अपने कानों से सुना की सरत बाबू इसकी मुवालाफ़त कर रहे हैं। यह सुनकर मुझे ऐसा मालूम हुआ मानो किसी ने दूरी भोंक दी हो। सरत बाबू जैसे नेता इसका विरोध करेंगे यह मेरे ख्याल में भी न आसका।

जब यहाँ हम लोग त्रिपुरी में आये तो एक Plan of Action बनाने की बात उठी। हम लोग एक ऐसा Plan of Action बनाना चाहते थे जिससे साम्प्रदायिक झगड़ा बन्द हो जाय और हम लोग अपने मकसद-Independence-की तरफ बहुत तेज़ी से बढ़ सकें। क्योंकि हम लोगों का खयाल था कि जब तक हमारी अपने बीच की लड़ाई खतम न होगी उस वक्त तक कोई काम न हो सकेगा। इसके लिए हम और दूसरे समाजवादी नेता श्री सरत बाबू से मिले और वह उस समय Ultimatum की बात को छोड़ने के लिए तय्यार हो गये। इसलिए मुझे और भी ताजुब हुआ जब कि सरत बाबू को यहाँ फिर वही बात को दोहराते देखा।

जैसा कि पं० जवाहरलाल ने अभी अभी कहा है कि मिनिस्ट्री के डेडलाक करने से या बड़ी लम्बी-चौड़ी भाषा का इस्तेमाल करने से आप यह न समझिये कि दुश्मन घुटने टेक देंगे। पिछली लड़ाई में करीब १ ही लाख आदमी जेल गये थे पर अबकी लड़ाई में करोड़ों आदमियों को जेल में जाना होगा। चाहे हमारे साम्यवादी विचारों में कितना ही मतभेद हो हम दुश्मन के मुकाबले में एकही नीति को अख्तयार करेंगे और कांग्रेस से मिलकर लड़ेंगे। सरत बाबू चाहें तो उसकी सुखालफ्त कर सकते हैं। हमारा खयाल है कि इस प्रस्ताव का वही विरोध करेंगे जो पूर्ण स्वराज्य नहीं चाहते हैं। जो यह नहीं चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की ताकत बढ़े, हमारी ताकत बढ़े, जिससे हम अपना भाग्य निर्णय अपने हाथों से आप कर सकें, अपने कांग्रेस के साथ देशव्यापी लड़ाई में उसका साथ दे सकें वही इसका विरोध करेंगे। यह तरमीम Subject Committee में भी गिर चुकी है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप भी इसको नामंजूर करके प्रस्ताव को एकराय से कबूल करेंगे।

Shri Sarat Bose gave an explanation that he did not agree to the withdrawal of the ultimatum clause and with the permission of the Chairman Sj. Sarat- chandra Bose then made the following speech explaining his position :

Sj. Saratchandra Bose.

It is true that I discussed a plan of action running into four pages with Mr. Jaiprakash Narain. But this was, I am sorry he forgot to mention it, subject to my incorporating that an ultimatum has to be given. I repeated that yesterday and this morning and at the Subjects Committee my friend, Pt. Lakshmikanta Maitra at my request put forward my idea regarding the ultimatum. As regards the plan of action which we had agreed upon, it is not in the resolution. Only a fraction of that is in the resolution.

At this stage the resolution was put to the house and declared carried.

Mr. Shri Prakash next moved the following resolution on the Congress machinery and spoke in support of it :

Shri Shri Prakash— यह resolution जो आपके सामने पेश करने को मुझे सुपुर्द किया गया है वह इस तरह है—

(Corruption resolution in English)

“ In as much as experience has shown that the working of the congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuses in the matter of enrolment of members, elections and otherwise, and it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that

end including changes in the Constitution. The All India Congress Committee shall have authority to give immediate effect to such constitutional changes”.

भाइयो और बहनों— गाँकि मुझे इस मसले पर बहुत कुछ कहना था लेकिन चूंकि वक्त बहुत कम रह गया है इसलिए बहुत थोड़े में कहूँगा। दिन प्रतिदिन हम लोगों की जिम्मेदारी बहुत बढ़ रही है और इस जिम्मेदारी को पूरा करने के लिये हमें तय्यार होनेकी निहायत ज़रूरत है। यह जिम्मेदारी हम तभी पूरी कर सकते हैं जब कि हम इस प्रस्ताव को आज पास कर दें। पिछला चुनाव अब की जल्दी होगा इसलिए अब सिर्फ ३-४ महीने रह जाते हैं जिसके भीतर हमें सारी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। इसलिए यह ज़रूरी है कि इस बात को एक कमिटी के सुपुर्द कर दिया जाय जो अपनी रिपोर्ट A. I. Congress Committee के सामने पेश करे और A. I. C. C. को यह अख्तयार दे दिया जाय कि वह उसमें जो कुछ ज़रूरी तबादला चाहे कर सके। चूंकि वक्त थोड़ा रह गया है इसलिए इस काम के लिए कांग्रेस को बुलाना बड़ा दुश्वार होगा।

आप जानते हैं कि हमारी कांग्रेस में इस वक्त इसकी बढ़ती हुई ताकत को देख कर सब किसके आदमी घुस आये हैं और उनको हटाना ज़रूरी सा होगा है। इसलिए मैं उम्मेद करता हूँ कि आप लोग इस रिजोल्यूशन को एक राय से मंज़ूर करेंगे जिससे यह अहम मसला तय हो जाय और हमारा काम जल्दी हो सके।

After Mr. Nekiram Sharma seconded the resolution Hindustani, it was adopted and the house was adjourned till 8-30 a. m. on March 12, 1939 to assemble in the Subjects Committee Pandal.

श्री नेकीराम शर्मा—आपको यह प्रस्ताव मंज़ूर करना चाहिए क्योंकि इस से जो खराबियाँ आप के कांग्रेस के अंदर आ गई हैं वह सब दूर हो जायगी और कांग्रेस शुद्ध बन जायगी।

[यह प्रस्ताव सर्व सभमति से स्वीकार हुआ]

Seth Govind Das made the following announcement : It has been decided to hold two sittings of this session tomorrow, one would be held in the morning at 8-30 in the Subjects Committee pandal, and the other here at 6 P. M. Because there is not sufficient space in the Subjects Committee Pandal, only delegates will assemble in the morning session and the press will be allowed.

The house thereafter dispersed at 11-45 p. m.

OPEN SESSION : 12-3-39.

The open session of the Congress met at 8-50 A. M. on March 12, 1939 in the Subjects Committee pandal with Moulana Abulkalam Azad in the chair. Only delegates were assembled and were seated in separate enclosures marked for different provincial delegates. The representatives of the press were also allowed.

Pt. Govindballav Pant moved the resolution on Re-affirmation of Congress Policy which runs thus :

“In view of various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the Presidential election and after, it is desirable that the congress should clarify the position and declare its general policy.”

“This Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the congress programme in future. This congress expresses its confidence in the work of the Working Committee, which functioned during the last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

“ In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the congress regards it as imperative that its executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to appoint the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji.”

जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा था यह Resolution आपके सामने Subjects Committee के तरफ से पेश करता हूँ। Subjects Committee में इस पर ३ दिन तक काफी बहस हो चुकी है। मुझे वहाँ जो कुछ कहना था काफी अरज कर चुका हूँ और Subjects Committee में खूब गौर कर जिस शकल में मैंने पढ़ा है पास किया है। Subjects Committee या A. I. C. C. के जो delegate मेंबर थे वह भी मौजूद थे। फिर कल के वाक्यात के बाद अब मेरे दिल में व्याख्यान देने का कोई बड़ा हौसला नहीं रह गया। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करता हूँ।

After the resolution was moved formally Mr. N. V. Gadgil seconded the resolution formally.

श्री गाडगिल--सदर साहब--जो प्रस्ताव पंत जी ने इस मौजूदा हालत में सामने रखा है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

Mr. K. F. Nariman next moved : Mr. President and Friends, I beg to move that in view of the alarming state of health of the President the consideration of this resolution be adjourned till the President is in a fit condition to attend (cries of 'Hear, Hear' and 'No, No').

I am still confident that inspite of the shouts of noes and ayes that while considering this resolution

no political considerations, no party considerations will come into play. I appeal for this on the consideration of humanity. The Congress organisation is based on the principle of non-violence and truth and it has functioned as such. I have known the Congress organisation and the Congress leaders for some years, and I know that even the worst political opponent is treated with affection and consideration. I am only appealing to the sense of decency, to the sense of propriety and to the sense of humanity of the house. I appeal to you to consider whether it is fair and whether it is not due to your President, whatever differences there may exist between him and you, that he should at least get humanitarian treatment, if not anything else. I have not heard anywhere in any organisation a resolution in which the President's position is directly involved on which statements are made on the President's actions without opportunity being provided for the President to explain his position, I have not heard of such a resolution being considered, debated and carried in the absence of the President. I could understand the urgency of discussing this resolution here and now if the President had made an attempt to evade and not to attend. But as you know inspite of the advice of his doctors he has come down all the way from Calcutta risking his life, mainly to face the situation. After coming here instead of very strong medical advice he attended the Subjects Committee with the result that we find him in a

very precarious condition. I do not want to read again the certificates of the doctors. Nobody will dispute after the certificates that we read yesterday of Dr. Gilder and others that the position is very serious and grave. In spite of his efforts it is physically impossible for him to attend. I, therefore, ask you, would it be fair that a resolution of this description should be considered under the circumstances?

Unfortunately at Wardha also the same situation developed and resignations were submitted because he could not attend and explanations could not be given. I ask you most earnestly to consider what is the urgency of the resolution. Now you have practically passed the resolutions which will guide your policy for the future and some of them have been passed in the open session. I ask you, is there any real danger to the country or the Congress or is the President going to adopt measures which is going to prove detrimental to the Congress policy? The Congress has already passed resolutions, and whatever his personal views he will abide by it. There is no urgency, no immediate danger, and I quite appreciated yesterday that the mover of the resolution as well as those who were behind him frankly admitted that in view of the illness the resolution should not be discussed till the President was ill. If there was any meaning to their agreeing to Mr. Aney's motion, I appeal this resolution should not be considered today at least for our per-

sonal consideration to a colleague. That attitude, I do not understand, why that attitude should be changed to-day ? Everybody deplors the unfortunate demonstration made yesterday. That demonstration should not have been made yesterday. I ask you, is it fair because some members, over-enthusiastic members, behaved in a manner in which they should not have behaved, is it fair that the position of the President should be prejudiced, because of the action of the third party, in which certainly the President had no hand ? If he were present, he would not allow such a thing. Yesterday you were prepared to admit that it would be unkind, that it would be not fair to consider this resolution. Nothing has happened since except that there was this ugly demonstration. Is it fair to punish the President for the acts of the third party ? I not only appeal to you in the name of humanity, but I ask you to consider the position of the President— I do not know what the strength of voting on one side or the other is— I ask you to consider what will be the public opinion outside, what will be the opinion of the world outside, what will they think of an organisation which treats its President so shabbily. I ask you to consider very seriously if you want to consider the prestige and dignity of the organisation. Are you going so low as to be dragged into mud that you cannot wait for the illness of the President and you must carry this resolution which has no significance after the passing

of the programme of the next year? I earnestly beg of you to consider that after all political differences will exist, political opponents will exist. Some opposition exists in every living organisation. But we have never seen political opposition being carried to such an extent.

I appeal to you, Sir, to exercise your right as President. You have a right to postpone its consideration. I do not want that this matter should be evaded or shelved. For the unfortunate situation nobody is responsible. If anybody is responsible, it is God, for this unfortunate and tragic illness. The President is helpless in the matter, but I ask you in the name of propriety, in the name of dignity and in the name of humanity to consider my application. (cries of 'No, No')

Maulana Abulkalam Azad then addressed the house in Hindustani.

श्री अबुल कलाम आज़ाद—श्री नारीमैन ने यह तरमीम पेश की है जिसका मकसद है कि Resolution पर अभी कोई खयाल न किया जाय। इसका फैसला आप की राय से किया जायगा। उसके बाद जो फैसला होगा उसके मुताबिक कार्यवाही होगी।

Pt. Govindballav Pant: As directed by the President I have just to state briefly what he has told the delegates in Hindustani. He has admitted the motion of Mr. Nariunan and he is going to put it to vote directly. He does not consider it necessary that any discussion should take place on it.

One member : Yesterday we gave our decision on this particular issue.

Some members asked what was the view of Pt. Pant about Mr. Nariman's motion.

Pt. Pant : I am decidedly against Mr. Nariman's motion.

Mr. Nariman's resolution was thereafter put to the house and declared lost.

At this stage amendments to the resolution of Pt. Pant were moved one after another.

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar moved the following amendment and spoke in Hindustani in support of the amendment : Delete the words 'and regrets that any aspersion should have been cast against any of its members' in paragraph 2. In paragraph 3 delete the following words 'and in view of the factGandhiji' and substitute the following words in their place : "This Committee considers Mahatma Gandhi's guidance and cooperation as essential in the future as it was in the past."

श्री सरदार सारदूलसिंह---

हज़ारात !

पं० पंतजी ने जो रिजोल्यूशन आपके सामने पेश किया है उसमें ३ चीजें हैं। पहले पैराग्राफ का मकसद यह है जो Policy कांग्रेस अब तक follow करती आई है वह अब भी ठीक है। दूसरे पैरा में दो चीजें हैं। एक चीज़ यह कि जो पहले बर्किंग कमेटी थी उस पर हमारा पूरा भरोसा है और दूसरे जो उस बर्किंग कमेटी के बारे में कहा

गया है उसके मुताबिक है। तीसरे पैरा में यह कहा गया है कि जो वर्किंग कमेटी बनायी जाय उसे सुभास बाबू महात्मा गांधी के मशविरे से बनावें।

मेरा पहला Amendment है कि aspersion वाला क्लोज़ निकाल दिया जाय। दूसरा Amendment यह है कि जिस तरह अब तक तमाम मामलातों में महात्मा गांधी का Guidance और Co-operation लेते रहे हैं उसी तरह आइन्दा भी Guidance और Co-operation की ज़रूरत है। मेरे एमेंडमेंट का साफ मतलब यह है कि जहां तक इस बात का ताहलुक है कि पिछले election में क्या जिक्र हुआ है उसमें पहले पहल जिस वक्त सुभास बाबू खड़े हुए उनके बरखिलाफ वर्किंग कमेटी की तरफ से एक Statement निकाला गया और यह कहा गया कि सुभास बाबू का प्रेसीडेन्ट बनाया जाना मुल्क के लिए खतरनाक है। इसके बाद प्रेसीडेन्ट की तरफ से यह एलान निकला कि चूँकि Public का यह ख्याल है कि Federation के मामले में वर्किंग कमेटी किसी किसम का समझौता न करले इसलिए President लेफ्ट Wing का कोई आदमी होना चाहिये। इसके बाद election हुआ और election का नतीजा यह हुआ कि वर्किंग कमेटी के न चाहने पर भी सुभासबाबू चुन लिए गये तो इससे वर्किंग कमेटी के खिलाफ कोई Vote of No-confidence नहीं हुआ कि सुभासबाबू चुन लिये गये और वर्किंग कमेटी के नुमाइन्दे वही हुए यह ख्याल गलत है और हमारा वर्किंग कमेटी पर उतना ही भरोसा है जितना पहिले था। लेकिन सुभास बाबू को delegates ने चुना है और उन पर भी हमारा भरोसा है। यह जो कोशिश की जा रही है कि चूँकि डेलोगेटों ने वर्किंग कमेटी के राय के खिलाफ सुभासबाबू को चुना है इसलिए यह Vote of Censure उनके खिलाफ पास किया जाय। तो इसके साफ माने होंगे कि यह Vote of Censure सुभासबाबू के खिलाफ नहीं है बल्कि delegates के खिलाफ है।

अब यह कहा जा रहा है अगर यह resolution जिस हालत में पेश किया गया है पास न किया जायगा तो महात्मा गांधी अपना co-operation देने को तैयार नहीं है। मुझे यह बात बिलकुल

गलत मालूम होती है। अभी महात्मा जी का एक तार आया था जिसमें महात्मा जी खुद सुभास बाबू को co-operation और guidance दे रहे हैं। आपने जो इस resolution को पेश कर महात्मा जी के नाम का जिक्र किया है यह न होना चाहिये। महात्मा जी कभी ऐसे resolution के party नहीं हो सकते जिसमें President के ऊपर Vote of Censure किये जाने की कोशिश की गई हो। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि उनका नाम लेकर उनके साथ जुल्म किया जा रहा है.....

(आवाजें—नहीं, नहीं)

तो मैं यह कहता था कि महात्मा जी के साथ जुल्म किया जा रहा है। उनको आगे रखकर, उनकी आड़ लेकर एक दूसरे के गला घोटने की कोशिश की जा रही है। कल पं० जवाहरलाल जी ने फरमाया था कि हम को एक बड़ी लड़ाई के लिए तैयार हो जाना चाहिए। उसमें मैंने एक छोटसा एमेंडमेंट दिया था जिसका मतलब यह था कि इसके लिए हमें अभी से कार्यावाही शुरू कर देनी चाहिए। इस लड़ाई के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम अपनी सारी ताकत को इकट्ठा करें। एक साथ मिलकर काम करें। लेकिन इस वक्त आप कहते हैं कि हम वही करेंगे जो हमारे दिल में है तुम चाहे मिलो या दूर रहो। अब तक जो कोई भी resolution वर्किंगकमेटी से पास हुआ है उसके खिलाफ सिर्फ ४०-५० वोट रहे हैं लेकिन इस Resolution के खिलाफ वर्किंगकमेटी में एक तिहाई वोट रहा है।

मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस के वास्ते, मुल्क के वास्ते कांग्रेस के दो हिस्से न कोजिए। कांग्रेस के दो हिस्से बांट कर वह आज़ादी की लड़ाई जिसके लिए आप तय्यारी करना चाहते हैं नहीं लड़ी जा सकती। मुझे यकीन है कि अगर यह resolution इस वक्त तय न करें तो कोई न कोई समझौता निकल ही आयेगा। बद-किस्मती से प्रेसीडेन्ट साहब इस वक्त बीमार हैं और प्रस्ताव को रोकने का प्रस्ताव रद्द हो चुका है। इसलिए मैं बड़े अदब के साथ दरखवास्त करूंगा कि कांग्रेस के नाम पर, मुल्क के नाम पर, देश के लिए आप हमारे amendments को मंजूर कर लें जिससे हम अपनी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में एक साथ मिलकर लड़ सकें —

Mr. R. D. Bharadwaj then moved the following amendment: In paragraph 3 delete the following words: "and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji."

(He spoke in Hindustani in support of his resolution:)

श्री भरद्वाज—

सभापतिजी और भाइयो !

मैंने जब यह तरम्रीम Subjects Committeeमें रक्खा था तो यह बतलाया था कि इस प्रस्ताव के माने यह हैं कि सुभासबाबू पर अविश्वास जाहिर किया जाय। सवाल सुभासबाबू का नहीं है बल्कि कांग्रेस का सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि हम मिलकर आगे बढ़ें और कांग्रेस की शक्ति को बढ़ायें लेकिन यह aspersion वाला क्लोज़ इस बात में रूकावट डालता है। इसलिए मैं आपसे अपील करता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव से इन शब्दों को हटा दीजिये। कल जो इतनी गड़बड़ी मची है उससे भी हमें कुछ सीखना है यद्यपि मैं यहाँ यह साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जिन लोगों ने ऐसा किया है उनसे हमारी कोई भी सहानुभूति नहीं है। यह जो चाहें कि इन तरीकों से वह कांग्रेस की शक्तियों को कमजोर कर सकेंगे तो यह न होने पायेगा। लेकिन अगर यह aspersion के शब्द निकाले गये तो कल जो Subjects Committee और Open Session में National Demand का resolution पास हुआ है उसमें रूकावट पड़ेगी। हम अपने नेताओं से अपील करते हैं कि इस नेशनल डिमान्ड के रेजोल्यूशन के पास होने के बाद हमें आगे बढ़ना है और इसलिए इन छोटी छोटी बातों को छोड़ देना चाहिए।

रहा वर्किंग कमेटी के बनाने के बारे में, उसमें मुझे कोई भी एतराज़ न होगा कि जो वर्किंग कमेटी बने वह महात्मा गांधी की राय से बने। मैं तो यहाँ तक ऐलान कर देना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग इस बात को तय कर दें कि कोई भी वर्किंग कमेटी जिसमें महात्मा गांधी का पूर्ण विश्वास न हो

न बन सके। वर्किंगकमेटी पर महात्मा जी का implicit faith और Confidence होना जरूरी है। हम लोगों का पूरा विश्वास है कि महात्मा जी के बिना कोई भी वर्किंग कमेटी कांग्रेस के काम को नहीं चला सकती। इसलिए अगर aspersion के शब्द हटा दिये जाँय तो इस प्रस्ताव के साथ हम लोगों का पूरा सहयोग होगा और अगर न हटाया जायगा तो हम इस amendment को रखने के लिए मजबूर होंगे।

Mr. K. F. Nariman : The amendment which I beg to move is this : In the last paragraph in stead of the words "in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji" in the last line insert the words "in consultation with Gandhiji."

The President has stated that speakers could get only five or ten minutes time. I do not think that a resolution and subject of this description can be discussed in five or ten minutes leaving many points unsaid I would rather not make an speech and leave many things untouched. I would only move the amendment. My amendment is before the house and leave it for your consideration.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, who followed with a Hindustani speech moved the following amendment : In paragraph two add the following words in the end "by any section of the public."

श्री आर. के. सिद्धवा -

जो यह resolution आप के सामने रखा गया है उससे मुझे पूरी हमदर्दी है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं महात्मा जी ने सुभासबाबू के चुनाव से अपनी हार समझी है और उनको कांग्रेस में लाने के लिये यह प्रस्ताव बनाया गया है। लेकिन मेरा जो amendment है वह Subjects

Committee में नहीं आया। मेरा कहना यह है जब प्रेसीडेन्ट ने सर्वोच्च कमेटी में इस प्रस्ताव पर बहस होने के पहले ही यह कह दिया कि उन्होंने Working Committee के किसी मॅबर के खिलाफ कोई इलजाम नहीं लगाया तो हम उसे क्यों न मान लें। उनके नाम निकल जाने के बाद इन शब्दों का रखना जरूरी मालूम होता है जिससे यह साफ मालूम हो जाय कि aspersion किसने किया है। इसका हम ज़ोरों से विरोध करते हैं।

मैंने सुभास बाबू के election में श्री पट्टाभि सीतारमैया को वोट दिया था लेकिन जब मालूम हुआ कि सुभासबाबू चुने गये तो उनको सुभारकबादी का तार भेजा। अब जब देश ने उन्हें चुना है तो जब तक कोई बात खास न हो उन्हीं को प्रेसीडेन्ट रहना चाहिये। इसलिए मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप इस amendment को मान लेंगे।

इस अमेंडमेंट को न मानकर इसके गिराने के माने यह होंगे कि आप Independence के प्रस्ताव को गिरा रहे हैं इसलिये मैं आप से यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि आप इस अमेंडमेंट को मंजूर कर लें।

Mr. P. V. Bhayankarachary moved: Delete the words in paragraph 2 "that any aspersion should have been cast against any of its members."

Comrades, We saw a practical demonstration yesterday over the resolution that is before the house. I am one of those who have come back after spending the rich period of their lives on the sands of the Andamans. I just came here to tell you the political situation. Before I tell you anything about the political situation I would move my amendment that the words that touch the President be deleted. The position of the President has been made awkward. The President fought for election on one issue, and that is opposition to federation. If there

is any question which must be decided in this way and the President stands for election on such an issue, there is no harm. The cabinet has not yet been formed and any radical change of policy cannot yet be foreseen. The main question before the Congress is now unity. For courtesy's sake and for the sake of unity I would request you to carry my amendment.

Mr. Nuruddin Behari then moved the following substitute resolution : No change in the first paragraph. The subsequent paragraphs to read as follows : "The Congress wants to make it clear that the Congress is a democratic body and as such all its proceedings must be conducted in accordance with democratic principles. It also wants to remove the misunderstanding that has arisen that the Congress is a servile instrument in the hands of any one individual or is likely to be so now. The Congress therefore, also wants to make clear that the Congress policies will be governed only by the programme which the majority of elected delegates may decide."

The mover spoke in Hindustani as follows :

श्री मौलाना नूरुद्दीन बिहारी —

जनाबे सदर और हज़रात !

आपके सामने पं० पंतजी ने जो तजवीज पेश की है उसमें मैं amendment पेश करना चाहता हूँ। इस तजवीज के अंदर २-३ हिस्से हैं। पहिले हिस्से से पुरानी वर्किंग कमेटी पर एतमाद ज़ाहिर किया गया है। दूसरे हिस्से में यह कहा गया है कि जो नई

वर्किंग कमेटी का इन्तखाब हो वह महात्मा गांधी की मंशा के मुताबिक हो । मैं इन दोनों बातों को गलत समझता हूँ । मुझे महात्मा गांधी पर एतमाद है पर वर्किंग कमेटी के मॅबरो पर एतमाद नहीं है । महात्मा गांधी का साथ हम लोगों के लिए बहुत जरूरी है लेकिन उनके नाम को लेकर जो लोग उससे बेजा फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं उनके लिए भी मेरा वही ख्याल नहीं है । इसलिए मेरी यह तरमीम है —

यह हमारी जो जंग बरतानिया के imperialism, शहनशादिमन साम्राज्य के खिलाफ शुरू की है उस पर मैं साफ अलफार्जों में कहना चाहता हूँ । बजारत को कबूल करने की वजह से बड़ा धक्का पहुंचा है । इससे बरतानिया की imperialism, बरतानिया के सरमायेदारों को निकालकर हिन्दुस्तान के सरमायेदारों को दी जा रही है । मैं आपको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इससे काम न चलेगा और आप इसे खत्म कर दें । जिस तरह गवर्नमेंट को उसकी हुकूमत चलाने में मदद देकर रायबहादुर और खानबहादुरों ने फायदा उठाया था उसी तरह यह कांग्रेस के रायबहादुर और खानबहादुर उससे बेजा फायदा उठा लें लेकिन आजादी के जंग में यह काम न देंगे । अगर आप इनको खत्म नहीं करते तो मुल्क का आप को मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा । यह कहकर मैं यह तरमीम आपके सामने रखता हूँ फिर आप जाने आप का काम जाने ।

Moulana Abulkalam Azad announced at this stage that Dr. Lohia, A. Patwardhan and Mr. Jaiprakash Narain had withdrawn their amendments.

श्री मौलाना साहब ने बताया कि डा० लोहिया और श्रीयुत अच्युत पटवर्धन ने अपनी तरमीम वापस ले ली है, लेकिन उनको श्री L. K. Maitra और २२ आदमियों का दस्तखत किया हुआ एक खत मिला है । जिसमें उन्होंने इन तरमीमों को पेश करने की इजाजत मांगी है । मैं मैत्रा साहब को इनको पेश करने की इजाजत देता हूँ ।

Next Pt. L. K. Maitra moved the following amendments.

I beg to move that in paragraph 2 of the resolution the following words be deleted : “and regrets that any aspersion should have been cast against any of its members.”

Friends, fortunately we have met today in a much calmer atmosphere than that prevailed yesterday. I notice in the house unfortunately a feeling of exasperation due perhaps to the unfortunate demonstration that was in evidence yesterday. Much as we deplore the unfortunate demonstration of yesterday, I think, Friends, you will carry your mind back to the very delicate condition that was prevailing yesterday when the matter came up for consideration. There was the alarming news that the health of the President was in a very precarious state. So alarming was the condition of the President, who was examined by Dr. Gilder and two other eminent Medical Officers, so tense was the situation that delegates began to feel—and I may tell you for your information that it was not delegates from Bengal alone but also from other provinces and visitors—that delegates began to feel that the President might receive a rude shock if an adverse vote was passed or discussion of an ugly nature was conducted on the resolution, and excitement ran high. That was the feeling and there is no getting out of it. But to-day we have met in a much calmer atmosphere. I ask you to consider what is the effect of this resolution. What will be the effect of it if you ultimately press this resolution

to vote and carry it in toto without any single amendment being accepted. Will that not amount to letting down the President whom you elected by your vote. You may say, as Pt. Govindballav Pant said, that it is not a vote of censure. But the clauses of the resolution go to show that you have not the same confidence as you had before. The case of the sponsors of the resolution is that certain aspersions were cast by the President. But I may tell you that it was not, if it were a question of aspersions or reflections, a one sided game. Was not serious reflection cast on the President by the other side? Let me tell that in one of the telegrams that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel sent to Sj. Saratchandra Bose it was stated that the election of Sj. Subhaschandra Bose would be injurious to the interest of the country. Pt. Pant tried to explain it in this way that this telegram was communicated to an individual member of the Working Committee, that it was not a public statement but it was published or rather it was allowed to be published. There the matter ended.

Look at the other side. The President in spite of the precarious state of his health attended the meeting of the Subjects Committee, he allowed the motion so that discussion on the subject might not be stifled and gave a long rope to the house to discuss it threadbare. The whole resolution was discussed on the footing of its being a sincere motion, and there is no denying the fact that you

are not showing the amount of confidence, that you are not giving the amount of consideration that was expected from you. The President came forward with a statement on the floor of the house that he never meant any aspersion. If the friends on the other side took anything from the President as an aspersion, to clear that he stated : I never cast any aspersion on any member of the Working Committee neither did I doubted the bonafides of the Working Committee members. That was a clear un-ambiguous and unequivocal statement. Please do not be led away by catch phrases and sentiments. Let us ponder the situation calmly. In our day to day life there is often misunderstanding which is bound to creep in human transaction and intercourse and in business deals. But the matter drops when the wrong-doer makes amends. In ordinary circumstances such a statement as was made by the President would be accepted and let by gones be by gones. But what has happened in this particular situation that when your President makes a statement, even as gentlemen you cannot accept the statement. It is a convention of civilised life to accept such statements. Why do you show this vindictiveness that you are not prepared to trust your President and accept his statement? To-day every side of the house feel that we have to plunge soon in our struggle for freedom. At this juncture of the history of the Congress, what will be the effect, if you pass this resolution, coming as it does in the wake of the

Presidential election, in a manner which changes the very constitution of the Congress, because you lay down in it that the President has to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji. Pray, do not drag the sacred name of Mahatma Gandhi in all that you do. As a matter of fact in spite of the Constitution the Working Committee is nominated in consultation with Gandhiji. There is no provision for that in the Constitution. Why do you then thrust that change in the constitution? I was about to raise a point of order that this resolution could not be moved in as much as it sought to change the constitution. I still maintain the point of order that the concluding paragraph of the resolution cannot be discussed in this manner. It thrusts in something which militates against the Constitution. If you so desire, there is nothing to prevent you in making a provision in the constitution that so long as Mahatma Gandhi is alive he will be the sole dictator of the destiny of the Country and the Congress. As a matter of fact he has been acting as such. Why do you not bind for all time to come that the Congress President will have to simply register the wishes of Mahatmaji in constituting the Working Committee. I submit for your consideration that the session of the Congress is going to be over in a few hours. Let us start the new year's Congress with mutual trust. I would have appreciated if it was mentioned in the resolution that there was

aspersion cast on either side. Then it would have been only fair and dignified, because then you would regret aspersions cast from either side. But here in the resolution what do we find? It is only a one-sided affair. You are not taking into consideration all that has been said against the President.

I ask the house also to delete the last portion in the last paragraph of the resolution which requests the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji. We are now on the threshold of a crisis. Let us muster all our power and all our courage. Let us be united. There is a section in this house which, if this resolution is carried, will go away with the impression that after all for the first time that the President was elected with suffrage was turned down not by a direct vote of no-confidence but by a back-door method. I am appealing to you to consider whether you will be strengthening the cause of solidarity in the Congress rank by passing this resolution, whether you will be achieving unity, which was the object of the mover of the resolution. Will you be serving the cause of mutual good-will and trust by passing this resolution or by accepting our amendments?

I also appeal to you to carry the last of the amendments I am moving and thereby remove the obnoxious character of the resolution. Friends if you accept all these amendments the object of the

mover of the resolution as expressed in his speech will be achieved. Let us all try to find a common basis for unity, let us all muster under the common banner of the Congress. The amendment that I am now moving reads as follows :—

In paragraph 3 in the second line after the word 'year' add "and for which we have to prepare the country the Committee considers that Mahatma Gandhi's guidance and co-operation are essential for the Congress in future as in the past", and delete the rest.

Everybody realises that the crisis is looming ahead that the time has come when we can no longer sit mūm. If that is so, it necessarily follows that we must all take joint and united action, that we must all be sincere in our purpose. The need for rallying all the anti-Imperialist forces under the common banner of the Congress is imperative. Friends, I will not proceed further, but I do earnestly appeal to you to accept my amendments.

Moulana Abulkalam Azad (Hindustani) : General discussion on the resolution as well as the amendments moved will now follow.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain at this stage (Hindustani) made a statement explaining the position of the Congress Socialist Party and their attitude towards the amendments and the resolution and declared that they would remain neutral in the voting.

श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण—

इस प्रस्ताव पर जो आज बहस हुई है और इस प्रस्ताव ने जैसी परिस्थिति पैदा कर दी है, कांग्रेस के बीच उसे देखते हुए मैं अपनी और अपने साथियों की ओर से—सदर साहब के दुःख से—एक बयान देना चाहता हूँ। इस साल जो चुनाव सभापति का हुआ उसमें Socialist party ने सुभासबाबू की मदद की लेकिन हम लोगों ने यह बात साफ कर दी थी कि यह चुनाव Leftist और Rightist के बीच नहीं हो रहा है और न अब इस बात की बहस पैदा कर किसी किस्म की लड़ाई करना चाहती है। इस चुनाव में हमने सुभासबाबू को इसलिए चुना था कि वह दोनों उम्मेदवारों में ज्यादा अच्छे हैं। उस वक्त हमें यह उम्मेद न थी कि इसका नतीजा यह होगा। इसके परदे में बहुत सी बातें हैं जिसको आप जानते हैं। हमारी पार्टी इस बात को साफ तौर पर कह देना चाहती है कि इस लड़ाई में हिस्सा लेना उसका काम नहीं है। हम लोगों का यह ख्याल था कि यह लड़ाई रोकी जा सकती है और इसके लिए हम लोगों ने कोशिश भी की मगर लड़ाई नहीं रुकी। हमें दोनों तरफ से ना उम्मेदी रही। हमने दोनों तरफ से इसलिये कहा है कि जब चुनाव के पहले और चुनाव के दरम्यान बहुत से वक्तव्य निकले तो हम लोगों को ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति के एक वक्तव्य को लेकर वर्किंग कमेटी के मंत्रियों ने बहुत बुरा माना है। उसमें Federal govt. के Ministry बनाने की बात को उन्होंने बहुत नापसंद किया। मैं जब बोस बाबू से मिला तो उन्होंने वादा किया था कि वह एक बयान निकालेंगे जिसमें यह साफ साफ बतावेंगे कि उनका इसमें वर्किंग कमेटी के मंत्रियों के खिलाफ कोई इल्जाम लगाने का कोई मकसद न था लेकिन उन्होंने जो बयान दिया उसमें यह बातें साफ न हुईं। फिर त्रिपुरी में दूसरे तरफ के लोगों से मुलाकात होने पर हम लोगों ने कहा कि हमारा काम समझौता कराने का है लेकिन उनसे भी हमें नाउम्मेदी रही, उन्होंने भी हमारे काम को नापसंद किया। इस विचार से हम लोगों ने एक संशोधन रखा कि अगर यह संभ्र हो जाय तो काफी बातें तय हो जायें लेकिन यह भी तय न हुआ। इसके बाद Subjects Committee में बहस हुई

और उसके बाद जो बातें Subjects Committee के बाहर हुईं उसे देखकर हमने इस बात का फैसला किया है कि कांग्रेस की एकता बनाए रखने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि जो भी वर्किंग कमेटी बने वह महात्मा जी की संशा के माफिक बने और उनकी राय से चले। इसलिए हम इस प्रस्ताव को कबूल करना चाहते थे और हमारे इसके कबूल करने की दिक्कत दूर हो जाती अगर हमारी तरफ़ीम मंजूर कर ली जाती। लेकिन ऐसा न हुआ इसलिए हम और हमारी पार्टी अपना Vote न इस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में देगी न विपक्ष में देगी और neutral रहेगी।

Mr. M. S. Aney :- I feel very unfortunate that there has been an occasion for discussion of this resolution and all efforts to postpone consideration of this motion and avoid unpleasantness have unfortunately failed. I do not blame anybody for that, but things have taken an unfortunate turn and we find ourselves confronted with an unhappy situation (some members : Blame those who were responsible for the demonstration yesterday). I would like to consider the resolution from the point of view from which it has been drafted.

The main point for which it has been thought necessary to move a proposition like this is stated in the preamble of the motion which states : In view of various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the Presidential election and after, it is desirable that the Congress should clarify the position,..... and so on. So the purpose of this resolution is to clarify the position with regard to certain misunderstandings which

have arisen on account of the Presidential election. Any question, therefore, which is not germane to this purpose is, in my opinion, out of place and does not deserve to be considered by the house at all, and I shall only look at this proposition from this point of view whether all the things mentioned in the resolution are germane to this purpose or not. If they are not germane, they should not find a place in the resolution. I feel the amendment of my friend, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar is conceived from this point of view. What are the points of misunderstanding? It was supposed that the Presidential election meant defeat of a certain policy. If that was so, then any statement made to clarify that position is really needed here. If an idea has gained ground that the Presidential election of S. Subhaschandra Bose was intended to be victory of some other policy and not the policy which has been hitherto followed, it is for us to say and maintain that the election did not mean that and this Congress sticks to the policy so far followed. If after recording our vote on that point we find there is something else stated in the resolution which is not necessary to vindicate the position with regard to certain policy, that would be superfluous on which we need not record our vote at all. From that point of view we all find that it has been clearly shown that we express our adherence to the fundamental policy of the Congress which governed its programme in the past under the guidance of

Mahatma Gandhi. We all say and we all maintain that the Presidential election did not make it necessary to have any change at all. By passing that we express our adherence to the old policy. So that misunderstanding is cleared.

What is the second misunderstanding? It is unfortunate that Mahatma Gandhi took this election as his own defeat. We want the Congress to be guided by him. We all say that the Congress policy hereafter as in the past should be guided by Gandhiji. That is an indication that the executive of the Congress will carry the Congress programme with his direction. If this direction is not sufficient for the head of the executive to seek his guidance at the proper occasion, there will be time for us to consider whether the Congress executive and the Congress head are carrying out the policy indicated in the resolution. When we state in the amendments moved that hereafter as before the policy of the Congress shall be guided by the advice of Gandhiji that the help and co-operation of Gandhiji are essential, we say everything that is needed to secure the allegiance of this body to that great man. When it is stated that the help and co-operation of Mahatmaji are essential for the Congress, what more guarantee the Congress wants of its head to secure the position of Gandhiji. I do not think any more guarantee is needed. If any more guarantee is still wanted it reveals a kind of

distrust in the head of the executive as regards the carrying out of the policy of the resolution. If it is an expression of distrust in the head of the Congress, then this resolution cannot be considered as anything but a vote of censure on the President. The Premier of Madras stated at the beginning of his speech in the Subjects Committee in his inimitable way that if this resolution were a no-confidence motion then certainly it would be withdrawn. But I maintain that when after clear direction has been given in so many words as to the policy which would guide the Congress something more is wanted to guide the President as to how the Working Committee should be constituted, it can be justified only on one ground and that is this: In spite of direction being given you feel different that the President may not do what you want him to do in the formation of the Working Committee. It amounts to distrust, and expression of distrust or mistrust in the President is nothing but saying that you have no faith that you have no trust in him. If that is so, a direct vote of no-confidence ought to have been moved. The stand that Sj. Rajagopalachariar took was that if it was a no-confidence motion it deserved to be withdrawn.

The second thing is this. We find that there is a clear provision in the Congress constitution which gives power to the President to nominate the members of the Working Committee. If you single out a particular President of a particular year and say

that that power is to be exercised only after he submits to your procedure, although the Congress constitution has expressly provided in that particular matter that it is a discretion that vests in the President, then it would be creating a cabinet that is not contemplated by the Congress constitution. It may be that the President himself in his own interest would nominate a cabinet for working with him that will enjoy the confidence of Gandhiji. You do not merely leave the matter at this point that the President must have a cabinet that enjoys the confidence of Gandhiji. The President is supposed to have the power of choosing his colleagues. But you enjoin upon him that he must go to Gandhiji, ascertain from him the names of the Working Committee members and then nominate the Working Committee so that the cabinet might be said to enjoy the confidence of Gandhiji. The Congress constitution does not contemplate this position at all— Whatever the position of the Congress President as conceived by Sardar Patel, the Congress constitution does not contemplate the President to be a mere figurehead. The constitution contemplates the President to be a man who would be a source of dynamic energy and inspiration to the Congress and its workers. The resolution which seeks to impose conditions as to how the Working Committee should be nominated reduces the President to the position of a mere figurehead, and not a source of inspiration and guidance which the cons-

titution wants. Therefore this part of the resolution in the third paragraph is neither dignified from the point of view of the President nor from the point of view of the constitution.

There is one other thing, namely the question of aspersion. I am one of those who have stood and fought shoulder to shoulder with those who are on the Working Committee in the fight for the country's freedom. Any aspersion on them I will refute. There is no aspersion made upon the Working Committee. There is the statement of the President himself. He has made that statement in the house and outside that he made no aspersion on the members of the Working Committee nor questioned their bonafides. Therefore I do not see the propriety of that portion of the resolution referring to aspersion remaining there at all. It is unfortunate that any aspersion should have been made against any Congress leader. Sj. Rajagopalachariar read out some extracts from the statement by Sj. Subhaschandra Bose. I have carefully read that particular portion wherein reference is made to Congress leaders. Let me tell the members of the Working Committee that there are Congress leaders outside the Working Committee. Therefore the reference to Congress leaders need not be construed as having reference to members of the Working Committee. If you now do not accept the statement of the President that he did not make any aspersion on the members of the Working Committee, it amounts to disbelieving

him. Here is the statement of your President, whom you have elected. Now the question is whether you are prepared to believe him or not. I appeal to you to realise that you would be stultifying your position if you pass this resolution. I, therefore support the amendments for deletion of the aspersion clause and the clause relating to the procedure of nominating the Working Committee. I oppose the resolution in its present form.

Sj. Bankim Mukherjee spoke in Hindusthani opposing the resolution.

श्री. वड्डिम मुकरजी—मैं इस प्रस्ताव की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं समझता क्योंकि चुनाव के सिलसिले में वर्किंग कमेटी के लीडरान की तरफ से जो बयानात निकाले गये हैं उसमें यह साफ तौर से कहा गया है कि Presidential election से और कांग्रेस के policy and programme से कोई भी ताल्लुक नहीं। श्री. जवाहरलाल ने भी ऐसे ही ख्यालात जाहिर किये हैं। उन्होंने भी कहा है कि इस एक्सेक्शन से और कांग्रेस के Fundamental policy & Programme से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। तो फिर कोई Crisis का लेकर सामने क्यों आया जाता है।

एसपरजन (aspersion) वाली बात के बारे में सुभास बाबू के यह कहने पर कि हमने वर्किंग कमेटी के मेंबरों के खिलाफ कोई इल्जाम नहीं लगाया अब हमारे पास कोई बात नहीं रह जाती कि हम उसे न मानें। अगर शिष्ट आदमी कोई बात कहता है तो वह मानली जाती है और वह उससे मुक्त कर दिया जाता है। फिर यह कहना कि यह आम पबलिक का विचार है इसलिए हमें यह प्रस्ताव पास करना चाहिए तो मेरा कहना है कि उन को अपनी आपसी तौर पर किसी प्रश्न पर विचार करने और विचार रखने का हक है। यह उनका Civil right है। अगर आप समझते हैं कि वह गलत है तो आप Federation के

खिलाफ कहां तक लड़ने को तैयार हैं यह बताकर उन्हें गलत साबित कर दें। इसके बारे में आप कहते हैं कि जब यह impose किया जायगा तब उस वक्त जैसा मौका होगा उस तरीके की लड़ाई जारी करने को हम कहेंगे। फिर इस प्रस्ताव के क्या माने हैं। इसके माने सामने से न सही तो पीछे से सुभास बाबू पर Vote of no-confidence जाना है। हम तो यह अच्छा समझते थे कि आप खुले तौर पर यह प्रस्ताव जानने के बजाय सुभास बाबू पर एक no-confidence का प्रस्ताव लाते। इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा अगर महात्मा जी पर confidence जाहिर किया गया है तो ३० प्रतिशत लोग खिलाफ रहे। इससे अच्छा तो यह होता कि लीडर्स अपना भगड़ा आपस में ही तय कर लेते। खाली ऊपर से मैत्री की भावना दिखाकर, प्रेम की भावना दिखाकर इस प्रस्ताव को पास कराने के माने यह होंगे कि सचमुच सत्य और अहिंसा की महात्मा जी के नाम पर हत्या की जा रही है।

Mr. Nibarendu Dutt Majumdar thereafter made the following speech opposing the resolution and supporting the amendments moved :

Comrades, the resolution has after all come up before the open house for your verdict. We looked forward till the last moment hoping that in response to the ardent appeals made, that since the President is unable to be in our midst and reply to the points that concern him, it would be taken up at some future date, it would not be pressed to-day. But now that this resolution has come up before us, you will sit here in judgement and give your final verdict on the whole affair, after which it will not be re-opened again.

To-day we find that the chief grievance is about the question of aspersion. There is lack of mutual

confidence. Undoubtedly the Working Committee and the Congress cannot function with mutual suspicion against each other among its members. How did this state of affairs come about? On the eve of the Presidential election certain statements were issued from both sides. The members of the A. I. C. C. were not taken into confidence as to what was happening. In order to make things clear it is necessary to recall a few links in the chain of events.

At Bardoli it was discussed as to who should be selected for the Presidentship. One significant fact comes out that the discussion at Bardoli did not take place among all the members of the Working Committee. We would have liked the discussions to take place among all the members of the Working Committee. We would have liked the election of the President to be unanimous and uncontested. But unfortunately the Bardoli discussions took place only among a particular group of members of the Working Committee in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, but without the knowledge of the President, behind his back and without taking the President into confidence. Obviously there was lack of confidence among those members in the President. Obviously in that meeting some members of the Working Committee were acting together, they were acting in the form of a group taking a certain decision. Was it not a kind of caucus? If there was justification for their not taking the President into confi-

dence, if as it was obvious, they could not discuss the matter along with the President, then it was due that they should have brought straight issues before the A. I. C. C. instead of bringing forward their injured vanities or questions of aspersion. I feel that the procedure they have chosen to adopt is destructive of the solidarity and cohesion of the Congress. This procedure is harmful to our cause. We are on the eve of a great struggle. Those, with whom we shall have to stand shoulder to shoulder in that struggle even unto death, we must trust. If this want of mutual confidence, such state of affair is allowed to exist in the highest counsels of the Congress, and if it is allowed to come in a form that the whole time of the Congress is monopolised by mutual recriminations, then certainly it becomes the worst spectacle. It is for us to consider all these points carefully.

May I ask the respected leaders and members of the Working Committee why is it that they could not take us in to confidence and explain what was the basis of suspicion and distrust at Bardoli? Was it that they had doubt in the President's political integrity? Was it that a man who has so much sacrifice behind him, a man who has all along lived like an ascetic, a man who has served the cause of the country like a valiant fighter, a man who has been imprisoned so many times, a man who has been the victim of the worst repression, was unworthy of their trust? Was it that they doubted the

integrity of the man and that he could not command their confidence? Was there any suspicion as regards the political programme he would follow or was it thought that the political line he would chalk out would not be in the national interest? If that was so, certainly it was meet and proper that you made it public earlier so that we would not have elected him President, rather than after electing him give verdict without evidence and condemn him. I respectfully ask what was the basis of your suspicion? Why did you fail to take into confidence a man, who held the Presidential chair and why no charges were brought against him? That explanation has not come. On the contrary we were faced at the A. I. C. C. with a crisis, which we regret to-day. Instead of a straightforward course we find a backdoor method employed and a spirit of vindictiveness running all through the proceedings to bring the President into disgrace. The noble mover of the resolution has assured us that the resolution is meant to express our confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and to invest full powers in him to nominate the members of the the Working Committee. Is it fair that after electing the President you suspect him in advance of incompetence, that you cannot rely on him for nominating the Working Committee? Even an incompetent person has to be adjudged so before he is removed. I know the estates of incompetent landlords are handed over to the Court of Wards. But before that is done their incompetence has to be proved.

You entrust the President with the highest function of the country and yet you judge him as incompetent and condemn him to the court of wards. Does he not have the same regard for Gandhiji as you have? Why then judge him in advance and pass your verdict on him as an incompetent man? This is certainly not the way to treat your President. The more straight course for us would be to rescind our decision on the election of the President. We might have another election. I appeal to you, whatever may be our feeling of respect and reverence for Mahatma Gandhi—let us remember we shall not have him eternally in our midst—let not our respect for Mahatmaji destroy the Congress, let us not make the Congress an incompetent body, let us try to make it stand on its own legs. Mahatmaji has been our guide and philosopher, let him give his guidance to the nation so long as Providence spares him, but let the Congress stand on its own legs, let the Congress respect its elected President. Let us trust that the President in consultation with Gandhiji will set up a Working Committee which will command the confidence of the country and carry the fight towards freedom and the achievement of independence. That is the way to make the Congress stand on its own legs. Let us not adopt this cruel course, this unprecedented course of electing the President and of judging him incompetent in advance. Give Gandhiji all the respect that is his due, respect him as a fellow man, as a

comrade and a leader, but do not deify him. The age of deification is a thing of the past. To respect him you need not raise him to the status of a god and place him over the organisation. Follow him if you like, but follow him with your eyes open. We want to make of the Congress an army of conscious fighters in the mighty battle of our national emancipation. Place the organisation above everybody, however high he may be.

I appeal to you again to postpone this resolution and not to put it to vote. If we have to fight Imperialism, let us not put Mahatma Gandhi to vote. It is not a question of Mahatmaji versus Subhas Bose, the question before the country is the question of Congress and democracy versus the negation of Congress and destruction of democracy. I urge upon you, all Communists, Socialists and the Nationalist Left, to cast your vote in favour of the amendments and if these are defeated to vote against the resolution.

Pandit G. B. Pant replying to the debate in Hindustani made reference to Hitler and Mussolini when Mr. Yusuf Meherally said : As a socialist I protest against the names of Hitler and Mussolini being mentioned in this way in this resolution.

Speaking in English Pt. Pant said :

Gentlemen, I just want to make a few remarks in English. It is distasteful to have to deal with this resolution in the absence of Rastrapathi Bose,

but the responsibility of that does not lie on us. It has been forced on us, specially by those who accuse us of wasting the time of the house. They seem to have forgotten how the thing started and who is answerable for it. However, that is a minor matter.

This resolution has been moved not with a view to express our want of confidence in S_j. Subhaschandra Bose. We would not adopt any such indirect and insidious method for that. It has been sponsored with a view to linking together the various forces in the Congress, as we believe it is only through united endeavour, through complete harmony that we can achieve the object which we have placed before the country. But how is that to be done? As you know immediately after the announcement of the result of the election Gandhiji issued a statement in which he definitely and unequivocally declared that he regarded it as his own defeat, that he regarded it as an indication that the members of the Congress wanted a reversal of the policy that had been followed in the past and that it indicated that they no longer wanted to stand by his principles and that they were not anxious to have his guidance. That, I believe, was not at all the intention of the delegates who cast their vote in favour of S_j. Bose. I am certain most of them had no such intention. Now if we want to secure the leadership of Gandhiji, it is essential that the position should be clarified, and the misapprehension that has been caused

should be removed and for that we have to declare our abiding faith in Gandhiji in unequivocal terms. Nothing short of that would be adequate for the needs of the moment. It has been accepted by almost all that Mahatma Gandhi has our confidence and that we can conduct our struggle under his guidance. So there is no real difference of opinion on that matter. But that has to be explained and Gandhiji has to be fully assured that this is the case. It has been suggested that we have implicit faith in him and yet we may drop the last few lines from the resolution which requests the President to appoint the members of the Working Committee in accordance with the advice of Mahatmaji—Well, if you omit these words, what you will really establish thereby is the hollowness of the first part of the resolution. It will mean that while in vague terms we have faith in Gandhiji, when the matter is put to the test, we are not even prepared to rely on him in this respect that he should be given power to advise the President as to who should be members of the Working Committee. So it is but the corollary of the first part of the resolution, and I think you will agree that if you take it away, you make the resolution futile and meaningless. I need not say anything more.

There has been a suggestion that the clause relating to the expression of regret for aspersion being cast should be deleted, while it is admitted that aspersions have been cast. It is admitted that

statements have been made by the public in a manner which could give rise to such apprehension. If you want the guidance of the members of the Working Committee, you have to remove all such misapprehension, so that they may be able to do their work. This clause has not been put in a vindictive spirit, but only to secure their service, with a view to enable them to give their best to us. So it is with a view to ensure necessary conditions for harmonious co-operation that this part of the resolution has been framed. I assure you, by adopting this resolution you will be strengthening the Congress organisation, you will retain the lead of the Congress, you will bring back Gandhiji to the fold of the Congress, and God willing, bring the day of Purna Swaraj very near.

The amendments of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Mr. Bharadwaj, Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mr. Bhayankar Chari, Mr. Nuruddin Behari, and Pt. L. K. Maitra were put to vote and declared lost. Mr. R. K. Sidhwa had withdrawn his amendment.

The resolution of Pt. Pant was carried.

The session was thereafter adjourned till 6 P. M.

The Congress re-assembled at 6-30 P. M. on March 12, 1939 in the open session Pandal with Moulana Abulkalam Azad in the Chair.

The Chairman announced (in Hindustani):

The President's health was still bad and in the

morning his temperature was 103 degrees and from yesterday he had been feeling extremely weak. To-day also he could not therefore attend the session and had requested Moulana Azad to preside.

Next the two following resolutions on Palestine and Baluchistan were moved from the chair and carried unanimously.

PALESTINE.

The Congress has previously declared its full sympathy with the Arabs in Palestine in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism and has condemned the policy of the mandatory power in Palestine. Subsequent events have disclosed the continuance of a reign of terror maintained by the British army and police in the name of law and order. The courage, determination and sacrifices made by the Arabs in the struggle have evoked the admiration of the people of India who desire to convey to them again their greetings and good wishes for the complete success in the attainment of their objective.

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Congress deplors that in Palestine the Jews have relied on British armed forces to advance their special privileges and thus aligned themselves on the side of British Imperialism. The Congress trusts that the Arabs and Jews will endeavour to find a basis for direct co-

operation with a view to establishing an independent democratic state in Palestine with adequate protection of Jewish rights.

BALUCHISTAN-

In view of the fact that British Baluchistan is still being governed in the old irresponsible and bureaucratic manner the Congress demands that democratic and responsible form of government be introduced in the province without any delay and it be granted the same constitutional status as other provinces of India.

Next Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution on Foreign Policy :—

“The Congress records its entire disapproval of British Foreign policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and co-operation with Governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom. As a result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror

the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against people of the Jewish race and the continuous Bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees.

The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the Fascist powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both these. In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism, and pursuing her path of peace and freedom.

In moving the above resolution Pandit Nehru observed : British Foreign policy has a significance to us. Whether we like it or not, we have to take interest in it and it forces our attention merely because we cannot escape its effects.

During the last few months in Europe we have seen tremendous changes. Few of us realise how tremendous those changes are, because we have yet to consider them in terms of their effects on us and international relations. What are we seeing to-day? These great changes are being brought about not by violence but by threats of violence. You see that the map of Europe has changed fast without any major war. You see other

changes, vital changes are taking place in Europe and in the far East with the accompaniment of war. These changes have taken place not to ensure liberties, in which case they would have been worthwhile, but as a matter of fact instead of ensuring liberties they are preparing the ground for burying liberties and democracies.

The main point of the resolution is what has British foreign policy got to do with us? We have to consider British foreign policy not in an academic way, but we have to take interest in it, because in the eyes of the world British foreign policy is supposed to represent Indian foreign policy, because to our misfortune we are still part of the British Empire and British Government represents what should be our foreign policy, and because it misrepresents us. We have no voice in what we ought to have our say and British foreign policy affects us. Therefore we have to declare where we cannot accept or acquiesce in it that we are no party to it, so that British Government might not get encouragement by our silence in whatever policy they adopt. Therefore, not merely because we have to raise our voice, but in our own interest we have to know where we are and in order to formulate our own foreign policy and to declare it to the world it is necessary that we should consider this problem.

Some of you may think, why bother about this matter. What business is it yours to consider what

Germany or Italy does or with whom Japan may pick up quarrel. That may be right or that may be wrong. Well, you may think so. But we have to look after our own interest and not in a quixotic way indulge in taking sides merely with the belief that our fight is being fought elsewhere. That, I submit to you, is a dangerous and wrong line of thought. It is obvious that when we consider any policy, domestic or foreign, chief and final consideration for us is the good of India and Indian people. Today what is happening in the world obviously affects India. It may not immediately affect India, but any person who has tried to follow what has been happening will realise that these tremendous changes did affect India. Before our eyes the map of the world has changed. It is hardly possible for you to keep abreast of the immense changes from day to day, and these changes have taken place during the last few months without any major wars, although as between China and Japan there has been tremendous war. Because there has been no war in Europe we imagine that these changes are not big. But these changes are vital and they affect Britain, they affect all the progressive forces in the world. If you consider all these vital matters how can you say : let us keep neutral, let us not take sides. How feel in this matter is that we must take sides not in the sense of sending armies, because that is not our policy, but if we are to think in terms of a greater India, India

which will play her full part in the happenings of the world, India which has a mission to fulfil for herself and for the rest of the world, the mission of establishment of peace, the mission of securing freedom and democracy, we cannot remain silent when these barbarities are taking place, when such atrocities are going on. The main thing is if we are to fight for freedom, we have to fight any force which is going to impede us in that fight or obstruct us or delay our freedom. If we keep silent such forces become stronger. That is our immediate interest. I submit what is happening in the world today is giving encouragement to forces that are evil, forces that are based on the most inhuman kind of violence.

Now are we to remain silent spectators when forces are at work which cannot tolerate democracy? Suppose these fascist nations become dominant in the world, would it be a good thing for you and me? Do not imagine that if they are dominant in the world we shall escape the burden of their dominance. Now what is the alternative? The alternative is surely not this that we should continue to live under British Imperialism. Why are we against Fascism? What is fascism? It is not a new thing so far as you and I are concerned. It may be a new thing for the world and for Europe, but is not a new thing for you and me, and for all the various countries which have suffered under Imperialist domination. We know it because this is a type of

Imperialism, of course in a different way and of course with a different phase, but I do say that it is fundamentally the same. So far as we are concerned there is no difference between this new fascism and the imperialism of old days that still continues. It is because of our absolute opposition to that imperialism that we have to oppose and resist this idea of fascism. It is the same thing. We must have some fundamental policy in our politics. Do not for a moment imagine that by keeping our eyes shut to what is happening outside we can proceed as a great nation. This is not how great nations live or progress. In India you and I are working for our own freedom, but we think not of a free India alone, but we envisage a free and great India that will work for the freedom of the world, and for the peace of the world. Therefore, we have to interest ourselves in these and, therefore, we have to dissociate ourselves absolutely from all the evil doings of British Government. Speaking for myself, I hate the foreign policy of the British Government and I emphatically declare today that I cannot stand it, and I hope you will declare that India cannot associate itself with it. When I think of British foreign policy, my blood boils. It is not a mere academic thing to me, and so many odd things come up for consideration when I think of it. So many pictures come up before my mind, and I can never forget the picture of the Czechoslovakian people, brave people, whom I saw in the terrible

but strange situation sweltering for fight for freedom; and yet they did not fight, they surrendered without fight, not because they were afraid of the German armies, not because they were afraid of the military and air might of Germany—great as it was they would have fought it—but surrendered to them. They surrendered when they found that the friends on whom they had relied, friends who had made treaties with them, those friends went to their enemies and stabbed them in the back. I think if you read history—and history is not a pleasant subject, it is full of vile deeds—you will see it will be difficult to find anything that is more vile than the way the British Government and the French Government betrayed Czechoslovakia last summer. I have that picture of Czechoslovakia in my mind. I was in Geneva right through the crisis. I was in that place, the seat of the League of Nations, which today looks like a small tombstone of peace and freedom. I was in Paris when mobilisation was ordered in Paris. I was in London when Mr. Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons that he had received a telegram from Mussolini for holding the conference of Munich. I was in London right through the crisis. I will not forget, I will never forget the treachery of the British Government and the French Government, who have butchered that little democratic country in the heart of Europe. History will not forget it and I am quite sure England and France will not escape the consequences of that treachery.

Pictures also come before my mind of Spain, and Barcelona specially, that beautiful city full of brave men and women suffering enormously, full of hungry men not getting food, mostly full of refugees, and full of bright but hungry little children, being bombed daily and nightly. I saw at least ten or twelve air raids from above. It was a horrid sight. Do you think I can forget these sights of hungry men and women and sights of burning houses? And yet the pictures that remain in my mind are those of enormous courage of the Spanish people, who have put up with daily bombing, who have put up a strong resistance and carried on through two and a half miraculous years against overwhelming odds. This is something which history will not forget, which will inspire generations for long time to come. If the Spanish Government failed, it failed not so much because of the arms that came from Italy or aeroplanes supplied by Germany, tremendous as that help was, but it failed because of those so-called democratic powers of Western Europe who throttled Spanish democracy, and who are aiding repeatedly the forces that are obstructing democracy. Well, they have succeeded. They have murdered Spanish democracy. They want more murders of democracy to their credit. But you and I, who think high, who dream of a glorious India, who have a high mission, cannot see all these humiliating destructions of democracies, and we cannot be silent spectators.

Apart from that, from the point of view of our own good, the attainment of our freedom, we cannot remain silent. We must strongly dissociate ourselves from the policy of British Government. We cannot tolerate their associating India with this policy, we cannot tolerate the world being told that India is a party with the British Government to the murder of democracy. Therefore, I hope you not only accept this resolution, but realise the significance and feel that we must also have a definite foreign policy, so that you may not say : Let us not care for the world, let us care only about our domestic problem. We want no enemies, but can we tolerate our friends being butchered ? That is not the way that decent and noble nations behave. Therefore we cannot afford to ignore what is happening in the rest of the world. We must line up with those democracy-loving countries who stand for freedom and give opposition to the forces of fascism that are opposed to freedom. India is on the threshold of freedom and she is bound to play an important role in the world's history. She cannot, therefore, remain indifferent.

It is true that we cannot take any active part when we talk of opposition or support, still our voice counts in the world, because people think that India is on the verge of freedom and independence and her immense strength, her potentialities, her power, her resources, her men power, all these have a great value in the eyes of the world.

She has to play an important part, and the world is eager to know what relations India will maintain with other countries when she is free. Because of that we have to declare what our foreign policy would be. Although we cannot do much just at present, nonetheless we have sent some food to Spain and despatched a medical mission to China. Of course, these will not be of any great help to Spain or china, except that a few hungry mouths would be fed or a little relief given to a few suffering people. But we sent them, because by sending them we make a gesture, which the world understands. Because we cannot directly control our foreign policy, we have to show to the world what our foreign policy is going to be by this gesture. If we were an independent country we would have our ambassadors and ministers to maintain our relations with other countries. We would send them, because not only our dignity but our economic and political and other interests would require such contacts with other countries. It is no good your saying that we cannot afford to send a mission to China or Spain. These are our only ambassadors and ministers. That is the way to declare where we stand. The world realises by this that we are developing our foreign policy and by thus dissociating ourselves from the British foreign policy we go up in the eyes of the world.

Sj. Bhulabhai Desai in supporting the resolution said : If it were not for the fact that this gives me

an occasion to address this magnificent gathering and for the fact that I am taking some part in the proceedings of the Congress this year, I should have probably contented myself with formally seconding this resolution. But there are one or two aspects of this matter, which are probably nearer home, to which I want to draw your attention.

I wish to tell you and remind you again that we the people of India are one-fifth of the human race and we are an important race. Not merely because we are important race, but in order to ensure our political value, it is up to us to consider our future policy in reference to the changed conditions of the world to-day. I agree that the most engrossing problem for India is how to attain her freedom. But it would be very short-sighted indeed if we did not know what to do when we attain political freedom. It is, therefore, quite essential to consider what should be our foreign policy. In fact it would be imprudent to ignore this issue on the ground that we have got much at home deserving our attention.

I associate myself with all that is contained in the resolution and dissociate myself from the present foreign policy of England, particularly because it is based, as was pointed out in the Central Legislature when the Czechoslovakian issue was being considered by the world, on the betrayal of the very state whom she was instrumental in creating.

The policy that England is pursuing is really the policy of old men and old women. Having got everything that she desired, having nothing more to acquire, nothing to gain now, her policy is : So long as the rest of the world allows us to be undisturbed, we shall not do anything—we shall sacrifice our honour, we shall sacrifice our self-respect, and pay every price to preserve our Empire and economic interests. It is that which dictated the policy underlying the Munich agreement. So long as Germany has no eyes on any part of the British Empire, they are quite willing to concede everything, provided their own Empire is in tact.

But there is one other issue. We are face to face today with the foreign policy of India towards our neighbours, the Afghans and the Frontier tribes, where bulk of our money is being spent every year. In answer to one question put by us in the Central Legislative Assembly Government admitted that more than fifteen crores of rupees out of about forty five crores which are spent on the military expenditure of India, are being spent merely for the preservation of peace with the Frontier tribes. What is the danger that India apprehends in relation to the Frontier tribes that one third of her total military expenditure is being expended every year in the Frontier ? If we had a hand in the formulation of our Frontier policy, we would have followed a policy of peace and good-will with our neighbours. If that policy were pursued, not only fifteen crores

a year would be saved, which is more than enough for the purpose of having free compulsory primary education in this land, but our relations with our neighbours would be quite different.

There is one other matter. We cannot afford to neglect this issue of foreign policy on the ground that we have much to do at home. I am referring to the League of Nations. The world regards the vote of India as of some value, but circumstanced as we are India's vote serves only as a second vote to England. We have to consider this point and dissociate ourselves from the farce of the League of Nations. We have always asserted that we are going to remain member of the League of Nations if the elected representatives of India are sent to speak on equal terms with other nations on foreign affairs. If it were possible, we would not allow 11/12 lakhs of rupees being spent every year on it. Are we going to allow that money to be spent so that England might get a second vote? It is for that reason that we should cease to be a member of the League of Nations. Mahatma Gandhi has got his own foreign and domestic policies. The main feature of his foreign policy is good-will and friendship with other countries and his domestic policy is based on truth and non-violence for the attainment of our freedom. Fortunately Providence has given us land which is sufficient. There is nothing we do not or cannot produce by way of raw materials. There is nothing which India cannot produce

if she is free. Her people have got generous instincts and once they get independence they know what to do and what relations to maintain with others. We have no eyes on foreign land. We dissociate ourselves from rapacious designs of imperialist countries. It is for that reason that we dissociate ourselves from the policy of Great Britain, in order that we may frame our own policy of goodwill and peace and maintain friendly relations both in the economic and political field with other countries as a free political entity. We cannot think in any other terms. For that reason I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

The resolution was thereafter put to the house and carried unanimously.

Next Babu Rajendra Prasad moved the following resolution on Indian States:—

“The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the states and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle for the freedom of the whole country. While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of

growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Congress regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular the Congress deplores the attempt of some rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and condemns the unwarranted use of military and police forces lent by the British authorities."

"The Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferings of the growing number of refugees from the various States and trusts that the public will render them every assistance."

"The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand and Sardar Vallabhai Patel, as representing the people, on the other. The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and, in co-operation with their people, introduce responsible government."

"The Congress regrets that several state Govern-

ments besides Rajkot, have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word. It trusts that these breaches of agreement, will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured "

"The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress, relating to the States, has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples. The Working Committee is authorised to issue instructions in this behalf from time to time as occasion arises."

"The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral

parts of India, which cannot be separated, and which must have the same measure of political, social, economic and religious freedom as the rest of India."

Babu Rajendra Prasad spoke in Hindi.

श्री राजेन्द्रप्रसाद —

सदर साहब भाई और बहनों !

यह प्रस्ताव खुद ही इतना साफ लिखा गया है कि जितनी बातों पर जोर करने की जरूरत है वह बड़ी सफाई के साथ इसमें जाई गई हैं। इसके पढ़ने के बाद किसी लम्बे व्याख्यान की जरूरत नहीं रह जाती मैं समझता हूँ इसको पेश करने में इसमें त्रास-त्रास जो बातें आई हैं उसका मैं थोड़ासा जिक्र कर दूँ।

पिछले कई वर्षों से रियासत का मामला बराबर पेश होता आया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इधर कई साल से आ० इ० का० क० और कांग्रेस के जलसों में हमें कुछ न कुछ रियासतों के मुताबिक कहना पड़ा है। आज यह बड़े खुशी की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सभी हिस्सों में रियासतों के अन्दर जो लोग रहते हैं उनमें बड़ी जागृति बड़ी बेदारी देखने में आ रही है। आज अङ्गरेजी सल्तनत के अन्दर इसमें जो जागृति आ गई है उसी किस्म की जागृति अब उन हिस्सों में भी आ रही है जो रियासतों के मातहत हैं। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि उनकी प्रजा खुद अपने पैरों पर खड़ी होकर अपनी रियासतों के अन्दर प्रजा-सत्तात्मक राज्य कायम करने की कोशिश कर रही है। इस जो ब्रिटिश इन्डिया के अन्दर रहते हैं वहाँ तो बहुत पहले से प्रजा सत्तात्मक राज्य कायम करने की कोशिश हो रही है अब देशी राज्यों के भाई भी हमारे साथ ही साथ आ बटे हैं और कांग्रेस की यह स्वाहिश भी हमेशा से रही है। कांग्रेस की जो नीति आज तक रही है और जिस नीति के मुताबिक कांग्रेस अपने तरीके से रियासतों की प्रजा के साथ मदद करती रही है उसके बारे में कभी कभी गलत फहमी भी हुई है और रियासत के रहनेवाले हमारे भाई अक्सर कांग्रेस के लोगों से कभी कभी

कुछ बिगड़ते भी रहे हैं उन्होंने यह कभी कभी महसूस किया है कि हम जो अंगरेजी सल्तनत के मातहत रहते हैं उनसे हमदर्दी नहीं रखते हम उनका हुन्तजाम नहीं चाहते जैसा कि हम अपने लिए ब्रिटिश इन्डिया के अन्दर चाहते हैं। मगर बात ऐसी नहीं है। उनमें और हममें किसी किसम का फर्क नहीं है। कांग्रेस ने हमेशा इस बात को माना है और दोहराया है कि जो लोग ब्रिटिश इन्डिया के अन्दर बसते हैं और जो लोग रियासतों में बसते हैं उनके दायित्वान में किसी किसम का फर्क नहीं है लेकिन काम का तरीका और काम की सहूलियत हमेशा अपने सामने रखनी पड़ती है और इसलिये वह यह ठीक समझती है कि ब्रिटिश इन्डिया की तरह रियासत की प्रजा भी अपने पैरों पर खड़ी हो और अपना संगठन करे। हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि जब तक हमें अपने में ऐसी शक्ति न होगी हममें खुद ताकत न आयेगी हम अपना संगठन उतना मजबूत न बना सकेंगे तब तक कोई दूसरा व्यक्ति हमारी मदद नहीं कर सकता और वही नीति हम देशी रियासतों की प्रजा के लिये भी ठीक समझते हैं। इसीलिये कांग्रेस ने यह नीति रखी है कि उनके अन्दर बलबले पैदा हों उनके अन्दर यह जागृति यह बेदारी हो जाय कि उनके हृदय में ऐसी आग भड़के कि जिस आग भड़कने के बाद वह बगैर प्रजा-सत्तात्मक राज्य कायम किये हुये चुप न बैठे। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि खुद बाहर से जाकर यहां के लोग उभाड़ने की कांशिश न करें मगर यदि वहां की प्रजा खुद ब खुद प्रजा-सत्तात्मक राज्य कायम करने में लग जाय तो कांग्रेस भी समय समय पर बराबर मदद देती रहेगी। इस समय कोई भी हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा जहां देशी रियासतें कायम हैं अब ऐसा नहीं रह गया है जहां लोगों में यह जागृति न देखी जाती हो। इसलिये काश्मीर से लेकर दक्खिन ट्रावनकोर और हैदराबाद, मैसूर, पूर्वी समुद्र के किनारों तक उड़ीसा के स्टेट रामपुर बगैरह, पश्चिम में गुजरात, त्रिम्बदी राजकोट और दूसरी रियासतें जैसे जयपुर बगैरह में आज जागृति देखने में आ रही है। यह क्यों हुआ कैसे हुआ।

मनुष्य के हृदय में जब कोई नई भावना एक बार पैदा हो जाती है, जब हुन्सान के अन्दर नई स्वादिश नया जोश पैदा हो जाता है तो वह उस वक्त बन्द करके घेरे में नहीं रक्खा जा सकता वह तो चारों तरफ

फैलेंगी ही और यही समय का तकाज़ा था कि जो लोग देशी रियासतों में रहते हैं वह भी अपनी हालत को समझें और देखें और दुनियां में जैसी जैसी चीजें चलती हैं उससे लाभ उठावें। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि रियासतों में ऐसा ही हो रहा है वह अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो रहे हैं और अपनी आज़ादी हासिल करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। बाहर हमारी हमदर्दों उनके साथ रहेगी ज़दा मौका होगा मदद दी जायेगी लेकिन उनकी मांगों का भार हम अपने ऊपर नहीं ले सकते। देशी रियासत में हमारे भाई यह समझ बैठे हैं कि हम उनके साथ हमदर्दी नहीं करते और दूसरी तरफ जो रियासत के राजा लाग हैं यह समझ बैठे हैं कि हमने उनसे ऐसा कोईवादा कर दिया है कि हम अपने कायदे को तेजी से बदल नहीं सकते। यह दोनों बातें गलत हैं। हमें प्रजा के लोगों के साथ हमदर्द होना ठीक ही है हम उनके लिये वही करना चाहते हैं जो ब्रिटिश इन्डिया की प्रजा के साथ करना चाहते हैं। ऐसा ही करते आये हैं और करते जायेंगे। किसी से कोई सम्बन्ध या ताल्लुक ऐसा नहीं है कि हमें कोई मजबूर कर सकें कि हम अपनी नीति न बदल सकें।

यह प्रस्ताव जो आपके सामने पेश किया गया है और उसमें यह बात साफ बतलाई गई है, हमारे ऊपर कोई बन्धन नहीं है कि हम अपनी नीति नहीं बदल सकते। जैसी जागृति आज देखने में आ रही है जिस तरह के हालात आज देश में पैदा हो रहे हैं उसको देखकर नीति बदलना भी पड़ सकता है और जब मुनासिब समझेंगे बदलेंगे। यह एक मार्क की बात है कि प्रस्ताव में खास तौर पर जिस चीज का ध्यान दिनाया गया है वह यह है कि इस जागृति का नतीजा, हमें उम्मीद है यही होगा कि सभी रियासतों के अन्दर प्रजा-सत्तात्मक राज्य कायम होगा लेकिन इस बात की कोशिश हम शुरू न करें उनकी प्रजा ही उसे शुरू करे और जितने भी जिम्मेदार समझदार लोग हैं वह सब उसकी मदद करेंगे।

हम यह चाहते हैं कि इस जागृति से नतीजा यह निकले कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक हिस्से के अन्दर उसी तरह की राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता उसी तरह की सयासी आजादी मिल जाय जिस तरह किसी रियासत के अन्दर हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर मजहबी आजादी भी सयासी

पुंसी जो रियासतें हैं उन्हें बत का तकाजा समझना चाहिए और
 अगर न समझें और न देखें तो आगे उनका तुकसान हो या आफत आवे
 तो सारी जबाब देही उनके सर पर होगी । तो उनको चाहिए कि
 प्रजा की साथ लेकर जो सचमुच राजा का अर्थ होगा है प्रजा की सुखा
 फल उस तरह के काम करें जिससे प्रजा आगे बढ़े और सुख हो और
 अगर उन्होंने ऐसा न किया तो उनकी तुकसान हो सकता है । राजकीय
 का ही मामला बीजिये महारजा जी ने उस मामले को लेकर आशय
 आरंभ कर दिया था वही क्या बात है ? बात यह थी कि वहाँ की प्रजा
 के अन्दर अज्ञानि हुई और प्रजा की तरफ से सरदार पटेल और वहाँ के
 राजा ठाकुर साहेब दोनों ने मिल कर एक समझौता किया और उस समझौते
 के मुताबिक एक कमीटी बना दी गई जो वहाँ के नये आसन नियम को
 तैयार करने वाली थी । उसमें सरदार पटेल की कुछ आदमितियों के नाम
 देने के लिये या उस चीज को पहले तो राजा ने संजोर कर लिया मगर
 भीले बापू विजयाजी की और महारजा जी की उसी बापू को उतरी करने के

और वे उसमें सहजस कर दिये गये हैं ।

लिया है वहाँ किसी किस के सयासी काम को कराना रोक दिया गया है
 है । वहाँ आसतौर से जो एक प्रजा की मिला है उस एक को भी छिन
 नये भाव को नहीं समझ सकें हैं वह उसका दवान की कोशिश कर रहे
 आखे नहीं खोलते हैं । आज जिन रियासतों के अन्दर वहाँ के राजा हम
 तुल को बात है कि हमके साथ ही कुछ पुंसी रियासतें हैं जिन्होंने अभी तक
 सहेय्यादा लेकर वहाँ पर उन्हें अहितकार देना शुरू कर दिया है मगर यह बड़े
 हिन्दुस्तान में ही रहा है उसे देखकर उन्होंने अपनी प्रजा की सदेर लेकर
 कहीं राजाओं ने बत का समझकर जो आज दुनिया में ही रहा है जो आज
 वहाँ की प्रजा की भी कुछ आधिकार व अधिकार जहदी हो मिल जाय । कहीं
 हो रही है जिन्हीं रियासतों के अन्दर हमस बात थी काय्याही हो रही है कि
 आज तो ही जाय । आज मैं कि अब सभी रियासतों के अन्दर अज्ञानि पुरा
 ही चाहे बिदिया इन्डिया के अन्दर ही हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक तरह की
 इतलसानी आजादी भी हो और सारे हिन्दुस्तान में चाहे वह रियासत के अन्दर
 आजादी के दौर पर हो, हम यह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर

विद्यार्थियों का मासिक तय होकर रहेगा ।
 कि आगे चलकर एक वर्ष पूर्व होकर रहेगा और जिससे सारे
 गांधी जी ने तय किया है इसे इस बात का एक छोटासा बीज मानना
 धीरे धीरे नतीजा बहुत बड़ा निकलता है । इस राजकोट के मामले को जिस
 खेती कर लिया । इसलिये चाहे पहले नतीजा छोटा सा जन्म हो मगर
 अन्दर किसानों ने आकर अपने घर बना लिये और नतीजा आनेकर
 में कोई कोठी नहीं रह गई । जो बड़े बड़े महल बने थे वहाँ ५ वर्ष के
 से वह निकल गये और वहाँ ७०, ७२ कोठियाँ चलती थी वहाँ पाँच वर्ष
 नतीजा यह हुआ कि फिर चार पाँच वर्षों के अन्दर वहाँ जितने नीले बाले
 छोड़ दिए गए । उस वक्त इन लोगों में उसका ठीक नहीं समझा
 नतीजा काफी नहीं है कि २२ फी सदी से मुजह करनी जाय और बाकी
 थ, कुछ हमारे देश के भाड़े कहने लगे कि इस देशों का यह
 पढ़ा था वह समझीते १०० में २२ मिल बालों से हुआ था ७२ छोड़ दिये
 मद्रास गांधी चरणन गये थे तो उन्हें मिल बालों से समझीते करना
 पकड़ते हैं और उसी से बड़ा नतीजा निकलते हैं । एक एक में अब
 मद्रास गांधी का तरीका है कि पहले वह छोटी ही चीजों को
 को तैयार होगा ।
 लोग अब राजकोट के बाद वहाँ ऐसे समझीते हुए हैं उन्हें पूरा करने
 उलट जाय तो कोई काम नहीं चल सकता और मैं समझती हूँ कि राजा
 और बादा खिलाफी ने ही जो बात मैं दुर्दै है उससे प्रजा महल या राजा
 जो प्रजा और राजा की शर से एक बार ले कर ली जाय उसे दोनों मान
 स्थापित करना चाहते हैं तो इसका अर्थी राजा ही सकता है कि कोई बात
 स्थापना चाहते हैं हम अपने विद्यार्थियों के अन्दर प्रजा-सत्तात्मक राज्य
 नहीं रहे जाती और अगर हम शान्तिपूर्वक देश के अन्दर स्वराज्य की
 भी किन्तु गये समझीते को कायम न रखें तो फिर समझीते की कोई कीमत
 राजकोट कोई बड़ी बड़ी है वह छोटी स्टेट है अगर वह छोटी सी स्टेट
 समझीते उन वक्त हुआ था उस समझीते के मुताबिक काम होगा ।
 ही गया, वाइसरॉय ने पढ़कर उस मामले को तय करा दिया और जो
 लिये अनशन करना पड़ा । बड़ी खुरी की बात है कि अनशन समाप्त

यही कांग्रेस की नीति रही है और आज यहाँ फैसला करने के लिये जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उसमें यह सब चीजें बता दी गई हैं मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि चाहे जयपुर हो चाहे काश्मीर हो चाहे हैदराबाद हो, मैसूर, ट्रावणकोर, राजकोट, लिम्बडी, रायपुर हो जहाँ कहीं इस वक्त लोगों में जागृति हो गई है जहाँ के लोग आज सत्याग्रह के दुख बरदाश्त कर रहे हैं उसका नतीजा हम सब लोगों को मालूम है, उसमें उन्हें अवश्य सफलता मिलेगी। सिर्फ मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूँ आपको मालूम होगा कि उड़ीसा में छोटी छोटी स्टेट और रियासतों से उनकी प्रजा उब कर स्टेट के बाहर निकलकर ब्रिटिश इन्डिया में बस गई है इस तरह हजारों आदमी ब्रिटिश इन्डिया में आ गये हैं उसी तरह लिम्बडी की बहुत सी प्रजा स्टेट छोड़कर बाहर चली आई है। जो कुछ उन्होंने किया है उसको छोड़कर उनके पास कोई दूसरा रास्ता ही न था और अगर अब वापस भी जाय तो कहां और किसके पास जाय। वहां न तो उनको माल की हिफाजत मिलती है न जान की हिफाजत मिलती है न आजादी की। इसलिए उन्होंने तकलीफ गवारा कर घरबार छोड़कर जिलावतन मंजूर कर लिया है घर छोड़कर दूसरी जगह मैदान में आकर रहे हैं आखिर उनका भी कुछ न कुछ इंतजाम करना होगा जिससे वह जल्द से जल्द स्टेट वापस चले जाय वापस इस तरह से न करें कि वहां वे आफत में पड़ें जिन आफत से वह वहां से निकलकर भागे थे। बल्कि स्टेट उन्हें इस तरह बुलावे जिसमें उन्हें पूरी आजादी भी हासिल हो और जिस मतलब से वह आये थे वह भी पूरा हो जाय तभी यह बात तय हो सकती है। जब तक यह तय नहीं होता तब तक उन गरीबों के लिये सब लोगों को यह चाहिये कि उनकी मदद करें और जहां तक हो सके खाने पीने को भी दें और जो कुछ तकलीफ हो उनको हटाने की कोशिश करें। इतना कहकर मैं इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने रखता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि आप इसे स्वीकार करेंगे।

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan spoke in Hindusthani in support of the resolution.

प्रभाव राधा था । शीघ्र अठ्ठसौ साहस जो उनके एक लीटर है उनके
 जानते है कारमीर की है । उस अक्षर को देखने के लिये मैं अभी
 आँसू है । जिसको दुनिया अक्षर कहते करती है वह विद्यालय आप
 या हैवान । यह आप सब लोग जानते है कि इन विद्यालयों में किताब
 क्या होलन है वहाँ के लोग जाँ है, आया कि वे उन्हें इन्सान समझते है
 आपको क्या बताऊँ कि उसमें गोलीस की क्या होलन है वहाँ जूँ की
 उन बातों को दुँदा है जिनको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ । मैं
 कि इन राजाओं और नवाबों की क्या होलन है । मैंने अपनी आँखों से
 आज आपको बता देना चाहता हूँ याद आप इन लोगों से वाकिफ हूँगा
 बलात्कृत-सरहदी के हूँ सिद्ध भी छोटे २ नवाब और राजा है । मैं
 और Imperialism को कायम रखने के लिये है । तो मैं आपको क्या
 फायदे के लिये नहीं है बल्कि यह तो उन्होंने अपनी गर्व, अपने मनबल
 हिन्दुस्तान की विद्यालय है यह कोई राजा या प्रजा के लिये नहीं है, उनके
 कुछ इंसान और नवाबों को मैं इस चीज को समझ गया कि जो
 क्या होलन है । यह बात अब मैं Politics के अंदर आया और मुझे
 देखते वहाँ पर अपनी दुर्कर्मन, अपने राजा, अपने नवाब हुए है उनकी
 और मैं उन नवाबों की मजाक किया करता था । उन विद्यालयों को
 किया करता था तो मुझे यह विद्यालयों की बातें समझ में नहीं आती थी ।
 कि जब मैं स्कूल में पढ़ा करता था और हिन्दुस्तान की नवाबीय याद
 मैं सिर्फ एक पहलू पर आप लोगों के सामने अर्ज करता हूँ । वह यह है
 उनके मजलूम के मुताबिक आप लोगों की विद्वान में रहा है ।
 लोगों ने मुझे बताया होगा । नमान पहलू उन्होंने विद्यालयों के मुताबिक
 हूँ । इस पर पहिली तकरीब जो बालू राजेन्द्रप्रसाद ने की है उसको आप
 सामने जो नवाबीय बालू राजेन्द्रप्रसाद ने पेश की है उसकी बहिर्द करना
 बल्कि वं अवाहलाल के हुकूम के मुताबिक यहाँ आया हूँ और आपके
 पास अक्षर के भी यह आदत ही नहीं है कि मैं तकरीब किया करूँ ।
 मैंने कुछ बालू आपके सामने तकरीब करने का न था क्योंकि बालू

भाइयाँ और बहिनो !

बाल अठ्ठसौ राष्ट्रकार जाँ—

साथ मैं देहात में गया क्योंकि मुझे शौक होता है शहरों की निस्वत लुप्त आता है देहातों में बसकर और उनकी मुसीबतों और तकलीफों को मालूम कर। खासकर मैं उनके साथ देहात में गया। एक गांव में जो बिलकुल श्रीनगर के करीब है, उन देहात वालों के घर को देखा उनके बच्चों को देखा, उन लोगों की बीबियों को देखा, उन लोगों के खाने को देखा, मैं क्या बताऊँ ऐसा मुल्क जहां बर्फ पड़ती है, जहां ओढ़ने को कपड़े न थे, खाना न था और जो कपड़े और घर थे वह बहुत Dirty व गन्दे थे। अगर वह जन्नत है तो बाहिर लालों के लिये, मगर कारमीर वालों के लिए नहीं। यह मुल्क मुश्क के फूलों वाला है लेकिन यहां की रियासत को यह ख्याल नहीं है कि उसकी गरीब प्रजा की क्या हालत होगी। उन बेचारों में कोई इल्म नहीं है और आठ दस घण्टे मिहनत करने के बावजूद भी उनको पेट भर खाने को नहीं मिलता। वहां के बसनेवाले कहते हैं कि अपने राजा दुनियां भर में पैसा खर्च करते हैं। हम इसके लिये उन्हें मना नहीं करते लेकिन चाहते हैं कि वह खूबसूरत से खूबसूरत चीजें इस मुल्क में क्यों नहीं लेते। तो मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ख्याल कीजिये कि आपके जो भाई रियासत में हैं उनका हमें साथ देना चाहिये। उनकी यह हालत है हमने अंग्रेजों की मुखालफत की है और इसकी भी मुखालफत करना चाहिये ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में एक सी हुकूमत हो जाय। तो कांग्रेस पर फर्ज आयद हो जाता है कि वह लोग जो आज रियासत में बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनकी मदद करे नहीं तो वह हमारे साथ जहां कि जम्हूरियत हुकूमत होगी कैसे एक साथ चलेंगे। इसलिये हमारा यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि जिस तरह से हो इनकी इमदाद करें और आगे बढ़ावें। यह बहुत ही जरूरी है कि दुनियां की कोई कौम और कोई इन्सान खुद खड़ा नहीं होता तो दूसरे उसे खड़ा नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि अगर कोई आड़ लगादी जाये तो ज्योंही उसे हम हटायेंगे वह गिर जायेगी। इसलिये हमें रियासतों की मदद करना चाहिये और साथ ही साथ रियासतों को चाहिये कि वह खुद भी ऐसी कोशिश करें। जब तक वह खुद अपने पैरों पर खड़े नहीं होंगे तो कैसे काम चलेगा। और ज्योंही हम हाथ हटा लेंगे वह गिर पड़ेंगे। मैं आपकी खिदमत में इस बात को अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप देखें कि तमाम दुनियां को

दर है कि एक जबरदस्त इन्कलाब आने वाला है तो यह कैसे हो सकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान उससे बच सके और अगर हिन्दुस्तान नहीं बच सकता तो रियासतें कैसे बच सकती हैं। उनको यह समझना चाहिए कि इनकलाब क्या चीज है। इनकलाब के सैलाब का जो मुकाबिला करते हैं वह हमेशा उसमें बह जाते हैं और वही लोग मुकाबिला करते हैं जो नादान होते हैं और कुछ नहीं समझते हैं। समझदारों को दुनियाँ की तवारीखों का मुनाहजा करना चाहिए और देखना चाहिये कि जो सैलाब के साथ नहीं चले वह कहां चले गये। अगर इन्होंने सैलाब का मुकाबिला किया तो एक जबरदस्त जार बादशाह की तरह कहीं की कहीं हो जायगी। मैं इन अल्फाजों के साथ इस रिजल्यूशन की तार्जुम करता हूँ।

Next Shrimati Kamala Devi moved the following amendment: "In para 3 delete the words from "has answered" up to "this policy". In para 5 delete the words beginning with "the great awakening" up to "occasion arises" and substitute "In view of the changed situation the Congress considers it its bounden duty to use its full strength to assist the peoples of the States and towards this end the P. C. Cs. and their subordinate committees shall render every such assistance as lies in their power. The Working Committee shall determine the exact policy in every state in consultation with the executive of the States Peoples Conference."

In support of her amendment the mover said: Paragraph 5 refers to the Haripura resolution on the Indian States wherein it is said that this particular policy which was initiated at Haripura

was conceived in the best interests of the States. We feel that these are controversial matters, because we do not at all accept the position that this particular policy was alone responsible for that remarkable awakening we find in the Indian States to-day. We feel there have been many factors which have contributed to this. The general awakening in the country intensified by the last general election followed up by the acceptance of office, which perhaps presented to the people in the Indian States, in a very impressive manner, what responsible Government could mean. It gave rise to hopes and dreams in the minds of the States people, and this is one of the main factors which has contributed towards this awakening. We feel that the emphasis which has been laid on particular aspect of the Haripura resolution may mislead us. So instead of carrying on unnecessary controversy we think that this paragraph should be modified.

We have been often accused, whenever we have tried to place any suggestion before the Congress, that we merely indulge in brave and idle talks. But to-day I may tell you whatever things I am going to suggest to you is based on a certain amount of experience. Whatever ideologies, whatever theories and whatever ideas we might have originally, to-day we find that experience has only confirmed those. And to-day if I try to persuade you to accept this amendment it is because

of our conviction grown out of considerable experience of its imperative need.

I have noticed that the struggle in the States is very often carried by people who are new and inexperienced in politics. There are no ripe hands to deal with intricate situations that develop. Many a time situations are muddled for lack of experience and proper direction. We feel that the people of Indian States are just as much entitled to the power, prestige and guidance which an experienced organisation like the Congress can give as the people of India. It almost seems that we have been making a certain amount of differentiation and distinction between members of the same family, as though we recognise certain members are entitled to the use of family funds and contributions, whereas with regard to others we say that when you come up of age and stand upon your own legs you can lay claim to them. Whatever considerations might have weighed with us in the past, we have to follow a different course in the future. What has been happening in the States during the last twelve months? We feel that we should now get Congress Committees to give more direct assistance to the States. In every province we have little or big states. Wherever there has been any awakening in the States or wherever the movement has grown stronger, the States people have looked to the Congress Committees for guidance, and the Congress Committees have not been in a position

to place at their disposal all that was expected from them. There has been hesitation and faltering which has led to wrong activities and unhappy results. Success would have been achieved if this experienced machinery were to be placed at the disposal of the States people. I have witnessed things in Travancore where there has been tremendous awakening, where the leaders who are today at the helm of the movement are very sincere, but it is obvious they are new to these movements, they have little political tradition behind them. We feel they do need all the help and guidance of the Congress.

We know what miraculous success has been achieved in Rajkot recently when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Gandhiji personally intervened in the struggle of the people of Rajkot. In the same way in other states their assistance and intervention have been sought on all occasions. It is not possible for one or two individuals to go round and intervene in all places always. We have one Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to direct the Governments in eight provinces; but because there has been an efficient machinery through which he can direct and control these governments it has been possible for him to do so. In the same way if we could have an efficient machinery through which experienced leaders could have guided and assisted the people of the States, it would make an enormous difference to them. It is because I have witnessed pathetic scenes of how

political immaturity makes our cause suffer that I plead that it is necessary to call upon Provincial Congress Committees to give more direct guidance and assistance to the States people.

Then we would also like close cooperation between the Congress and the States Peoples Conference, because it is the States Peoples Conference which since Haripura has been acting as taking responsibility for conducting movements in the different states. Whenever there is a movement in the States reports reach the High Command and the Viceroy. There are two versions. It is, therefore, very necessary that the Congress should be able to rely on some particular agency which commands their confidence and on which the Working Committee would be able to rely. If the Congress Committees are to be given direction for assistance to States people, it is absolutely necessary there should be some organisation on which we can rely and through which we can carry on these movements. Therefore, I should like you to make these necessary changes in the resolution.

We have been hearing of pathetic tales of miseries from various states, from the romantic country of Kashmir right up to the beautiful country of Travancore. For authentic and accurate accounts of these happenings in the various states we require a machinery so that when the reports are before us, necessary steps may be directed by the

Congress with all the power and prestige behind it.

Pt. Nekiram Sharma, Mr R. K. Sidhwa and Mr. N. D. Shankar spoke in Hindi on the resolution and the amendment, after Mr. A. Patwardhan had seconded the amendment of Shrimati Kamala Devi in Hindi:—

श्री अच्युत पटवर्धन —

जनाबे सदर, डेलीगेट और भाइयो !

हमारे सामने जो प्रस्ताव है उस पर अभी श्री कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्याय ने जो तरमीम पेश की है उसकी ताईद में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ । पिछले साल में अगर कांग्रेस के आन्दोलन में सब से बड़ी बात हुई है तो वह हमारी रियासती प्रजा में असाधारण जागृति है । उसका बोझ दिन ब दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है और उस काम के करने वाले लोगों में बहुत सी दिक्कतें और मुसीबतें उनके सामने आ जाती हैं । उस ख्याल को सामने रखकर यह तरमीम पेश हुई है । पहली बात तो यह है कि यह प्रस्ताव जिसका जिक्र यहां हुआ है जब हरीपुरा में पेश हुआ था तो हम लोग उसको बहुत सही नहीं समझते थे और वहां भी वह बड़ी बहस मुबाहिसा के बाद पास हुआ था और मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि रियासतों में जो जागृति दिखाई पड़ती है उसको सिर्फ हरीपुरा के प्रस्ताव का फल बताना सही न होगा कांग्रेस मिनिसूरी बनने के बाद रियासतों की प्रजा ने देखा कि कल जो लोग जेलखाने में पड़े हुए थे आज उन्हीं लोगों का जेल पर अधिकार है और हुकूमत कर रहे हैं । जो लोग कल repression से दबे हुए थे उन्हीं लोगों के हाथ में हुकूमत की बागडोर है तब उनके दिलों में जोश आ गया है और डर हट रहा है और उनके दिल में सत्याग्रह के प्रस्ताव पर नया विश्वास और नई आशाएं उठ खड़ी हुईं । और हमें अधिकार स्वीकार करने से यह indirect फायदा अप्रत्यक्ष फायदा मिला है । इस प्रोग्राम का असर देशी रियासतों की प्रजा पर बहुत अच्छा हुआ है और यह बेदारी उसी का फल समझना चाहिये । यदि हरीपुरा का प्रस्ताव गलती और सही के विचार से न

देवा जाय तो मैं सिर्फ इतना अर्ज करूंगा कि जो परिस्थिति हरीपुरा के समय थी वह अब नहीं रही। मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ गांधी जी के हरिजन में लिखे हुए आदेशों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाऊँगा जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि कायदे और कानून और constitution की यह सब सीमा कुछ मिट सी जाती है। जो बात उस समय नहीं हो सकती थी आज सही हो जाती है। जो परिस्थिति हरीपुरा के समय थी वह इस वक्त नहीं है बल्कि देशी रियासतों की परिस्थिति में वड़ी तेजी से तबदीली हो रही है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि आप रियासतों के मामले पर दो तीन महीने के बाद एक प्रस्ताव करें या गौर करें या विचार करें यह ठीक नहीं है। अभी से पार्लियामेन्टरी Activities की तरह एक considered प्रोग्राम होना चाहिये और कांग्रेस Organisations जैसे प्राविन्शल कांग्रेस कमेटी, डिस्ट्रिक्ट कांग्रेस कमेटी, यह कि वे पास वाली रियासतों में उनकी प्रजा की struggle को आगे बढ़ावें। हम यह मानते हैं कि हर एक रियासत की परिस्थिति अलग अलग है। कहीं civil liberty का झगड़ा उपस्थित है, कहीं वे meeting भी नहीं कर सकते, कहीं २ रियासतों का struggle बिल्कुल ही जिम्मेदारी दुकूमत पाने के लिये दूसरा कदम बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। कहीं मन की स्वतंत्रता के लिये struggle शुरू हो गया है। जहां २ जैसी परिस्थिति हो उसको समझकर जिम्मेदारी के साथ रियासतों की प्रजा की मदद करना उतना ही कर्त्तव्य होना चाहिये जितना हमारा ध्यान Parliamentary activities की तरफ है। अगर आप इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार हैं कि रियासतों में जो परिस्थिति रोज २ पैदा होती है उस पर निगाह रखी जाय और जैसी जरूरत पड़े उसकी मदद की जाय तब इस प्रस्ताव में बड़ी भारी कमी पाई जाती है। एक ऐसी Permanent मिशनरी होना चाहिए जो कि समझ सके कि हर एक रियासत के भीतर हमारी क्या पालिसी होना चाहिये और किस तरह से वहां की प्रजा को मदद पहुंचाना चाहिए। वर्किंग कमेटी आम तौर से इन सब मामलों पर गौर करती है। अगर जरूरत यह है कि वर्किंग कमेटी के पास ऐसे हर एक रियासतों के झगड़ों के बारे में correct information और सही हालात को मालूम करने का कोई तरीका हो। हमें कोई ऐसी मिशनरी बनाना

चाहिये जिससे हमारे रियासतों की किस वक्त क्या परिस्थिति है, ठीक खबर मिलती रहे। मेरे ख्याल से बकिङ्ग कमेटी के पास या महात्मा गांधी जी के पास जब किसी रियासत में कुछ झगड़ा पैदा हो जाता है या तकलीफ पैदा हो जाती है तो लोग दौड़े जाते हैं। हैदराबाद की कैसी परिस्थिति है, मैसूर के बारे में कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि समझौता टूट गया, कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि समझौता नहीं टूटा, लेकिन असली परिस्थिति वास्तविक परिस्थिति को समझने के लिये हमारे पास कोई मिशनरी नहीं है। हम जैसा मौका आवे वैसा decide करें; मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से इस अवस्था में काम को छोड़ना ठीक न होगा। हमें दो बातें करनी चाहिये। एक तो कांग्रेस कमेटी को जिन की सीमा पर रियासतें हों उनकी मदद करें, जैसे शराबबन्दी या पाल्लियामेन्टरी प्रोग्राम में मदद करें, खादी के प्रोग्राम में मदद करें या खादी के Propaganda में मदद करें। हम नहीं समझते कि रियासतों का मामला अलग है और ब्रिटिश इंडिया (British India) का अलग और खास तौर से गांधी जी ने इस वक्त राजकोट में अपने उपवास के साथ उन्होंने राजकोट की तरफ अपना पूरा ख्याल किया है उससे मालूम होता है कि जो बात राजकोट में सरदार बल्लभभाई पटेल ने या महात्मा गांधी ने जरूरत से की है उसी तरह जोरों के साथ हमें दूसरी रियासतों की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये। जहां पर जैसी अवस्था हो वहां पर वैसा ही ख्याल करना डिस्ट्रिक्ट कांग्रेस कमेटियों को जरूरी है। अब वक्त आगया है जबकि Parliamentary Programme और रियासतों की प्रजा के सवाल को लेकर गौर किया जाय, इसलिये Provincial Congress Committee और District Congress Committee को उनकी सीमा पर जो रियासतें हों उनकी प्रजा के सवाल में अच्छी तरह से मदद दें। यह हमारी तरकीब है और इस तरह काम का अंजाम करने के लिये Working Committee को सलाह देने या States People Conference को सलाह देने के लिये कोई मिशनरी बनाना चाहिये जिससे कि हमें यह मालूम हो सके कि हर एक रियासतों की क्या परिस्थिति है, उसके अनुसार हमें कैसे मूव (move) करना चाहिये। कैसी-कैसी तैयारी करना चाहिये। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जिस तरह की परिस्थिति, जागृति रियासतों में उठ खड़ी हुई है

उसको देखकर उनके काम में मदद करने के लिए अच्छी तरह से कामयाब बनाने के लिए जो कुछ भी जरूरत हो उसे पूरा करना चाहिये । इसलिए मैं इस तरमीम की तार्किक करता हूँ ।

श्री नेकीराम शर्मा—

भाई और बहनों !

हरीपुरा में रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस की तरफ से जब यह तजवीज पेश हुई थी तो हम लोगों ने उसकी सख्त मुखात्फत की थी । बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि कांग्रेस इस साल अपनी नीति को बदल रही है और साफ तौर से इस चीज का एलान किया है कि इस असें में देशी प्रजा में बड़ी जागृति पैदा हो गई है । वक्त नहीं है इसलिये ज्यादा बयान न करूंगा । मुझे रियासतों की हालत खूब मालूम है । मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब हिन्दुस्तान की बेदारी ने ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट की जड़ हिला दी तो नवाब और राजा इस फिक्र में हुये कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट को किस तरह से कायम रखें वह संगठन कर अपनी प्रजा को कुचलें और ब्रिटिश इन्डिया में जो लोग बसते हैं उनके आन्दोलन को कुचलें । मैं अभी-अभी सुन रहा हूँ कि हमारे बहादुर महाराजा बीकानेर जो एक बड़े राजा हैं इसके सरगना हैं मैं उनसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप प्रजा की कमाई से मैदानों में पेरिस के होटलों में, घुड़दौड़ के मैदानों में इकट्ठे होते हैं लेकिन इसकी क्या वजह है कि आप अपनी प्रजा को कुचलना चाहते हैं । मैं आगाह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस हरादे में कभी कामयाब नहीं हो सकते प्रजा के दिलों में आग लगी है और कोशिश की जा रही है कि धुआं बाहर न निकलने दिया जाय । कांग्रेस इन बातों को समझती है और जानकर ही अपनी पालिसी को बदलती है । अब मैं आपको बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि अब उनकी धांधली ज्यादा दिन तक नहीं चल सकती । हिसार में भारी कहत पड़ा तो बीकानेर, जिन्द, पटियाला की रियासतें अपनी प्रजा की कमाई से अपना खजाना भरती हैं और वहां आज भी लगान वमूल करने में बेहद सख्ती की जा रही है । मैं जानता हूँ कि वसूली के लिये लोगों के सामाम कुर्क कर लिये गये । एक जगह से खबर मिली

है कि किसी किसान के छूत पर की धत्री नीलाम कर दी गई इस वक्त वहां भी प्रजा बेहद दुखी है। लोहारा की आबादी सिर्फ २३ हजार है वहां के लोग इकट्ठे हुए क्योंकि उन पर टेक्स ज्यादा था उन लोगों ने एक पंचायत करके एक डिमान्ड पेश किया उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि गोली चला दी गई और २२ आदमी खत्म हो गये। कहीं-कहीं इस मामले को इस तरह बयान किया जाता है जिसके गलत माने लगाये जाते हैं जैसे काश्मीर का राजा हिन्दू है वहां की आबादी ज्यादातर मुसलमान भाइयों की है मैं पिछले दिनों काश्मीर गया था और वहां के नेशनल लीडर शेख मुहम्मद अब्दुल्ला से इस बारे में कुछ बातें कीं। यह तहरीक इस तरह से है कि मुसलमान लोग हिन्दू राजा के खिलाफ हैं इसी के मुकाबले में हैदराबाद का सवाल है जहां मुसलमान भाइयों का कहना है कि हिन्दू लोग मुसलमानों के खिलाफ भड़काते हैं। न कोई नवाब मुसलमान और राजा हिन्दू है। यह दोनों एक ही बिरादरी के हैं और एक ही धर्म के हैं अमीर बिरादरी है। न किसी मुसलमान नवाब की प्रजा खुश है और न हिन्दू राजा की प्रजा खुश है। उन्होंने एक ही ध्यान रखना है कि उन्हें अपनी प्रजा की स्वाहिश पूरी नहीं करना चाहिये। हम को हिन्दू और मुसलमानों का सवाल भुला देना चाहिये। हमारा तो एक ही काम है। ७-८ करोड़ भाई जो रियासतों के अन्दर बसते हैं और बुरी तरह से कुचले जा रहे हैं उनकी जवान बन्द है। नाक में दम है। हम लोगों को चाहिये कि हम उनकी पूरी तरह से मदद करें। राजकोट के बाद उनको सबक मिलना चाहिये और मालूम होना चाहिये कि जो महात्मा गांधी ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट की जड़ उखाड़ने के लिये तैयार हैं उनका ध्यान इन रियासतों की ओर भी गया है और अगर यह रियासतें ठीक तौर पर न चलें तो इन रियासतों का धर्म चूर कर दिया जायगा।

कांग्रेस को चाहिये कि वह उनकी तकलीफों में पूरी तरह से मदद करे जिससे परमात्मा सारे हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कर दे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन की तारीफ करता हूँ।

श्री आर. के. सिधवा —

जनाबे सदर और दोस्तो !

इस रिजोल्यूशन पर पूरी तरह से बहस हो चुकी है और वक्त की कमी के कारण मैं आपके सामने इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज रियासतों के अन्दर ऐसी हाजत में लोगों में जो जागृति पैदा हो गई है उस जागृति को तबाह करने के लिये आज राजा और नवाब जिस किस की हालत अपनी प्रजा के लिए कर रहे हैं इससे इनकी खाहिशें कभी नहीं रोकी जा सकतीं । जिस तरह पहले ब्रिटिश इन्डिया में कांग्रेस ने अपनी मांग पेश की और उसके न माने जाने पर सन् १९२९ में पूरे मुकम्मिल आजादी Complete Independence के लिये घोषणा कर दी, इसी तरह रियासतों को भी वक्त का लिहाज करना चाहिये । अगर इस वक्त वह अपनी प्रजा को जवाबदेह हुकूमत नहीं देते हैं तो वह याद रखें कि इससे उनका बड़ा नुकसान होगा और मुमकिन है वह खतम भी कर दिये जाय ।

श्री एन. डी. शंकर—

जनाबे सदर और दोस्त !

मैं आप लोगों के सामने चन्द बातें, रियासत के बारे में जो तरभीम पेश हुई है उसकी ताईद करने में कहना चाहता हूँ उसमें यह कहा गया है कि हरीपुरा रिजोल्यूशन से रियासतों में जागृति पैदा हो गई है और वह उसकी मददगार हुई है । मेरा कहना कुछ और ही है जैसा कि श्री अच्युत पटवर्धन ने कहा है कि एक कारण और है कि जब से प्रांतों में कांग्रेस मिनिसट्री कायम हुई है और कांग्रेस की हुकूमत वहां चलने लगी है, इसलिये उन लोगों में जागृति पैदा हो गई है । इसके अलावा एक कारण और भी है जो हम आपके सामने रखना चाहते हैं । सन् १९३० में जब सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन चला था तो उस वक्त रियासतों में भी कुछ सत्याग्रह की भावना उत्पन्न हुई थी और कुछ रियासत के लोगों ने इसमें भाग भी लिया था । मैसूर रियासत से ही ५००-६०० नौजवान बम्बई सेवा करने के लिये गये थे । इसलिये यह कहना कि

हरीपुरा रिजोल्यूशन मददगार बन गया है बिजकुल ठीक नहीं। रियासतों की हालत एक तरह से अजीब सी है जो बाहर से देखते हैं उन्हें वह जघनत के समान दिखाई देती है लेकिन देखने वाले देख जाते हैं और समझते हैं कि रियासत के लोग बड़ी खुशी में हैं। लेकिन बात कुछ दूसरी ही है। देखिये, मैसूर ही में जो समझौता हुआ था और सरदार बल्लभभाई पटेल ने समझौता जनता की हैसियत से करवाया था वह तोड़ दिया गया (deliberately it has been broken) वहां की हुकूमत ने जान बूझ कर उसको वापस ले लिया। ऐसी हजारों रियासतें हैं जहां इस तरह की बातें रोज-रोज हुआ करती हैं और इसमें कांग्रेस से जो मदद मिलना चाहिये वह पूरी तौर से नहीं मिल रही है। रियासत वालों के बीच जो लड़ाई हो रही है उसमें कांग्रेस को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से भाग लेना चाहिये या कोई ऐसा तरीका अख्तियार करना चाहिये जिससे उनकी पूरी मदद हो सके। रियासतों में जो जुर्म हो रहा है उसे तो मिटाना ही होगा और लोगों की भलाई के लिये उनकी खैरियत के लिये इन राजा महाराजाओं को मिटाना ही पड़ा तो मिटा देंगे। राजकोट की तरह मैसूर की बात भी होगी। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ आपके सामने जो तरमिमी श्रीमती कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्याय ने पेश की है उसकी तार्किक करता हूँ।

Next Mr. K. C. Reddi observed : I am here to speak on the main resolution. I am thankful to the President for giving me an opportunity to speak, but in view of the lateness of the hour and in view of the request of the President I have to be very brief. I am touching only on one or two aspects of the resolution.

The great awakening in the States had different reactions on different Rulers. The first reaction on the part of a section of the States may be stated thus that the Rulers of those States have recognised

the state movements as healthy signs of growth. Perhaps Oundh, though a small state, is an example of this kind. The second category of states had reactions of a different nature. The Rulers of those States have tried to suppress movements by banning all political activities and by repression. Travancore, Hyderabad, Orissa and some other states are examples of this kind. There is yet a third category of States the Rulers whereof have broken agreements entered into with the people. I may refer as an example of this category to Mysore. Coming as I do from that state I would like to mention how the Mysore Government have broken their agreement. It is a matter of history how that agreement came into existence. The situation in Mysore so developed that Government felt that they ought to get out of it by some means, and Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Acharya Kriplani came and an agreement was effected. It is my duty to state on this occasion that the settlement was not imposed on them by Sardar Patel, but it was one which was entered into by the willing consent of both parties. Even before the ink was dry that agreement was sought to be broken by Government. It is needless for me to refer in detail how Mysore Government started violating that agreement. But as instance I might cite one or two things. In the first instance take the question of deportation orders. One important item of the agreement was that prohibitory orders must be withdrawn.

Deportation order, I regard, is a part of prohibitory orders, and though Sardar Patel stressed this point the Government would not give heed to it. Although recently some tardy justice has been done in this respect to one or two cases of deportation, it is hedged with all sorts of conditions, imposing restrictions on participation in political activities etc. I do not want to dilate further on this aspect.

As regards the appointment of the Committee under the agreement, you have all read in the press how Government would not abide by the terms of the agreement in the vital matter of the personnel of the Committee and would not accept the nominee of the Congress. Although we gave several opportunities to the Mysore Government to set matters right, they have not heeded to us, and we had to declare non-co-operation with the Government. I hope when the struggle comes once again it will be our final fight.

After Babu Rajendra Prasad replied to the debate the amendment of Shrimati Kamala Devi was negatived and the resolution was passed.

श्रीयुत राजेन्द्रप्रसाद —

जनाबे सदर, बहनो और भाइयो ।

श्रीमती कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्याय ने दो तरमीमें पेश की हैं । उसके निरवत दो चार अल्फाज बताना चाहता हूँ । पहली तरमीम के मुताबिक आपका यह कहना है कि जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया है उसमें कहा

गया है कि जो प्रस्ताव परसाल हरीपुरा में मंजूर किया था उसका नतीजा अच्छा हुआ है। श्री कमलादेवी ने और श्री अच्युत पटवर्धन ने बड़ी गल्ती की है। आज जो प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ है उसमें सिर्फ यह कहा गया है कि रियासतों में जो जागृति हुई है वह हरीपुरा के प्रस्ताव का नतीजा है " वह सिर्फ लफ्ज कहां से निकाल लाये " मेरी समझ में नहीं आता और न तो इस प्रस्ताव की नियत ही है कि जो कुछ जागृति रियासतों में हुई है वह इस प्रस्ताव की वजह से हुई है। कोई जब बड़ा काम होता है तो उसके बहुत से कारण होते हैं। प्रस्ताव में कोई ऐसी गलती नहीं हुई है। अब जो दूसरी रमी है वह इस प्रकार है (In view of the changed situation) इसकी तरफ जैसा कि पं० नेहरू ने कहा है कि जिम्मेदारी आने से एक नई भाषा और नई ज़बान कायम हो जाती है उस भाषा में जितना करना रहता है उससे हम कम कहते हैं। जो प्रस्ताव हमने पेश किया है उसमें साफ साफ कह दिया है कि जैसा मौका देखेंगे उसी के मुताबिक कार्यवाही करेंगे और जो हिदायत मुनासिब समझी जायगी दी जायगी। यह कहना कि कांग्रेस कमेटियों को ऐसी हिदायत दें कि उनमें जितनी शक्ति है वह सब शक्ति रियासतों के अन्दर जो लड़ाई चल रही है उस में लगा दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अत्युक्ति होगी मुबालगा होगा। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि जितना हमें करना है उससे कम ही कहा जाय। लेकिन जो कुछ भी आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं मौका देखकर ज्यादा से ज्यादा मदद की जाय। सादार पटेल या श्री जमनालाल बजाज या स्वयं महात्मा गान्धी ने कांग्रेस के प्रस्तावों के रहते हुए जहां जरूरी समझा मौका देखा पहुंच गये उन्होंने प्रस्ताव का इन्तजार नहीं किया जहां तक जो मदद हो सकी दौड़कर पहुंचायी इसी तरह से आज कुछ काम करने वाले हैदराबाद में जो काम हो रहा है उसकी मदद करना चाहते हैं।

जितना इस प्रस्ताव में है उतना काफी है इसलिये मूल प्रस्ताव को मंजूर किया जाय और संशोधन को नामंजूर किया जाय।

Thereafter Mr. S. Satyamurthi moved the following resolution on Indians Overseas :

“ This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, specially in countries within the so-called British commonwealth of Nations and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian Nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic and economic. This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of the Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa. This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas.”

In moving the resolution Mr. Satyamurthi said : In view of the lateness of the hour I shall be brief in my observations in support of this very non-controversial resolution. India has a right and duty to extend her good-will and sympathy to her nationals abroad, who are not fairly treated. The treatment meted out to them is particularly notorious in those territories which belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations, to which we also just now belong, and this resolution particularly notes that. But it also says that we cannot give

any effective help to our Nationals abroad until we are free and independent. Therefore, we beg of our Indian brothers abroad inspite of their troubles to help us in our fight for Swaraj. In the meantime, we assure them of our fullest sympathy and support to their own struggle. In all those countries the Indians are in a minority and in the name of the Indian National Congress I ask them to remember that no minority can rely upon any external safeguard. Minorities must learn to identify themselves with the permanent interests of the land and to live on the affection and goodwill of the majorities of the land. That is the only ultimate and satisfactory solution of this problem.

Then as regards Burma, there is grave danger to life and property of the Indians there. We do not thereby suggest that the Burmans are against Indians as such. But we regret the present day state of affairs. We have never been unfair to the Burmans and we expect them to be fair to the Indians. Burma and India are neighbouring countries, not only geographically, but also psychologically, and I have no doubt that things will improve at no distance date.

I would like to refer to the attitude of the Ceylon Government towards Indians in Ceylon and the unfair treatment that is being accorded to them in Kenya and South Africa. In Kenya the highlands have been reserved for Europeans, Germans and

other non-British white nationals, but no Indian can go there, although Kenya belongs to the British Commonwealth of Nations. This is an act of treachery, which India cannot tolerate. The Kenya Indians have organised a big movement against this and India will support them in their legitimate struggle. In south Africa things are coming to a head. A telegram has been received from Durban which refers to the danger of Segregation and other discriminatory laws. These are all dangerous symptoms. On behalf of the Indian National Congress we extend our sympathy and fellow feeling to our nationals abroad and we ask them, since their cause is just to fight for it. As soon as India will be free, independent India will know how to protect her nationals abroad. I, therefore, commend this resolution to the unanimous acceptance of all my fellow delegates assembled here.

Dr. Choitram Gidwani seconded the resolution in Hindustani.

श्रीयुत चौथराम.जी गिडवानी —

जो रिजोल्यूशन आपके सामने पेश हुआ है मैं उसकी तार्ईद करता हूँ। इस रिजोल्यूशन में हमारे जो हिन्दुस्तानी भाई भारतवर्ष के बाहर उपनिवेशों में रहते हैं उनको जो मुसीबतें और तकलीफों का सामना करना पड़ता है उससे हम अपनी हमदर्दी ज़ाहिर करते हैं। कीनिया जो अंग्रेज़ी सल्तनत के अन्दर है वहां चाहे अमेरिकन हो चाहे फ्रेंचमैन हो उसके लिए ज़मीन रिज़र्व है मगर जो हिन्दुस्तानी वहां बसते हैं उनको वह जगह नहीं मिल सकती। साउथ आफ्रिका में जैसा कि आप जानते हैं महात्मा गांधी ने सत्याग्रह की बड़ी भारी लड़ाई की थी जब वहां

हिन्दुस्तानी भाइयों पर बड़ा जुल्म किया जा रहा था। आजकल बर्मा में भी हमारे हिन्दुस्तानी भाइयों की तकलीफें बढ़ रही हैं। हम यह नहीं कहते कि बर्मा वाले इसके पूरे जिम्मेदार हैं परन्तु फिर भी जो हिन्दुस्तानियों के खिलाफ वहां भावना बढ़ रही है उससे उनको काफी नुकसान पहुँचा है।

इसलिये हमारा फर्ज है कि हम उनके साथ हमदर्दी जाहिर करें। यही इस Resolution की मन्शा है और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इससे हमारे उन भाइयों की मुसीबत दूर होगी और मदद मिलेगी। इसलिये मैं इस Resolution की ताईद करता हूँ।

Mr. Janardan Prasad Shukla moved an amendment for deletion of the words "the danger to Indian life and property in Burma" from the resolution and spoke in Hindi in support of his amendment.

श्री जनार्दनप्रसाद शुक्ला—

सभापति महोदय तथा भाइयो—

मैं इस सरदी में आप लोगों को बहुत देर तक रोकना नहीं चाहता हूँ परन्तु मुझे अफसोस है कि आप लोगों को कम से कम यहां पर ५ मिनट तो बैठनाही पड़ेगा। सज्जनों, जो रिजोल्यूशन आपके सामने पेश हुआ है वह निहायत अच्छा और बखूबी तजुर्बे का है। उसका श्री सत्यमूर्ती ने पेश किया है। वह बहुतही होशियार और कानूनी बातों को जाननेवाले हैं, शायद हम लोग ऐसी बातों को बहुत कम जानते हों। मैं बर्मा से आया हुआ हूँ और कांग्रेस कमेटी का संकेटरी हूँ। मैं एक बात साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि दंगे के बारे में बर्मा से जो खबरें आई हैं—आप मुझे विश्वास कीजिये मैं सच कहता हूँ—वे १५ आने गलत खबरें हैं। बर्मा के अन्दर हम लोगों में कुछ फर्क नहीं है और हम लोग बहुत कुछ एक साथ रहते हैं। जिस तरह हिंदुस्तान में हिंदू मुसलमानों में झगड़ा होता है उसी तरह कभी-कभी बर्मा में भी हो जाता है। अभी जिस वक्त बर्मा में दंगा हुआ था उसके बाद करीब १० रोज पहिले

मिनिस्ट्री पर एक अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव आया था। बर्मा में १३ हिंदुस्तानी कौंसिल में हैं, ८ हिंदू, ४ मुसलमान, १ सिक्ख (या १ जैनी) उन्होंने गवर्नमेंट की तरफ वोट दिया था। इससे भी आपको साफ मालूम होगा कि वहां पर हिंदुस्तानियों को कोई बड़ा खतरा नहीं है। दंगों में कुछ हिंदुस्तानी लूटे गये और मारे गये और कुछ हिंदुस्तानियों ने भी बरमीज़ को लूटा और मारा। तो कोई इसमें खास बात नहीं है। हम लोग वहां काम करते हैं और हमारी पार्थना है कि आप ऐसा कोई प्रस्ताव पास कर हम लोगों की दिक्कत को न बढ़ावें और इसलिये मैंने यह अमेन्डमेन्ट पेश किया है; परंतु यहाँ त्रिपुरी का अभी तक यह दस्तूर रहा है और यह इसके इतिहास में एक खास बात रहेगी कि यहाँ जितने Amendments आये हैं एक भी पास नहीं हुए हैं। और मैं जानता हूँ कि यह भी पास नहीं होगा लेकिन मैं अपनी भावना को जरूर आपसे जाहिर करूंगा और आशा करूंगा कि कम से कम इस Amendment को पास करके आप एक नई बात पैदा करदेंगे। आगे आप जैसा चाहें वैसा करें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस Amendment को पेश करता हूँ।

Opposing the amendment Mr. Satyamurthi said :
We shall observe one rule that has been followed here without exception this year. We have not passed any amendment and we shall not pass this either. There is no doubt that Indian life and property are insecure in Burma. The third party is there. He is the same there as here. We in this resolution merely express our anxiety at the insecurity of Indian life and property—a bare statement of fact. I, therefore, ask you to pass the resolution and to reject the amendment.

The amendment was lost and the resolution declared carried.

Thereafter Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the

following resolution about the Next Congress session :—

“ Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held during the last week of December of this year.”

Babu Rajendra Prasad moved an amendment that the venue of the next Congress session be chosen in Bihar and requested the delegates of Bengal and Sind to withdraw their invitations.

The resolution as amended by Rajen Babu was adopted.

Before the session came to a close **Mrs. Sarojini Naidu** delivered an address of thanks to the Reception Committee and others :

Mrs. Naidu—

Friends, it is a happy duty that has been, as usual, entrusted to me. My friend, Pandit Nehru has directed me under a very solemn condition and said that I must once more not deliver a funeral oration, but offer thanks without making any post-mortem vivisection, where thanks are due and where they are not due to keep silent.

I know you will all agree with me that our thanks are due to the sick and absent President, who out of a sense of duty showed remarkable courage in coming to Tripuri despite the advice of doctors and even the mandate of Mahatma Gandhi. We all rejoice to know that his illness is not so serious and alarming today as it was yesterday. I

am sure I shall be expressing your sentiment when I say that we all hope that he may be restored to health very soon and be able to do his duty that has been allotted to him by the votes of the people.

In his absence we have had his great fellow citizen from Calcutta, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad deputising the President. Do I have your approval to offer thanks to the Maulana Saheb? (shouts of 'yes yes'). The Maulana Saheb has conducted the delicate task with exemplary dignity, authority and ability. It has been for him no easy task to deputise for the President. At every step the President from his sick bed has authorised him and guided him in the fulfilment of that onerous task. So on your behalf I offer thanks to our Maulana Saheb, who has with such wonderful authority, courtesy and dignity conducted the affairs of this momentous session.

I want also to thank those thousands of men and women, who are either delegates or visitors, who gave proof of what wonderful discipline the Congress has been teaching to the people of India. Last night for a little while there was a little theatrical scene, which pales into nothing before the discipline, patience and dignity of the rest of the audience. I think we may congratulate ourselves that the first lesson of freedom, the lesson of discipline has been so ably learnt and demonstrated in the Congress in our midst.

In your name I would like to thank the Reception Committee. The Reception Committee in which every single member of the Congress Government is included, and our own friend and colleague Seth Govind Das, who had provided for a panorama of beauty. One enthusiastic visitor after seeing the site of the Congress session asked Seth Govind Das : "How beautiful is your decoration, but how did you manage ?" I want you to realise under what circumstances, under what difficulties and uncertainties of all kinds, including vagaries of the elements, the Mahakoshal Reception Committee had to perform its task. From day to day there was no certainty as to what might happen and what might not happen. But all that would not waver Seth Govind Das and his colleagues, who went on with their task ahead and prepared for us this marvellous welcome and did all within their power to prove that Mahakoshal was capable of doing all that the other progressive and bigger provinces could boast of. It is a small province compared to Bombay and Calcutta, these two arrogant provinces, the President of one of which is Bhulabhai Desai and of the other is the Congress President himself ; and could you expect all the luxury of a big province here ? But nature has given Mahakoshal a spectacular scenery, these mountains, this river, this blue sky with the shining moon and myriad of stars, those marble rocks in the immediate neighbourhood— all that to make poetic that is political ; as if all these

things of beauty have been provided by nature in anticipation of this historic Congress Session.

I would like to pay a tribute to the volunteers, who have been on duty from dawn till midnight and from midnight till dawn, and not once have I seen a look of tiredness on their face, not once have I seen in them unwillingness to serve, although the service they had to render was strenuous and without break. So to the Reception Committee, to the volunteer corps, to the engineers and architects who built this beautiful city, and all those who performed their mighty task and made our comforts and made us doubly comfortable, I offer hearty thanks.

I would like before you go back to your own places to ponder what the Congress has taught us, how in our diversity we have fundamental unity. I would like you to remember the great ideals of the nation that in times of danger, that in times of threatening disunity, we are one. At the beginning of the Session it seemed there might be a division in our midst because of certain temporary conflicts, but I go back to my own place with the full consciousness that nothing can disunite the Congress, that the Congress is fundamentally indivisible and that its conflict is no more than foam on the ocean. The Congress is like a house on the rock. So long as every single Congressman stands firm to the lesson of the Congress, it will be as firm as the

rock. Men came here from many provinces with divided opinions, with divided ideas, with doubts and fears; and each asked the other: what shall be the end of this Session? But those of us, who have knowledge, those of us who have resolution, knew that the unity of the Congress could not be broken, knew that unity is a thing indivisible in the heart of every soldier of freedom, knew that under the banner of the Congress there could be no division. For a nation that is struggling for freedom, there can be no other issue than the one issue of freedom. There is no room for party conflicts, there is no room for internecine quarrel, there is no room for doubt, there is no room for question. There is room only for unity, there is room only for sacrifice, for freedom. It is this lesson that we take back that temporary differences cannot make the Congress divided by a hair breadth. Unity is our principle, sacrifice is our pledge. Though we are all together here, tomorrow a grave and great crisis might develop, and it might hold for us, the followers of that principle, imprisonment, hunger, disease and death. But whatever the danger, shall we not say, all Congressmen and women, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, Sikhs, Parsis, whatever communities they belong to, whatever creed they believe in, whatever notion they have of God, so far as the question of freedom is concerned— shall we not each individual say: We won't be divided on a single instance. Under the banner of the Congress,

under the guidance of the invincible Mahatma— that little man, who can be crushed under the foot of a child, but whose soul force shook the bottom of the greatest Empire— let us follow those great principles laid down by him, inspired by the manifestations of his own life and his teaching. Comrades, mothers, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives let us remember that while our fight is still in progress, there is no leisure for us, there is no time to be soft over personal sorrows and griefs, to be engrossed in any issue that concerns only ourselves. There is only one issue before us and the country, there is only one mandate, there is only one ideal, there is only one goal, there is only one destiny for the Indian Nation, and that is the freedom of the Indian People, untrammelled by any threats of foreign domination.

One word about the Egyptian Delegation. When the Leader of the Egyptian Delegation in very beautiful Arabic read out their message we were all impressed by the tone of unity of that message. I remember when I met some Egyptians at a party given many years ago by President Mezabic when I was in Egypt, I asked one of them who came in different dresses with different caps: what are you? He said: I am an Egyptian. I asked a second man: What are you and he said: I am an Egyptian. I asked a third man and he said: I am an Egyptian. I said: Yes, you are an Egyptian, but for God's sake tell me: What are you: What

religion do you follow, and they all said : We are all Egyptians. Whether we are Muslims or Jews, it does not matter in the least. We are Egyptians first and Egyptians last. What an inspiration ! What a sense of solidarity ! What does it matter whether Maulana Azad is a Musalman, whether Jawaharlal Nehru is a Kashmiri Pandit, whether Sardar Patel comes from Gujarat, or whether Subhas Bose comes from Bengal ? We are all Indians first, Indians last. We are all Indians, who have to make a new contribution to the world progress, who have once more to give the world her immemorable gift of peace. Om Shanti, Shanti, Shanti, Peace, Peace, Peace.

Seth Govind Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee then addressed the audience and thanked the President. The session terminated at 10. 15 P. M. with observations from Moulana Azad.

APPENDIX A.

RECEPTION

52nd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at

LIABILITIES

	Rs.	A.	P.
<u>Sundry Creditors.</u>			
For Expenses and Deposits	997	1	0
<u>Provision for Expenses.</u>	3,200	0	0
BALANCE being Excess of Income over Expenditure, as per annexed Statement.	9,315	7	0

Total Rupees. 13,512 8 0

Govind Das
Chairman.

G. S. Gupta
General Secretary.

K. L. Dube

Laxminaraindas

R. S. Kiledar

S. D. Mishra

Secretaries

G. P. Khamparia

Office Supdt.

COMMITTEE.

TRIPURI, JUBBULPORE C. P.

15th August, 1939.

ASSETS.

	Rs.	A.	P.
<u>Sundry Debtors.</u>			
Amount due by sundry persons,	2,443	9	3
Amount due by All India Congress Committee, Allahabad, for one-fifth share of Delegation Fees.	3,178	0	0
<u>Stock on hand used Materials.</u>			
As valued and certified by the Secretary.	4,000	0	0
<u>Cash and Bank Balances.</u>			
In Current Account with the Imperial Bank of India, Jubbulpore, C. P.	3,672	14	6
Cash on hand.	218	0	3
Total Rupees.	13,512	8	0

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and the annexed Statement of Income and Expenditure Account, of the Reception Committee, 52nd Indian National Congress, Tripuri. for the period from 20th June, 1938. to 15th August 1939. with Books and Vouchers. We beg to report that we have received all the information and explanations required by us. In our opinion the above BALANCE SHEET shows the true and correct position of the state of affairs of the Committee, as on 15th August, 1939.

Chhotalal H. Shah & Co.

Registered Accountants.

Hon. Auditors.

Bombay, dated 7th
September, 1939.

RECEPTION

52nd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Consolidated Income and Expenditure Account

EXPENDITURE:

To expenses incurred as under :	Rs.	A.	P.
Central Office,	26,661	5	3
Site Sub-Committee,	163	4	3
Music Sub-Committee,	19	13	3
Stores Sub-Committee,	40,994	13	3
Finance Sub-Committee,	344	11	3
Propaganda Sub-Committee	412	9	3
Entertainment Sub-Committee,	126	2	6
Medical Relief Sub-Committee	1,071	0	3
Watch and Ward Sub-Committee	18	12	0
Board Sub-Committee	47	6	0
Tender Sub-Committee,	3	4	6
Enquiry Sub-Committee,	30	4	0
Volunteers Sub-Committee	40,039	8	0
Water Works Sub-Committee,	31,131	2	9
Exhibition Sub-Committee,	219	8	3
Sanitation Sub-Committee	1,426	12	6
Printing and Publicity Sub-Com.	1,711	11	6
Procession Sub-Committee	1,947	6	3
Accommodation Sub-Committee	1,518	3	9
Lighting Sub-Committee	20,439	8	9
Construction Sub-Committee,	59,617	11	9
Decoration & Gardening Sub-Com.	5,773	1	6
BALANCE being Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet.	9,315	7	0
Total Rupees.	2,43,033	7	9

COMMITTEE.

TRIPURI, JUBBULPORE C. P.

for the period from 20-6-1938 to 15-8-1939.

INCOME :

By Income received from :	Rs.	A.	P.
Advertisement Sub-Committee,	18,757	3	9
Bazar Sub-Committee,	17,562	2	0*
Ticket Sub-Committee,	71,821	11	0
Transport Sub-Committee	5,313	7	3
Sale of Tripuri Guide	309	4	6
Sale of used Materials at Tripuri	8,876	14	0
Sale of used Materials at Madan- Mahal	13,458	10	9
Members' Fees	26,599	11	9
Donations	82,768	9	9
Commission from Petrol Pump,	387	13	0
Sundry used Materials on hand	4,000	0	0
One-fifth Share of Delegation Fees from All India Congress Committee Allahabad.	3,178	0	0
Note*—This includes Rs. 3541/- income derived from the Hotels under the management of Board Sub-Committee.			
Total Rupees.	2,43,033	7	9

Examined and found correct.

Chhotalal H. Shah & Co.

Registered Accountants.

Hon. Auditors.

Bombay, dated 7th September, 1939.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

52nd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TRIPURI,
JUBBULPORE C. P.

*Details of Income and Expenditure Account of the
Sub-Committees, for the period Ending 15-8-1939.*

CENTRAL OFFICE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Stationary and Printing	2,156	2	6
Add: Provision for Publishing and Dispatching of the Report.	1,000	0	0
„ Travelling and Conveyance,	2,687	11	6
„ Advertisements,	23	9	6
„ Rewards,	65	8	0
„ Badges,	201	6	0
„ Postage,	255	7	9
„ Telegrams,	365	8	0
„ Telephones,	1,424	3	0
„ House Rent,	372	0	0
„ Band,	195	1	0
„ Bank Commission,	59	13	6
„ Refreshment charges,	4,436	8	6
„ Miscellaneous Expenses,	782	10	0
„ Lighting charges,	80	13	0
„ Motor charges	3,220	7	0
„ Furniture,	376	13	6
„ Purchases of the Materials,	1,856	15	9
„ Establishment charges,	3,608	13	9
„ Bullock Cart Expenses,	3,432	15	9
„ Amounts written off as Bad,	58	13	3
Total Rupees.	26,661	5	3

(1) SITE SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Travelling and Conveyance	102	12	0
„ Refreshment charges,	54	3	3
„ Telegrams,	2	8	0
„ Miscellaneous Expenses and Establishment,	3	13	0
Total Rupees	163	4	3

(2) MUSIC SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Travelling and Conveyance	17	3	3
„ Telegrams	2	10	0
Total Rupees	19	13	3

(3) ADVERTISEMENT SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Printing and Stationary	462	11	0
„ Postage and Telegrams	26	8	0
„ Travelling and Conveyance	23	9	3
„ Furniture	18	0	0
„ Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure, carried to Consoli- dated Income and Expenditure Account	8,757	3	9
Total Rupees	9,288	0	0

(4) STORES SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Cost of Tattas, Bamboos and	Rs.	A.	P.
Ballies, etc., purchased	40,949	13	3
„ Establishment Expenses	45	0	0
Total Rupees.	40,994	13	3

(5) FINANCE SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Travelling charges	316	1	3
„ Conveyance charges	3	0	0
„ Telegrams.	25	10	0
Total Rupees.	344	11	3

(6) PROPAGANDA SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Establishment Expenses	65	0	0
„ Postage and Telegrams	53	3	3
„ Photo charges	74	1	0
„ Travelling Expenses	60	14	6
„ Printing	108	4	0
„ Labouring charges	15	0	0
„ Motor Petrol and Miscellaneous Expenses	36	2	6
Total Rupees.	412	9	3

(7). ENTERTAINMENT SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Travelling charges,	126	2	6.
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Total Rupees.	126	2	6

(8) MEDICAL RELIEF SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Refreshment charges,	15	0	0.
„ Petrol charges,	110	4	0.
„ Establishment,	136	14	3
„ Furniture and Materials purchases,	82	11	0.
„ Badges, Advertisements, and Miscellaneous Expenses,	30	11	0.
„ Telegrams,	1	5	0.
„ Travelling charges,	183	5	9.
„ Medicine purchases,	490	13	3.
„ Hire charges of Furniture,	19	0	0.
	<hr/>		
Total Rupees	1,071	0	3

(9) WATCH & WARD SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Travelling charges,	18	12	0.
	<hr/>		
Total Rupees	18	12	0

(10) BOARD SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Telegrams	2	8	0
„ Fooding charges	44	14	0
	<hr/>		
Total Rupees.	47	6	0

(11) TENDER SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Postage and Telegrams	26	8	0
„ Stationary	4	3	0
„ Advertisements,	46	9	0
„ Travelling and Miscellaneous Expenses	8	0	6
Total Rupees.	85	4	6

(12) ENQUIRY SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Travelling charges	30	4	0
Total Rupees.	30	4	0

(13) VOLUNTEERS SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Postage and Telegrams	123	12	0
„ Stationary	185	8	6
„ Establishment	1,190	15	6
„ Travelling	1,246	14	6
„ Fooding charges	25,626	15	3
„ Conveyance charges	141	10	0
„ Miscellaneous expenses, and Lighting	74	13	6
„ Cost of Uniform (Dresses)	14,409	4	9
„ Materials etc., purchased	10,785	6	0
Total Rupees.	53,785	4	0

(14) BAZAR SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment charges	18	8	0
„ Stationary and Advertisements	51	3	0
„ Postage and Telegrams	2	0	6
„ Travelling charges	37	4	0
„ Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Con- solidated Income and Expendi- ture Account	17,562	2	0
Total Rupees.	17,671	1	6

(15) WATER WORKS SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Materials purchases	2,469	2	3
„ Petrol charges	159	15	9
„ Tanks and Stands	2,108	14	6
„ Pump Engines	1,262	14	9
„ Stationary	47	12	0
„ Pipes and Fittings	18,947	5	3
„ Labouring charges	1,390	13	3
„ Conveyance	256	14	0
„ Establishment expenses	2,062	10	9
„ Carting charges	1,405	3	3
„ Head Water Works	252	15	0
„ Plumbers charges	693	7	0
„ Telegrams	73	3	0
Total Rupees.	31,131	2	9

(16) EXHIBITION SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment charges	219	8	3
Total Rupees.	219	8	3

(17) SANITATION SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Sweeping and Labouring charges	164	1	9
„ Establishment charges	477	8	9
„ Telegrams	11	6	0
„ Materials Purchased	196	8	6
„ Travelling charges	27	3	0
„ Fooding charges	96	8	0
Total Rupees.	1,433	4	0

(18) PRINTING & PUBLICITY
SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Travelling expenses	24	13	0
„ Photo charges	32	8	0
„ Printing charges	1,654	6	6
Total Rupees.	1,711	11	6

(19) TRANSPORT SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Travelling charges	996	3	9
„ Printing charges	77	14	0
„ Telegrams	35	1	0
„ Fooding charges	71	0	0
„ Motor charges	540	8	0
„ Expenses in Registration of Taxies	205	14	0
„ Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Con- solidated Income and Expendi- Account,	5,313	7	3
Total Rupees	7,240	0	0

(20) PROCESSION SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Carting charges, Dyeing charges, Miscellaneous	34	7	0
„ Telegrams	12	15	0
„ Goods purchased	347	12	0
„ Expenses for Elephants	944	1	9
„ Expenses for Rath	550	0	0
„ Travelling expenses	58	2	6
Total Rupees.	1,947	6	3

(21) TICKET SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Printing charges	455	12	0
„ Travelling charges	106	9	6
„ Badges	30	7	0
„ Conveyance	11	4	6
„ Postage and Telegrams	1	8	0
„ Balance being the Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Con- solidated Income and Expenditure Account	71,821	11	0
Total Rupees.	72,427	4	0

(22) ACCOMMODATION SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Cost of Goods	6,660	9	3
„ Telegrams	13	14	0
„ Travelling and Motor charges	42	8	0
„ Furniture hire charges	137	12	0
„ Fooding charges	62	6	0
„ Establishment expenses	39	0	0
„ Miscellaneous, Carting and Coolies	23	6	6
Total Rupees.	6,979	7	9

(23) LIGHTING SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Petromax consumption	2,425	6	6
„ Kerosene Oil	24	7	3
„ Telegrams	10	2	0
„ Travelling and Miscellaneous	11	11	0
„ Goods purchased	314	11	9
„ Electric Installation Expenses	18,643	1	3
Total Rupees.	21,459	7	9

(24) CONSTRUCTION SUB-COMMITTEE.

To Purchases : Materials, Wheat	5,631	7	0
„ Consideration of Land paid to the Cultivators	1,299	0	0
„ Railway Freight	17,627	8	9
„ Labouring charges	24,515	7	9
„ Carting charges	1,824	14	6
„ Motor charges	1,964	4	3
„ Establishment expenses	2,449	10	0
„ Refreshment and Fooding charges	2,615	2	0
„ Advertisements, Postage and Miscellaneous expenses	802	3	6
„ Lighting charges	57	4	9
„ Travelling charges	245	1	3
„ Stationary	129	0	0
„ Telephones	456	2	0
Total Rupees.	59,617	11	9

(25) DECORATION AND GARDENING
SUB-COMMITTEE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Travelling expenses	179	3	0
„ Materials purchases	2,197	15	9
„ Dining charges	428	6	6
„ Garden Park Expenses	653	5	3
„ Road constructions	1,602	0	0
„ Miscellaneous expenses	348	14	6
„ Establishment expenses	223	12	6
„ Telegrams	5	2	0
„ Labouring charges	134	6	0
Total Rupees.	5,773	1	6

दान दीर्घा की सूची ।

APPENDIX B.

क्र.सं.	नाम	स्थान	रकम	
				बबलपुर
१.	श्रीनिवास कर्मदी	बबलपुर	१३४००	
२.	हिरिकट कौशिल	"	५०००	
३.	श्री सठ मोहनलाल देरगाविवन्ददास	"	५०००	
४.	पं गजधरप्रसादं सुरीलकमार	"	५०००	
५.	दी० ब० सठ बंसीलाल अरविचन्द	"	२१००	
६.	सं० सि० गरीबदास गुजारीलाल	"	१५००	
७.	सठ रामचन्द जहेरमल	"	१०२५	
८.	राजा गोकुलदास सिन्धु लि०	"	१०००	
९.	बोबाराम गुलाबचन्द	"	६०६	
१०.	सिधुई भोलानाथ रत्नचन्द	"	६०१	
११.	नानवी देरदास ठकेदार	कुमार	६००	
१२.	गुप्त दान	कटनी	५५०	
१३.	श्री सिधुई सुखीलाल बणुलाल	बबलपुर	५०१	
१४.	गापालदास मङ्गलप्रसाद	"	५०१	
१५.	देरवी गीवन्दजी	"	५००	
१६.	परकट पाटी क० लि०	"	५००	
१७.	सठ दुर्गाप्रसाद ठकेदार	कटनी	५००	
१८.	भूयालाल भगवानदास गुलदो	बबलपुर	४००	
१९.	पं नमूदप्रसादं जगदीशप्रसादं मिश्र	"	२५०	
२०.	सठ प्रतापचन्द धनराज	"	२५०	

क्रम	नाम	स्थान	रकम
२१.	श्री स. सि. कन्हैयालाल गिरधारीलाल कटनी	कटनी	२५०)
२२.	साव लक्ष्मीचन्द गोपालचन्द	जबलपुर	२०१)
२३.	बूढासिंह मालगुजार	"	२००)
२४.	पं० रामकिशोर परौहा	कटनी	२००)
२५.	सेठ चौथमल चांदमल	जबलपुर	१५१)
२६.	सि० मोतीलाल निरन्दसिंह	"	१५१)
२७.	सेठ धरमचन्द तेजराज	"	१२६)
२८.	व्योहार रघुबीरसिंह	"	१२६)
२९.	सेठ शिवप्रताप	"	१२५)
३०.	व्योहार राजेन्द्रसिंह	"	१०१)
३१.	सेठ अजुध्याप्रसाद	"	१०१)
३२.	डाक्टर एस. सी. बराट	"	१००)
३३.	सेठ महेशीलाल	"	१००)

३९५८६)

रायपूर

१.	श्री बालकिशन रामकिशन नत्थानी	रायपूर	१५००)
२.	सेठ शिवदास डागा	"	१००१)
३.	रायपूर फ्लोर मिल्स	"	७५१)
४.	महन्त वैष्णवदास	"	७५)
५.	सेठ शिवदत्तराय	"	३०१)
६.	सेठ जसकरन डागा	"	३०१)
७.	माधो जी भाई	"	२५१)
८.	महन्त लक्ष्मीनारायणदास	"	२५०)
९.	सूरजरतन डागा	"	२०१)
१०.	खेमराज नेमीचन्द	"	२०१)
११.	अनन्तराम मङ्गलचन्द	"	१५१)
१२.	किरानीराम मुरलीधर	"	१५१)
१३.	धूलचन्द भट्टर	"	१५१)

१५००)	बिलासपुर	श्री अय्याम बाल जी कन्देकर	१.
१०००)	पडरिया	गौतमसिंह जमादार	२.
५००)	बिलासपुर	धनराज वासन कन्देकर	३.
५००)	पूडरा	लाल अमोलसिंह जमादार	४.
३००)	बिलासपुर	मूलवी कन्देकर	५.
२५०)	बाराहा	सुठ सुरजमल वज्जाल	६.
२५०)	मुंगी	ड० भगवानसिंह मालगुजार	७.
२५०)	बिलासपुर	सुठ वच्छराज अमोलकचन्द	८.
२५०)	बाधा	मूलवी सिद्धा	९.

बिलासपुर

७७५२)

१००१)	"	जगन्नाथसदां बलमदकसदां	३०.
१००१)	"	विशेष बाबू	२९.
१००१)	रायपुर	नैनुज कनीराम	२८.
१००१)	बलौदाबजार	सदासिध संजबली	२७.
१००१)	"	चंद्रमल वीरचन्द	२६.
१००१)	"	रा० सा० जगन्नाथ मधुडा	२५.
१००१)	"	वज्जाल साकरचन्द	२४.
१००१)	"	राजवी परसोत्तम	२३.
१००१)	"	गोपाकियन नरयानी	२२.
१००१)	"	साहनलाल मुन्शीलाल	२१.
१००१)	"	नरयणदाई जठामाई	२०.
१००१)	"	लक्ष्मणसदां मालगुजार	१९.
१००१)	रायपुर	लालाधर जयामाई	१८.
१००१)	गुडियारी	धनकेश्वर दांडा	१७.
१००१)	"	शिवाजी वीराम धोडी	१६.
१२५)	"	आर. एम. टाटा	१५.
१५)	"	श्री इंद्रियन राडस सिन्ध	१४.
रकम	स्थान	नाम	क्रम

१०७	संख्या	श्री दुसकुमार ठकेदार
४००	"	सहदेव शिवलाल
२५१	"	राजचन्द नागाडा
२५०	बराहिनगर	सठ ठाकेदारस
२५२	"	हरिश्चन्द्र राजे
२००	"	बराहिनगर नामी मिहस लि०
१५१	"	सठ छत्रीलदास
१५१	खडवा	आदंशु मित्र सण्डल

निमाड

६६७३

१०१	"	सुकुन्द केशव चितले
१०१	बिलासपुर	अजय्याप्रसाद साव
१०१	छिरी	जमीदार
१०१	लाफा	जमीदार
१०१	बापा	सठ फूलचन्द डोगा
१०१	"	गंगाधर गोपाल दीक्षित बरोल
१०१	"	दयामाई पटेल
१०१	"	अतिथकाप्रसाद मालगुजार
१०१	बिलासपुर	सठ गुरुमुखराय बंधोराय
१०१	"	प० केशोराय
१०१	मुंगली	प० चन्दूलाल मिश्र मालगुजार
१०१	"	मानकचन्द जयश्रीलाल
१०१	"	हेतराम धनश्यामदास
१०१	बाराहिन	सठ भावानदास वैजनाथ
१५१	कटथोरा	जमीदार केशु
१५१	अकलतरा	ठाकेर छंदीलाल मालगुजार
१५१	बिलासपुर	श्री नरीमान बलाठी
१०१	स्थान	नाम

क्रम	नाम	स्थान	रकम
९.	श्री केशवदास	रहानपुर	१०१)
१०.	” गनपतराव	”	१०१)
११.	” गनपतराव तारे	”	१०१)
१२.	” सीताराम पटैल	”	१०१)
१३.	” मार्तण्डराव मजूमदार, लोनी	”	१००)
			२६५५)

मण्डला

१.	श्री चौधरी महेन्द्रलाल	महाराजपुर	१०००)
२.	श्रीमती मुन्नीबाई जमादारिन	कौरगांव	७००)
३.	श्री सेठ भैयालाल नगरिया	मण्डला	२५१)
४.	” तुलसीराम गनपतलाल	”	१०१)
५.	” ठाकुर दिगम्बर सरनसिंह	शहपुरा	१०१)
			२१५३)

बालाघाट

१.	श्री मुहम्मद उमर ठकेदार	चरेगांव	३५०)
२.	” जे. एन. त्रिवेदी	बालाघाट	२५१)
३.	” प्रयाग जी नोधाभाई	”	१५१)
४.	” परमानन्द सरूपचन्द	”	१५१)
५.	” मोहनभाई	”	१०१)
६.	” कन्हैयालाल वर्मा	”	१०१)
७.	” नोखेलाल	”	१०१)
८.	” बृजराजचन्द मूलचन्द	”	१०१)
९.	” लछीराम महादेव	”	१०१)
१०.	” किशनदास	”	१०१)
११.	” बद्रीनारायण	”	१०१)

५२५

(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ५
(१००)	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ४
(१००)	सिद्धि	सिद्धि	" ३
(१२५)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" २
(१००)	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" १

ब्रह्म

६०३

(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ३
(१००)	प्राज्ञ	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ५
(१००)	प्राज्ञ	ब्रह्मसंहिता, कर्मसुख	" ४
(१०१)	ब्रह्मसंहिता	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ३
(१०१)	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" २
(३००)	प्राज्ञ	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" १

ब्रह्मसंहिता

१०५३

(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" १
(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ८
(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ७
(१००)	"	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ६
(१०१)	ब्रह्मसंहिता	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ५
(१०१)	ब्रह्मसंहिता	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ४
(१०१)	ब्रह्मसंहिता	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" ३
(१५०)	ब्रह्मसंहिता	ब्रह्मसंहिता	" २
१५५	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्म

क्रम	नाम	स्थान	रकम
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नरसिंहपूर

१.	श्री ठाकुर रुद्रप्रतापसिंह जमींदार	मानेगांव	३२६)
२.	पं० छिदामीलाल मालगुजार	खमरिया	१०१)
३.	चौधरी देवीसिंह	कमोद	१०१)
			<hr/>
			५२८)

सागर

१.	श्री सेठ ऋषभकुमार	खुरई	२५१)
२.	रामगुलाम चौबे	"	१०५)
३.	नाथूराम नन्दलाल	बीना	१००)
			<hr/>
			४५६)

दमोह

१.	श्री कुंअरप्रतापसिंह	दमोह	१०१)
२.	नाथूराम सेलट	जबेरा	१००)
			<hr/>
			२०१)

भण्डारा

१.	श्री रा० ब० सेठ गोवर्धनदास	तुमसर	२५०१)
२.	मूलजी सिक्का	गोंदिया	२५१)
			<hr/>
			२७५२)

बम्बई

१.	श्री एसोशिएटेड सीमेंट कं० लि०	बम्बई	५०००)
२.	ग्रेन मर्चेण्ट्स् एसोसिएशन	"	१५००)

क्रम	नाम	स्थान	रकम
३.	मारवाड़ी चेम्बर ऑफ कामर्स	„	११०१)
४.	सीड्स ट्रेड्स एसोसिएशन	„	१०००)
५.	दि नेटिव्ह शेयर एण्ड स्टाक ब्रोकर्स एसोसिएशन	„	१०००)
६.	श्री बाटली ब्वाइ एण्ड कम्पनी	„	७९३।।
७.	कैलेन्डर्स केबिल एण्ड कन्स्ट्रक्शन कम्पनी लिमिटेड	„	७२३।।)
८.	कोहनूर ट्रेड्स लिमिटेड	„	२५१)
९.	महाजन एसोसिएशन	„	२०१)
१०.	इण्डियन इन्श्योरेन्स कं० लि०	„	१०१)
११.	राईस मर्चेंट्स एसोसिएशन	„	१००)
			<hr/>
			११७७०।।।।)
			<hr/>

नोट :--

- (१) सागर जिला कांग्रेस कमेटी से ३७६) अभी तक नहीं मिला ।
- (२) सिहोरा तहसील कांग्रेस कमेटी ने वसूली करके भी लगभग ६००) की रकम अभी तक नहीं भेजी ।

APPENDIX C.

MESSAGES.

The following Messages were received by the
A. I. C. C. office for Tripuri Session.

1. The Venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had sent the following telegram to Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President :—

“My greetings to you and all fellow Congressmen assembled at Tripuri. I deeply regret that health does not permit of my attending the Congress. I am distressed at the serious differences which have arisen among leading Congressmen, which threaten to pull down the great edifice built up by the labour of love and devotion of the best men of the country, for over half a century. I beg you all to save it and to enhance the dignity and influence of the Congress by uniting all Congressmen in the service of the motherland (1) to fight against the demon of communalism which is working great havoc in the country, and (2) to fight the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act and help to establish suitable forms of popular Government in Indian States. We require all our united wisdom and mutual goodwill to solve these and other vital problems which affect the well-being of 350 millions of mankind. I pray that God may show us the right course and give us the strength to pursue it.”

2. Prof. Shelly Wang of the foreign office at Chungking, in a telegram to Pandit Nehru, expressed his inability to attend the Congress for want of time and wished success to the Congress, a bright future to the Indian Nation and good health to Mahatma Gandhi, Poet Tagore and other Indian Leaders.

In his telegram Prof. Wang further gave a brief review of the position in China. He said that under the command of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and due to the heroism of their soldiers, and the unity and determination of the people, China was confident of ultimate victory despite their unprecedented sufferings at present. Though they had withdrawn from the coastal provinces they were consolidating their position and carrying on guerilla warfare in the Japanese-occupied areas and the local Governments were maintaining close relations with the Central Government. They were, at the same time, extensively developing their industries in the south-west and north-west provinces.

Prof. Wang declared that the aid rendered to China by all peace-loving peoples of the world had greatly strengthened China in her struggle.

“ We are specially grateful to you for your boycott work and also for the medical unit which is working indefatigably in our country,” added Prof. Wang and believed that after the conclusion of the Congress Session the boycott work would be further pushed. “ A victory for China meant also victory for you and all peace lovers,” he concluded .

3. The President of the Indian National Committee, Japan, said :—

“Greetings from compatriots. Success comes to those who take opportunity which comes not always. Forget not our martyrs.”

4. Mr. Rashbehari Bose, said :—

“With request for Congress efforts for immediate Indianisation of land, sea and air-forces and Indian, Burmese, Siamese, Chinese and Japanese friendship.

5. Zanzibar Indians conveyed greetings and wished success. “Gratified at the satisfactory outcome of Mahatma Gandhi’s fast. The colonial Indians ardently desire that the Congress should lead the country to the ultimate goal under Mahatma’s guidance”.

6. Indian Seva Sangh, Colombo, said :—

“Overseas Indians’ honour depends upon the mother country’s Independence. Praying she will attain it during your Presidentship and under Gandhiji’s able guidance”.

7. George Arundale, in a message hoped that unity would be established in the country.

Several other messages were also read by the General Secretary on the opening day of the Congress Session.

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POONA 4.

1. Books drawn from the library may not be retained for longer than a fortnight.
2. Borrowers will be held strictly responsible for any damage done to books while they are in their possession.